

## U.S. Legation in Riga as a Gateway: Reflections in Frederick W. B. Coleman's 1923 Diary<sup>1</sup>

ASV sūtniecība Rīgā kā pietātne: tās darbības atspoguļojums Frederika V. B. Kolmena 1923. gada dienasgrāmatā

---

**Marika Selga**, MA in history

Doctoral Student

University of Latvia

E-mail: marikse@gmail.com

Mr. Frederick William Backus Coleman (1874–1947) was the first Extraordinary Envoy and Plenipotentiary Minister of the United States to the Republic of Latvia (Estonia, Lithuania) He worked in Latvia from November 1922 to October 1931. This research is based mainly on such primary sources as a diary and letters of Frederick William Backus Coleman. Through the prism of visitors mentioned in the diary, the author attempts to gain insight into the activities of the U.S. Legation in Riga in 1923 and subsequently ascertain the U.S. foreign policy. Most of Coleman's visitors highlight a divergence of views on how to proceed with Soviet Russia and on cooperation with Europe. During these times, the Legation became a repository of knowledge on Soviet Union.

**Keywords:** F. W. B. Coleman, U.S. Legation in Latvia, Latvia – U.S. diplomatic relations, Baltic states, Russia.

Frederiks Kolmens (*Frederick William Backus Coleman*, 1874–1947) ir pirmais Savienoto Valstu ārkārtējais sūtnis un pilnvarotais ministrs Latvijas Republikā (arī Igaunijā, Lietuvā). Viņš strādāja Latvijā no 1922. gada novembra līdz 1931. gada oktobrim. Šis pētījums balstīts uz tādiem primāriem avotiem kā F. Kolmena dienasgrāmata un vēstules. Autore caur dienasgrāmatā minēto apmeklētāju prizmu cenšas gūt ieskatu ASV sūtniecības darbībā Latvijā un ASV ārpolitikā. Lielākā daļa F. Kolmena apmeklētāju pauž dažādus viedokļus par to, kā izturēties pret padomju Krieviju un sadarboties ar Eiropas valstīm. Šajā periodā sūtniecībā koncentrējās dažādas ziņas par Padomju Savienību, un sūtniecība faktiski kļuva par šīs informācijas krātuvi.

**Atslēgvārdi:** F. V. B. Kolmens, ASV sūtniecība Latvijā, Latvijas un ASV diplomātiskās attiecības, Baltijas valstis, Krievija.

*We are morally and selfishly interested in the economic and political recovery of all the world.*<sup>2</sup>  
H. Hoover, 1922

## Introduction

The United States recognized Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania on July 28, 1922.<sup>3</sup> On August 4, 1922, President Warren G. Harding nominated a Republican Mr. Frederick William Backus Coleman (1874–1947) for a post of a minister to Latvia. On September 20, the US Senate confirmed him as the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to three countries: Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania, with a residence in Latvia. Mr. Coleman is the longest serving U.S. envoy to Latvia where he represented U.S. almost nine years – from November 1922 to October 1931. He served under three presidents: Warren D. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover. After posting in Latvia, he continued representing the United States in Denmark from February 1932 until March 1933. He was fluent in German and French. Fēlikss Cielēns, the Deputy Foreign Minister in Jānis Pauļuks' government, described him, as follows:

*“Usually we imagine Americans as tall, stately man. Coleman was the opposite: short and skinny. People were attracted to him for his smiling eyes.<sup>4</sup> He was pleasant, friendly, and hospitable person with free manners and a good sense of humor.”<sup>5</sup>*

F. W. B. Coleman arrived in Latvia on November 8, 1922. On November 13, he presented his credentials to the President of Latvia Jānis Čakste. A week later, on November 20, he presented his credentials to the President of Estonia Konstantin Päts, and on December 5 to the Lithuanian President

Aleksandras Stulginskis. F. W. B. Coleman had to triangulate the paradigms of local politics during a high degree of tumult. For example, in 1923 Latvia's government changed twice. Jānis Pauļuks' government was approved on January 27, but it collapsed after the events of May 1. In mid-June the new Government of Latvia was established with Zigfrīds A. Meierovics as the Minister President and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In Estonia, the change of leadership positions took place on the same day as his accreditation. Lithuania was likewise full of surprises. For example, on January 7, 1923, the Memel (Klaipėda) issue was brought to international attention by the Supreme Committee for Salvation of Lithuania Minor, which took over the governance of the Memel region on January 9. The situation developed fast when armed volunteers supporting the change had flowed to region. On January 24, the Lithuanian government declared incorporation of region of Memel into Lithuania. The Lithuanian government resigned on March 12.<sup>6</sup>

Similar turmoil was experienced in other European countries, but especially in Germany. France and Belgium occupied Ruhr Valley on January 11, 1923. In Germany, social unrest, strikes and riots took place in June and July. In August, many went on a general strike complaining about high prices. Communist uprising started in Hamburg on October 23. France, the United Kingdom, and others were very concerned about Germany's ability to pay reparations. Many were looking for action from the United States. International settlements were necessary also in other parts of Europe. For example, on July 24, 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne settling boundaries of modern Republic of Turkey was signed in Switzerland by Greece, Bulgaria and other countries that fought in World War I.

Soviet Russia in 1921 had declared a New Economic Policy (NEP), which

allowed private individuals to own small enterprises. NEP also foresaw a monetary reform and the attraction of foreign capital. This return to more relaxed, confident normalcy brought hopes to international society of resolving differences. More than ever before or since, Russia was inviting the world to help rebuild the country but also to test and challenge old values with new socialistic ones.<sup>7</sup> Soviet Union, the Communist International (Comintern) and the Red International of Trade Unions continued calling upon the workmen and women workers of all countries to aid, for example, German proletariat. Comintern was intensively engaged in revolutionary propaganda abroad. It was particularly noticeable in Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Spain, Turkey, Estonia, Latvia, England, Persia, Afghanistan, India, China, and Japan.<sup>8</sup> In Riga, the Soviet government had established a busy representation, which consisted of some 352 employees (Trade Department had 14 officials).<sup>9</sup>

### **The U.S. foreign policy principles**

During presidency of Warren G. Harding, the administration was supposed to muster two tasks: to enable the U.S. to participate in the world's economic life and to retain free hand in international relations. The main goal of administration become promotion of disarmament, arbitration, and mediation. The United States were always ready to exercise its moral influence in promoting peace, but they refused to make any commitment for more active support of collective security.<sup>10</sup>

The foreign policy of United States in early twenties was heavily influenced by the views of former Head of American Relief Administration and Secretary of Commerce Mr. Herbert Hoover. He had the greatest experience in logistics of relief

materials and comestibles to many countries. His observations during relief works were the basis for his views and policies regarding governance, industries, trade, and cooperation. He strongly believed in American individualism and the model it provided, namely, the state should just create conditions for individual to succeed. The individual (also as the company) then was responsible for business and its success. As Secretary of Commerce, Hoover introduced a new model of cooperation with the entrepreneurs and financiers. He expanded the network of "trade ambassadors" (trade representatives and commercial attaches) to key countries and trading places. Experts and representatives from leading industries were sent to foreign nations as special agents to investigate trade conditions. In March 1923, the Department of Commerce obtained a substantial appropriation from Congress to investigate activities of foreign government-fostered combinations, cartels, or trade agreements and to conduct battle against them.<sup>11</sup> Hoover also believed that cooperation, standardization would facilitate the export of American products. Consequently, he dispatched investigators and observers to Europe to learn the best practices.

During World War I, the United States had changed from a debtor to a creditor nation, which was owed \$ 12.5 billion. Some 60% of this figure represented war debts, the other part consisted of loans for relief and reconstruction. By the close of the 1920s, additional foreign loans and direct investment had built up net assets on private account to over \$ 8 billion.<sup>12</sup> The major debtors were Allied powers, Great Britain, and France. The issue of debts become significant part of bilateral relations with other nations. As negotiations regarding reparations from Germany and restructuring of Europe became more and more heated, the United States decided that

issue of war debt cannot be put aside, and the World War Foreign Debt Commission was established on February 9, 1922. After the recognition of Baltic states, the governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were informed that such commission has been created for the purpose of negotiating and settlement of their indebtedness.<sup>13</sup> According to H. Hoover, the United States struggled to persuade European leaders that high reparations required of Germany would stall economic and political recovery. As Germany was considered the “industrial powerplant” of Europe, its slow recovery would impact that of eastern Europe. A failure to return Germany to equality among nations rather quickly would tend to inflame nationalist or even Bolshevik tendencies in that country. There was no quarter from which reconstruction and employment could come faster and more effectively than in the restoration of foreign trade from the slump which followed the ending of exports for war purposes.<sup>14</sup>

There was an array of issues regarding Soviet Russia that were of importance to administration, politicians, and businesspeople of America: 1) the return of expropriated properties and concessions; 2) the stability of Soviet regime and its intention to ignite a worldwide revolution; 3) the recognition of Soviet Russia and conditions for that; 4) the relief to starving people in Russia; 5) returning of American citizens from Russia; etc. The non-recognition policy of Soviet Russia was clearly defined in 1920 by the Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, and later in 1921 confirmed by Secretary Hughes (we cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions).<sup>15</sup> Although Hoover opposed the philosophy and operation of the Soviet regime, he looked forward to the opportunity of trading with Soviet Russia and saw

economic intercourse as one of the more effective ways of bringing Russia into the “civilized” world. In 1923, there was a rise in Soviet – American trade. After the dissolution of the Far Eastern Republic and its joining the Soviet Russia in November 1922, the last consular officials left Soviet territory. In 1923, remaining diplomatically unrecognized by the United States, Russia’s national sovereignty was acknowledged in American courts, when Soviet government was found not to be subject of U.S. civil laws (foreign powers cannot be subject to U.S. laws).<sup>16</sup>

Since August 20, 1921, the American Relief Administration (ARA) provided relief in Soviet Russia’s famine-stricken areas. Part of the relief was provided via ports of Latvia. Many ARA (American Relief Administration), ARC (American Red Cross), Y.M.C.A. (Young Men’s Christian Association) members went to Russia and returned via Latvia. The American relief efforts proved their effectiveness when a grain surplus was announced in the Soviet Union in 1923. Farmers in the United States who had been shipping grain to the starving Russians were now worried about export crop of Soviet wheat. In the summer of 1923, a group of farm state congressmen travelled to Russia. They hoped to offer credits, along with agricultural equipment. The Head of Russia Relief Program Col. William Haskell even considered that communism in Russia was dead.<sup>17</sup> In the summer of 1923, it was considered that the relief program has reached its goal and was discontinued. On July 20, 1923, Haskell and the remaining members of the ARA Moscow staff closed the office of headquarters and left for the United States.<sup>18</sup>

### **Legation in Latvia**

Dissimilarly to other U.S. diplomatic representations, Legation established in Riga had two distinctive branches. One was

responsible for relations with Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania), the other was tasked with gathering knowledge about Soviet affairs, the Russia Section. The first seed for this section was sown already in 1919, when the United States, lacking accurate information, asked the Office of Commissioner in Riga to provide the necessary information. It proved to be the right place, as Riga, being the “cameo of pre-revolutionary Russia” attracted Russian emigres, fugitives from the Communist regime, people from the West, Soviet diplomats and Moscow officials travelling on business, “nepmen” vacationing at Baltic beach resorts.<sup>19</sup> In the West, information on the Soviets was sadly lacking. Visitors to Russia either provided prejudiced information or – as in the case of members of American Relief Administration – did not have the experience needed to study a political trend.<sup>20</sup> When F. W. B. Coleman left for Riga, the State Department instructed him to establish under his direct leadership a section particularly dedicated to handling of the information about Soviet Russia. The first report signed by Frederick W. B. Coleman was on the topic pertaining to Russia (on recent Bolshevik publication entitled “Material on the history of Franko-Russian Relations, 1910–1914”).<sup>21</sup> The Legation started slowly accumulating knowledge about cultural shifts, legislation, major internal policy programs and provisions, economic developments of this new communist-lead country. A bulk of information was acquired by translating Soviet newspapers, public documentation and collecting other published impressions about Soviet Russia. A part of information was collected, examined, and verified by talking to those who travelled to Soviet Russia and back. Legation was also able to provide briefings to those who travelled to Soviet Russia on basic principles for everyday activities, the regime, current programs and

projects, as well as suggest practical solutions for travelling in the Soviet Union. Legation was able to explain the terms used by Comintern, by Communist party, by administration in Soviet Union. The State Department often notified Legation about the possible visitors and travellers to Soviet Union. The minister himself was actively involved in this process.

### **The sources**

The relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have been extensively studied. The relations between the U.S. and the Baltic states – much less so. Recent studies had been conducted by, for example, Ēriks Jēkabsons on the relations between Latvia and the USA in 1918–1922,<sup>22</sup> Eero Medijainen about the recognition by the USA,<sup>23</sup> the relations as such,<sup>24</sup> and even the intelligence cooperation aspects of the U.S. Legation.<sup>25</sup> The activities of the Legation have been described in memoirs of former diplomats such as Loy Henderson,<sup>26</sup> George Kennan,<sup>27</sup> or articles by Natalie Grant-Wraga.<sup>28</sup> They were sharing their experiences as very experienced individuals who had spent part of their lives in the Cold War era which followed World War II. Through years, the Legation has acquired certain reputation which some describe as a “*principal site of U.S., political and intelligence activities in the Baltic*”,<sup>29</sup> “*listening post*”,<sup>30</sup> and those who worked there created “*Riga axioms*”.<sup>31</sup>

The experiences of the U.S. Legation during the first years after its establishment have not been the point of researchers’ attention. The first envoy, Mr. Coleman, who served in Riga from 1922 to 1931 usually gets only a passing mention. Thus, the information provided by the diary of Mr. Coleman is unique. In 1923, Latvia was in negotiations with the USA on commercial treaty, sought a foreign loan, had been informed about the necessity to pay

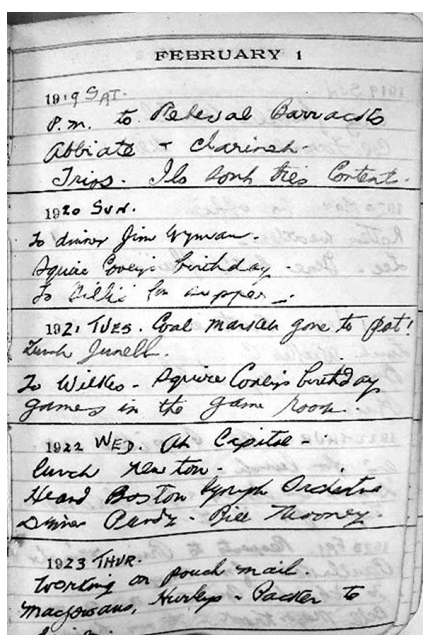


Fig. 1. The diary of F. W. B. Coleman as seen in Hoover Institution Archives.

1. att. F. V. B. Kolmena dienasgrāmatas vāks un viena lappuse. Glabājas Hūvera institūta arhīvā.

the war debts. These early negotiations or meetings with foreign visitors are not well documented on Latvian side. Hence, Coleman's diary provides a new source of information for future studies.

The diary has not been published or studied in detail, and the letters are in private collection and had not been available for researchers. It is a new information which could be used as an additional basis for a broader understanding of forming and implementing of the United States foreign policy.

The diary of Frederick William Backus Coleman is arranged as short notes in a ledger.<sup>32</sup> The diary is light on relaying his opinions about certain events, but it provides information about people he met and on what occasion (lunch, dinner, bridge, hunting, etc.). Information about foreign policy posture thus is also limited, as the diary does not contain information about many bilateral activities. Supplemental primary and secondary sources are drawn upon to flesh out these missing pieces, mostly Diplomatic Correspondence from legation in Riga stored in National Archives, his letters, and publications in newspapers. Often, those who had travelled to Europe and Russia, and had been hosted by Mr. Coleman, considered it important to give interviews and speak their mind. Through the prism of visitors mentioned in the diary, the author attempts to gain insight into the activities of the U.S. Legation in Riga in 1923.

By analysing possible agenda of individual visitors noted in his diary, the author attempts to establish the type of these visits, the intentions of those visitors and how did it reflect the U.S. foreign policy of the time. The article provides insights concerning the visitors and their opinions expressed after return to the United States. In this article, the term "the US foreign policy" is understood as the policy towards Europe, including Russia.

It is important to note that according to further diaries there has not been any other year when so many representatives of such a high

political and economic elite visited or transited Latvia.

In the first part of article, the author provides examples of visitors mentioned in the diary and provides some explanation of the views of those individuals. In the second part, the author explores the foreign policy concerns, which might be the reason for the visit of the previously mentioned individuals.

## Notable visitors

In 1923, F. W. B. Coleman hosted many visitors from United States, who visited Riga as part of a longer journey through Europe. Most of them were looking for an answer either regarding European economic conditions or the situation in Russia. Almost none came for the sole purpose of visiting Latvia. For those who sought answers regarding Russia, the Legation in Riga, serving as a gateway, was able to provide briefings, explanations, and advice.

### Standard Oil

On February 13, 1923, F. W. B. Coleman hosted lunch and dinner for the representatives of Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey – Henry Dodge and Erik Delin. They visited Russia for the purpose of surveying the business conditions and general economic situation affecting the oil industry.<sup>33</sup> In March, H. Dodge declared that the Standard Oil Company desired to participate in the reestablishment of the Russian oil industry. Henry Dodge went to Russia in high hopes regarding the oil concession in Caucasus near Baku. In May 1920, Standard Oil had bought half of The Nobel Brothers Petroleum Company shares. They spent two months in Moscow without receiving a permission to leave for Caucasus and, having failed to reach a deal, they returned in Riga on April 5.<sup>34</sup>

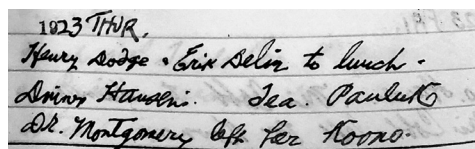


Fig. 2. Note from diary, April 5, 1923.

2. att. Ieraksts dienasgrāmātā 1923. gada 5. aprīli.

Their main message in 1923 was, as follows: Standard Oil could have no business dealings with Soviet Russia, as long as that country refused to acknowledge the right of private property.

According to media reports, Standard Oil Company in February was negotiating with Latvian government for the establishment of a petroleum depot.<sup>35, 36</sup> The reports indicate that in 1922 the majority of oil products were originating in America: 60% of kerosine, the larger part of gasoline, as well as lubricating oil.<sup>37</sup> In January 1922, the Danish branch of the Standard Oil Company (Skandinavisk-Amerikansk Petroleum Aktieselskab) had obtained a contract from Latvian authorities for the supply of lubricating oils for the Latvian State Railways.<sup>38</sup>

### Rev. George R. Montgomery

From April 3 to April 5, 1923, F. W. B. Coleman hosted the Director of Baltic American Society, the Director of the Armenian-American Society and representative of the Near East Relief, Rev. Dr. George R. Montgomery. To honour Dr. Montgomery's accomplishments, F. W. B. Coleman on April 4 hosted a dinner with Swedish, German, Danish, Estonian, Lithuanian diplomats. Dr. George R. Montgomery wanted to meet all the prominent people in the government, which was arranged by F. W. B. Coleman.<sup>39</sup> Rev. Dr. George R. Montgomery, who at that time was returning from visit to Russia,

had since November 1922 been taking part in Lausanne conference with an aim to do whatever might be possible on behalf of justice and mercy for the Armenians. On January 29, 1923, he accompanied Armenian delegation to talks with Georgy Chicherin, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, who led the Soviet delegation at the Near Eastern Conference in Lausanne.<sup>40</sup> Soviet Union had offered asylum to 250 000 Armenians. According to media reports, Russian plan was to establish the Armenians in the vicinity of the Don and Kuban rivers; they would be offered land on the condition that they become Russian subjects. On this, Dr. Montgomery had pointed out that during and since the war, many Armenian refugees went to the Kuban district, settled down and were doing splendidly, especially in cultivation of tobacco.<sup>41</sup> In February, Dr. Montgomery went to Moscow to pursue his investigation with the Russian government.<sup>42</sup> He inspected some of the lands, which would be placed at the disposal of the Armenians, especially some tracts between the Kuban and Don rivers and in Trans-Caucasia. He returned to the USA in April, and was looking forward to establishing an international commission to handle the refugees and assistance to them.<sup>43</sup> Back in the USA, he became involved in activities of the Baltic-American Society as the executive director. According to Baltic observers, he spent more time representing Armenian American Society rather the Baltic American Society, as he considered that Armenians were in a more dire situation and needed the protection of Russia.<sup>44</sup>

### **Senator Johnson**

On April 20, Frederick W. B. Coleman hosted Senator Hiram Johnson, who was enroute to Soviet Russia for a fact-finding mission. H. Johnson was one of the members of the Congress who had taken a trip

to Europe to evaluate the conditions there. His opinion was important to Republican party, as he was supported by some party members as a possible presidential candidate in forthcoming elections.<sup>45</sup> In July, H. Johnson returned to America from a trip spanning four and a half months to Europe. He had visited France, where he met Prime Minister Raymond Poincare, as well as Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, England, and Russia.<sup>46</sup> Previously, he was an active opponent to the President W. Harding's proposal to make America a member of the International Court of Justice, fearing that it would mean entering the League of Nations "by the back door".<sup>47</sup> There were many who believed that he had gone abroad to obtain "ammunition". H. Johnson's point of view was that America ought to have as little to do with the turmoil abroad as possible. On July 25 he addressed his supporters with a speech. He was convinced that "*it is of transcendent importance to reach our decision on foreign policy without haste or passion. Once we enter upon a new venture there will be no retreat*". He warned about European political mess, about the propaganda by British Empire. He was certain that nobody in Europe cared a rap for the International Court and nobody expected the Court to solve any truly provocative international problems. He was of an opinion that the Court has jurisdiction of nothing except what countries may choose to submit to it, and the four great member nations – Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan – have specifically declined its compulsory jurisdiction. H. Johnson emphasized that Britain was at loggerheads with France, Germany, with her industrials and workers in fair condition, and a middle class acutely suffering. He tried to persuade everybody that the future of the Republic depended upon keeping out of the turmoil, the strife, and the controversies of Europe.<sup>48</sup>



### Former Ambassador Norman Hapgood

Convinced that American society did not have adequate information on Germany and Russia, former Ambassador to Denmark, the writer and editor of Hearst's International Magazine Norman Hapgood in April announced that he wanted to see Moscow and Petrograd and the little villages of Russia with his own eyes.<sup>49</sup> He promised to talk not only with communists but also with peasants in their cottages. He pledged to visit Germany and France and to learn everything about the condition there. He was looking for forces in France that might introduce a wiser policy. He promised to publish regular editorials in Hearst's International Magazine.<sup>50</sup> He was sure that Germany was on verge of blowing up and that she might go any minute. If conditions did not change very soon, there would be two revolutions in Germany. On April 30, en route to Russia, Norman Hapgood and his spouse Elizabeth visited Riga and were hosted by Frederick W. B. Coleman. As they had been representing the United States in Denmark, meeting with the Danish consul Folmer Hansen was arranged. F. W. B. Coleman wondered about the timing of visit, when even the Methodists were recalling their Bishop Blake from Moscow, and Great Britain had sent an ultimatum.<sup>51</sup> When N. Hapgood returned to the United States, he stated that the present government in Russia would live. He was very deeply impressed with Russia. N. Hapgood declared that he liked Moscow so well that he should like to return there to live, were it not for his love for his own country. He questioned the stories in various American publications about Russia and considered that they are irresponsible and deliberate misrepresentation of actual conditions. During part of Norman Hapgood's stay they were entertained at the First Guest House of the Soviet government, under the foreign office, formerly the Sugar Palace.<sup>52</sup>

N. Hapgood stressed that if America is interested in welfare of herself and of the world, she must take a more rational attitude toward Russia.

*"When the present harvest comes in, Russia will be ready to export 3 million tons of grain. Are we to help her improve her own situation and to feed starving Europe, or are we to make faces at her, just because she refuses to adopt a form of government approved of by the United States?"<sup>53</sup>*

### Irwing T. Bush

On June 2, 1923, Frederick W. B. Coleman hosted Irving T. Bush, the Chairman of the New York Chamber of Commerce. He was a member of the International Chamber of Commerce, and especially its International Court of Arbitration. The Second General Meeting of the International Chamber of Commerce has taken place in Rome, starting on March 18. According to media reports, he undertook a trip through Europe to investigate the conditions in Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, and Turkey.<sup>54</sup> He had conferences with nearly all the prime ministers of Europe and other leaders in economic, political, and business life. While in Austria, his hotel in Vienna was raided by the unemployed. In Germany, he had experienced Communist riots in Gelsenkirchen.<sup>55</sup> He stressed that the trip to Russia was made for the avowed purpose of learning by study at first hand if Soviet rule has proved

1923 SAT  
To lunch Mr. Mayer -  
Mrs. + Mrs. Spring J. Bush to dinner -  
also Mayer + Gade.

Fig. 3. Note from the diary, June 2, 1923.

3. att. Ieraksts dienasgrāmātā 1923. gada 2. jūnijā.

a success. On June 15, in short interview to the press in Petrograd he stated that he carried with him very pleasant memories of Russia's hospitality and expressed hope that economic rapprochement between Russia and America would only be a question of time. Bush also informed that he had long been interested in an international conference of world business organizations with a view to bringing about an equitable solution of the reparations' problem.<sup>56</sup> He strongly supported the international conference suggested by Secretary Ch. Hughes to determine Germany's ability to pay. He was convinced that the Franco-German problem overshadowed all others in Europe. He believed that French government was wrong in its Ruhr policy and was dominated by military advice. Irving T. Bush considered that the United States were only asked to give their friends a business advice.<sup>57</sup> Later, back in the United States, he calmed the colleagues by stating that they should not be afraid that some other country would be gaining a foothold in Russia thereby establishing a barrier to American commercial aspirations, as there was no trade in Russia worth going after. He assumed that Russia wanted political recognition and was willing to make any sort of bargain for that, and was convinced that she had no trade worth bothering about to give in exchange for it. The time was not yet ripe for any recognition of Russia by the United States. The U.S. should not recognize Russia until the property she took from American citizens was restored and her just debt was acknowledged. The so-called new economic policy of Russia was only a camouflage for a return to the old economic system.<sup>58</sup>

### **Representatives of the Federal Trade Commission**

On July 17, Frederick W. B. Coleman hosted Houston Thomson and Dr. William

F. Notz from the Federal Trade Commission. Their main research topic was agrarian reform and consumer cooperatives, cooperative marketing movement. It was considered that cooperative and standardized production would facilitate foreign sales, yet America was far behind the European countries in such cooperation. Congress gave the co-operative movement a new impetus by enacting legislation.<sup>59</sup> The representatives of the Federal Trade Commission had been sent to Europe to make first-hand study of the movement where it was highly organized and efficiently operated. H. Thomson and Dr. Notz had visited the British Isles, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia. In each of the countries, they had access to these cooperative societies and their books and financial statements. They reported that most of these countries were making special efforts to become self-supporting and economically independent. They had observed that energetic efforts in reconstruction were going on in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Czecho-Slovakia. H. Thomson had concerns regarding competition but found that despite using cooperatives, the competition had not been destroyed, – instead, it had even stimulated the competition among different cooperatives. After the visit, they concluded that the movement gave the appearance of being a most encouraging economic factor in the markets of the world.<sup>60</sup>

### **Sinclair Oil**

On July 24, Frederick W. B. Coleman hosted a very interesting party composed of the main actors in the Teapot Dome Scandal: the former Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall, owner of Sinclair Oil Harry Sinclair, and Archie Roosevelt, son of the former President T. Roosevelt. The group went to Russia to discuss concession in Sakhalin. H. Sinclair had earlier

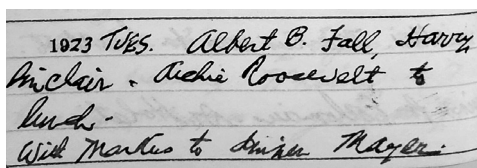


Fig. 4. Note from the diary, July 24, 1923.

4. att. Ieraksts dienasgrāmātā 1923. gada 24. jūlijā.

become interested in the possibilities of petroleum production in Sakhalin, and had secured concession with government of Far East Republic. The contract was signed in January 1922 for the exploration and development of oil deposits in the northern part of the island of Sakhalin. There were two major obstacles to the full use of concession: 1) territory was occupied by Japanese forces; 2) Soviet Russia absorbed the Far Eastern Republic on November 15, 1922. New agreement was reached with Soviet government on January 23, 1923. The Japanese military authorities did not permit Sinclair Oil to establish a presence in Sakhalin. The State Department, supported by the president, refused to consider Japan's actions in Sakhalin as a violation of American rights.<sup>61</sup> Sinclair lost the rights to oil concession in Baku – Grozny in 1924, and to Sakhalin in 1925.<sup>62</sup>

### Senator Kenneth McKellar

Senator Kenneth D. McKellar, a Democrat from Tennessee, arrived in Riga when it celebrated a visit of USS Pittsburgh. He was hosted by F. W. Coleman on August 22. Senator K. D. McKellar, similarly to other congressmen went to Europe and Russia on fact finding mission. His main task in Europe was to evaluate situation in Germany, especially in the context of Ruhr. He was convinced that France's occupation of Ruhr was unauthorized by the Treaty of Versailles, and was an economic and political mistake. He concluded that Germany

was the least prosperous of all European nations and predicted that revolution seems unavoidable.<sup>63</sup> He also was looking for ways to bring in farm labour from Germany despite the new immigration law, namely, suggesting partnerships. According to his observations, Baltic countries were all prosperous and contented.<sup>64</sup> After the return from Russia, Senator reported his observations, as follows: Russia is the world's enigma today. They have the most autocratic government in the world. Russia's form of government is impossible, and yet Russia seems to be prosperous. K. D. McKellar was sure that Russia needed American cotton and manufactures in large quantities. He reasoned: "*if we could have trade relations with them properly safeguarded against any interference with our government of its instructions it might be wise and beneficial for both nations.*"<sup>65</sup> The government prohibited importation of Ford autos but welcomed importation of Ford tractors.

### USS Pittsburgh

From August 20 to 26 Latvia celebrated the visit of the armoured cruiser USS Pittsburgh, the flagship of the US Commander of Naval Forces in Europe.<sup>66</sup> To arrange an adequate reception for the USS Pittsburgh, Latvian armed forces reserved a credit of 2000 lats.<sup>67</sup> F. W. B. Coleman hosted spouses of officers Metz, Hughes, Mack, Hunter, and Vice-Admiral Philip Andrews.<sup>68</sup> He also housed officers Klemann, King, and McCorb. There were receptions by the president and other officials, a tour of the ship, and other ceremonies.<sup>69</sup> The ship had been participating in relief assignments in the Baltic Sea in 1920. In the summer of 1923, USS Pittsburgh made courtesy visits in ports of Mediterranean Sea, Northern Sea and Baltic Sea.<sup>70</sup> Before coming to Riga, USS Pittsburg visited Reval (Tallinn). After Riga, it was supposed to proceed to Libau (Liepāja) and Memel, but it seems that the visit to

Memel did not take place. From Liepāja it proceeded to Danzig, Stettin, Lubec, Kiel, Bremerhaven, then – Edinburgh, etc. There had been some consultations among State Department and Navy Department regarding the visit to Memel.<sup>71</sup> On August 25, Admiral Andrews had learned from outside sources that Lithuania's sovereignty over Memel was yet uncertain, and decided not to stop at Memel and proceed to Libau and Danzig. F. W. B. Coleman stated that he can see no objection to the Memel visit, nor any reason why it is not advisable. On August 31, F. W. B. Coleman was informed by US Consul in Lithuania that USS Pittsburg

would be visiting Königsberg and Memel. Admiral himself would be arriving in Kovno from Königsberg on September 3 for meetings with officials and then would proceed to Memel to join Pittsburg. At the same time, F. W. B. Coleman received an urgent telegram from State Department advising to postpone the visit of cruiser to Memel due to the complexity of Memel situation. On September 1, F. W. B. Coleman informed the US Consul in Kovno that USS Pittsburg has received orders from Navy Department to proceed enroute Scotland for target practice and the visits to Kovno and Memel would be made another time. The letter



Fig. 5. On board USS Pittsburgh. Riga, August 24, 1923. First row centre – Vice-Admiral Philip Andrews, on the left – F. W. B. Coleman, on the right – Latvian Admiral Archibald von Keyserling.

Personal Archive of E. Hewett.

5. att. Pieņemšana uz USS Pittsburgh klāja 1923. gada 24. augustā. Priekšplānā centrā – viceadmirālis Filips Endrūss (*Philip Andrews*), pa kreisi – F. V. B. Kolmens, pa labi – Latvijas admirālis Arhibalds fon Keizerlings.

Autors nezināms. No E. Hjūitas (*E. Hewett*) personīgā arhīva.

from Minister F. W. B. Coleman to Prime Minister of Lithuania Ernestas Galvanauskas dated September 12, expressed appreciation of the courtesies paid to Admiral p. Andrews and his staff on their recent visit to Kovno.<sup>72</sup> This suggested that USS Pittsburg proceeded to Scotland, but Admiral p. Andrews continued with the planned visit to Kovno.

The crew of Pittsburgh was known to organize baseball games in the ports they visited. This was the case also in Estonia, but not Latvia.

U.S. Secretary of the Navy Edwin Denby in the annual report for 1923 pointed out that “showing the flag” was one of main rationales:

*“The value of our prestige as a nation and the furtherance of our trade by exhibition of our flag in foreign ports can scarcely be overestimated.”<sup>73</sup>*

### **Mac Martin**

One of the creators of modern advertising and marketing, the Head of Minneapolis Advertisement Agency, Mac Martin and his friend Myron Dasset visited Riga in the first week of September 1923.<sup>74</sup> Mr. Coleman showed them countryside and nearby cities, they were spectators in Boy Scout review, etc. M. Martin and M. Dasset had traveled 13 countries and paid special attention to conditions in Germany, France, Italy, and England. They abstained from visiting Russia.<sup>75</sup> Mac Martin later lectured on “Advertising, Marketing and Sales methods Employed in Europe”.<sup>76</sup> It is likely, that Mac Martin felt inspired by his observations about Latvians and their aspirations. With an awe he noted: “it was hard for me to realize that these people had been in feudal slavery for more than seven hundred years and that they have just regained their freedom”. In his article about Latvia, he quoted a young Latvian, the Chief of Boy Scouts Valters Voits, who explained why

Boy Scouts started with military training first:

*“Within eight years five armies have swept over the ground on which you stand. We have just obtained our independence from nation to the east of us comprised of one hundred fifty million people and having the largest standing army in the world.”<sup>77</sup>*

### **Thomas Doyle**

Meeting Thomas Doyle on March 15 resulted in an extensive reporting on several travellers from Russia who had intentions to return or to travel to the United States. Thomas Doyle was one of those Americans who had answered the call of Bill Heywood for American workmen to support Russia by establishing an American autonomous industrial colony in Kuzbas. The colonists were recruited by the American Organization Committee in New York. The first colonists went to Russia via Latvia already in April 1922, including electrical engineer Noah Lerner.<sup>78</sup> Thomas Doyle and Noah Lerner happened to be housemates.<sup>79</sup> Somehow, Noah Lerner had shared with Doyle his memories about a certain red wagon which was used to carry bomb to Wall Street for explosion on September 16, 1920. The explosion left more than 100 injured and more than 40 dead. When Doyle, dissatisfied with situation in Kuzbas colony, was finally able to leave Russia, he was reunited with Noah Lerner and a group of other people from the colony. That group was detained in Latvia, as they were using counterfeit Latvian money. Legation consulted the State Department regarding the future actions towards these persons, for example, about Noah Lerner’s spouse Anna Kipness, and provided all available information regarding individual members of the group.<sup>80</sup> When Noah Lerner reached United States, he was arrested and charged with homicide. Thomas Doyle also initiated

a court process against certain members of the American Organization Committee charged with grand larceny. In both cases, charges were later dismissed.<sup>81</sup>

### **Journalists and others**

Frederic W. B. Coleman also met reporters and journalists. For example, he was impressed with George Seldes from "Tribune" and Sam Spewack from "World" who, after spending some time in Russia, felt lucky to return to the democratic country. F. W. B. Coleman noted that *"these fellows spoke through the night. They evidently were tasting their first freedom from censorship"*. According to F. W. B. Coleman, *"these chaps admitted that when they went into Russia, they felt very friendly, thought the Bolsheviks ought to be given a chance, etc. They had changed their minds on that"*.

He met Thomas R. Ybarra from "Double-day Page", who was waiting for a Russian visa. On June 11, he hosted the associate editor of The New York Times Dr. John Finley, who also was traveling to Russia. On August 15, F. W. B. Coleman arranged a "Russian discourse" lunch with reporter Henry L. Rennick of Associated Press. H. L. Rennick was one of those foreign correspondents who had a chance to interview Commissar of Foreign Affairs M. Litvinov.

The Head of Reference of the New York Public Library H. M. Lydenberg visited Riga on November 10. One of his main goals was to make agreements with Eastern European countries and Russia to provide to the library official, publicly available documents such as newspapers, annual reports, statistics, legislature, etc. He intended to visit Poland, Ukraine, Latvia, and Russia.

Matilda Spence, the Executive Director of the Baltic-American Society, Director General of the movement "Make it", which had the aim to demonstrate the contribution of immigrants to America, engaged herself in educational campaign in Baltic

states. She spent almost two weeks in Latvia in October 1923, and later went to Kaunas to study Memel issue. Afterwards she published an opinion article "Settlement of the Memel Controversy".<sup>82</sup> She proudly reported that negotiations regarding the status of Memel region took place in Paris from February to September 1923. American diplomat Norman Davis was invited to chair the Commission. The work of the commission was a difficult one, involving as it did the fierce jealousy and mutual suspicions of Poland and Lithuania. The compromise was found by granting Memel region a full autonomy under Lithuanian sovereignty.

Mr. Coleman, when available, met with ARA representatives from Russia program, such as Col. William Haskell or John Lehr. In February, F. W. B. Coleman had met also presumably first female intelligence officer of U.S. Military intelligence Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison who was recently released from jail in Moscow.<sup>83</sup> He was of an opinion that she thirsted only for publicity. According to F. W. B. Coleman, she smoked one cigarette after another and was enthusiastic about the recognition of Russia.

These visitors could be grouped according their main interests: 1) politicians with an aim to ascertain the changes in Soviet Russia and conditions in Europe; 2) businessmen with an aim to regain their losses in Russia and re-establish businesses in Russia; 3) potential investors who evaluated the conditions in newly independent states; 4) those, who observed economic situation in Europe with care and were trying to find solution which would bring recovery to it; 5) journalists and reporters whose presence in the Soviet Russia allowed Americans to gain insights into the new system in Soviet Russia; 6) those who were involved in a relief activity to Russia, and, of course, 7) Navy diplomacy.

Their main concerns were economic stability and recovery in Europe, especially

Germany, and the developments in Russia, especially in the context of recognition of Russia. It was clear that the United States could not avoid being involved in this reconstruction process in Europe, so the most experienced businessmen went to Europe to find practical solutions.

In case of Germany and the reparation issue, the USA facilitated the agreement of European powers to convene a conference of business experts, with the Chicago banker Charles G. Dawes serving as a chairman and with the task of settling the reparations according to the U.S. standards. Beginning in January 1924 and ending in September that year, the conference worked out a system which was based on Germany's ability to pay. The U.S. private bankers continued to extend loans to Germany, expecting profitable returns. It was later agreed that the Dawes Commission succeeded beyond initial hopes.

The trips of representatives of Standard Oil and Sinclair Oil to Soviet Russia were part of a bigger competition for oil resources in the world. According to the media, Soviet Russia was attempting to "divide and rule" by sowing the seeds of jealousy between the European powers themselves and then between those powers and the United States. In the autumn of 1922, European companies formed The International Consortium of Oil Companies. The parties pledged to ignore all Soviet offers of "preferential considerations".<sup>84</sup> Of course, it did not hold for long. In 1923, American interests were focused also on Near East.<sup>85</sup>

The intensity of visitors who traveled to Russia in 1922 and 1923 emphasized that the situation in Russia, the recognition of Russia, the status of property in Russia and the trade relations with Russia were considered an important topic for many strata of society.

Russia was also amongst the debtors to the United States. The debt had amounted

from the loans (bonds) taken by Tsarist Russia and Russia's Provisional Government. When Bolsheviks took over control of Russia, Soviet government suspended foreign debt servicing, and in early February 1918 decreed the repudiation of all tsarist debts, as well as the debts contracted by the Provisional Government. It confiscated all the assets of foreign capitalists in Russia and nationalized them. From 1918, the Allied powers led a blockade against Soviet Russia. In January 1919, the Allied powers decided that the only option for them was an intervention into Russia and backing of Russian Anti-Bolshevik forces. The Soviet government later demanded that this be considered in the international negotiations regarding debt. Soviet government was prepared to pay in gold to import goods of absolute necessity. The U.S. reaction was the opposite – any person or company wishing to use gold for any transaction or to take gold into the country had to sign an official statement that the gold in their possession had nothing to do with the "so-called" Bolshevik government and that they guaranteed that the United States had a right on it without any reservation. Throughout 1921 and 1922, the Allied governments were trying to reach agreement with Russia on debts and return of confiscated properties. It was the main reason for Economic and Financial Conference in Genoa in April 1922. The conference was also intending to reach an agreement with Germany on reparations. Different models were proposed, but instead on April 16, 1922, Soviet Russia and Germany made their separate agreement – Treaty of Rapallo, under which each renounced all territorial and financial claims against the other. The efforts of the United States to reach an agreement on debt and property issue failed. As proven by visits of representatives from Standard Oil, as well as Sinclair Oil, the concessions were not returned.

Russia and the relationships with Russia were an issue which was actively discussed in political circles in America. Already in December 1922, U.S. Congress received petitions to recognize Soviet Russia, but the main discussions took place in 1923. To create their own opinion about Russia, several senators and representatives visited Russia throughout 1923 (for example: self-constituted Unofficial Congressional Commission with Senator William King, Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Senator James A. Frear, Senator Edwin F. Ladd, who later called for renewal of trade relations, etc.).<sup>86</sup> As noted, some of those travelled to Russia through Riga. President Coolidge held series of personal conferences with senators and prominent citizens who have investigated conditions in Russia. The first of those conferences was held with the former Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall.<sup>87</sup>

Serious discussions on the topic were ignited after December 6, 1923, the speech of the new president Calvin Coolidge.<sup>88</sup>

On December 16, Soviet Russia officially expressed the wish to establish friendly (diplomatic) relations. On December 18, the State Department replied with a statement, which contained conditions for recognition: 1) to restore the confiscated property of American citizens or make effective compensation; 2) to repeal decree repudiating Russia's obligations (debts); 3) to discontinue its propaganda to overthrow the institutions of this country. To accentuate the call of Soviet Russia to overthrow the government, an intercepted letter from soviet official Zinoviev to Workers Party of America was published, which contained instructions for the party, how to conduct its revolutionary work among the millions of American proletariats, including the following:

*"We hope that the party will step by step conquer the proletarian forces of America and in the not distant future raise the red flag on the White House, etc."*<sup>89</sup>

There were several discussion cycles in Congress regarding recognition of Russia. The biggest number of materials was presented during Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Sixty-eighth Congress, First Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 50 Declaring that the Senate of the United States Favours the Recognition of the Present Soviet Government in Russia, when a testimony to senators was given by the representative of State Department's East Europe Division E. Young and R. Kelley.<sup>90</sup> After all that material was presented, Soviet Russia remained unrecognized until 1933.

The question of recognizing the Soviet government arose periodically during the 1920s. Hoover often likened the problem to having a wicked and disgraceful neighbour.

We did not attack him, but we did not give him a certificate of character by inviting him into our homes.<sup>91</sup> We were well aware that the Communists were carrying on underground organization and propaganda for the overthrow of our government by violence. But denial of recognition kept their potency from being serious.

## Conclusions

The events in the early 1920s clearly demonstrate that the United States were focused on the need to facilitate peace, and this goal was to be achieved by implementing understanding that peace could be reached by disarmament and economical means. This was a period when U.S. foreign policy was executed by private business and finance representatives, and official policy line was not to intervene in the political developments and strategic alliances of host nations.

There were some principal concerns, one of such was the war debt settlement, which was perceived as an important



condition for mutual respect and further granting of loans. As proved by several visitors, war debt and reparation issues were a serious matter. Some of visitors had themselves experienced riots in Germany. Many of them addressed the conditions in Europe, Germany particularly, and supported a new approach, namely, an international conference of economists and bankers. This initiative later resulted in the Dawes Plan.

The United States provided experts and leadership for settling several other sensitive issues, such as finding the best compromise on Memel region.

To ensure peaceful settlements and to demonstrate good will as a trade partner and a provider of relief, the United States dispatched U.S. Navy's European Fleet to Mediterranean, Northern and Baltic Seas. Friendly visit of flagship USS Pittsburgh to Baltic countries was a part of such naval diplomacy.

Soviet Russia was perceived by many as a potential major market but those who had lost their property to Soviet government due expropriation and nationalization were looking at this lucrative market with caution. In 1922–1923, the United States still hoped to find a way to achieve a reversal of expropriation of property of American citizens in Soviet Russia. The New Economic Policy of Russia was giving a false hope that situation in Russia has changed. As proven by the efforts of Standard Oil or Sinclair Oil, it had not really happened.

There were divergent views on how to proceed with Russia, and many representatives of political or economic elite had incentives to find the best solution for future relations. Some, believing that the principle of the self-determination must be applied to Russia as well, promoted the need to recognize Soviet government and visited Russia to confirm their conviction. The others visited Russia to find facts supporting their belief that it was not advisable to be

officially dealing with an administration which called for overthrowing of other governments. All these issues were in mind of those political and business decision makers who travelled to European countries and to Soviet Russia with an aim to evaluate conditions and find solutions.

The immigration to the United States and emigration therefrom was also a sore issue. As demonstrated by the case of Thomas Doyle and Noah Lerner, the United States had close relations with law enforcement in Latvia, and it is understandable why the first agreement between the United States and Latvia (and similarly to other Baltic countries) was the Treaty between the United States of America and Latvia Providing for the Extradition of Fugitives from Justice.

The situation in Baltic countries had been perceived by most visitors as prosperous and contented, which was likely to have contributed to the notion that attention must be paid to developments in Germany.

The events taking place in 1922 and 1923 set a framework for the United States' policy for at least a decade, for example, creation of Dawes Plan or non-recognition of the Soviet Union.

The Legation in Riga was directly involved in providing information and analyses about the situation in Baltics and Russia. Visitors provided the possibility to clarify the understandings which the Legation's experts had established about the Soviet Union. It is likely that at least some part of the materials used by Robert Kelley in the testimony in Senate subcommittee were provided by the Legation in Riga and proved the necessity to continue the work on analyses in the Legation.

The active involvement of Minister Coleman himself by hosting a wide array of visitors demonstrated the importance of the issues dealt by these visitors, such as: 1) the return of expropriated

properties and concessions; 2) the stability of Bolshevik regime and its intention to ignite a worldwide revolution; 3) the recognition of Soviet Russia and conditions for that; 4) the relief to starving people in Russia; 5) returning of American citizens from Russia; etc.; 6) returning Europe to prosperity.

F. W. B. Coleman met not only with the representatives of American political and economic elite, journalists, members of Baltic-American Society, the representatives of different fact-finding missions, but also with the ordinary U.S. citizens who were happy to leave Soviet Union behind them.

All these visits influenced the quality of the information collected and analysed by the Legation. As demonstrated by the inspection materials of the Russia section, within the nine-month period of 1923 Russia section sent 320 dispatches concerned with political issues (foreign relations, international subversive movement, administrative, justice and courts, church), and some 210 dispatches devoted to economic matters (industry, finance, trade, agriculture, etc.).<sup>92</sup> The attention to the developing legal system within the Soviet Union became a characteristic of Riga reporting. The Legation became the gateway to Russia and the repository of knowledge about Soviet system.

## ABBREVIATIONS

FRUS – Foreign Relations of the United States (historical documents available at the website of the State Department's Office of the Historian)

HIA – Hoover Institution Archive

LNA LVVA – National Archives of Latvia, Latvian State Historical Archive

NARA – National Archives and Records Administration

RG – Record Group

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Gateway is a place which you pass through because it leads you to a much larger place.
- <sup>2</sup> HERBERT HOOVER. *The Memoirs Of Herbert Hoover. Years Of Adventure. 1874–1920*. New York 1951, p. 87.
- <sup>3</sup> ĒRIKS JĒKABSONS. *Latvijas un Amerikas Savienoto Valstu attiecības 1918.–1922. gadā*. Rīga 2018, p. 451.
- <sup>4</sup> FĒLIKSS CIELĒNS. *Laikmetu maiņā. Atmiņas un atziņas*. Vol. II. Lidingo 1963, p. 379.
- <sup>5</sup> EDGARS ANDERSONS. *Latvijas vēsture 1920–1940. Ārpolitika*. I. Stokholma 1982, p. 358.
- <sup>6</sup> Loy W. Henderson commenting the work in the State Department's Eastern Europe Division in late 1922, recalled that on matters in Memel region, State Department expressed following instruction: It is felt that the subjects in question are primarily matters of European concern, in the settlement of which this Government is not necessarily called upon to participate. You should refrain from any expressions of views and keep the Department fully informed. GEORGE W. BAER (ed.). *A Question of Trust: The Origins of U.S.-Soviet Diplomatic Relations*. The Memoirs of Loy W. Henderson. Stanford, CA 1986, p. 159.
- <sup>7</sup> NORMAN E. SAUL. *Friends or Foes? The United States and Soviet Russia, 1921–1941*. Lawrence, Kansas 2006, p. 22.
- <sup>8</sup> The Minister in Latvia (Coleman) to the Secretary of State, November 8, 1923. Foreign Relations of the United States (further – FRUS), 1923v02/d634.
- <sup>9</sup> Evan E. Young to the Secretary of State on the Personnel of the Soviet Mission in Riga, 1922. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. (further – NARA), RG 84, Vol. 17.

- <sup>10</sup> FOSTER R. DULLES. *America's Rise to World Power 1898–1954*. New York 1963, p. 126.
- <sup>11</sup> HERBERT HOOVER. *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover. The Cabinet and the Presidency 1920–1933*. New York 1955, p. 81.
- <sup>12</sup> FOSTER R. DULLES, *America's Rise To World Power*, p. 130.
- <sup>13</sup> 'Negotiations on Behalf of the World War Foreign Debt Commission for the Settlement or Refunding of Debts Owed the United States by Foreign Governments. The Secretary of State to the Commissioner at Riga (Young)', 1922, FRUS, 1922v01/d135.
- <sup>14</sup> HOOVER, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover*, p. 79.
- <sup>15</sup> Colby Note States Policy. In: *New York Times*, 11.08.1920.
- <sup>16</sup> KATHERINE A. S. SIEGEL. *Loans and Legitimacy: The Evolution of Soviet-American Relations, 1919–1933*. Lexington, Kentucky 1996, p. 89.
- <sup>17</sup> Haskell Finds Communism in Russia Is Dead. In: *The Baltimore Sun*, 29.08.1923.
- <sup>18</sup> BENJAMIN M. WEISSMAN. *Herbert Hoover and Famine Relief to Soviet Russia, 1921–1923*. Stanford 1974, p. 178.
- <sup>19</sup> NATALIE GRANT. The Russian Section, A Window on the Soviet Union. In: *Diplomatic History* 2, 1978, No. 1, pp. 107–115.
- <sup>20</sup> NATALIE GRANT. The TRUST. In: *American Intelligence Journal* 12, 1991, No. 1, pp. 11–15.
- <sup>21</sup> Report On Recent Bolshevik Publication Entitled "Material on the History of Franko-Russian Relations, 1910–1914", 1922. NARA, RG 84, Vol. 20.
- <sup>22</sup> JĒKABSONS, *Latvijas un Amerikas Savienoto Valstu attiecības 1918.–1922. gadā*.
- <sup>23</sup> EERO MEDIJAINEN. The Us de jure Recognition of The Baltic States in 1922. In: *Trames. Journal of The Humanities and Social Sciences* 16, 2012, No. 4, pp. 305–322.
- <sup>24</sup> EERO MEDIJAINEN. Economic Aspects of The Us de jure Recognition of The Baltic States in 1922. In: *Baltic Journal of Political Science* 2012, No. 1, pp. 20–34.
- <sup>25</sup> EERO MEDIJAINEN. Estonia. Intelligence and Security in the Twentieth Century. In: *Handbook of European Intelligence Cultures*. London 2016, pp. 109–120.
- <sup>26</sup> BAER, *A Question of Trust*.
- <sup>27</sup> GEORGE F. KENNAN. *Memoirs 1925–1950*. Boston 1967.
- <sup>28</sup> GRANT, *The Russian Section*, pp. 107–115.
- <sup>29</sup> DAVID MAYERS. *The Ambassadors and America's Soviet Policy*. Oxford 1997, p. 97.
- <sup>30</sup> CHARLE E. BOHLEN. *Witness to History 1929–1969*. New York, 1973, p. 10.
- <sup>31</sup> DANIEL YERGIN. *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*. Boston 1978, p. 17.
- <sup>32</sup> Frederick W. B. *Coleman Diary 1919–1923*. Hoover Institution Archive (further – HIA), No. 77035, Box 1.
- <sup>33</sup> Standard Oil in Russia. In: *The Chattanooga News*, 07.03.1923.
- <sup>34</sup> Soviet Views on Oil Concessions. In: *The Wallstreet Journal*, 20.06.1923.
- <sup>35</sup> Trade Conditions in Baltic States Decidedly Improved. In: *Star Tribune*, 26.02.1923.
- <sup>36</sup> Par plašu petrolejas noliktavas ierikošanu. In: *Kurzemes Vārds*, 01.03.1923.
- <sup>37</sup> United States. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *Commerce Reports*. Department of Commerce, 1923, pp. 382–383. Available: [https://www.google.com/books/edition/Commerce\\_Reports/vLGy\\_cy\\_pemC?hl=en](https://www.google.com/books/edition/Commerce_Reports/vLGy_cy_pemC?hl=en) (last viewed 15.12.2022).
- <sup>38</sup> Commissioner Evan E. Young 28.01.1922 No. 1621 to the Secretary of State about Danish Branch of Standard Oil Obtaining a Contract to Supply Lubricating Oils for the Latvian State Railways. NARA, RG 84, Vol. 19.
- <sup>39</sup> Frederick W. B. Coleman. Letter to Arch. 06.04.1923. Personal archive of E. Hewett.
- <sup>40</sup> The Treaty of Lausanne was a peace treaty signed in Lausanne on 24 July 1923. It settled the conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Allied French Republic, British Empire, Kingdom

of Italy, Empire of Japan, Kingdom of Greece, and the Kingdom of Romania since the onset of World War I. Treaty ended the conflict and defined the borders of the modern Turkish Republic. A secret annex to the treaty granted immunity for the Armenian Genocide.

- <sup>41</sup> Near to Fall Is Conference on Near East. In: *Chattanooga Daily Times*, 29.01.1923.
- <sup>42</sup> Allies Can Save Session. In: *Standard-Speaker*, 29.01.1923.
- <sup>43</sup> Armenians May Go to Russian Colony. In: *The Los Angeles Times*, 18.04.1923.
- <sup>44</sup> Consulate of the Republic of Latvia at New York to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding Baltic American Society (Latvijas konsulāts Ņujorkā Ārlietu ministrijai par Baltic American Society) [Latvian], 16.01.1924. Latvijas Nacionālais arhivs, Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhivs, Rīga (further – LNA LVVA), 2574-4-661, pp. 6–9.
- <sup>45</sup> Hiram Johnson Candidate for President Against Coolidge. In: *The Item*, 16.11.1923.
- <sup>46</sup> Hiram Johnson to Return from Europe Today. In: *The Morning News*, 23.07.1923.
- <sup>47</sup> Hiram Johnson Holds Threat over Harding. In: *Dayton Daily News*, 05.04.1923.
- <sup>48</sup> Europe Desires Our Sword and Our Purse, Senator Johnson Says. In: *The New York Times*, 26.07.1923.
- <sup>49</sup> Amerikāņu interese par Latviju. In: *Kurzemes Vēstnesis*, 20.03.1923.
- <sup>50</sup> Inside Information. Commercial for Hearst's International Magazin. In: *The Pittsburgh Press*, 24.04.1923.
- <sup>51</sup> Frederick W. B. Coleman. Letter to Friends. 13.05.1923. Personal archive of E. Hewett.
- <sup>52</sup> American Politicians Lying About Russia, Says Hapgood. In: *The Bulletin*, 24.06.1923.
- <sup>53</sup> Hapgood Flays Klan; Urges Aid in Europe. In: *Detroit Free Press*, 12.09.1923.
- <sup>54</sup> Hamilton Club Will Honour Irving T. Bush. In: *The Standard Union*, 06.11.1923.
- <sup>55</sup> Irving T. Bush in Russia. In: *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 01.06.1923.
- <sup>56</sup> Bush for Russo-U.S. Trade Agreement; Hopes It Is Coming. In: *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 15.06.1923.
- <sup>57</sup> U.S. Should Aid Baldwin, Says Irving T. Bush. In: *The Baltimore Sun*, 01.08.1923.
- <sup>58</sup> Russian Trade Volume Small. In: *The Marion Star*, 25.08.1923.
- <sup>59</sup> For example, the antitrust laws were amended so as to permit farmers, by means of cooperative associations, to market collectively their products. Congressional record, p. 4754. Available: <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1923-pt5-v64/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1923-pt5-v64-5-1.pdf> (last viewed 15.12.2022).
- <sup>60</sup> Europe Long Ago Saw Wisdom of Cooperative Marketing. In: *The Owensboro Messenger*, 09.09.1923.
- <sup>61</sup> FLOYD J. FITHIAN. Dollars Without The Flag: The Case of Sinclair and Sakhalin Oil. In: *Pacific Historical Review* 39, 1970, No. 2, pp. 205–222.
- <sup>62</sup> Sinclair Oil Lease Annulled by Russia. In: *Orlando Evening Star*, 24.03.1925.
- <sup>63</sup> McKellar Had to Sleep with His Clothes on in Russia: Carried A Bottle of Coffee. Revolution in Germany Sure. In: *Knoxville News – Sentinel*, 29.09.1923.
- <sup>64</sup> Senator McKellar Tells What's Wrong in Europe. In: *The Chattanooga News*, 27.10.1923.
- <sup>65</sup> Trade Relations with Russ Urged: Senator McKellar Declares That "Russia Needs Our Cotton in Large Quantities". In: *Daily Press*, 02.10.1923.
- <sup>66</sup> Visual reminder: *Pathe Journal*, No. 30. Latvijas Nacionālais arhivs, Kinofotofonodokumenti arhivs, Rīga, F194-1-472. Redzi, dzirdi Latviju! Available: <http://www.redzidzirdlatviju.lv/lv/search/160478?q=Pitsburg> (last viewed 15.12.2022).
- <sup>67</sup> Ministry of War on 28.07.1923. No. 1427/k to the Chief of Staff regarding the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers to provide a LS 2000 credit for the reception of the officers and personnel from the cruiser USS Pittsburgh, and the Chiefs of Staff from Poland, Estonia and Finland (Kara ministrija 28.07.1923. Nr. 1427/k ģenerālštāba priekšniekam par Ministru kabineta 21.08.1923. lēmumu piešķirt kredītu līdz 2000 latiem Ziemeļ-Amerikas Savienoto Valstu kreisera "Pittsburg")

virsnieku un personāla, kā arī Polijas, Igaunijas un Somijas ģenerālštāba priekšnieku uzņemšanai) [Latvian], 1923. LNA LVVA, 5192-1-1922, p. 66.

- <sup>68</sup> The initials of these officers are not known to the author.
- <sup>69</sup> Amerikāņu viesi. In: Latvijas Vēstnesis, 24.08.1923.
- <sup>70</sup> The planning process for the tour has started early 1923. The first request by the Director of Naval Intelligence to the Legation of Latvia in Washington, DC on the current regulations governing the admission of foreign warships into the ports of Latvia was sent already on February 16, 1923. LNA LVVA, 293-1-892, p. 4.
- <sup>71</sup> Memel Territory was detached from East Prussia, Germany by the Treaty of Versailles and became a mandate of the League of Nations. It was placed under provisional French administration until a more permanent solution could be worked out. Lithuania wanted to unite with the region due to its large Lithuanian-speaking minority of Prussian Lithuanians and major port of Klaipėda (Memel). As the Conference of Ambassadors favoured leaving the region as a free city, the Lithuanians organized and staged a revolt. The League of Nations accepted the *fait accompli*, and the Klaipėda Region was transferred as an autonomous territory to the Republic of Lithuania on February 17, 1923. After prolonged negotiations, a formal international agreement, the Klaipėda Convention, was signed in May 1924.
- <sup>72</sup> Diplomatic Correspondence. NARA, RG 84, Vol. 23.
- <sup>73</sup> DANIEL V. GALLERY. *Playships of the World: The Naval Diaries of Admiral Dan Gallery, 1920–1924*. Columbia, South Carolina 2008.
- <sup>74</sup> Advertising Hall of Fame. Available: [http://advertisinghall.org/members/member\\_bio.php?memid=706](http://advertisinghall.org/members/member_bio.php?memid=706) (last viewed 15.12.2022).
- <sup>75</sup> Baltic States Are Hope of Europe, Says Minneapolis Man After Continental Trip. In: *Star Tribune*, 28.10.1923.
- <sup>76</sup> Ad Club Told About Europe's Sales Methods. In: *Star Tribune*, 22.11.1923.
- <sup>77</sup> MARTIN MAC. Hunting Men in a New Republic. In: *Our World* 5, 1924, No. 3, pp. 48–54.
- <sup>78</sup> J. P. MORRAY. Project Kuzbas: American Workers in Siberia (1921–1926). New York 1983, p. 87.
- <sup>79</sup> Bomb Plot Suspect Erects Strong Alibi. In: *Daily News*, 15.05.1923.
- <sup>80</sup> Legation. Report No. 540 Concerning the Arrest by Latvian Authorities of Five Persons Who Had Proceeded from the “Kuzbas” Colony, 1923. NARA, RG 84, Vol. 23.
- <sup>81</sup> Eight Kuzbas Indictments Dropped. In: *The New York Times*, 27.09.1923.
- <sup>82</sup> MATILDA SPENCE. Settlement of the Memel Controversy. In: *Current History* XX. New York 1924, pp. 233–238.
- <sup>83</sup> Frederick W. B. Colema's Letter to His Friends', 01.03.1923. Personal archive of E. Hewett.
- <sup>84</sup> DESMOND SHAW. Reds Set Trap with Oil to Finance War Schemes; Seek Fuel for Air Fleet. In: *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16.09.1923.
- <sup>85</sup> SCOTT NEARING. Oil and the Germs of War. In: *The American Guardian*, 09.11.1923.
- <sup>86</sup> JAMES K. LIBBEY. *Alexander Gumberg & Soviet-American Relations, 1917–1933*. Lexington 1977, p. 111.
- <sup>87</sup> Senate Tourists Giving Coolidge Facts on Russia. In: *The Courier*, 21.08.1923.
- <sup>88</sup> Congressional Records, December 3, 1923 – January 1924, Vol. 65, part I, p. 96.
- <sup>89</sup> Zinoviev Letter Addressed to the Workers Party of America, 1923. In: *Congressional Record*, December 3, 1923 – January 1924, Vol. 65, part I, p. 451.
- <sup>90</sup> Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Sixty-Eighth Congress, First Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 50 Declaring That the Senate of the United States Favors the Recognition of the Present Soviet Government in Russia, 1924, i and ii.
- <sup>91</sup> HOOVER, *The Memoirs of Herbert Hoover*, p. 82.
- <sup>92</sup> GRANT, *The Russian Section*, pp. 107–115.

## KOPSAVILKUMS

1922. gada 28. jūlijā ASV atzina Latvijas tiesisko patstāvību un nodibināja diplomātiskās attiecības. Pirmais ASV sūtnis Latvijā (arī Igaunijā un Lietuvā) bija Frederiks Viljams Beiks Kolmens (*Frederick William Backus Coleman*), kurš ASV Latvijā pārstāvēja no 1922. gada novembra līdz 1931. gada oktobrim. Šis pētījums galvenokārt balstās uz tādiem primāriem avotiem kā F. Kolmena 1923. gada dienasgrāmata un vēstules. Analizējot šajos avotos minēto viesu vizītes mērķus un to uzskatus, autore rod priekšstatu par ASV sūtniecības Rīgā darbību un tā brīža ASV ārpolitiku. Lielākā daļa viesu Latviju apmeklēja plašāka ceļojuma laikā. Gandrīz visi viesi devās uz padomju Krieviju, piemēram, uzņēmumu *Sinclair Oil* vai *Standard Oil* pārstāvji, kongresmeņi, Ņujorkas Tirdzniecības kameras priekšsēdētājs un citi. 1923. gadā ASV sabiedrībā pastāvēja atšķirīgi uzskati par to, kā turpmāk jāsadarbojas ar Eiropas valstīm un Padomju Savienību. Padomju Savienības kontekstā tika risināti jautājumi par agrāk nacionalizēto īpašumu atgūšanu, par aizdevumu atgūšanu, par jauniem ieguldījumiem, koncesijām un tirdzniecības veicināšanu. Daudzi F. Kolmena viesi Krieviju apmeklēja faktu vākšanas nolūkā, lai pieņemtu lēmumus par Padomju Savienības atzīšanu un sadarbību ar to. Citi sūtņa viesi bija apceļojuši Eiropu, lai apzinātu tās tirgus iespējas un izvērtētu tirgus atjaunošanai nepieciešamos resursus. F. Kolmena dienasgrāmatā atzīmētie viesi iedalāmi vairākās grupās: 1) politiķi, kuru mērķis bija izvērtēt situāciju Padomju Savienībā un Eiropā; 2) uzņēmēji, kuru mērķis bija atgūt Padomju Savienībā zaudētos īpašumus un atjaunot biznesa darbību; 3) potenciālie investori, kuri izvērtēja iespējas jaunizveidotajās valstīs; 4) tie, kuri rūpīgi izvērtēja Eiropas ekonomisko situāciju, cenšoties rast risinājumus, kā ātrāk atgūt ekonomisko stabilitāti; 5) žurnālisti un reportieri, kuru klātbūtne Padomju Savienībā nodrošināja iespēju ASV gūt ieskatu jaunajā padomju sistēmā; 6) tie, kas bija iesaistīti palīdzības sniegšanā PSRS (piemēram, Amerikas Palīdzības organizācija); 7) jūras spēku diplomātijas pārstāvji, proti, karaflotes pārstāvji. Savukārt Tomasa Doila (*Thomas Doyle*) un Noas Lernerā (*Noah Lerner*) piemērs apliecina, ka ASV sūtniecība cieši sadarbojās ar Latvijas tiesību aizsardzības iestādēm, un var pieņemt, ka tieši šādi gadījumi noteica to, ka tiek parakstīts ASV un Latvijas līgums par noziedznieku izdošanu.

Autore konstatē, ka paša sūtņa iesaiste viesu uzņemšanā liecina, cik prioritāri ir bijuši šo viesu risināmie jautājumi. Sūtniecībai bija jāspēj nodrošināt adekvātu informāciju tiem, kuri devās uz PSRS, un jāanalizē fakti, ko tā ieguva no tiem, kuri izceļoja no PSRS. 1923. gada decembrī ASV kongresā notika intensīvas diskusijas par ASV politiku attiecībā uz PSRS, tika apspriestas tās atzīšanas un ekonomiskās sadarbības iespējas. 1924. gada janvārī Senāta uzklaušīšanas komitejā savu ziņojumu par PSRS sniedza Valsts departamenta Austrumeiropas nodaļas pārstāvis Roberts Kellijs (*Robert Kelley*). Pēc Valsts departamenta sagatavotā ziņojuma uzklaušīšanas PSRS palika neatzīta līdz 1933. gadam.

Autore uzskata, ka ASV sūtniecība Rīgā katram, kurš atgriezās no PSRS, nodrošinot iespēju pārrunāt novēroto, pilnveidoja savu zināšanu bāzi par PSRS, tādējādi iegūstot īpašu ekspertīzi. 1923. gadā sūtniecība bija sagatavojusi 320 ziņojumus par politiskiem jautājumiem un 210 ziņojumus par ekonomiskiem jautājumiem. Vienlaikus, informējot personas, kuras devās uz PSRS, sūtniecība palīdzēja šiem ceļotājiem doties nezināmajā, svešajā vidē.