

- America was on the threshold of modernity
- Old truths and beliefs clashed with scientific discoveries
- The United States began to emerge from its isolationist shell—against alliance
- United States became military and industrial power
- Conservative Republican resurgence challenged notion of regulatory state
- Revival of capitalism
- Great Depression renewed demand for federal involvement
- The New Deal helped revive confidence

## An American Empire

---

- ❖ **What were the circumstances that led to America's "new imperialism"?**
- ❖ **What were the causes of the Spanish-American War?**
- ❖ **What were the main tenets of Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy in Asia and Latin America?**

- **Throughout 19<sup>th</sup> century, most American displayed "languid interest" in foreign affairs**
  - Priorities were development, settlement, politics
  - Isolationist mood
- **Influence of Manifest Destiny remained**
  - Land for corporate interests
  - Navy to protect shipping
  - Expanding military presence

### Toward the New Imperialism

- **Africa and Asia—territories seized**

### Imperialism in a Global Context

- **Western imperialism had economic roots and racist overtones**
  - Demand for more markets
  - New sources of capital
  - Raw materials
  - Nationalism
- **Expansion into Africa and Asia**
  - Christian missionaries
  - Imperial outlook led to conflict

### American Imperialism

- **United States acquired more territories**
  - Commerce and diplomacy
  - Manufacturers could outsell foreign competitors
  - Disagreement on whether territorial expansion should equal market expansion
  - Expansionists included Senators Albert Beveridge and Henry Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, Alfred Thayer

- **Captain Mahan became advocate of sea power and imperialism**

- *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*—power in navy
- Imperialist
- Wanted control of Caribbean
- Spread civilization to Pacific

## Imperialist Theory

- **Claims of racial superiority**

- Social Darwinism
- John Fiske was a Darwinist
- *American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History*
- Josiah Strong wrote *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*

## Expansion in the Pacific

- **Asia offered temptation for expansionists**

- William Seward, Andrew Johnson's secretary of state, insisted the America must exercise commercial domination
- Coveted British colony of British Columbia

- **Seward leaped at the opportunity to buy Alaska from Russia**

- Critics called it Seward's folly
- Strategic positions obtained: Hawaii and Samoa

## Samoa

- **Samoans signed treaty with the United States that granted a naval base at Pago Pago and extraterritoriality for Americans**

- Senate ratified
- German and British governments worked out similar arrangements
- Peace conference in Berlin established protectorate between US, UK, Germany

## Hawaii

- **Hawaii had large American settlement before statehood**

- Trade agreement signed
- Agreement resulted in a boom in sugar production
- White planters in Hawaii built fortunes
- Asians most numerous

- **Grover Cleveland called Hawaii the stepping stone to the Pacific**

- Hawaiian king was forced to accept constitutional government
- McKinley Tariff destroyed Hawaii's favored position in the sugar trade
- Led to economic crisis in Hawaii

- **King's sister claimed throne, tried to eliminate government control**

- Hawaii's white population revolted
- Coup supported by marines
- Annexation

- **Democratic senators blocked its ratification**

- New commissioner removed U.S. Marines and reported that Americans in Hawaii acted improperly
- **Most Hawaiians opposed annexation to the United States**
- Revolution may have been incited by American planters who wanted to take advantage
- **Cleveland restored queen to power**
- Provisional government controlled by sugar planters proclaimed Republic of Hawaii
- **President McKinley claimed Hawaii, justified manifest destiny**

## The Spanish-American War

- **Sudden explosion of imperialism in the late 1890s for Cuba**

### “Cuba Libre”

- **Cubans revolted against Spanish rule**
- American investments in Cuba were increasing
- **Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 took sugar off the duty-free list in the midst of depression**
  - Sugar prices collapsed
  - Cubans put out of work
- **Cuban insurrectionists waged guerilla warfare against Spanish troops**
  - Spanish general Valeriano adopted policy of gathering Cubans behind Spanish lines in detention centers—death and disease
  - American press called him Butcher
- **Newspaper sensationalism—yellow journalism**
- **Cleveland administration tried to protect American rights in Cuba**
  - USA avoided too much involvement
  - American sympathy for rebel cause urged president to help them gain independence

### Pressure for War

- **America stopped being neutral when McKinley became president**
  - Endorsed Cuban independence
  - Endorsed American control in Hawaii
  - Endorsed construction of canal connecting Caribbean and Pacific
- **American opinion against Spain**
  - US battleship *Maine* in Havana Harbor
  - Theodore Roosevelt was secretary of the navy for McKinley
  - *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana
- **Yellow press outcried against Spain**
  - (the *Maine* explosion was actually an accident...)
- **Outraged public opinion influenced Republican militants**
  - McKinley sought to avoid war, as did most business leaders
- **Spain sensed the threat—ordered ceasefire**
  - Ambassador, surrender
  - Cuba would get autonomous government
  - Message of peace came too late
- **McKinley ordered use of armed forces in Cuba**

- Cuba declared independent by US
- **Teller Amendment:** disclaimed any US designs on Cuban territory
- Blockade announced
- Spanish government declared war
- **Why rush to war?**
  - Too much momentum from popular pressure
  - Leaders of business demanded quick resolution
  - McKinley may have decided that political risk was too high
  - **Ultimate blame belongs to American people, for getting whipped up into hostile frenzy**

## Manila

- **War lasted only 114 days**
- **Conflict's end marked end of Spanish New World empire**
- US would later become involved in Philippines
- **Naval victory at Manila Bay**
  - Theodore Roosevelt eyed Philippines, sent squadron led by **Commodore Dewey** there to engage Spain
  - McKinley approved
- **Dewey destroyed or captured Spanish warships in Manila Bay**
  - control established after reinforcements arrived
  - British and German ships were on standby, to claim territory if US didn't

## The Cuban Campaign

- **Fighting in Cuba reached climax**
  - Navy blockade at Santiago
  - First Volunteer Cavalry—Rough Riders, Theodore Roosevelt was second in command
- **Land sea battles around Santiago broke Spanish resistance**
  - Roosevelt's ego
  - Victory at El Caney, San Juan Hill, Kettle Hill
- **Two battles put American forces on top**
  - American ships destroyed Spanish fleet
  - Santiago surrendered
  - American force occupied Puerto Rico
- **Spanish government sued for peace**
  - Armistice signed
  - Specified that Spain should give up Cuba and that United States would annex Puerto Rico, occupy Manila
- **60,000 Spanish soldiers died of disease or wounds in four months**
  - Most American soldiers also succumbed to disease
  - US was a world power

## The Debate Over Annexation

- **United States and Spain signed Treaty of Paris in 1898**
  - Status of Philippines remained unresolved
  - Business leaders sought commercial opportunity in Asia
  - Missionary societies also saw opportunity

- Philippines promised based for all activities
- **McKinley summarized motivating ideas of imperialism**
  - National glory
  - Commerce
  - Racial superiority
  - Altruism
- American negotiators provided compensation to Spain, Puerto Rico, Guam, Philippines annexed
- **American took giant steps in the Pacific**
  - Hawaii had been annexed during war
  - Germany and US agreed to partition Samoa Island
  - US claimed Wake Island
- **Treaty of Paris had yet to be ratified in Senate**
  - most Democrats and Populists, some Republicans, opposed
  - Anti-Imperialists argued that acquisition of Philippines would undermine democracy
  - Stressed isolation
- **Opposition might have been strong enough to kill treaty but Populism William Bryan influenced vote for approval**
  - Argued the end of war would open way for future independence of Cuba and the Philippines
  - Treaty was ratified
  - Close vote, only one more than necessary
  - Clash between US troops and Filipinos encouraged passage of treaty
- **American troops engaged Filipino insurrectionists near Manila**
  - Filipino leader, Emilio Aguinaldo
  - His troops conflicted with Commodore Dewey's troops
  - Organized Filipino resistance ended by 1899
  - Bloody conflict for conquest
- **Great debate of imperialism continued**
  - Anti-imperialist groups united in **American Anti-Imperialist League**
  - Main thing in common between members was that they were older
  - Presidents Charles Eliot and David Starr Jordan

### Organizing the Acquisitions

- **Expansionists were not fazed**
- **President McKinley dispatched commission to Philippines under William Howard Taft with instructions to set up a system of government**
  - McKinley liked Filipinos, encouraged them to take office
- **In 1901, US government in Philippines came to an end**
  - William H. Taft became civil governor
  - **Philippine Government Act:** declared the Philippine Islands an unorganized territory
  - **Jones Act:** affirmed America's intention to grant the Philippines independence
  - **Tydings-McDuffie Act:** offered independence after 10 years
  - Manuel Molina was elected first president of Philippines
- **Puerto Rico had been acquired in part to serve as a US outpost on the approach to Caribbean and future isthmian canal**

- **Foraker Act:** established civil government on Puerto Rico
- Jones Act granted them US citizenship
- Puerto Rico became commonwealth, separate government
- **Foraker Act of 1900 also levied temporary duty on imports from Puerto Rico**
  - Tariff was challenged on basis that Puerto Rico was part of America
  - Supreme Court upheld it—insular cases
- **Americans had to support shaky Cuban government**
  - Bad relations between US troops and Cubans
  - Improved sanitation, schools, independence
  - Disease in Cuba, Dr. Walter Reed named head of Army Yellow Fever Commission
  - Proved that yellow fever was carried by mosquitoes
- **Cuban convention drafted constitution modeled on US constitution**
  - **Platt Amendment:** restricted independence of the new government, required that Cuba never impair its independence by signing a treaty with a third power, acknowledge right of US to intervene
  - Cuba was called upon to sell or lease the US lands to use as naval stations
  - Guantanamo Bay
- **Cuban delegates made the Platt Amendment an appendix of their own constitution**
  - Insurrection arose against new government
  - President Theodore Roosevelt responded by sending Secretary of War William H. Taft to suppress rebels
  - Cuban president eventually peacefully elected
  - US army intervention

## Imperial Rivalries in East Asia

- **During 1890s, Japan also emerged as world power**
  - Commodore Matthew Perry opened Japan to Western ways
  - Japan defeated China in First Sino-Japanese War, obtained Taiwan
  - China's weakness brought European powers to seek spheres of influence
- **Prospect of American trade with China dimmed with possibility that great powers would use tariff barriers in their own spheres of influence**
  - British had largest sphere
  - Congress rejected request for join UK US action

## The "Open Door"

- **Open Door policy resembled Monroe Doctrine**
  - US proclaimed hands-off policy in China
  - Proposed to keep China open to trade with all countries equally
  - **Called upon foreign powers with sphere of influence to:**
    - Refrain from interfering with any treaty port
    - Permit Chinese authorities to collect tariffs on an equal basis
    - Show no favors to their own nationals
- **The Open Door policy, rooted in American business interests, tapped sympathies of those who opposed imperialism**

## The Boxer Rebellion

- **New Asian crisis arose in 1900**
  - Chinese nationalists called Boxers rebelled against foreigners
  - International expedition battled them
  - Boxer rebellion quelled

## Big-Stick Diplomacy

- **Theodore Roosevelt transformed the role of the US in world affairs**
- New international obligations
- Roosevelt stretched the Constitution and executive power

## Roosevelt's Rise

- **New York legislature**
- **Grief from dead mother and wife**
- Ran for mayor and served as civil service commissioner, New York City's police commissioner
- Remarried
- Supported McKinley
- **Made secretary of navy under McKinley**
- Led Rough Riders
- Governor of New York
- **In the 1900 presidential contest, Democrats turned to William Jennings Bryan**
  - Sought to make imperialism the paramount issue
  - Condemned Philippine conflict
- **Republicans welcomed the imperialism issue, renominated McKinley and named Roosevelt his running mate**
  - Roosevelt was Mr. Imperialism
- **McKinley won**
- **Leon Czogosz assassinated McKinley , Roosevelt claimed office**
- **Roosevelt's boundless energy and righteousness**
  - Every issue cast into moral terms
  - Fist-pumping speeches on morals
  - Forceful in foreign affairs

## The Panama Canal

- **United States became more involved in Caribbean after Spanish-American war**
  - Panama canal was dominating issue
  - Crucial to commerce and naval power, dramatized by *Oregon* battleship voyage
- **Transit across isthmus became concern in 1840s, important route for California gold fields**
  - **Bidlack Treaty 1848** guaranteed both Columbia's sovereignty over Panama and neutrality of isthmus
  - **Clayton-Bulwar Treaty** British agreed to acquire no more Central American territory, US agreed to fortify canal
- **Secretary of State John Hay commenced talks with British ambassador after Spanish-American war**

- **Outcome was Hay-Pauncefote Treaty:** Senate rejected it on grounds that it forbade fortification of the canal and required that the canal be neutral during times of war, **second version accepted in 1901 which omitted reference to limitations**
- **From 1881 to 1887 a French company under Ferdinand de Lesseps, engineer of Suez Canal, spent money \$300 million to build part of Panama canal**
  - Company wanted \$109 million for its holdings
  - Isthmian Canal Commission, appointed by McKinley, reported that Nicaraguan route would be cheaper
  - Canal Commission switched focus to Panama after construction act was passed
- **Secretary Hay opened negotiations with Columbia ambassador**
  - United States agreed to pay \$10 million in cash and a rental fee of \$250,000 per year
  - Senate ratified **Hay-Herran Treaty**
- **Authorities in Bogota, Manuel Amador Guerrero employee of French canal company, hatched plot**
  - Company representative Philippe Bunau-Varilla visited Roosevelt and Hay, obtained information, informed conspirators that USS *Nashville* would arrive at Panama
- **Amador staged revolt**
  - Columbian troops found US blockade
  - First Panama ambassador signed treaty that extended the Canal Zone from six to ten miles in width
  - United States received perpetuity of use, occupation, and control of canal zone
- **In 1904 Congress created a new Isthmian Canal Commission to direct construction**
  - Roosevelt needlessly offended Latin Americans—**greatest blunders in American foreign policy**
  - US paid Columbia \$25 million to remove misunderstandings

### The Roosevelt Corollary

- **Caribbean region was cause for concern**
  - **Collection of debts owed to foreign corporations was prime excuse for intervention**
  - 1904 crisis over debts in Dominican Republic gave Roosevelt excuse to formulate US policy in Caribbean
  - **Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine:** US was justified in intervening first to forestall the actions of outsiders
  - called for US to install and protect a collector of customs

### The Russo-Japanese War

- **Principle of equal trading rights embodied in the Open Door policy received serious challenge when rivalry between Russia and Japan flared**
  - Japan launched surprise attack
  - Japan occupied Korea, drove out Russians
  - Roosevelt sought to maintain balance
  - Roosevelt sponsored peace conference in New Hampshire
  - **Treaty of Portsmouth:** concession all went to Japanese

### Relations with Japan

- **Japan's show of strength against Russia raised doubts among American leaders about the security of the Philippines**
  - US ambassador to Japan negotiated **Taft-Katsura Agreement:** US accepted Japanese control of Korea and Japan disavowed any designs on the Philippines
  - **Root-Takahira Agreement** three years later endorsed status quo and reinforced Open Door policy

- **Mutual distrust between US and Japan**
  - Racial animosity on the West coast
  - School boards were racist
  - **Gentlemen's Agreement:** halted influx of Japanese immigrants and brought respite to racism in California

## The United States and Europe

- **United States cast gaze of expansionism south and west**
- **Events in Europe also required attention**
  - Wilhelm II criticized French and British interests in North Africa
  - US had a role in preventing war
  - International conference called in Algeciras, Spain
- **Act of Algeciras affirmed independence of Morocco and guaranteed an open door for trade there but provided for the training and control of Moroccan police by France and Spain**
  - US Senate ratified
  - Roosevelt received Nobel Peace Prize
- **Before Roosevelt left the White House, he celebrated America's rise to the status of a world power**
  - Sent navy on grand tour of the world
  - Great White Fleet
- **Success was mixed with consequences**
  - Racist ideology was a burden, belligerent and bigoted