• 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 19th century, most American displayed “languid interest” in foreign affairs 
  o Priorities were development, settlement, politics 
  o Isolationist mood 
• Influence of Manifest Destiny remained 
  o Land for corporate interests 
  o Navy to protect shipping 
  o 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 
  o Demand for more markets 
  o New sources of capital 
  o Raw materials 
  o Nationalism 
• Expansion into Africa and Asia 
  o Christian missionaries 
  o Imperial outlook led to conflict

American Imperialism

• United States acquired more territories 
  o Commerce and diplomacy 
  o Manufacturers could outsell foreign competitors 
  o Disagreement on whether territorial expansion should equal market expansion 
  o Expansionists included Senators Albert Beveridge and Henry Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt, Alfred Thaymer
• Captain Mahan became advocate of sea power and imperialism
  o *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*—power in navy
  o Imperialist
  o Wanted control of Caribbean
  o Spread civilization to Pacific

Imperialist Theory
• Claims of racial superiority
  o Social Darwinism
  o John Fiske was a Darwinist
  o *American Political Ideas Viewed from the Standpoint of Universal History*
  o Josiah Strong wrote *Our Country: It's Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*

Expansion in the Pacific
• Asia offered temptation for expansionists
  o William Seward, Andrew Johnson’s secretary of state, insisted the America must exercise commercial domination
  o Coveted British colony of British Columbia
• Seward leaped at the opportunity to buy Alaska from Russia
  o Critics called it Seward’s folly
  o 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
  o Senate ratified
  o German and British governments worked out similar arrangements
  o Peace conference in Berlin established protectorate between US, UK, Germany

Hawaii
• Hawaii had large American settlement before statehood
  o Trade agreement signed
  o Agreement resulted in a boom in sugar production
  o White planters in Hawaii built fortunes
  o Asians most numerous
• Grover Cleveland called Hawaii the stepping stone to the Pacific
  o Hawaiian king was forced to accept constitutional government
  o McKinley Tariff destroyed Hawaii’s favored position in the sugar trade
  o Led to economic crisis in Hawaii
• King’s sister claimed throne, tried to eliminate government control
  o Hawaii’s white population revolted
  o Coup supported by marines
  o 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
  o Racial animosity on the West coast
  o School boards were racist
  o **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
  o Wilhelm II criticized French and British interests in North Africa
  o US had a role in preventing war
  o International conference called in Algeciras, Spain

• **Act of Alegereicas** 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
  o US Senate ratified
  o Roosevelt received Nobel Peace Prize

• Before Roosevelt left the White House, he celebrated America’s rise to the status of a world power
  o Sent navy on grand tour of the world
  o Great White Fleet

• Success was mixed with consequences
  o Racist ideology was a burden, belligerent and bigoted