

American Internationalism and Imperialism: 1867-1917

Overview: Unlike the previous “Manifest Destiny” where U.S. expansion was in North America, the **new “Manifest Destiny”** extended to heavily-populated islands, far from the U.S., and viewed for the purpose becoming colonies, not territories or states.

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New imperial influence of U.S. (1898-1917):

- ▶ **Spanish American War (1898):** U.S. gains Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines
- ▶ **Panama Canal Zone (1903)**
- ▶ **Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine:** U.S. became “policeman” of the Western Hemisphere and justified numerous invasions of Latin American countries.
- ▶ **“Dollar Diplomacy”** under Taft: Government protected with force American investments abroad.
- ▶ **“Moral Diplomacy”** under Wilson: Initially an anti-imperialist in rhetoric but invaded more countries than any other president (including Mexico)

I. Post-Civil War Expansion and Diplomatic Influence

A. The Monroe Doctrine in Mexico

1. During the U.S. Civil War, France invaded Mexico
 - a. Emperor Napoleon III (and Mexican monarchists) supported an Austrian noble, Maximilian, as the new king of Mexico.
 - b. The U.S. and many other foreign governments refused to recognize Maximilian as the legitimate leader of Mexico
2. After the Civil War, the U.S. in 1866 began sending arms to Mexican rebel leaders such as Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz.
 - a. Maximilian invited ex-Confederates to live in Mexico
 - b. Napoleon III, realizing Maximilian’s hold on power was tenuous, and concerned with mounting tensions with Prussia in Europe, pulled out French troops
3. Despite U.S. pressure and urgings from Napoleon III, Maximilian refused to abdicate.
 - a. Maximilian was arrested and executed by the Mexican military
 - b. Benito Juarez became president of Mexico once again
4. Significance: The U.S. demonstrated it was willing to use diplomacy, provide military supplies, and perhaps even use military force to preserve the Monroe Doctrine.

B. Purchase of Alaska (1867)

1. Russia was overextended in North America; realized another war with Britain would probably mean a British takeover of Alaska.
 - The Alaskan fur trade slowed considerably and Alaska was now a drag on the Russian budget
2. Secretary of State Henry Seward signed a treaty with Russia to purchase Alaska for \$7.2 million.
 - a. Critics of Seward accused him of purchasing what seemed to be a wasteland: "Seward's Folly"
 - The U.S. was in the midst of Reconstruction and economic issues were seen as more important than buying Alaska
 - b. Seward felt obligated to accept Russia's offer as Russia had supported the Union during the Civil War.
3. The region later proved to be abundant in furs, fish, and gold.
 - In the 20th century, Alaska became a major source of oil

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II Causes of U.S. expansionism in the late-nineteenth century

A. End of the frontier (1890 Census report)

1. Many Americans believed the U.S. had to expand or explode.
 - a. An increase in population, wealth, and industrial production demanded more raw materials and resources.
 - Some U.S. and political leaders believed the existing resources in the U.S. might eventually dry up
 - The Panic of 1893 convinced some businessmen that new markets were needed to absorb the U.S. overproduction of goods.
 - b. Labor violence and agrarian unrest (Populism) was rampant in the 1880s and 1890s
 - c. Expansionists saw new overseas markets as a possible safety valve for U.S. internal pressures.
2. The experience of subjugating the Plains Indian tribes after the Civil War had established a precedent for exerting colonial control over dependent peoples.

B. International trade became increasingly important to the U.S. economy in late 19th century

1. The U.S. became the leading industrial power in the 1890s.
2. Some Americans sought new colonies to expand markets further.

C. U.S. sought to compete with Europe for overseas empires.

1. Some sought "great power" international status for the U.S. (like the empires in Europe)
2. By 1914, Europeans controlled 84% of all land on the globe
3. Germany was America's biggest imperialist foe and spurred it into imperialism

- Germany aggressively sought colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean.

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D. Proponents of U.S. expansion overseas

1. **Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan: *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*** (1890)

- a. Thesis: History showed that control of the sea was the key to world dominance and protecting one's global empire.
- b. The book helped stimulate a naval arms race among the great powers and prompted U.S. leaders to build up the U.S. Navy
- c. U.S. sought to acquire defensive naval bases and refueling stations strategically placed on world's oceans such as Hawaii and other Pacific islands.
- d. By 1900, the U.S. had third most powerful navy.

2. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge

- a. **Social Darwinism** (“**survival of the fittest**”) meant that the world would be controlled by the strongest and fittest nations.
 - Stronger nations dominating weak ones was simply a part of natural law.
 - If the U.S. was to survive the competition of modern states, it too would have to become an imperial power
- b. Roosevelt also believed the U.S. should build a canal across the isthmus of Central America to link the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

3. Senator Albert Beveridge stated that the U.S. was part of a world-wide movement of the superior white race and imperialistic expansion was thus ordained by God

4. **Josiah Strong: *Our Country*** (1885)

- a. American Protestant evangelical clergyman who was a leader of the Social Gospel movement
- b. Advocated the superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization
- c. While urging the U.S. to spread religion and democratic values to the “backward” peoples of the American West, some historians believe his book also influenced U.S. imperialistic motives

5. The “**yellow journalism**” of **Joseph Pulitzer** and **William Randolph Hearst** sparked Americans' interest abroad.

- a. Pushed aggressively for a modern navy of steel ships.
- b. Later, pressured the U.S. government to go to war against Spain to increase U.S. influence in Cuba

III. International Issues: 1889-1898

A. **Pan-Americanism**, advanced by James G. Blaine

1. Secretary of State under Presidents James Garfield and Benjamin Harrison.
2. Sought Latin American support of U.S. leadership and open

markets to the U.S.

3. First Pan-American Conference in Washington, D.C. held in 1889.
 - a. U.S. proposals were rejected by Latin American countries.
 - Inter-American customs union was not appealing because European goods were cheaper for Latin Americans than U.S. products
 - A hemispheric arbitration organization was rejected due to fears of U.S. dominance.
 - b. Significance: Opened the door for future conferences with Latin American countries

B. Samoan crisis (at Pago Pago)

1. U.S. and German navies nearly fought in 1889 over control of the Samoan Islands.
 - Germany did not wish to provoke the U.S. into future hostilities and thus agreed to a settlement
2. The issue was resolved in a 1900 treaty with Germany and Britain
 - a. U.S. gained some Samoan territory (today, American Samoa) including the valuable port of Pago Pago.
 - b. Germany received the two largest islands.
 - c. Britain was compensated with other territories in the Pacific.

C. Venezuela Boundary Dispute, 1895-1896

1. Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had in dispute for much of the 19th century.
 - The issue came to a head when gold was discovered in the border region.
2. President Grover Cleveland warned Britain not to take any Venezuelan territory
 - a. Such an action would violate the Monroe Doctrine
 - b. The U.S. sought to assert itself in the Western Hemisphere.
 - c. U.S. demanded that Britain should submit the dispute to international arbitration.
3. Britain denied legality of Monroe Doctrine and refused international arbitration.
4. Cleveland got support from Congress for the creation of an international commission of experts who would create an equitable border between Venezuela and British Guiana.
 - If Britain refused to accept it and attacked Venezuela, the U.S. would go to war.
5. Britain didn't want war (despite having a vastly superior navy) and consented to international arbitration
 - a. The Boer War in South Africa was taking considerable British energy and a war with the U.S. would make Britain vulnerable in protecting its interests internationally

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- b. Canada was vulnerable to a U.S. invasion
 - c. British merchant marine was vulnerable to attack by U.S. commerce raiders.
 - d. Britain was worried about Germany's growing navy and Russian & French colonial ambitions.
6. Results
- a. Prestige of the Monroe Doctrine was enhanced
 - b. Latin American republics were impressed by U.S. determination to protect them from European aggression
 - c. Britain sought to nurture its friendship with the U.S. in light of European threats from the great powers.
 - d. The U.S. was now free to pursue an aggressive foreign policy.

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D. Hawaii

1. Since the early 19th century, the U.S. came to view Hawaii as an extension of the U.S. Pacific Coast.
2. 1890, the McKinley Tariff raised barriers against Hawaiian sugar
 - American sugar planters in Hawaii then sought for the U.S. to annex Hawaii as it would eliminate tariffs.
3. **Queen Liliuokalani** insisted Hawaiians should control Hawaii
 - American planters in Hawaii were alarmed at the Queen's policies and the U.S. tariff.
4. A small group of white planters led by Sanford B. Dole overthrew the queen in 1893.
 - a. Planters were assisted by U.S. troops who landed under the unauthorized orders of U.S. minister in Honolulu, John C. Stevens.
 - Stevens to the U.S. gov't: "*The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the U.S. to pluck it.*"
 - b. Treaty for annexation rushed to Washington
5. Before treaty passed the Senate, Cleveland assumed office and refused to sign any annexation bill and sent a special investigator to Hawaii.
 - a. Findings indicated a majority of Hawaiians did not favor annexation
 - b. The new provisional gov't of Hawaii was found to have been established by force
 - c. Cleveland ordered troops to be removed
6. Results
 - a. Cleveland was unsuccessful in restoring the queen to power.
 - U.S. public opinion sympathized with the white planters.
 - Revolutionaries proclaimed a Hawaiian Republic on July 4, 1894 with Dole as president.
 - b. The annexation of Hawaii was abandoned until 1898 when the U.S. acquired it during the Spanish-American War
 - c. The struggle over Hawaii led to the first full-fledged

imperialistic debate in U.S. history.

- Cleveland was heavily criticized for trying to block the “new Manifest Destiny.”
- Cleveland’s motives were honorable considering the rampant international imperialism at the time.

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E. Cuba

1. Atrocities in Cuba committed by Spanish authorities in the 1890s were sensationalized or fabricated by the “yellow press” (Hearst and Pulitzer)
 - a. Spanish misrule plus the high Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 damaged Cuba’s sugar-based economy
 - Many plantations owned by Americans; similar to Hawaii
 - A new Cuban rebellion in the 1890s resulted in American, Spanish, and Cuban property losses
 - b. **Reconcentration:** The Spanish military concentrated masses of Cuban civilians in areas under their control during the revolts
 - About 100,000 died between 1896 and 1898.
 - Spain’s leader in Cuba, Valeriano Weyler, was called “**Butcher Weyler**” by the U.S. press
 - c. President Cleveland refused to intervene and issued a neutrality proclamation.
 - U.S. mediation was offered in the conflict but Spain refused.
 - d. Pulitzer and Hearst competed intensely with one another over newspaper sales
 - Hearst sent notable artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to draw sketches regarding Spanish atrocities against Cubans and misconduct against Americans.
 - When Remington reported that conditions were not bad enough to warrant hostilities, Randolph allegedly replied, “You furnish the pictures and I’ll furnish the war.”
 - Remington depicted Spanish customs officials as brutally disrobing and searching an American woman.(In reality, female attendants did the duty)
2. McKinley’s ascension to the presidency in 1897 resulted in stronger rhetoric toward Spain.
 - a. In autumn of 1897, McKinley came close to delivering an ultimatum to Spain that would have resulted in war.
 - b. Spain ended reconcentration in 1897, removed Weyler, and gave some autonomy to the Cubans
 - c. It appeared war might be avoided.
3. Cuban Revolt
 - a. Spanish citizens in Cuba rioted to protest Spain’s talk of granting Cuba some degree of self-gov’t.
 - b. U.S. sent the **Battleship Maine** to Cuba in 1898

- The purpose was to protect and evacuate Americans if danger occurred while also giving voice to U.S. popular opinion regarding Spain's reconcentration policies.
- The ship was sent ostensibly as a "friendly visit"
- c. de Lome letter increased tensions between the U.S. and Spain
 - Feb. 1898, Hearst reported a stolen private letter written by Spain's minister in the U.S., Dupuy de Lome, that portrayed McKinley as corrupt and indicated Spain was not sincere in instituting reforms in Cuba.
 - U.S. anger forced Dupuy de Lome to resign before the U.S. called for his recall.
- 4. Explosion of *Maine*, Feb. 15, 1898 – immediate cause of Spanish American War
 - a. 266 officers and men dead.
 - b. A Spanish investigation announced that the explosion occurred within the ship and was internal presumably accidental.
 - c. American reports blamed the blast on a Spanish submarine mine
 - The yellow press helped stoke public opinion
 - In 1976, a U.S. Navy report concluded that the blast inside the ship was accidental and that Spain had no involvement
 - d. Americans now cried for war: "Remember the Maine! To hell with Spain!"

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IV. Spanish-American War -- 1898

- A. Spain agreed to U.S. demands of ending reconcentration and seeking an armistice with Cuban rebels.
- B. President McKinley and the American business community did not want war but the yellow press forced the issue
 1. McKinley was criticized by U.S. imperialists for not being more aggressive with Spain
 - He did not see how Cuban independence would help the U.S.
 2. Mark Hanna and Wall Street did not want war as it might interfere with current U.S. trade in Cuba.
 3. The American public, prodded by the yellow press, demanded war to free the abused Cubans.
 4. Demands of preserving the power of the Republican party was the biggest factor in McKinley's decision for war.
- C. McKinley sent a war message to Congress on April 11, 1898.
 1. Urged armed intervention to free oppressed Cubans; Congress agreed
 2. **Teller Amendment:** The U.S. proclaimed that once it overthrew Spain in Cuba, the Cubans would have their freedom.
 - Sought to get international support for a war against Spain.

D. U.S. takes the **Philippines** from Spain

1. While the secretary of war was away, Undersecretary of War Theodore Roosevelt cabled **Commodore George Dewey** to attack Spain in the Philippines in the event of war.
 - McKinley subsequently confirmed these instructions
2. **Battle of Manila Bay:** May, 1898, Dewey's 6 warships sailed into Manila Harbor and destroyed all 11 of Spain's warships
 - Nearly 400 Spaniards died; no Americans were killed in action
3. Germany arrived with 5 warships, more powerful than Dewey's fleet, ostensibly seeking to protect German citizens and interests in Manila
 - a. Although warships from other countries (Britain, France, Japan) were also present, Germany's actions were provocative
 - b. Dewey threatened the German commander with war "as soon as you like"
 - c. Germany, its bluff having been called by the U.S., withdrew
4. Three months later, American troops arrived and captured the city of Manila in August.
 - a. U.S. troops were aided by Filipino insurgents led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**.
 - b. U.S. promised Aguinaldo independence for the Philippines once Spain was defeated
 - c. After the war, however, the U.S. annexed the Philippines, and Aguinaldo led an insurrection against the U.S. (see below)

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E. **Annexation of Hawaii** (July 1898)

1. U.S. used the pretense of needing Hawaii as a naval station in order to send supplies and reinforcements to Dewey in Manila Harbor.
2. The white-dominated gov't in Hawaii was eager to be annexed (like Texas had been earlier)
3. A joint resolution of annexation was approved by Congress and McKinley
4. Hawaiians were granted U.S. citizenship and received full territorial status in 1900.

F. U.S. invasion of Cuba

1. The Spanish fleet was eventually blockaded in Santiago Harbor by the stronger U.S. fleet.
2. The invading U.S. army took the high ground near Santiago without serious opposition.
 - a. **Theodore Roosevelt's** regiment of **Rough Riders** were part of the invading army that took the heights (although popular legend falsely attributed the victory to the Rough Riders)
 - Roosevelt would be president of the U.S. only 3 years later
 - b. Two black regiments provided heavy support (comprised about

- 25% of the invasion force)
3. July 1, the U.S. fleet completely destroyed the Spanish fleet
 - a. About 500 Spaniards were killed; only one American.
 - b. Santiago was surrendered by Spain shortly thereafter.
 4. U.S. casualties: about 379 dead in battle; over 5,000 dead due to disease (e.g. malaria)

G. U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico

1. U.S. sought to take the island before the war with Spain ended.
2. Most of the population regarded U.S. soldiers as liberating heroes.
3. Spain signed an Armistice on August 12, 1898, officially ending hostilities.

H. Treaty of Paris, 1898

1. Cuba freed from Spain
2. U.S. received the Pacific island of Guam which it had captured early in the war.
3. U.S. gained Puerto Rico, the last vestige of Spain's American empire.
4. Philippine issue became a major dilemma in the negotiations.
 - a. U.S. forces took Manila the day after Spain sued for peace so it was not legally one of the U.S. conquests during the war.
 - U.S. agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines
 - b. President McKinley's was thus presented with a dilemma
 - The Philippines would be a valuable colony for the U.S.
 - He did not feel the U.S. should give the islands back to Spain, especially after fighting a war to free Cuba.
 - If left alone, Philippines might fall into anarchy, and be seized by another empire (e.g. Germany)
 - He thus decided to take the Philippines and leave independence for later.
 - He subsequently told a group of reporters that God had guided him to take the Philippines

V. Imperialism debate in the U.S. emerged with the U.S. victory

A. Philippines issue created a huge imperialism debate

1. Expansionist pressure from various U.S. groups forced McKinley's hand
 - a. The Philippines (& Hawaii) were steps toward U.S. influence and increased commerce in Asia (especially China).
 - b. Protestant missionaries were eager to convert Catholic Filipinos and spread the "superior" Anglo-Saxon civilization
 - c. Businessmen (e.g. Marcus Hanna) clamored for the new Philippine market
 - d. Raw materials were desirable

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B. Democrats tended to be anti-imperialist especially William Jennings Bryan.

1. He feared foreign issues would overshadow needed reforms in the U.S.
2. Some feared foreign workers would provide cheap labor that would lower wages at home.
3. Others feared U.S. factories would be relocated overseas.
4. Some were concerned that new colonies would require a permanent standing army that would put U.S. soldiers in danger
 - Higher taxes would occur to pay for such an army
5. Some feared a flood of “uncivilized” immigrants.

C. **Anti-Imperialist League**

1. Formed to oppose McKinley’s expansionism.
2. Included presidents of Stanford & Harvard Universities, philosopher William James, Mark Twain, Samuel Gompers and Andrew Carnegie.
3. Annexation of the Philippines violated the “consent of the governed” philosophy in the Declaration of Independence.
4. They argued despotism abroad might lead to despotism at home.
5. Feared that the U.S. would be entangled politically and militarily in Asia.

D. Senate passed treaty in Feb. 1899 with unexpected support of Bryan

- Bryan claimed the sooner the U.S. passed the treaty, the sooner the Filipinos would get their independence.

E. **Insular cases**

1. Supreme Court cases addressed the extent to which constitutional rights applied to peoples of newly acquired territories.
2. 1901 Supreme Court rulings:
 - a. Some rights are fundamental and applied to all American territory.
 - b. Other rights are procedural and should not be imposed upon those unfamiliar with American law.
 - c. Congress must determine which procedural rights applied in unincorporated territories.
 - d. The Constitution did not follow the flag.

F. The question of Cuban independence

1. U.S. withdrew from Cuba in 1902 in honor of the Teller Amendment.
2. **Platt Amendment** (1902) was passed to replace it
 - a. Sought to ensure Cuba would not be vulnerable to European powers and maintain U.S. influence in Cuban affairs.

b. Cubans were forced to incorporate the Platt Amendment into their own Constitution of 1901

c. Provisions:

- Cuba bound itself not to impair their independence by treaty or by contracting a debt beyond their resources.
 - The U.S. gov't had right to approve all Cuban treaties.
- The U.S. could send troops to restore order if chaos broke out
- Cuba promised to sell or lease needed coaling or naval stations.
 - Guantanamo Bay Naval Base is still controlled by the U.S. today.

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the U.S. gained four new colonies:

- **Hawaii**
- **Puerto Rico**
- **Guam**
- **Philippines**

G. Nationalism increased after the Spanish-American War

1. Secretary of State John Hay called it the “splendid little war”
2. The U.S. established an overseas empire for the first time
3. European powers gave the U.S. more respect while the Monroe Doctrine was enhanced.
4. The war helped heal the post-Civil War rift between North and South as soldiers from both regions fought side by side.
5. Nationalism was the result of an urban, mass-culture, industrial society.

H. Diplomatic consequences

1. Britain became an ally of the U.S. while Germany grew more frustrated with limited imperialistic successes
2. The Philippines drew the U.S. into Asian affairs where the U.S. became increasingly concerned with Japanese expansion
3. U.S. undertook a large naval buildup.
4. Latin America viewed rising U.S. power and the Monroe Doctrine with suspicion

VI. **Philippines Insurrection**

A. Filipinos had assumed they would be granted freedom after the war, just like Cuba.

1. The U.S. Senate narrowly blocked such a resolution and the Philippines became a protectorate
2. Filipinos were thus tragically deceived.

B. Open rebellion began in 1899 when Aguinaldo declared the Philippines independent.

1. Savage fighting resulted in more casualties than in the Spanish American War.
2. Filipino rebels fled to the jungle where they waged effective guerrilla warfare.
 - American troops responded with atrocities
3. In all, 4,300 Americans and 57,000 Filipinos died

C. Anti-Imperialists intensified their protests.

1. The U.S. fight to free Cuba morphed into a war 10,000 miles away to deprive Filipinos of their freedom.
2. Atrocity stories boosted their protests.

D. Insurrection was finally broken in 1901 when Aguinaldo was captured.

E. Philippine Commission was created to make appropriate recommendations in 1901.

1. Led by **William H. Taft** who called Filipinos his “little brown brothers”
2. U.S. instituted education, sanitation, public health, and infrastructure reforms though Filipinos remained resentful.
3. Philippines finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.

VII. **Open Door Policy** in China

A. Foreign powers in China sought the huge Chinese market and the opportunity to convert the Chinese to Christianity, Japan excepted

1. By the late 19th century, Japan and western European powers had carved much of China into separate “spheres of influence”.
 - Within each sphere, one nation held economic dominance.
2. Yet in the 1850s, the U.S. had signed several trade deals with China while American missionaries were active in China.
3. Now, U.S. manufacturers feared Chinese markets would be monopolized by the European powers and Japan.

B. **Open Door Note** (summer of 1899)

1. Issued by **Secretary of State John Hay** (ex-Lincoln secretary)
 - Due to its geographic distance from China, the U.S. feared it might lose access to China if it didn’t act quickly.
2. Urged all the Great Powers to agree that in their spheres of influence they would respect certain Chinese rights and the ideal of fair economic competition.
3. The Open Door Policy gained wide acceptance in the U.S.
4. Yet, the policy was weak and didn’t gain international acceptance

C. Boxer Rebellion (1900)

1. Millions of Chinese people were enraged at being subjugated by imperial powers
2. "Boxers," an extreme group of Chinese nationalists, killed over 200 missionaries and other whites while a number of foreign diplomats were besieged in Beijing.
3. A multinational force of about 18,000 arrived to put down the rebellion.
 - Included Japan, Russia, Britain, France, Germany and the U.S. troops (who contributed 2,500 troops)
4. Victorious allies assessed an indemnity of \$333 million on China (the U.S. share was \$24.5 million)
 - a. The U.S. eventually forgave \$18 million of the indemnity
 - b. The Chinese gov't set aside money to educate a select group of Chinese students in the U.S. as a gesture of goodwill.
 - These students later played significant role in westernizing Asia.

D. Hay announced in 1900 that henceforth the Open Door would embrace the territorial integrity of China and its commercial treaties

1. Sought to eliminate the carving of China after the Boxer Rebellion
2. Hay did not ask for formal acceptances.
3. China was thus spared partition during these years.
 - This was probably due more to distrust among the Great Powers than Hay's policy.

VIII. Theodore Roosevelt becomes President

A. Election of 1900

1. The Republicans nominated William McKinley for a second term
 - a. He had won the war, acquired territory, protected the gold standard, and brought economic prosperity.
 - b. Platform endorsed prosperity, gold standard, and overseas expansion.
 - Yet, between 60-88% of Americans were poor or very poor.
 - c. Theodore Roosevelt nominated as vice president.
2. Democrats again nominated William Jennings Bryan
 - a. The party's platform was passé and again pushed for free silver and anti-trust measures
 - b. Between 60-88% of Americans were poor or very poor and the Democrats hoped to attract this large bloc of voters
3. McKinley defeated Bryan 292-155 in the Electoral College

B. McKinley was assassinated Sept. 1901 by a deranged anarchist, a Polish immigrant named Leon Czolgosz

1. Roosevelt thus became the youngest president in U.S. history at

age 42.

2. Though, Roosevelt pledged he would carry out McKinley's policies his progressive presidency stood in stark contrast to McKinley's "old guard" republicanism

C. President Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy

1. He was the first U.S. president to play a significant role in world affairs
2. His "**Big Stick**" **policy** resulted in imperialism in the Western Hemisphere: "Speak softly but carry a big stick [and] you will go far"
3. He was a major proponent of military and naval preparedness.

IX. Panama Canal issue, 1903

A. The Spanish-American War showed the U.S. the military need for a canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

- The U.S. now had to protect Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, and merchant ships.

B. Overcoming legal challenges

1. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 between the U.S. and Britain had prohibited any country from having exclusive control over a canal in Central America
2. Between 1878 & 1889 the builder of the Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, could not make a canal in Panama work.
 - The U.S. was now eager to take over the project
3. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901)
 - a. Britain agreed to give U.S. right to build canal and right to fortify it as well.
 - b. Britain was occupied with growing German strength and the Second Boer War in South Africa.
4. The Colombian Senate rejected a treaty with the U.S. for a canal in Panama (which was part of Colombia) as they viewed growing American power and motives with suspicion

C. Creation of Panama through "gunboat diplomacy" on part of U.S.

1. French representative, Phillipe Bunau-Varilla, worked with Panamanian revolutionaries to raise a tiny army and win independence from Colombia.
2. U.S. naval forces did not allow Colombian troops across the isthmus and the Panamanians were victorious.
3. Nov. 6, 1903, President Roosevelt officially recognized Panama.
3. Hay--Bunau-Varilla Treaty (November, 1903)
 - a. Bunau-Varilla, now Panamanian minister despite his French citizenship, signed the canal treaty.

b. Provisions:

- U.S. would pay Bunau-Varillas's New Panama Canal Co. \$40 million.
- Panama Canal Zone was widened from 6 miles to 10 miles

D. Roosevelt's role in Panama issue became controversial

1. Although Americans initially saw Roosevelt's role in Panama as legitimate, TR in 1911 claimed "I took the canal," thus sparking a wave of controversy.
2. The U.S. suffered diplomatically as the U.S. violated the spirit of its own Monroe Doctrine by tearing Panama loose from Colombia.
3. Latin American countries resented the "Colossus of the North" after its taking Puerto Rico, Cuba, and now Panama.

E. Panama Canal was completed in 1914 at the cost of \$400 million

1. Organization of building the canal was perfected under Colonel George Washington Goethals.
2. Colonel William C. Gorgas, made the canal zone safe by using sanitation methods he also used in Havana to prevent malaria.

X. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

A. Motivation: Roosevelt saw aggressive German and British bill collections in Latin America as a violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

1. Specifically, both Venezuela and Dominican Republic were in severe debt.
2. **Venezuela Crisis, 1902** -- Germany sank two Venezuelan gunboats trying to seek forced payment of Venezuela's debt
3. In response, Roosevelt devised a policy of "preventive intervention" that came to be known as the "Roosevelt Corollary"

B. Policy: In future financial crises concerning Latin American debt, the U.S. would intervene, take over customs houses, pay off debts, and keep European powers out of the Western Hemisphere.

1. Thus, U.S. became "Policeman of the Western Hemisphere."
 - Contrasted with the Monroe Doctrine that had merely told Europeans to stay out.
2. The policy was a radical departure but its association with the Monroe Doctrine helped it to gain public acceptance.
3. U.S. seen by Latin America as the "**Colossus of the North**" and bitter relations between U.S. and Latin America ensued
4. The Corollary was later used to justify major U.S. interventions and repeated landings of U.S. marines in Latin America

C. In 1905, a treaty gave the U.S. supervisory powers over Dominican tariff collections.

- In effect, the Dominican Republic became a protectorate of the U.S.

D. Cuba

1. U.S. kept high tariffs against Cuban sugar at the behest of U.S. sugar growers.
2. Resulting recession in Cuba combined with discontent over the Platt Amendment led to a Cuban revolution in 1906.
3. Roosevelt sent U.S. forces in 1906; remained until 1909.
4. U.S. troops would reoccupy Cuba in 1917 during WWI and remain until 1922.

XI. Roosevelt's foreign policy in Asia

A. Russo-Japanese War (1904-05)

1. Russia and Japan went to war over ports in Manchuria and Korea.
 - a. Japan destroyed much of Russia's fleet, shocking the world with its rise as a formidable imperial power
 - b. As the war dragged on, Japan ran short of men and money, despite capturing Port Arthur and winning the Battle of Mukden with World War I military weaponry and tactics
 - c. President Roosevelt sought to prevent either side from gaining monopoly in Asia
 - He was concerned about the safety of the newly acquired Philippines.
 - Japan secretly asked Roosevelt to help sponsor peace negotiations
 - Tsar Nicholas II sought to negotiate peace so he could focus on internal Russian issues after the Revolution of 1905
2. **Treaty of Portsmouth** (New Hampshire), 1905
 - a. Provisions:
 - Japan gained the southern half of Sakhalin but not the northern half and received no indemnity from Russia
 - Russia retained northern Sakhalin but agreed to leave Manchuria
 - Russia signed over its 25-year lease on Port Arthur to Japan
 - Secretly, Roosevelt agreed to accept future Japanese dominance of Korea.
3. For his mediation, TR received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.
 - Another reason for the award was his helping arrange an international conference at Algeciras, Spain in 1906 to mediate imperialistic disputes between France and Germany.

4. Negative results:
 - a. U.S.-Russian relations suffered as Russia believed Roosevelt's treaty had robbed them of eventual military victory over Japan.
 - Moreover, savage massacres of Russian Jews due to pogroms drew U.S. protest
 - b. Japan felt robbed of its indemnity and blamed the U.S.
 - Naval arms race between the U.S. and Japan in Asia resulted as mutual distrust grew

B. San Francisco School Board Incident, 1906

1. Example of continued U.S. nativism regarding Asians
 - Chinese Exclusion Act had been passed in 1882 bringing Chinese immigration to the U.S. to a virtual halt
2. 1906, 70,000 Japanese immigrants came to California due to dislocations and tax burdens caused by the Russo-Japanese War.
 - Californians feared being confronted with another "yellow peril" and feared race-mixing; formed the influential Asian Exclusion League.
3. San Francisco school officials ruled Asian children should attend a special school.
 - School system was hard pressed in face of the devastating 1906 earthquake.
4. Japan was furious over discrimination, highly sensitive to race issues.
 - a. Irresponsible talk of war appeared in the "yellow press"
 - b. Roosevelt was concerned California might be provoking a major war with Japan.
5. TR invited entire San Francisco School Board to the White House
 - a. Coerced Californians to repeal the order
6. "Gentleman's Agreement" between U.S. and Japan settled the issue
 - a. Japan agreed to stop immigration to U.S.
 - b. Californians agreed not to ban Japanese from public schools.

C. US-Japanese Relations to 1920

1. Fearing Japanese perception of U.S. weakness, Roosevelt sent the "**Great White Fleet**" on a highly visible tour around the world between 1907 and 1909.
 - a. The hulls of the 16 battleships were painted white, signifying peace.
 - b. Though the tour was "friendly" it was meant to send a message to Japan and European powers that the U.S. navy was formidable
 - c. Japan went to great lengths to welcome the fleet in Yokohama with thousands of Japanese children waving U.S. flags.
 - d. Roosevelt regarded the tour as his most important contribution

to peace.

2. Root-Takahira Agreement (1908): The U.S. and Japan pledged to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific and to uphold the Open Door in China.
3. Lansing-Ishii Agreement (1917)
 - a. U.S. acknowledged Japan's "special interests" in China through reiteration of its Open Door policy.
 - b. Aimed partially to reduce German influence in and around China during WWI.

XII. "Dollar Diplomacy" under **President William H. Taft** (1909-13)

A. Two aspects:

1. U.S. foreign policy protected Wall Street dollars invested abroad (e.g. Asia)
2. Taft encouraged Wall Street foreign investment to buttress U.S. foreign policy.
 - a. Sought to reduce rival powers (e.g. Germany), from taking advantage of financial chaos in the Caribbean.
 - b. Thus, U.S. bankers would strengthen U.S. defenses and foreign policies while bringing prosperity to the U.S.
3. Thus, "Dollar Diplomacy" replaced the "Big Stick"

B. Caribbean

1. The U.S. gov't urged Wall Street bankers to pump money into Honduras and Haiti to keep out foreign (European) loans
2. Ultimately, the U.S. sent forces to Cuba, Honduras, Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua to restore order.
 - Continuation of Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

C. China -- Manchurian Railroad Scheme

1. Taft saw the Manchurian railway monopoly by Russia and Japan as a threat to the Open Door.
2. 1909, Taft proposed that a group of U.S. and foreign bankers buy the railroads and turn them over to China; China could pay the U.S. back from railroad revenues
 - a. Japan and Russia refused to give up their important railroads.
 - b. Taft was ridiculed for his ill-conceived plan.
3. The scheme's failure demonstrated the limits of the Open Door policy

XIII. Imperialism under **President Woodrow Wilson** (1913-1921)

A. Wilson hated imperialism and recoiled initially from an aggressive foreign policy.

1. He opposed the "Big Stick" policy and "dollar diplomacy."
2. Yet, Wilson would eventually intervene in Latin America more than any other president in U.S. history.

- He received significant pressured from U.S. corporations who had invested money abroad and wanted that money protected.

B. Anti-imperialist and anti-nativist policies under Wilson

1. Wilson initially proclaimed the U.S. would no longer offer special support to American investors in Latin America in China.
2. Repealed the **Panama Canal Tolls Act** which had exempted U.S. shipping from tolls thus provoking protest from Great Britain.
3. **Jones Act in 1916:** Granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence when a "stable gov't" was established.
 - 30 years later on July 4, 1946, Philippines received their independence.
4. **Jones Act, 1917** -- gave Puerto Ricans status of citizens
5. Crisis with Japan
 - a. California legislature in 1913 prohibited Japanese-Americans from owning land (California Alien Land Law).
 - b. Japan protested; U.S. feared Japan might attack the Philippines.
 - c. Secretary of State Bryan went to California and convinced its gov't to ease its restrictions
 - d. Result: tensions between the U.S. and Japan were eased somewhat.

C. Imperialism in the Caribbean under Wilson

1. Wilson aimed to reinforce the Western Hemisphere during WWI.
 - Several counties, in effect, became protectorates of the U.S. (though not officially)
2. Wilson kept marines in Nicaragua to maintain order after they had landed in 1912 and the U.S. had taken over control of customs.
3. U.S. were forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when its president was killed
 - Purpose: protect U.S. lives and property (urged by a large New York bank)
4. 1916, U.S. marines were sent to the Dominican Republic when civil war broke out while the country remained debt-ridden
 - Marines remained until 1934
5. 1917, the U.S. purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark
 - The Caribbean Sea was now dominated by the U.S. (along with the Panama Canal)

D. Wilson's "Moral Diplomacy" in Mexico

1. The Mexican Revolution began in 1910.
 - a. Porfirio Diaz, dictator since 1876, was now opposed by the Mexican-Indian masses and the frustrated middle-class.
 - He catered to foreign investment, even at the expense of the Mexican population
 - By 1910 Americans owned 43% of property in Mexico:

- other foreigners owned nearly 25%; 50,000 Americans lived in Mexico
- b. Francisco Madero, a moderate revolutionary interested in reforms, replaced Diaz in 1911.
 - Foreign investors feared Madero would yield to radicals who vowed to confiscate property owned by foreigners.
 - Foreign diplomats (including the U.S.) and businessmen plotted with elements of Mexican army to replace Madero with General Huerta.
 - Madero was preferred by President Wilson.
 2. Poor Mexicans revolted and in 1913 and overthrew Madero.
 - a. General Huerta, a full-blooded Indian, became president
 - b. Massive migration of Mexicans to the U.S. ensued
 3. U.S. interests in Mexico cried for U.S. intervention for protection.
 - a. Wilson eventually massed U.S. troops on border; sent warships to Mexico warning Huerta that unless he abdicated, the U.S. would overthrow him.
 - Wilson saw Huerta as a "brute"; "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men."
 - This is a concrete example of Wilson's "Moral Diplomacy"
 - b. In 1914, he allowed U.S. arms to flow to Venustiano Carranza and **Francisco "Pancho" Villa** who were Huerta's rivals.
 4. Tampico Incident: April 1914, U.S. sailors were arrested at the Atlantic seaport of Tampico for being in a war zone without a permit.
 - a. Mexico released the sailors and apologized but refused the U.S. admiral's demand for a 21-gun salute unless the U.S. likewise saluted the Mexican flag.
 - Huerta knew that saluting the Mexican flag meant U.S. recognition of Huerta as Mexico's legitimate leader.
 - b. Wilson was furious at Huerta's ploy at recognition.
 - c. Intent on eliminating Huerta, Wilson asked Congress for authority to use force against Mexico.
 5. Wilson ordered the navy (before Congress could act), which was seeking to intercept a German ship with arms for Huerta, to seize Vera Cruz.
 - a. Congress and much of the American public were outraged.
 - b. Both Huerta and Carranza condemned the U.S. act.
 - c. 126 Mexican casualties, 19 American
 - d. U.S. occupied the city for seven months.
 6. ABC Powers (Argentina, Chile, & Brazil) offered to mediate just as full-scale war seemed inevitable (Niagara Falls Conference).
 7. Huerta regime collapsed in July 1914 and was succeeded by Carranza who was still resentful over U.S. action in Vera Cruz.
 8. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa emerged as Carranza's chief rival

- a. Carranza was reluctantly supported by U.S. with arms and diplomatic recognition.
 - b. Villa retaliated by killing 18 Americans at Santa Ysabel, Mexico in January 1916.
 - c. 1916, Villa's army shot up Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 Americans.
9. **General John J. Pershing** was ordered by Wilson to invade northern Mexico and subdue Pancho Villa.
- a. U.S. forces penetrated 300 miles into the Mexican state of Chihuahua where U.S. forces clashed with Carranza's forces and destroyed Villa's forces.
 - b. The U.S. did not have Mexican permission to invade.
 - c. Villa was never captured by the U.S. but was ultimately assassinated in 1923.
10. U.S. withdraws from Mexico
- a. Wilson's intervention in Mexico was seen as so egregious that *both* sides in Mexico's civil war wanted U.S. out.
 - b. U.S. public and foreign pressure influenced Wilson to withdraw U.S. troops.
 - c. With threat of war with Germany looming, Wilson withdrew U.S. forces from Mexico in February, 1917.
- E. Wilson's foreign policy was so unpopular that it was flatly repudiated in the 1920s.

Terms to Know

<p>"new manifest destiny" Monroe Doctrine Maximilian of Mexico Alaska Purchase Treaty Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan: <i>The Influence of Sea Power upon History</i> (1890) Social Darwinism, "survival of the fittest" Josiah Strong, <i>Our Country</i>, 1886 "yellow journalism," William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer Pan-Americanism Samoa Crisis, Pago Pago Venezuela Boundary Dispute, 1895-96 President Grover Cleveland Hawaii Queen Liliuokalani Cuba reconcentration "Butcher" Weyler explosion of the <i>U.S.S. Maine</i> Spanish-American War Teller Amendment Philippines Commodore George Dewey Battle of Manila Bay Emilio Aguinaldo "Rough Riders" Treaty of Paris, 1899 Guam Puerto Rico Anti-Imperialist League Insular cases</p>	<p>Platt Amendment "splendid little war" Philippines Insurrection William H. Taft, Philippine Commission Open Door Policy "spheres of influence" Open Door Note Secretary of State John Hay Boxer Rebellion President McKinley assassinated President Theodore Roosevelt "Big Stick" policy Panama Canal "gunboat diplomacy" Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine Venezuela Crisis, 190s "Colossus of the North" Russo-Japanese War Treaty of Portsmouth San Francisco School Board Incident "Gentleman's Agreement," 1906 "Great White Fleet" Taft's "Dollar Diplomacy" President Woodrow Wilson Panama Canal Tolls Act Jones Act, 1916 Jones Act, 1917 "Moral Diplomacy" Mexican Revolution "Pancho" Villa General John J. Pershing</p>
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Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a low probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, 1 question has come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

1. How did the "New Imperialism" of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compare to American expansion in the period prior to the Civil War?
2. Analyze the factors that led to the rise of American imperialism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.
3. To what extent was the U.S. successful in achieving its goals in the Spanish-American War?
4. To what extent and in what ways did the U.S. seek to enforce the Monroe Doctrine between 1865 and 1916?
5. Contrast the views of the imperialist and anti-imperialists in the 1890s.
6. President Wilson publicly decried imperialism. Yet, he oversaw a significant degree of imperialist actions during his presidency. What accounted for Wilson's transformation regarding imperialism?

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