

American Imperialism: 1889-1917

Overview: Unlike 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.

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

- ▶ **Spanish American War** (1898): Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, 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.
- ▶ **Wilson**: Initially an anti-imperialist in rhetoric but invaded more countries than any other president (including Mexico--**“Moral Diplomacy”**)

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I. Causes of U.S. imperialism

A. End of the frontier (1890 Census report)

1. Many Americans believed U.S. had to expand or explode.
 - a. Increase in population, wealth, and industrial production demanded more resources.
 - i. Some feared existing resources in U.S. might eventually dry up
 - ii. Panic of 1893 convinced some businessmen that new markets were needed to compensate for American overproduction of goods.
 - b. Labor violence and agrarian unrest (Populism) rampant due to industrialism.
 - c. Overseas markets 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. Foreign trade increasingly important to U.S. economy in late 19th century

- Some Americans sought new colonies to expand markets further.

C. Desire to compete with Europe for overseas empires.

1. Some sought "great power" international status for U.S. (like Europe)
2. 1870-1900, Europeans possessed over 1/5 of land and 1/10 of population of the world.
3. Germany was U.S.'s biggest imperialist foe and spurred U.S. into imperialism; Germany sought colonies in Africa, Asia, Latin America & Caribbean.

D. Proponents of U.S. expansion

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

- a. Thesis: Control of the sea was the key to world dominance and empire.
 - i. U.S. should build large navy and defensive bases and refueling stations strategically placed on world's oceans.
-- Take Hawaii and other Pacific islands.
 - ii. U.S. should build a canal across the isthmus of Central America to link Atlantic & Pacific Oceans.
- b. Helped stimulate naval race among the great powers.
- c. Persuaded "yellow journalists" to push for modern navy of steel ships.
- d. By 1898, the U.S. had fifth most powerful navy; third by 1900.

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

- a. Advocated superiority of Anglo-Saxon civilization
- b. Urged U.S. to spread religion & democratic values to "backward" peoples.

3. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge

- a. Social Darwinism meant earth belonged to the strong & fit – U.S.
-- Stronger nations dominating weak ones was part of natural law.
- b. If U.S. was to survive in competition of modern states, it too would have to become an imperial power

4. Senator Albert Beveridge: U.S. is part of the movement of a superior race, ordained by God

5. **"Yellow journalism"** of **Joseph Pulitzer** and **William Randolph Hearst** sparked Americans' interest abroad.

E. **Pan-Americanism**, James G. Blaine

1. Secretary of State under Presidents Garfield and Benjamin Harrison.
2. Sought Latin American support of U.S. leadership and open markets to U.S.
-- Essentially guaranteed U.S. domination in Latin America in 1880s.

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3. First Pan-American Conference in Washington, D.C. held in 1889.
 - a. U.S. proposals rejected by Latin American countries.
 - i. Inter-American customs union not appealing because European goods were cheaper for Latin Americans.
 - ii. Hemispheric arbitration organization rejected due to fears of U.S. dominance.
 - b. Opened door for future conferences with Latin America.

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F. Samoan crisis (at Pago Pago)

1. U.S. and German navies nearly fought in 1889 over control of Samoan Islands.
 - Germany did not wish to provoke U.S. and agreed to settlement
2. Issue resolved in 1900 treaty with Germany and Britain
 - a. U.S. gained 76 square miles: American Samoa including the excellent port of Pago Pago.
 - b. Germany received the two largest islands.
 - c. Britain was compensated with other territories in the Pacific.

II. Venezuela Boundary Dispute, 1895-1896

- A. Boundary between British Guiana & Venezuela in dispute for over half a century.
 - Issue intensified when gold was discovered in the border region.
- B. President Cleveland warned Britain not to take Venezuelan territory
 1. Violated Monroe Doctrine; U.S. asserted itself in Western Hemisphere.
 2. London should submit the dispute to arbitration.
- C. Britain denied legality of Monroe Doctrine and refused arbitration.
- D. Cleveland got support from Congress for commission of experts who would create an equitable border between Venezuela and British Guiana.
 - If Britain refused to accept it, U.S. would go to war.
- E. Britain didn't want war (despite having vastly superior navy)
 1. Biggest reason for British concern: Boer War in South Africa
 2. Canada still vulnerable
 3. British merchant marine vulnerable to U.S. commerce raiders.
 4. British worried about Germany's navy and Russian & French ambitions.
 5. Britain consented to arbitration.
- F. Results
 1. Prestige Monroe Doctrine enhanced
 2. Latin American republics impressed by U.S. determination to protect them.
 3. Britain sought U.S. friendship to counter the European threat.
 - U.S. now able to pursue aggressive foreign policy.

III. Hawaii

- A. Since early 19th century, U.S. came to view Hawaii as an extension of the U.S. Pacific Coast.
- B. 1890, McKinley Tariff raised barriers against Hawaiian sugar.
 - American sugar planters sought to annex Hawaii: it would eliminate tariffs.
- C. **Queen Liliuokalani** insisted Hawaiians should control Hawaii
 - White planters, mostly Americans, alarmed at Queen's policies and U.S. tariff.
- D. Small group of white planters led by Sanford B. Dole overthrew the queen in 1893.
 - 1. Assisted by U.S. troops who landed under unauthorized orders of U.S. minister in Honolulu, John C. Stevens.
 - 2. Stevens: "*The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the U.S. to pluck it.*"
 - 3. Treaty for annexation rushed to Washington
- E. Before treaty passed the Senate, Cleveland assumed office and refused to sign any annexation bill and sent special investigator to Hawaii.
 - 1. Findings indicated majority of Hawaiians did not favor annexation
 - 2. Provisional gov't had been established by force
 - 3. Cleveland ordered troops to be removed
- F. Results
 - 1. Cleveland unsuccessful in reinstating the queen.
 - a. U.S. public opinion sympathized with the white planters.
 - b. Revolutionaries proclaimed a Hawaiian Republic on July 4, 1894 with Dole as president.
 - 2. Annexation abandoned until 1898
 - 3. First full-fledged imperialistic debate in U.S. history.
 - a. Cleveland savagely criticized for trying to block the new Manifest Destiny.
 - b. Cleveland's motives honorable in the face of international imperialism.

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IV. Cuba

- A. Atrocities in Cuba sensationalized (and even made up) by the "yellow press" (Hearst and Pulitzer)
 - 1. Spanish misrule plus the high **Wilson-Gorman Tariff** of 1894 damaged Cuba's sugar-based economy (many plantations owned by Americans)
 - A new Cuban rebellion in the 1890s resulted in American property losses (as well as Cuban and Spanish)

2. **Reconcentration** -- Spanish military concentrated masses of Cuban civilians in areas under their control.
 - i. About 100,000 died between 1896 and 1898.
 - ii. Spain's leader in Cuba, Valeriano Weyler, called "**Butcher Weyler**" by US
3. President Cleveland refused to intervene and issued neutrality proclamation.
-- U.S. mediation was offered in the conflict but Spain refused.
4. Pulitzer and Hearst competed intensely with one another over newspaper sales
 - a. Hearst sent artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to draw sketches.
 - b. When Remington reported conditions not bad enough to warrant hostilities, Randolph allegedly replied, "You furnish the pictures & I'll furnish the war."
 - c. Remington depicted Spanish customs officials as brutally disrobing and searching an American woman. (In reality, female attendants did the duty)
5. McKinley's ascension to presidency began 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, & gave some autonomy to the Cubans
 - c. It appeared war might be avoided.

B. Cuban Revolt

1. Spanish in Cuba rioted to protest Spain's talk of granting Cuba type of self-gov't.
2. U.S. sent **Battleship Maine** to Cuba in 1898
 - a. Aimed to protect and evacuate Americans if danger occurred while also giving voice to popular distaste for Spain's reconcentration policies.
 - b. Sent ostensibly as a "friendly visit"
3. **de Lome letter**
 - a. Feb. 1898, Hearst reported a stolen private letter written by Spanish minister in U.S., Dupuy de Lome that portrayed McKinley as corrupt and indicated Spain not really interested in instituting reforms in Cuba.
 - b. U.S. anger forced Dupuy de Lome to resign before U.S. called for his recall.

C. Explosion of **Maine**, Feb. 15, 1898 – immediate cause of Spanish American War

- a. 266 officers and men dead.
- b. Spanish investigation announced explosion as internal, presumably accidental.

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- c. American version reported blast caused by a submarine mine.
-- 1976 U.S. Navy report showed blast inside the ship was accidental.
- d. Americans accepted the submarine mine view and leapt to conclusion that Spanish gov't was responsible. Yellow press helped to fuel the public fire.
- e. Americans now cried for war: "Remember the Maine! To hell with Spain!"

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V. **Spanish-American War** -- 1898

- A. Spain agreed to US demands: end reconcentration; armistice with Cuban rebels.
- B. McKinley and Wall Street not eager for war but yellow press forced the issue
 1. McKinley did not want war but was savagely criticized by U.S. imperialists (e.g. Theodore Roosevelt).
-- McKinley did not see Cuban independence in U.S. long-term interests.
 2. Mark Hanna and Wall Street did not want war: might interfere with trade in Cuba.
 3. Public, prodded by yellow press, demanded war to free the abused Cubans.
 4. Demands of preserving Republican party biggest factor in decision for war.
- C. McKinley sent war message to Congress on April 11, 1898.
 1. Urged armed intervention to free oppressed Cubans; Congress agreed
 2. **Teller Amendment:** 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. army weak compared to Spain; U.S. Navy slightly less powerful than Spain's
- E. **Admiral Dewey** victorious at Manila Bay
 1. While Secretary of War was away, Undersecretary of War Roosevelt cabled Commodore George Dewey to attack Spain's Philippines in the event of war.
-- McKinley subsequently confirmed these instructions
 2. May, 1898, Dewey's 6 warships sailed into Manila Harbor and destroyed all 10 of Spain's warships; 400 Spaniards killed & wounded; 1 American death
 3. Germans arrived with 5 warships; more powerful than Dewey.
 - a. Dewey threatened German commander with war "as soon as you like"
 - b. False story emerged that British prevented Germans from destroying U.S. fleet.

4. Three months later, American troops arrived and captured Manila in August.
 - Aided by Filipino insurgents led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**.
5. After U.S. annexed Philippines, Aguinaldo led an insurrection against the U.S.

F. **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. White-dominated gov't in Hawaii eager to be annexed (like Texas earlier)
3. Joint resolution of annexation approved by Congress and McKinley
 - Hawaiians granted U.S. citizenship and received full territorial status in 1900.

G. U.S. invasion of Cuba and Puerto Rico

1. Spanish fleet eventually blockaded in Santiago Harbor by stronger U.S. fleet.
2. Invading U.S. army took high ground near Santiago without serious opposition.
 - a. Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders part of the invading army.
 - b. Heavy fighting on at El Caney and San Juan Hill where "Rough Riders" charged up *after* the hill had been largely won.
 - i. Two black regiments provided heavy support (about 1/4 of invasion force)
 - ii. In actuality, the "Rough Riders" first took Kettle Hill; heavy casualties.
3. July 1, Spanish fleet completely destroyed
 - a. About 500 Spaniards killed; only one American.
 - b. Santiago surrendered by Spain shortly thereafter.
4. U.S. casualties: about 379 dead in battle; over 5,000 dead due to disease

H. U.S. Army invaded Puerto Rico

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

I. **Treaty of Paris, 1898**

1. Cuba freed from Spain
2. U.S. received Pacific island of Guam which they had captured early in the war.
3. U.S. gained Puerto Rico, the last vestige of Spain's American empire.

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4. Philippine issue a major dilemma in the negotiations.
 - a. U.S. took Manila the day after Spain sued for peace
 - i. Philippines thus not one of the spoils of war.
 - ii. U.S. agreed to pay Spain \$20 million.
 - b. McKinley's dilemma
 - i. Valuable Philippines larger than British Isles; population of 7 million.
 - ii. Did not feel U.S. should give islands back to Spain esp. after fighting a war to free Cuba.
 - iii. If left alone, Philippines might fall into anarchy
-- Perhaps Germany would then seize it creating a world war.
 - iv. Least of evils was to take Philippines and leave independence for later.

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VI. Imperialism debate touched off by spoils of Spanish American War

A. Philippines issue created a huge imperialism debate

1. Expansionist pressure from various groups also forced McKinley's hand
 - a. Philippines (& Hawaii) were necessary steps toward Asia (especially China).
 - b. Protestant missionaries eager to convert Catholic Filipinos.
 - c. Businessmen clamored for new Philippine market inc. Hanna.
 - d. Raw materials desirable
2. McKinley later said an inner voice told him to take all the Philippines and Christianize and civilize them after he had prayed.

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

1. Feared foreign issues would overshadow needed reforms in U.S.
2. Some feared foreign workers would lower wages at home.
3. Others feared American factories would be relocated overseas.
4. Colonies would require standing army; put U.S. soldiers in danger
-- Increased army would result in higher taxes.
5. Some feared mongrelization of America (too many "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. Filipinos wanted freedom and annexation violated "consent of the governed" philosophy in the Declaration of Independence.
-- Despotism abroad might lead to despotism at home.
4. U.S. would be entangled politically and militarily in Asia.

D. Expansionists and imperialists

1. Appealed to patriotism and to the glory of annexation.
2. Played up possible trade profits.
3. Philippines had abundance of natural resources.
4. U.S. should help uplift (and exploit) the world's poor.

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

1. He claimed the sooner U.S. passed treaty, the sooner Filipinos would get their independence.
2. In effect, the Republicans held responsibility for the Philippines .

F. **Insular cases**

1. Supreme Court cases concerning 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.

G. The question of Cuban independence

1. U.S. military gov't set up under General Leonard Wood
 - a. Major advances achieved in gov't, finance, education, agriculture, and public health.
 - b. Gains made on yellow fever epidemic by Dr. Walter Reed.
2. U.S. withdrew from Cuba in 1902 in honor of the Teller Amendment.
3. **Platt Amendment**
 - a. Sought to ensure Cuba would not be vulnerable to European powers and to maintain U.S. influence in Cuban affairs.
 - b. Cubans forced to write Platt Amendment into their own Constitution of 1901
 - c. Provisions:
 - i. Cuba bound itself not to impair their independence by treaty or by contracting a debt beyond their resources.
-- U.S. gov't had right to approve all Cuban treaties.
 - ii. U.S. could send troops to restore order and to provide mutual protection.
 - iii. Cubans promised to sell or lease needed coaling or naval stations.
-- Guantanamo Bay Naval Base still controlled by U.S. today.

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VII. Nationalism after Spanish American War (John Hay: “**splendid little war**”)

- A. Established U.S.'s first overseas empire
- B. European powers gave U.S. more respect; Monroe Doctrine enhanced.
 - Latin America deeply suspicious of U.S. motives
- C. Britain became an ally of U.S. while Germany grew more frustrated with limited imperialistic successes
- D. Philippines drew U.S. into Asian affairs; U.S. concerned with Japanese expansion
- E. U.S. undertook a large naval buildup.
- F. War helped heal the rift between North and South; soldiers fought side by side.
- H. Nationalism the result of an urban, mass-culture, industrial society.

VIII. Insurrection in the Philippines

- A. Filipinos assumed they would be granted freedom after the war, like the Cubans.
 - 1. Senate narrowly blocked such a resolution; Philippines became a protectorate
 - 2. Filipinos were thus tragically deceived.
- B. Open rebellion began in 1899 when Aguinaldo declared 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 vicious guerrilla warfare.
 - Infuriated American troops responded with atrocities
 - 3. 4,300 Americans and 57,000 Filipinos dead
- C. Anti-Imperialists intensified their protests.
 - 1. 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 finally broken in 1901 when Aguinaldo was captured.
- E. Philippine Commission 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.

IX. **Open Door Policy** in China

A. Foreign powers in China lured by huge Chinese market and opportunity to convert Chinese to Christianity through missionaries.

1. By late 19th century, Japan and western European powers had carved much of China into separate “spheres of influence”.

-- Within each sphere, on nation held economic dominance.

2. Yet in 1850s, 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 Europeans.

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

1. Issued by Secretary of **State John Hay** (ex-Lincoln secretary)

-- U.S. at a disadvantage geographically compared to Russian and Japan; US feared it might lose out if it didn't act quickly.

2. Urged all the Great Powers to announce that in their spheres of influence they would respect certain Chinese rights and ideal of fair competition.

-- In effect, when any Great Power dealt with a foreign trader, it would observe Open Door.

3. Open Door gained wide acceptance in the U.S.

4. Policy was weak and did not gain international acceptance

C. **Boxer Rebellion (1900)**

1. Millions of Chinese enraged over Open Door Policy

2. "Boxers," Chinese nationalists, killed over 200 missionaries & other whites.

-- A number of foreign diplomats besieged in Beijing.

3. Multinational force of about 18,000 arrived to put down the rebellion.

-- Included Japan, Russia, Britain, France, Germany and U.S. troops (2.5K)

4. Victorious allies assessed an indemnity of \$333 million (U.S. share \$24.5 million)

a. U.S. eventually forgave \$18 million.

b. Chinese gov't set aside money to educate a select group of Chinese students in the U.S. as a gesture of goodwill.

-- Students later played significant role in westernizing Asia.

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

1. Sought to eliminate carving of China after the Boxer Rebellion

2. Hay did not ask for formal acceptances.

3. China thus spared partition during these years.

-- Probably due more to distrust among the Great Powers than Hay's policy.

X. Election of 1900 and Theodore Roosevelt's ascendancy to the White House

A. Election of 1900

1. Republicans nominated McKinley
 - a. 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 nominated William Jennings Bryan
 - Ill-conceived platform once again pushed for free silver
3. Campaign similar to 1896
 - a. McKinley waged a "front porch" campaign
 - b. Bryan campaigned throughout the nation criticizing Republican imperialism and support of trusts
 - However, Americans now less concerned about imperialism
 - c. Teddy Roosevelt out-campaigned Bryan and cut into his Midwest following.
 - Claimed that Bryan would rock the boat of prosperity.
4. McKinley d. Bryan 292-155 and by nearly 900,000 popular votes.

B. McKinley assassinated Sept. 1901 by deranged anarchist (Polish immigrant) Leon Czolgosz

1. TR became the youngest president in U.S. history at age 42.
2. Roosevelt pledged he would carry out policies of his predecessor.

C. Theodore Roosevelt

1. 1st President to play a significant role in world affairs
2. Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere: "Speak softly but carry a big stick [and] you will go far"
3. Major proponent of military and naval preparedness.

XI. Panama Canal issue, 1903

A. Spanish-American War showed need for a canal to connect Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

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

B. Overcoming legal challenges

1. **Clayton-Bulwer Treaty** of 1850 prohibited any country from securing exclusive control over a canal in Central America
2. Between 1878 & 1889 the builder of Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, could not make a canal in Panama work. U.S. now eager to take over 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 occupied with danger in Europe and the South African Boer War.
4. Colombian Senate rejected a treaty with the U.S. for a canal in Panama (which was part of Colombia); declared U.S. inadequate for such a valuable region.

C. Creation of Panama -- **“gunboat diplomacy”** on part of U.S.

1. French representative, Phillipe Bunau-Varilla, worked with Panama revolutionaries to raise a tiny army and win independence from Colombia.
2. Nov. 3, 1903, Panama revolution
 - a. U.S. naval forces did not allow Colombian troops across the isthmus.
 - b. Nov. 6, TR extended recognition of Panama.
3. **Hay--Bunau-Varilla Treaty (November, 1903)**
 - a. Bunau-Varilla, now Panamanian minister despite his French citizenship, signed treaty in Washington with Sec. of State John Hay.
 - b. Provisions:
 - i. U.S. would pay Bunau-Varillas’s New Panama Canal Co. \$40 million.
 - ii. Zone of canal widened from 6 miles to 10 miles.

D. Roosevelt’s role in Panama issue became controversial

1. Although US public initially saw Roosevelt’s role in Panama as legitimate, TR in 1911 claimed “I took the canal,” thus sparking a wave of controversy.
2. U.S. suffered diplomatically as Europeans sneered at apparent U.S hypocrisy.
3. Latin American countries resented the “Colossus of the North” after its taking Puerto Rico, Cuba, and now Panama.

E. Canal completed in 1914 at initial cost of \$400 million

1. Organization perfected under Colonel George Washington Goethals.
2. Colonel William C. Gorgas, made canal zone safe by using sanitation methods he also used in Havana.

XII. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

- A. Motivation: TR felt German & British bill collection violated Monroe Doctrine.
1. Specifically, both Venezuela and Dominican Republic owed much money
 2. **Venezuela Crisis, 1902** -- Germany sank two Venezuelan gunboats trying to seek forced payment for heavy Venezuelan debt to Germany.
-- Britain also owed by Venezuela
 3. TR devised policy of “preventive intervention” (Roosevelt Corollary)
- B. Policy: In future financial crises concerning Latin American debt, U.S. would intervene, take over customs houses, pay off the debts, and keep European powers out of the Western Hemisphere.
1. U.S. had moral obligation because it would not allow European nations to intervene in bankrupt Latin American Republics
 2. Thus, U.S. became "Policeman of the Western Hemisphere."
-- Contrasted with Monroe Doctrine that had merely told Europeans to stay out.
 3. TR's policy radical departure but its association with Monroe Doctrine helped it to gain public acceptance.
 4. U.S. seen by Latin America as the “**Colossus from the North**”
-- Resulted in bitter relations between U.S. and Latin America
 5. The Corollary was used to justify major U.S. interventions and repeated landings of U.S. marines in Latin America
- C. In 1905, a treaty gave U.S. supervisory powers over Dominican tariff collections.
-- In effect, Dominican Republic became a protectorate of the U.S.
- D. Cuba
1. U.S. kept high tariffs against Cuban sugar at behest of U.S. sugar growers.
 2. Resulting recession in Cuba combined with discontent over Platt Amendment led to a Cuban revolution in 1906.
 3. TR sent in Marines in 1906; remained until 1909.
 4. U.S. troops would reoccupy Cuba in 1917 during WWI and remain until 1922.

XIII. Russo-Japanese War (1904) and Japanese-American relations

- A. Russia and Japan went to war over issue of ports in Manchuria & Korea.
1. Japan destroyed much of Russian fleet
-- First defeat of a non-European power since the Turkish invasion southern Europe in the 1500s.

2. As war dragged on, Japanese ran short of men and money.
3. TR eager to prevent either side from gaining monopoly in Asia
 - a. Concerned about safety of newly acquired Philippines.
 - b. Japan secretly asked Roosevelt to help sponsor peace negotiations.

B. Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)

1. Both sides met at Portsmouth, NH, in 1905.
 - a. Japanese demanded huge indemnity and all of strategic Sakhalin island.
 - b. Russians refused to concede defeat.
2. Agreement: Japanese gained southern half of Sakhalin but no indemnity.
 - Secretly, TR agreed to accept future Japanese dominance of Korea.
3. For his mediation, TR received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.
 - Also for his helping arrange international conference at Algeciras, Spain in 1906 to mediate North African imperialistic disputes.
4. Negative results:
 - a. US-Russian relations soured that TR robbed them of military victory.
 - Savage massacres of Russian Jews drew U.S. protest
 - b. Japan felt robbed of its indemnity and blamed U.S.
 - Naval arms race between US & Japan in Asia resulted as mutual distrust grew

C. San Francisco School Board Incident, 1906

1. Example of U.S. nativism regarding Asians
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 mongrelization of the races; formed influential Asian Exclusion League.
3. San Francisco school officials ruled Asian children should attend a special school.
 - School system hard pressed in face of devastating 1906 earthquake.
3. People of Japan furious over discrimination, highly sensitive to race issues.
 - a. Irresponsible talk of war appeared in the “yellow press”
 - b. TR concerned of California starting a war other states would have to fight.
4. TR invited entire San Francisco School Board to the White House
 - a. Coerced Californians to repeal the order and accept what came to be known as the “Gentleman’s Agreement”

b. Provisions:

- i. Japanese agreed to stop flow of laborers to U.S.
- ii. Californians agreed not to ban Japanese from public schools.

D. US-Japanese Relations to 1920

1. Fearing Japanese perception of U.S. weakness, TR sent the **“Great White Fleet”** on a highly visible tour around the world in 1907.
2. **Root-Takahira Agreement (1908)**
 - a. U.S. and Japan pledged to respect each other’s territorial possessions in the Pacific and to uphold the Open Door in China.
 - b. TR regarded the voyage of his fleet as his most important contribution to peace.
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 & around China in WWI.

XIV. **"Dollar Diplomacy"** under President Taft (1909-1913)

A. Two aspects:

1. US foreign policy protected Wall Street dollars invested abroad (e.g. Asia)
2. Using Wall Street dollars to uphold 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. 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. Plan ill-conceived as Japan and Russia refused to give up important railroads.
 - b. Taft showered in ridicule.
3. Demonstrated limits of the Open Door

C. Caribbean

1. U.S. gov't urged Wall Street bankers to pump money into Honduras and Haiti to keep out foreign funds.
2. Ultimately, U.S. sent forces to Cuba, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua to restore order.

XV. Imperialism under Wilson

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

1. Repelled by "Big Stick" policy and "dollar diplomacy."
2. Yet, Wilson would eventually intervene in Latin America more than any other president in U.S. history.
 - Pressured by U.S. corporations who had invested money abroad.

B. Anti-imperialist policies

1. Wilson initially proclaimed gov't 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 prohibited Japanese-Americans from owning land.
 - b. Japan protested; U.S. feared Japan might attack Philippines.
 - c. Sec. of State Bryan went to CA and pleaded with state gov't to soften its stand; tensions eased somewhat.

C. Imperialism under Wilson: aimed to reinforce Western Hemisphere during WWI.

1. Wilson kept marines in Nicaragua to maintain order after they had landed in 1912 and the U.S. had taken over control of customs.
 - In effect, Nicaragua became a U.S. protectorate (although not officially).
2. U.S. forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when Haitian president killed
 - a. Purpose: protect US lives & property (urged by large NY bank)
 - b. In effect, Haiti also became a U.S. protectorate.
3. 1916, US marines sent to Dominican Republic civil war broke out
 - a. Debt-cursed country became, in effect, a protectorate of U.S.
 - b. Marines remained until 1934
4. 1917, U.S. purchased Virgin Islands from Denmark
 - Caribbean sea now dominated by U.S. (along with Panama route)

D. Wilson's "**Moral Diplomacy**" in Mexico

1. Mexican Revolution began in 1910.
 - a. Porfirio Diaz: dictator since 1876 but now opposed by Indian masses and frustrated middle-class.
 - By 1910 Americans owned 43% of property in Mexico; other foreigners owned nearly 25%!; 50,000 Americans lived in Mexico
 - b. Francisco Madero, revolutionary, replaced Diaz in 1911.
 - i. Foreign investors feared Madero would yield to radicals who vowed to confiscate property owned by foreigners.
 - ii. Foreign diplomats (including U.S.) and businessmen plotted with elements of Mexican army to replace Madero with General Huerta.
 - iii. In reality, Madero was moderate and preferred by Wilson.
2. Poor Mexicans revolted and in 1913 overthrew Madero.
 - a. General Huerta, a full-blooded Indian, installed as president
 - b. Massive migration of Mexicans to U.S. ensued
3. US 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.
 - i. Wilson saw Huerta as a "brute"; "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men."
 - "Moral Diplomacy"
 - ii. 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 arrested at Atlantic seaport of Tampico for being in a war zone without a permit.
 - a. Mexico released sailors and apologized but refused the U.S. admiral's demand for 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, furious at Huerta's ploy at recognition.
 - Intent on eliminating Huerta, 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 outraged.
 - b. Both Huerta and Carranza condemned the U.S. act.
 - c. 126 Mexican casualties, 19 American
 - d. U.S. occupied (and modernized) the city for seven months.

6. ABC Powers (Argentina, Chile, & Brazil) offered to mediate just as full-scale war seemed inevitable (Niagara Falls Conference).
 - Huerta collapsed in July 1914 and was succeeded by Carranza who was still resentful over U.S. action in Vera Cruz.
 7. Meanwhile, "Pancho" Villa emerged as Carranza's chief rival
 - a. Carranza reluctantly supported by U.S. with arms and diplomatic recognition.
 - b. Villa retaliated by killing 18 Americans at Santa Ysabel, Mexico in Jan. 1916.
 - c. 1916, Villa's army shot up Columbus, New Mexico, killing 17 Americans.
 8. **General John J. Pershing** ordered to subdue Villa.
 - a. Penetrated 300 miles into Mexican state of Chihuahua with 5,800 forces where U.S. forces clashed with Carranza's forces and destroyed Villa's forces.
 - U.S. did not have Mexican permission
 - b. Villa never captured by US but ultimately assassinated in 1923.
 9. U.S. withdraws
 - a. Wilson's intervention in Mexico seen as so egregious that *both* sides in Mexico's civil war wanted U.S. out.
 - U.S. public and foreign pressure influenced Wilson to remove troops.
 - b. With threat of war with Germany becoming real, U.S. withdrew its invading army in February, 1917.
- E. Wilson's foreign policy so unpopular that it was flatly repudiated in the 1920s.

Essay Questions for Review:

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 1895 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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Pan-American Conference (1889). Sought to establish hemispheric cooperation on both economic and political issues. "Big Sister" policy. Extension of the Monroe Doctrine formulated by James G. Blaine that aimed to rally Latin American nations behind US leadership and to open their markets to US traders. jingoism. Extreme, chauvinistic patriotism, often favoring an aggressive, warlike foreign policy. Pancho Villa Expedition (1916-1917). Expeditionary force sent by Wilson into Mexico to pursue revolutionary Pancho Villa. Sinking of the Lusitania (1915). American Imperialism US History ch. 10 review. 20 terms. James G. Blaine pushed his "Big Sister" policy, which sought better relations with Latin America, and in 1889, he presided over the first Pan-American Conference, held in Washington D.C. Americans felt that the best way to offset this was to annex Hawaii—a move opposed by its Queen Liliuokalani—but in 1893, desperate Americans in Hawaii revolted. Bryan's supporters concentrated on imperialism—a bad move, considering that Americans were tired of the subject, while McKinley's supporters claimed that "Bryanism," not imperialism, was the problem, and that if Bryan became president, he would shake up the prosperity that was in America at the time; McKinley won easily. HIST 848 American Imperialism, 1889-1917. This course explores the historiography of American Imperialism from the First International American Conference in 1889 to the Mexican Expedition of 1917 with an emphasis on the Spanish-American War. HIST 848 The American Presidency. During the twentieth century, historians such as John Morton Blum, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., and John Milton Cooper used their craft to support an increase in presidential power and, then, in response to Vietnam and Watergate, scholars including Schlesinger started to question the additional authority that late-twentieth-century presidents claimed. Lecture: American Imperialism (1877-1914). Pancho Villa, President Wilson's nemesis. proved an elusive foe in Mexico. Cleveland halted an American takeover by the sugar interests in Hawaii in 1890, claiming it was out of spirit with America's non-interventionist tradition. B. Economic Expansionism. 1) As America's economy surged, companies began building factories overseas.