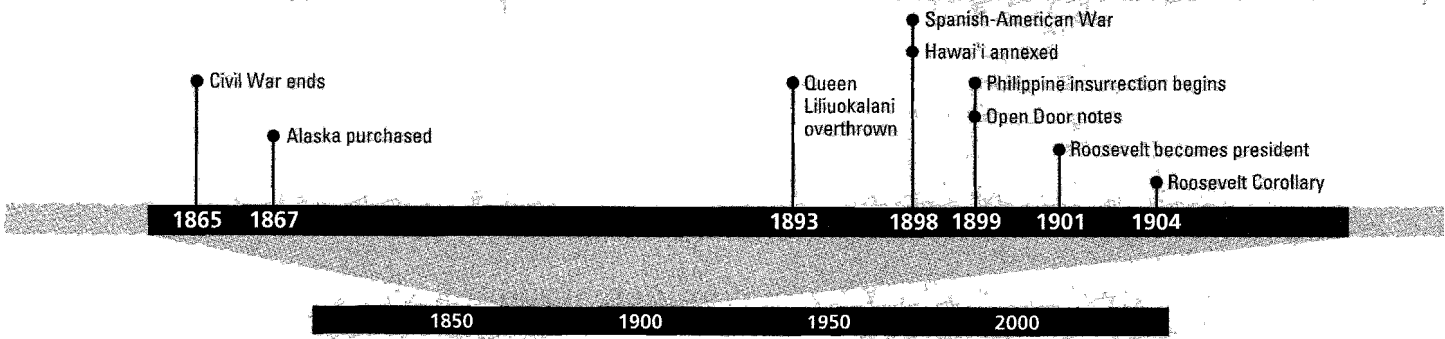
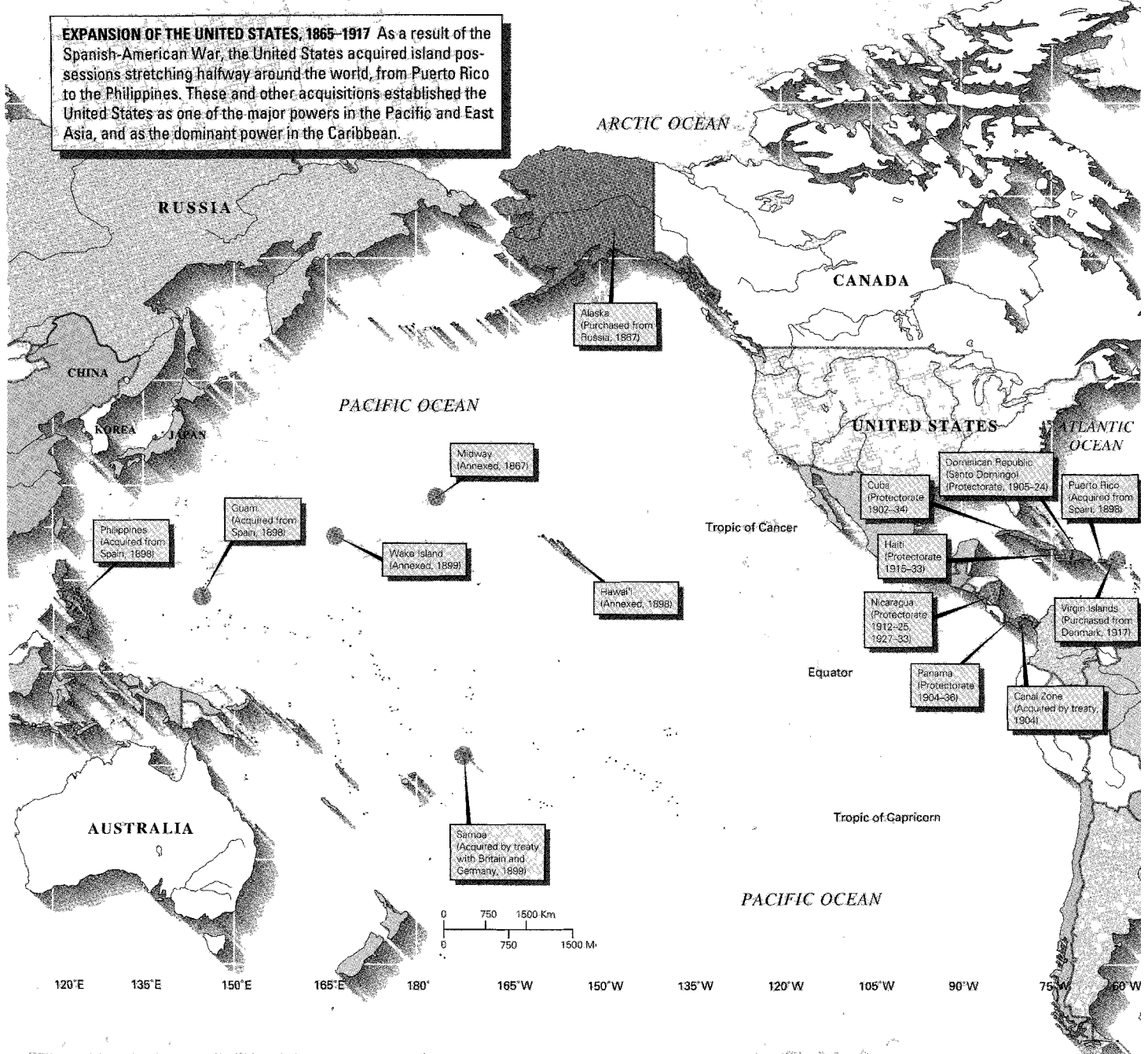


EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1865-1917 As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired island possessions stretching halfway around the world, from Puerto Rico to the Philippines. These and other acquisitions established the United States as one of the major powers in the Pacific and East Asia, and as the dominant power in the Caribbean.



Becoming a World Power: America and World Affairs,

1865-1913

The United States and World Affairs, 1865-1889

- How did American choices with regard to Alaska, Mexico, and eastern Asia reflect traditional American expectations regarding world affairs?
- How did American choices with regard to eastern Asia and the Pacific reflect new conditions in world affairs?

Stepping Cautiously in World Affairs, 1889-1897

- How and why did some Americans' expectations about the U.S. role in world affairs begin to change between 1889 and 1897?

Striding Boldly: War and Imperialism, 1897-1901

- What were the outcomes of the war with Spain?
-

What new expectations about America's role in world affairs were expressed in the debate over the acquisition of new possessions?

"Carry a Big Stick":

**The United States and
World Affairs, 1901-1913**

•What were Theodore Roosevelt's expectations about the role of the United States in world affairs?

What choices did he make to bring about the outcomes he desired?

(INTRODUCTION)

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain and quickly inflicted a stinging defeat. The *choice* to go to war climaxed a turnabout in American *expectations* regarding foreign affairs. During much of the nineteenth century, the nation's role in world affairs was slight at best, and most Americans *expected* that their nation would stay out of foreign conflicts.

Similarly, Americans had few worries about being pulled into European wars, for Europe remained relatively peaceful. The insulation afforded by the Atlantic and Pacific oceans reinforced Americans' feeling of security, and the powerful British navy provided a protective umbrella for American commercial shipping. Thus George Washington's advice that the nation "steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world" became the cornerstone of American foreign relations for most of the nineteenth century.

In the late nineteenth century, however, the United States took a place among the leading industrial nations of the world. The simultaneous emergence of Germany and Japan as industrial and naval giants contributed to a growing instability in world affairs. Japan joined the European powers in a race for empire in which much of the world seemed fair game for colonial capture. In Africa, major European nations scrambled to claim territory. In eastern Asia, they were joined by Russia and Japan. Britain and Germany sometimes looked toward Latin America as another field for expansion. In eastern Asia, the Pacific, and Latin America, the United States also had long-standing interests, often derived from commerce.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, some Americans began urging that the nation boldly *choose* to seek a prominent role in world affairs. Most presidents after the Civil War were highly cautious about such a commitment. But a revolution in transportation and communication erased many former *constraints* on foreign relations. American diplomatic representatives abroad had once been connected to Washington only by an occasional memorandum carried by an American

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

ship. Now they could communicate daily by telegraph. Sailing ships had once taken weeks to traverse the Atlantic and Pacific. Now steam-powered, steel-hulled vessels crossed in days and carried many times as much cargo.

Challenges to traditional *expectations* of U.S. isolationism and the dissolving of long-standing *constraints* on action presented American policymakers of the late nineteenth century with more *choices* in foreign relations than their predecessors had faced. One *outcome* of their *choices* was a foreign policy usually described as imperialism. Its foundation was the acquisition of possessions scattered halfway around the world (see chapter opener map). But the emerging U.S. foreign policy resulted in more than just colonies and the navy necessary to maintain and protect them. The larger *outcome* was a redefinition of nearly every aspect of American relations with the rest of the world.

The United States and World Affairs

- 1823 Monroe Doctrine
- 1865 Civil War ends
- 1867 French troops leave Mexico
Alaska purchased from Russia
- 1872 Arbitration of *Alabama* claims
- 1887 Constitution forced on Hawaiian
monarchy
Pearl Harbor granted to US. Navy
- 1889 First Samoa treaty
- 1890 Mahan's *The Influence of Sea Power upon
History*
McKinley Tariff
- 1891 Liliuokalani becomes Hawaiian queen
Harrison threatens war with Chile
- 1893 Queen Liliuokalani overthrown
- 1894 Wilson-Gorman Tariff
- 1895-1896 Venezuelan boundary crisis
- 1896 Reconcentration policy in Cuba
McKinley elected
- 1898 De Lôme letter
U.S. warship *Maine* explodes
Spanish-American War
Hawaii annexed by joint resolution
Treaty of Paris signed
- 1899 Treaty of Paris ratified
Open Door notes
Permanent Court of Arbitration created
- 1899-1902 Philippine insurrection suppressed
- 1900 Foraker Act
McKinley reelected
Boxer Rebellion
- 1900-1901 Hay-Pauncefote Treaties
- 1901 McKinley assassinated; Roosevelt
becomes president
- 1902 Civil government in the Philippines
Cuba becomes a protectorate
- 1903 Arbitration of Alaska-Canada boundary
dispute
- 1904 Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty makes Panama
a protectorate, provides for construction of a
canal there
Roosevelt Corollary
- 1904-1914 Panama Canal constructed
- 1905 Dominican Republic becomes a protectorate
Roosevelt mediates Russo-Japanese War
- 1907 Roosevelt's "Great White Fleet" 1912
- Nicaragua becomes a protectorate

The United States and World Affairs, 1865-1889

Americans took their first steps toward a new foreign policy following the Civil War, but those steps occurred largely in isolation from each other. Until the 1890s, American foreign policy proceeded largely on a case-by-case basis.

Alaska, Canada, and the *Alabama* Claims

In 1866, the Russian minister to the United States hinted to Secretary of State William H. Seward that Russia might sell its holdings in North America if the price were right. Seward made an offer, and in 1867 the two diplomats agreed on a price slightly over \$7 million for Alaska. Some journalists derided the new purchase as a frozen, worthless wasteland and labeled it "Seward's Folly." The Senate, however, greeted it with considerable enthusiasm. Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke for many in regarding the purchase of Alaska as the first step to the ultimate possession of Canada.

The acquisition of Canada figured prominently in American claims against Great Britain arising out of the Civil War. Several Confederate naval vessels built in British shipyards, notably the *Alabama*, had badly disrupted northern shipping. British ports had also offered refuge, repairs, and supplies to Confederate ships. Although Sumner suggested that Britain should compensate the United States by ceding Canada, Britain proved unresponsive to American demands for any damages. In 1869, however, as relations between Britain and Russia grew tense, the British began to fret that American shipyards might provide similar services for the Russians. In the Treaty of Washington (1871), the two countries agreed to arbitration. The 1872 arbitration decision held Britain responsible for the direct claims amounting to \$15.5 million in damages.

Testing the Monroe Doctrine: The United States and Latin America

Ever since the formulation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the United States had declared its intentions of preventing further European colonization and meddling in the Western Hemisphere. The first real test of that doctrine came after the Civil War in 1865.

In late 1861, as the United States lurched into civil war, France, Spain, and Britain sent a joint force to Mexico to collect debts that Mexico could not pay. Spain and Britain soon withdrew their contingents, but France remained. Despite resistance led by Benito Juarez, president of Mexico, French troops occupied key areas. Some of Juarez's conservative political opponents cooperated with the French emperor, Napoleon III, to name Archduke Maximilian of Austria emperor of Mexico. But Maximilian antagonized many and held power only because of the French army.

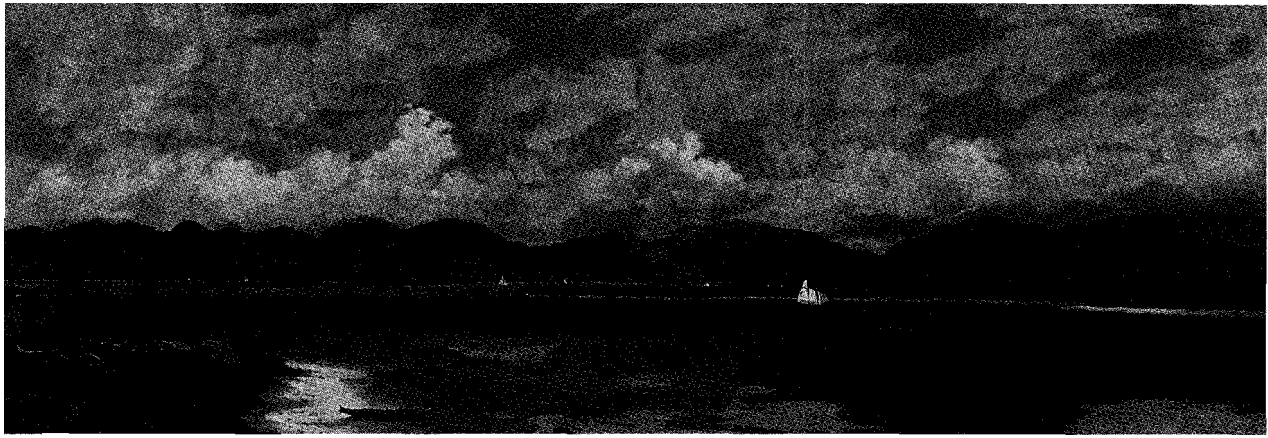
During the Civil War, the United States continued to recognize Juarez as president of Mexico but could do little else. As soon as the war ended, however, Secretary of State Seward demanded that Napoleon withdraw his troops. Seward underscored his demand by moving fifty thousand battle-hardened troops to the Mexican border. Thus confronted, Napoleon III withdrew his army

William H. Seward U.S. secretary of state under Lincoln and Johnson; a former abolitionist who had expansionist views and who arranged the purchase of Alaska from Russia.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee One of the standing, or permanent, committees of the Senate; it deals with foreign affairs, and its chairman wields considerable power.

arbitration Process by which parties to a dispute submit their case to the judgment of an impartial person or group and agree to abide by the decision of the arbiter.

Archduke Maximilian Austrian archduke appointed by France to be emperor of Mexico in 1864; he lacked popular support and was executed by Mexican republicans when the French withdrew from the country.



- ◆ Located on the Hawaiian island of Oahu, Pearl Harbor is one of the finest harbors in the Pacific. This painting was done in 1889, two years after the Hawaiian king granted use of the harbor to the United States. In return, the United States granted preferred status to Hawaiian sugar in the American market. "*Pearl Harbor from the Ocean*" by Joseph Strong, 1889. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

in early 1867. Juarez defeated Maximilian in battle and then executed him. The French withdrawal helped create new respect in Europe for the role of the United States in Latin America.

Eastern Asia and the Pacific

Americans had taken a strong commercial interest in eastern Asia since the opening of the China trade in 1784. Following the Civil War, however, American exports to that area made up less than 2 percent of all exports. Some Americans began dreaming of profits from selling to China's hundreds of millions of potential consumers.

Growing trade prospects between eastern Asia and the United States thus fueled American interest in ports in the Pacific that could provide supplies and repairs. Interest focused on two groups of islands with excellent harbors, Hawai'i and **Samoa**, both independent nations. The Hawaiian Islands' location near the center of the Pacific made them an ideal supply depot for ships crossing the ocean. New England missionaries had gone to the islands as early as 1819. By 1842, President John Tyler stated that the United States would not allow the islands to pass under the control of another power.

Hawai'i's relationship to the United States changed significantly after 1875, when the Senate yielded to pressure from *haole* sugar growers and exempted Hawaiian imports from the tariff. The outcome was a rapid expansion of the Hawaiian sugar industry, as children of New England missionaries joined American sugar refiners in developing huge sugar plantations. Sugar soon tied the Hawaiian economy closely to the United States. In 1887, a group of *haole* business leaders and plantation owners pressured King Kalakaua into accepting a constitution that limited the monarch's powers and permitted *haoles* to dominate the government. Although the royal family resented *haole* control of the government, they reluctantly granted Pearl Harbor to the American navy in 1887 to secure the renewal of tariff exemptions for Hawaiian sugar.

Samoa A group of volcanic and mountainous islands in the South Pacific.

haole Hawaiian word used to describe persons not of indigenous Hawaiian ancestry, especially whites.

Samoa, in the South Pacific, drew attention not just from the United States but also from Britain and Germany. When German actions in the islands suggested an attempt at annexation, President Cleveland vowed to maintain Samoan independence. All three nations dispatched warships to the vicinity in 1889, and conflict seemed likely until a typhoon scattered and damaged the ships. A subsequent treaty provided for Samoan independence under the protection of the three Western nations.

Stepping Cautiously in World Affairs, 1889-1897

During Benjamin Harrison's administration (1889-1893), the United States began to take its first, cautious steps toward redefining its role in world affairs. One step involved a new role for the U.S. Navy and the commissioning of modern ships able to carry it out. Another involved the emergence of a more coherent set of foreign policy objectives and commitments.

Building a Navy

At the end of the Civil War, the navy, like the army, was rapidly demobilized. Unlike the army, which was needed to fight Indians in the West, the navy was largely ignored. Few Americans appreciated the significance of the Civil War experiments with armor-plated, steam-powered ships. Even the navy's wooden sailing vessels deteriorated to the point that some people ridiculed them as fit only for firewood.

Alfred Thayer Mahan played a key role in the emergence of the modern navy. As president of the Naval War College, Captain Mahan exerted a powerful influence, especially during the Harrison administration. In his book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), Mahan argued that sea power had been the determining factor in the great European power struggles from the mid-seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries.

Mahan drew a number of lessons for government policy from his study of history. First, Mahan urged support for a strong merchant marine. Sec

ond, he advocated a large, modern navy centered on huge, powerful battleships. Third, he stressed a vision for empire. Extend American power beyond the national boundaries, he exhorted, to establish and control a canal through Central America, command the Caribbean, dominate Hawai'i and other strategic locations in the Pacific, and create naval bases at key points in the Atlantic and Pacific.

In 1889, during the Harrison administration, Secretary of the Navy Benjamin F. Tracy urged Congress to modernize and expand the navy significantly. He requested eighteen more battleships, nearly fifty more cruisers, and more smaller vessels. Congress did not give him all that he asked but did begin to create a modern, two-ocean navy centered on battleships that were equal to the world's best.

Revolution in Hawai'i

In 1890, the McKinley Tariff allowed imported sugar to enter the United States without being subject to a tariff. To protect domestic sugar producers, sugar grown within the United States received a subsidy of 2 cents per pound. Hawaiian sugar now encountered stiff competition in the American market, notably from Cuban sugar. Facing economic disaster, many Hawaiian planters craved the 2-cent subsidy and began to talk of annexation to the United States. In 1891, King Kalakaua died and was succeeded by his more assertive sister, Liliuokalani. She hoped to restore Hawai'i to the indigenous Hawaiians. Fearing that they might

demobilize To discharge from military service.

Alfred Thayer Mahan Lecturer and writer on naval history who stressed the importance of sea power in determining political history and who justified imperialism on the basis of national self-interest.

merchant marine Ships engaged in commerce.

Liliuokalani Last reigning queen of Hawai'i, whose desire to restore land to the Hawaiian people and perpetuate the monarchy prompted *haole* planters to depose her in 1893.

indigenous Original to or belonging in an area or environment.

lose not only their political clout but also their economic holdings, *haole* entrepreneurs set out to overthrow the monarchy. On January 17, 1893, the plotters announced a provisional republican government that would seek annexation by the United States. John L. Stevens, the U.S. minister to Hawai'i, provided crucial assistance for the rebellion by ordering the landing of 150 marines. Liliuokalani surrendered, as she put it, "to the superior force of the United States."

The Harrison administration was unable to annex Hawai'i before Harrison's term of office expired. The succeeding president, Grover Cleveland, withdrew the annexation treaty when he learned how Liliuokalani had been deposed. He asked the new government of Hawai'i to restore the queen. It refused, and Hawai'i became a republic, dominated by its *haole* business and planter community.

Crises in Latin America

Although Harrison and Cleveland acted at cross-purposes regarding Hawai'i, they moved in similar directions with regard to Latin America. Both presidents extended American involvement, and both threatened the use of force.

A rebellion in Chile in 1891 ended with victory for the rebels. Because the American minister to Chile had seemed to side against the rebels, anti-American feelings ran high. In October 1891, a mob in Valparaiso killed two American sailors on shore leave. When the Chilean government failed to apologize, Harrison responded with threats of war. Chile gave in, apologized, and promised to pay damages.

In 1895 and 1896, Grover Cleveland also took the nation to the edge of war over a long-standing boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana. Venezuela repeatedly proposed arbitration, but Britain refused. In July 1895, Secretary of State Richard Olney demanded that Britain submit the boundary issue to arbitration. Resting his argument on the Monroe Doctrine, he bombastically proclaimed the United States to be pre-eminent throughout the Western Hemisphere. The British still refused arbitration. Cleveland then asked Congress for authority to determine the boundary

and enforce it. Britain faced the possibility of conflict with the United States at a time when it was becoming increasingly concerned about Germany and when tensions were mounting between the British colony in South Africa and the neighboring Boer republics. Britain agreed to arbitration.

Cleveland took a more restrained position on Cuba, one of the few vestiges of Spain's New World empire. Cuba had rebelled against the mother country repeatedly. A new rebellion broke out after 1894, when the Wilson-Gorman Tariff placed a high duty on Cuban sugar and sent the Cuban economy into a depression. In 1896, General Valeriano Weyler, the Spanish commander in Cuba, established a reconcentration policy to combat guerrilla warfare waged by insurgents seeking independence. Weyler ordered the civilian population into fortified towns or camps. Everyone outside these fortified areas was subject to attack. The insurgents responded by ravaging sugar and tobacco plantations, including those owned by Americans.

The U.S. government vehemently protested reconcentration, particularly after disease and starvation swept through the camps, killing an estimated one of every eight Cubans in two years. American newspapers vied with each other in portraying Spanish atrocities and in exaggerating them to attract readers. Such yellow journalism swayed many Americans to clamor for action that would rescue the Cubans from Spanish oppression.

British Guiana British colony in northeast South America on the Atlantic coast; its boundary with Venezuela was the source of a long-standing dispute.

Boer republics Self-governing nations established by white South Africans of Dutch descent; they were formed in an effort to escape British rule but were eventually annexed by Britain into its South African colony.

reconcentration Spanish policy in Cuba in 1896 under which the civilian population was ordered into fortified camps as part of a plan to isolate and annihilate Cuban revolutionaries.

insurgents Rebels or revolutionaries.

yellow journalism Journalism that exploits or exaggerates the news to attract readers.

Cleveland reacted cautiously. He proclaimed American neutrality and warned Americans not to support the insurrection. When members of Congress began to push for action to secure Cuban independence, Cleveland ignored the pressure. He did urge Spain to grant concessions to the insurgents, but he considered the insurgents incapable of replacing Spanish rule. Just as he had opposed the annexation of Hawai'i, Cleveland feared that American intervention might lead to annexation regardless of the will of the Cuban people. Nonetheless, by early 1897 he had begun to warn Spain of possible American intervention.

Striding Boldly: War and Imperialism, 1897-1901

In 1898, the United States went to war with Spain over Cuba. Some who promoted American intervention on behalf of the suffering Cubans envisioned a quick war to establish a Cuban republic. Others saw war with Spain as an opportunity to acquire a colonial empire for the United States.

McKinley and War

William McKinley assumed the presidency in 1897 amid increasing demands for action regarding Cuba. McKinley gradually stepped up diplomatic efforts to resolve the crisis. Late that year, Spain responded by recalling General Weyler, softening the reconcentration policy, and offering the Cubans limited self-government but not independence.

In February 1898, however, two events scuttled progress toward a negotiated solution. First, Cuban insurgents stole a letter written by Enrique **Dupuy de Lôme**, the Spanish minister to the United States, and released it to the *New York Journal*. In it, de Lôme criticized President McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The letter implied that Spain was not seriously committed to reform in Cuba. De Lôme's immediate resignation could not undo the damage. The letter aroused intense anti-Spanish feeling among Americans.

Second, on February 15, a few days after publication of the de Lôme letter, an explosion ripped open the American warship *Maine*, anchored in Havana harbor. The *Maine* sank, with the loss of more than 260 American officers and sailors. The yellow press accused Spain of sabotage, claiming that a submarine mine had sunk the ship. Regardless of how the explosion occurred, those advocating intervention now had a rallying cry: "Remember the *Maine*!"

McKinley demanded that Spain put an immediate end to the fighting and submit to his mediation. One possible outcome of this mediation was Cuban independence. In reply, the Spanish government consented to end the fighting if the insurgents asked for an armistice. Spain was silent, though, on mediation by McKinley and independence for Cuba. On April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to stop the war in Cuba. On April 19, Congress passed four resolutions that (1) declared that Cuba was and should be independent, (2) demanded that Spain withdraw "at once," (3) authorized the president to force Spanish withdrawal, and (4) disavowed any intention to annex the island. The first three resolutions amounted to a declaration of war. The fourth has usually been called the Teller **Amendment** for its sponsor, Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado. In response, Spain declared war.

Nearly all Americans reacted enthusiastically to what they understood to be a war whose purpose was to bring independence to the long-suffering

Enrique Dupuy de Lome Spanish minister to the United States whose private letter criticizing President McKinley was stolen and made public, increasing anti-Spanish sentiment.

Maine American warship that exploded in Havana harbor in 1898; later investigation suggested an internal explosion.

mediation An attempt to bring about the peaceful settlement of a dispute through the intervention of a neutral party.

armistice An agreement to halt fighting at least temporarily.

Teller Amendment Resolution approved by U.S. Senate in 1898, by which the United States promised not to annex Cuba.

Cubans. From the beginning, however, some voiced distrust of the McKinley administration's motives. This distrust intensified when the McKinley administration defeated efforts to have the Cuban insurgents recognized as the legitimate government of Cuba.

The "Splendid Little War"

Many Americans were taken by surprise when the first engagement in the war occurred not in Cuba but in the **Philippine Islands**, on the other side of the world. A Spanish colony for more than three hundred years, the Philippines, like Cuba, were engaged in a rebellion against Spanish rule.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy **Theodore Roosevelt**, however, was not surprised. In late February 1898, more than six weeks before McKinley's war message to Congress, Roosevelt cabled the American naval commander in the Pacific, George Dewey, and instructed him to crush the Spanish fleet at Manila Bay in the event of war. On May 1, Dewey carried out those orders. His squadron of four cruisers and three smaller vessels steamed into Manila Bay and quickly destroyed or captured ten Spanish cruisers and gunboats. The Spanish lost 381 men; the Americans lost 1, a victim of heat prostration. Dewey became an instant national hero.

Dewey's victory at Manila immediately raised the prospect of establishing a permanent American presence there. This, in turn, revived interest in annexing Hawai'i as a base for supplying and protecting future American involvement in eastern Asia. The annexation of Hawai'i was accomplished on July 7, some five years after the planters had deposed Queen Liliuokalani.

Dewey's victory demonstrated that the American navy was clearly superior to that of Spain. By contrast, the Spanish army in Cuba outnumbered the entire American army by more than five to one. The Spanish troops also had years of experience fighting in Cuba. When war was declared, the American army numbered only twenty-eight thousand soldiers. A call for volunteers brought nearly a million—five times as many as the army could take.

The sudden declaration of war caught the army unprepared. Sent to training camps in the South,

the new soldiers found chaos and confusion. Food, uniforms, and equipment arrived at one location while the men for whom they were intended stood hungry and idle at another. The heavy wool uniforms were totally unsuited for the climate. Disease raged through some camps, killing many men. Others died from tainted food.

Once in Cuba, American forces concentrated on the port city of Santiago, where the Spanish Atlantic fleet had taken refuge. Inexperienced, poorly equipped, and unfamiliar with the terrain, the Americans doggedly assaulted the fortified hills surrounding the city. At Kettle Hill, Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned as assistant secretary of the navy to organize a volunteer cavalry regiment, led a successful but costly charge of his "**Rough Riders**" and regular army units. Driving the Spanish from the crest of Kettle Hill cleared a serious impediment to the assault on nearby San Juan Heights and San Juan Hill. Roosevelt's units took a minor part in the attack on those heights. With little regard for accuracy, newspapers declared Roosevelt the hero of the Battle of San Juan Hill.

Once the Americans secured control of the high ground around Santiago Harbor, the Spanish fleet of four cruisers and two destroyers tried to escape from the harbor. A larger American fleet under Admiral William Sampson and Commodore Winfield Schley sank or disabled every Spanish ship. The Spanish suffered 323 deaths, the Americans 1.

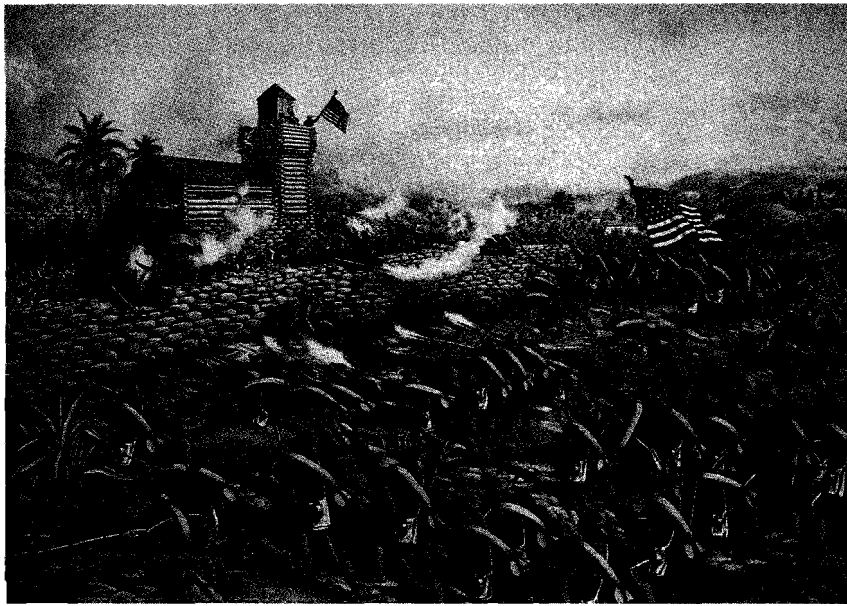
Their fleet destroyed and the surrounding hills in American hands, the Spanish in Santiago still waited two weeks before surrendering. A week later, American forces took Puerto Rico. Early in the war, on June 21, an American cruiser had

Philippine Islands A group of islands in the Pacific Ocean southeast of China that came under U.S. control in 1898 after the Spanish-American War.

Theodore Roosevelt American politician and writer who advocated war against Spain in 1898; McKinley's vice president in 1900, he became president in 1901 upon McKinley's assassination.

depose To dethrone or remove from power.

Rough Riders Cavalry volunteers in the Spanish-American War recruited by their lieutenant colonel, Theodore Roosevelt.



- ◆ Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders, on foot because there was not room aboard ship for their horses, are shown in the background of this artist's depiction of the battle for Kettle Hill, a part of the larger battle for San Juan Hill, overlooking the city of Santiago. The artist has put into the foreground members of the 9th and 10th Cavalry, both African-American units that also played a key role in that engagement, but one often overlooked because of the attention usually given Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. *Chicago Historical Society*.

forced Spanish forces on Guam to surrender without a contest. Spanish land forces in the Philippines surrendered when the first American troops arrived in mid-August (see Map 20.1). The "splendid little war," as John Hay, the American ambassador to Great Britain described it, lasted only sixteen weeks. The war cost the United States 385 battlefield deaths and more than 5,000 deaths because of disease and other causes.

The Treaty of Paris

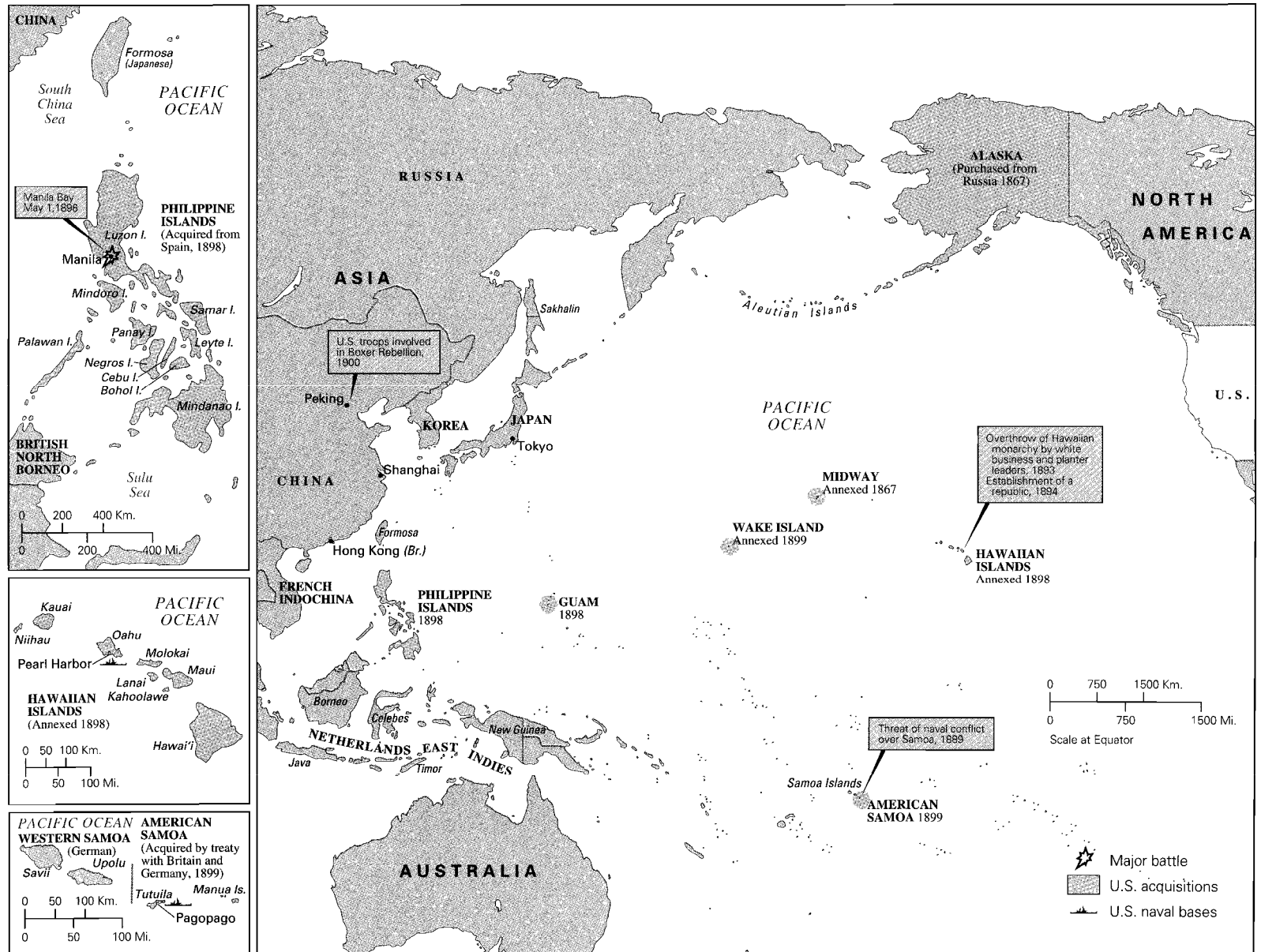
On August 12, the United States and Spain agreed to stop fighting. The truce specified that Spain was to give up Cuba and transfer Puerto Rico and one of the **Ladrone Islands** to the United States. Until a peace conference determined the Philippines' fate, the United States was to occupy Manila.

The only real question remaining was the disposition of the Philippines. McKinley at first seemed inclined to request only a naval base and to leave Spain the remainder of the islands. Spanish authority collapsed everywhere on the islands by mid-August, however, as Filipino insurgents took charge. Britain, Japan, and Germany seemed likely to step in if the United States withdrew.

McKinley then apparently decided that defending a naval base on Manila Bay would require control of the entire island group. No one seems to have seriously considered the Filipinos' desire for independence.

McKinley was well aware of the political and strategic importance of the Philippines for establishing an American presence in eastern Asia. He invoked other reasons, however, when he explained his decision to a group of visiting Methodists. He repeatedly prayed for guidance on the Philippine question, he told them. Late one night, he realized that "there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men, for whom Christ also died." In fact, most Filipinos had been Catholics for centuries.

Ladrone Islands Islands in the western Pacific now known as the Marianas; they include the island of Guam, which the United States acquired from Spain under the 1898 Treaty of Paris.



◆ **MAP 20.1 The United States and the Pacific, 1866-1900** In the 1890s, the United States became a major power in the Pacific and in eastern Asia. This map indicates major acquisitions and activities up to 1900.

The Treaty of **Paris**, signed in December 1898, required Spain to surrender all claim to Cuba, cede Puerto Rico and the island of Guam to the United States, and sell the Philippines for \$20 million. For the first time in American history, a treaty acquiring new territory failed to confer U.S. citizenship on the residents. Thus these acquisitions represented a new kind of expansion. The United States now owned territories with no prospect for statehood and whose residents lacked the rights of American citizens. America had become a colonial power.

The terms of the Treaty of Paris dismayed Democrats, Populists, and some conservative Republicans. An active anti-imperialist movement quickly formed, including William Jennings Bryan, Grover Cleveland, Andrew Carnegie, Mark Twain, Jane Addams, and others. The treaty, they argued, amounted to a denial of self-government for the newly acquired territories and therefore violated the Declaration of Independence. For the United States to hold colonies, they claimed, threatened the very concept of democracy. "The Declaration of Independence will make every Filipino a thoroughly dissatisfied subject," Andrew Carnegie warned. Others worried about the perversion of American values. "God Almighty help the party that seeks to give civilization and Christianity hypodermically with 13-inch guns," prayed Senator William Morris of Illinois.

Those who defended the acquisition of the Philippines echoed McKinley's lofty pronouncements about America's solemn duty, along with more mundane claims about economic benefits. Albert Beveridge, senator from Indiana after 1899, stated the need for expansion: "Today, we are raising more than we can consume, making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce." Expansionists also argued that possession of the Philippines would make the United States a leading power in eastern Asia. American business would then have access to the China market. In contrast to the heated debates over the Philippines, virtually no one challenged the acquisition of Puerto Rico.

Bryan, the Democratic presidential candidate in 1896, urged his followers in the Senate to approve the treaty. That way, he reasoned, the United States alone could determine the future of the Philippines. Once the treaty was approved, he argued,

the United States should immediately grant them independence. By a narrow margin, the Senate approved the treaty on February 6, 1899, but senators rejected a proposal for Philippine independence.

Republic or Empire: The Election of 1900

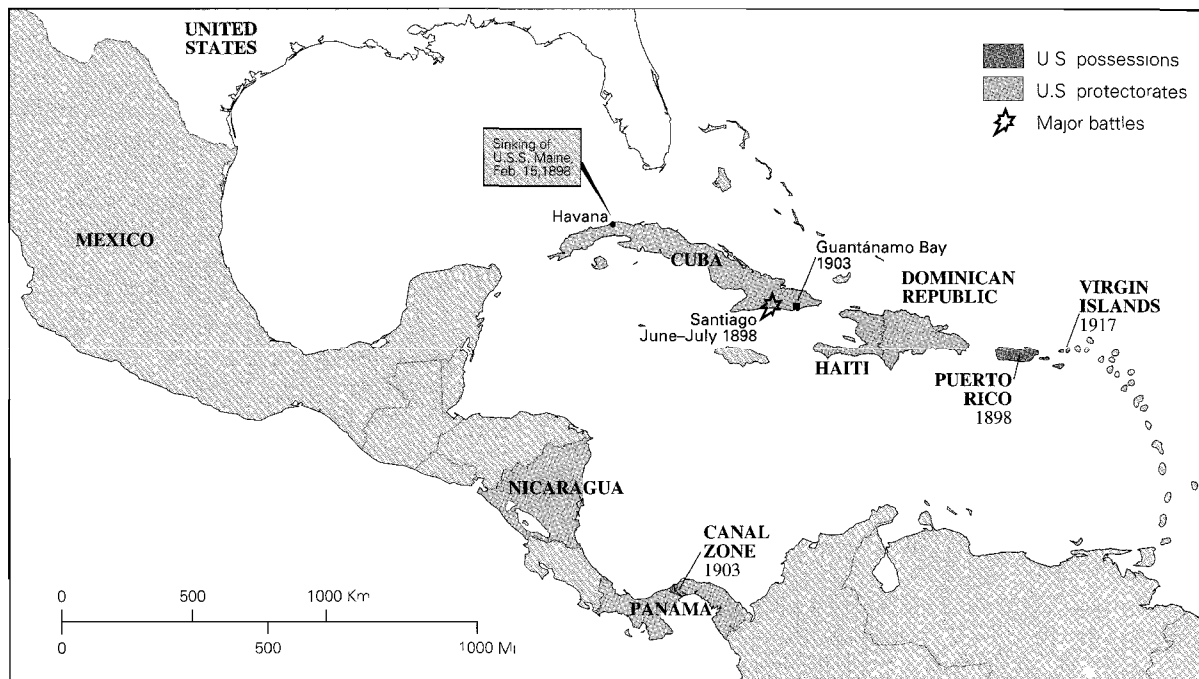
Bryan, who easily won the Democratic nomination for a second time, hoped to make independence for the Philippines the central issue in the 1900 presidential election. Bryan found, however, that many conservative anti-imperialists would not support his candidacy because he insisted on silver coinage and attacked big business.

The Republicans renominated McKinley. For vice president, they chose Theodore Roosevelt, the "hero of San Juan Hill." The McKinley re-election campaign seemed unstoppable. Republican campaigners pointed proudly to a short and highly successful war, legislation that had fulfilled party campaign promises on the tariff and the gold standard, and the return of prosperity. Whereas Bryan repeatedly attacked imperialism, McKinley and Roosevelt took pride in expansion. McKinley easily won a second term with 51.7 percent of the vote. He even carried most of the western states where populism had once flourished.

Organizing an Insular Empire

The Teller Amendment specified that the United States would not annex Cuba (see Map 20.2). The McKinley administration, though, consistently refused to recognize the insurgents as a legitimate government, so the U.S. Army took over the job of running the island when the Spanish left. Among other tasks, the army undertook public improvements, including sanitation projects intended to reduce disease, especially yellow fever. After two years of army rule, the McKinley administration permitted Cuban voters to hold a constitutional convention.

Treaty of Paris Treaty ending the Spanish-American War, under which Spain granted independence to Cuba, ceded Puerto Rico and Guam, and sold the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.



◆ **MAP 20.2 The United States and the Caribbean, 1898-1917** Between 1898 and 1917, the United States expanded into the Caribbean by acquiring possessions and establishing protectorates. As a result, the United States became the dominant power in the region during this time period.

The convention drafted a constitution in 1900 modeled on that of the United States. It did not define relations between Cuba and the United States, however. In March 1901, the McKinley administration specified, and Congress adopted, detailed provisions for Cuba to adopt before the army would withdraw, including these stipulations: (1) Cuba was not to make any agreement with a foreign power that impaired the island's independence, (2) the United States could intervene in Cuba to preserve Cuban independence and maintain law and order, and (3) Cuba was to lease facilities to the United States for naval bases and coaling stations. The Cubans reluctantly accepted the conditions, added them to their constitution, and agreed to a treaty with the United States stating the same conditions. In 1902, Cuba thereby became a protectorate of the United States.

The Teller Amendment did not apply to Puerto Rico. On that island, too, the army provided a mili-

tary government until 1900, when Congress approved the **Foraker Act**. That act made Puerto Ricans citizens of Puerto Rico but not citizens of the United States. It specified that Puerto Rican voters were to elect a legislature but final authority was to rest with a governor and council appointed by the president of the United States. In 1901, in the **Insular cases**, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a complex decision that, in effect, confirmed the colonial status of Puerto Rico and, by implication,

Foraker Act Law passed by Congress in 1900 that established civilian government in Puerto Rico; it provided for an elected legislature and a governor appointed by the U.S. president.

Insular cases Cases concerning Puerto Rico in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1901 that people in new island territories did not automatically receive the constitutional rights of U.S. citizens.

the other new possessions. The Court ruled that they were not equivalent to earlier territorial acquisitions and that their people did not possess the constitutional rights of citizens.

Establishment of a civil government in the Philippines took longer. Between Dewey's victory and the arrival of the first American soldiers three months later, a Philippine independence movement, led by **Emilio Aguinaldo**, had established a provisional government. Its forces controlled all the islands except Manila, which remained in Spanish hands until American troops arrived. Aguinaldo and his government wanted independence, not a new colonial master. When the United States decided to keep the islands, many Filipinos resisted and eventually turned to guerrilla warfare. In an ironic turn of events, the United States now found itself in the role that Spain had previously played.

Quelling what American authorities called the "Philippine insurrection" required three years, took the lives of more than forty-two hundred American soldiers (more losses than in the Spanish-American War) and perhaps twenty thousand guerrillas, and cost \$400 million (twenty times the price of the islands). In crushing the resistance, U.S. troops resorted to the practice of reconcentration that the American public had so widely condemned when Spain used it in Cuba. Both sides committed atrocities during the conflict. Anti-imperialists saw their fears confirmed that a colonial policy would corrupt American values.

Aguinaldo's eventual defeat and McKinley's reelection ended any prospect for immediate Philippine independence. In 1902, Congress set up a government for the Philippines similar to that of Puerto Rico. Filipinos became citizens of the Philippine Islands, not of the United States. The president of the United States appointed the governor. Filipino voters elected one house in the two-house legislature, and the governor appointed the other. Both the governor and the United States Congress could veto laws passed by the legislature. **William Howard Taft**, governor of the islands from 1901 to 1904, tried to build local support for American control but met with little success. When the first Philippine legislature met in 1907, over half of its members favored independence from the United States.

The Open Door and the Boxer Rebellion in China

The new Pacific acquisitions of the United States greatly strengthened its ability to gain access to markets in eastern Asia, especially China. They also laid a broad basis for asserting American power in eastern Asia. The United States now began to act like a major East Asian power.

The McKinley administration flexed this new American power first in China. By 1899, Britain, Germany, Russia, and France had carved out spheres of influence in China where they claimed special rights—usually a monopoly over trade. The United States claimed no such privileges in China. Fearing the breakup of China into separate European colonies, Secretary of State John Hay in 1899 circulated a letter to Germany, Russia, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. The Open Door notes asked these countries to permit Chinese authorities to continue to collect tariff duties within their **spheres of influence**. Hay hoped that this measure would preserve some semblance of Chinese sovereignty. He also urged them not to discriminate against citizens of other nations engaged in commerce within their spheres. Thus Hay sought to prevent other nations from carving up China and, at the same time, to make American trade possible throughout China. Although some replies proved less than fully supportive, he announced that the **Open Door policy** was in effect.

The next year, in 1900, a Chinese secret society took up arms to expel foreigners from China. Be-

Emilio Aguinaldo Leader of struggles for Philippine independence, first against Spain and then against the United States.

William Howard Taft Appointed governor of the Philippines from 1901 to 1904; he was elected president of the United States in 1908 and became chief justice of the Supreme Court in 1921.

spheres of influence Areas of a country where foreign nations exercise considerable authority. **Open Door policy** Policy advocated by the United States in 1899 under which all nations would have equal access to trading and development rights in China.



A FAIR FIELD AND NO FAVOR
 ENCL. SAR. THE. ONE. FOR. GOVERNMENT. AND. CONGRESS.

◆ In this 1899 cartoon celebrating the Open Door policy, Uncle Sam insists that the nations of Europe must compete fairly for China's commerce and must not seize Chinese territory. In the background, John Bull (Britain) lifts his hat in approval. *Library of Congress.*

cause the rebels used a clenched fist as their symbol, Westerners called them Boxers. After attacking missionaries, the Boxers laid siege to the foreign legations in Peking, the Chinese capital. Hay foresaw that the major powers might use the **Boxer Rebellion** as a pretext to take full control of China. To block such a move, the United States took part in a joint international military expedition to crush the rebellion. Hay insisted that American action was not against the Chinese government but against the rebels.

Although China did not lose territory after the Boxer Rebellion, the intervening nations required it to pay an indemnity. After compensating American citizens for losses suffered during the rebellion, the U.S. government returned the remainder of its indemnity to China. As a show of gratitude, the Chinese government used the money to send Chinese students to the United States to develop good will between the two countries.

"Carry a Big Stick": The United States and World Affairs, 1901-1913

In 1901, an assassin's bullet cut down President McKinley and put Theodore Roosevelt in the White House. Roosevelt remolded the presidency, established new federal powers in the economy, and expanded America's role in world affairs. Few other presidents have had so great an impact. He once expressed his fondness for what he described as a West African proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." As president, however, Roosevelt seldom spoke softly. Everything he did, it seemed, he did strenuously. Well-read in history and current events, Roosevelt entered the presidency with definite ideas on the proper role for the United States in the world. He envisioned a future in which major powers, particularly the United States, would exercise international police powers.

Taking Panama

Following the American victory over Spain, American diplomats pursued efforts to build a canal through Central America to create a passage between the Atlantic and the Pacific. The considerable time that it took an American battleship stationed on the West Coast to reach Cuba during the Spanish-American War led McKinley to pronounce that an American-controlled canal was "indispensable." The Hay-Pauncefote **Treaties** of 1900 and 1901, in which Britain renounced its interests in an

legation A diplomatic mission in a foreign country.

Boxer Rebellion Uprising in China in 1900 directed against foreign powers; it was suppressed by an international army that included American participation.

indemnity Payment for damage, loss, or injury.

Hay-Pauncefote Treaties Two separate treaties (1900 and 1901) signed by the United States and Britain giving the United States the exclusive right to build, control, and fortify a canal through Central America.

isthmian canal, cleared the way. Experts identified two possible locations for a canal, Nicaragua and Panama (then part of Colombia). In its favor, the Panama route was shorter, and a French canal company had completed some work in the 1870s. **Philippe Bunau-Varilla**, a major stockholder in the French company, did his utmost to sell that company's interests to the United States. Building through Panama, however, meant overcoming both formidable mountains and fever-ridden swamps. Previous studies had shown Nicaragua to be preferable because of fewer natural obstacles. Bunau-Varilla's lobbying led the Senate to approve the Panama route, provided that Colombia agreed to give up land for a canal.

Negotiations with Colombia bogged down over treaty language that significantly limited its sovereignty. Pressure from the United States did lead the Colombian government to accept such limitations—but only in return for more money. Roosevelt, outraged, called it "pure bandit morality." To break the impasse, Bunau-Varilla financed a revolution in Panama. Anticipating such a possibility, Roosevelt had ordered U.S. warships to prevent Colombian troops from crushing the uprising. The revolution succeeded, and Panama declared its independence. The United States immediately extended diplomatic recognition. Bunau-Varilla, named Panama's minister to the United States, promptly signed a treaty that gave the United States much the same arrangement earlier rejected by Colombia.

The **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** (1904) granted the United States perpetual control over a strip of Panamanian territory 10 miles wide, for a price of \$10 million and annual rent of \$250,000. The United States also purchased the assets of the French company and in 1904 began construction of the canal. Building the canal proved difficult. Just over 40 miles long, the canal took ten years to build and cost nearly \$400 million. Completed in 1914, just as World War I began, the canal was considered one of the world's great engineering feats.

Making the Caribbean an American Lake

Well before the canal was finished, Roosevelt determined to establish American dominance in the

Caribbean and Central America to protect the canal. The threat of European intervention in the Caribbean led Roosevelt in 1904 to present what became known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. The corollary stated that the United States would act as the police power in the Western Hemisphere in cases where governments defaulted on their debts or otherwise misbehaved. Roosevelt thus warned European nations against any intervention whatsoever in the Western Hemisphere. If outside authority became necessary in the Caribbean and Central America, Roosevelt insisted that the United States would handle it. He exempted Argentina, Brazil, and Chile from the Roosevelt Corollary as "civilized" powers in their own right.

Roosevelt acted forcefully to establish his new policy. In 1905, the Dominican Republic agreed to permit the United States to supervise government expenditures and thereby became an American protectorate. Roosevelt's successors, William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson, expanded his policy of American domination in the Caribbean region. Under Taft, the United States encouraged Americans to invest in the region. Taft hoped that American investment would stabilize and develop the Caribbean economies. Taft supported such **dollar diplomacy** throughout the region, especially in Nicaragua. In 1912, Taft sent marines there to suppress a rebellion against President Adolfo Diaz. Nicaragua, too, became an American protectorate.

Philippe Bunau-Varilla Chief engineer of the French company contracted to build the Panama Canal and later minister to the United States from the new Republic of Panama.

Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty Treaty with Panama that granted the United States sovereignty over the Canal Zone in return for a \$10 million payment plus an annual rent.

Roosevelt Corollary Extension of the Monroe Doctrine voiced by Theodore Roosevelt in 1904, in which he proclaimed the right of the United States to police Caribbean areas.

dollar diplomacy Policy during the Taft administration of supporting U.S. commercial interests abroad for strategic purposes, especially in Latin America.

The marines remained after the turmoil settled to prop up the Diaz government.

Roosevelt and Eastern Asia

Roosevelt's East Asian policy built on the Open Door notes and American participation in the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. He found cause for both concern and optimism in Japan's rise as a major industrial and imperial power. His friend Alfred Thayer Mahan, the naval strategist, had warned of the potential danger to the United States posed by Japan. But Roosevelt was also hopeful. He admired Japanese accomplishments and looked forward to Japan's exercising the same degree of international police power in its vicinity that the United States did under the Roosevelt Corollary.

In 1904, Russia and Japan went to war over Manchuria, the northern part of China. After the Boxer Rebellion, Russia had pressured China to grant concessions that slowly turned Manchuria into a Russian colony. Russia seemed also to have designs on Korea. Japan responded with force to Russian encroachment on its interests. The Japanese scored smashing naval and military victories over the Russians but lacked the resources to sustain a long war.

Early in the war, Roosevelt indicated some support for Japan. When Japan's resources ran low, Japan asked Roosevelt to act as mediator. The president agreed in hopes of preserving a regional balance of power. The Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) recognized Japan's dominance in Korea and gave Japan both the southern half of Sakhalin Island and Russian concessions in southern Manchuria. Russia kept its railroad in northern Manchuria. China was to have responsibility for civil authority in Manchuria. For his mediation, Roosevelt received the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize.

That same year, Roosevelt mediated another significant dispute. The San Francisco school board had ordered children of Japanese parentage to attend the city's segregated Chinese school. The Japanese government regarded this as a serious insult. Roosevelt convinced the board to withdraw the segregation order in return for his efforts to cut off Japanese immigration. Japan agreed informally to limit the departure of laborers to the United States.

In 1908, the American and Japanese governments further agreed to respect each other's territorial possessions and to maintain "the independence and integrity of China" and the Open Door. During the Taft administration, the United States extended the concept of dollar diplomacy to China. Proponents sought Chinese permission for American citizens not just to trade with China but also to invest there, especially in railroad

construction. Taft hoped that such investments could head off further Japanese expansion. The effort received Chinese governmental sanction, but little came of it.

The United States and the World: 1901-1913

Before the 1890s, the United States had no clear or consistent set of foreign policy commitments or objectives. After that, its commitments were obvious to all. Acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, Hawai'i, Puerto Rico, eastern Samoa, and the **Canal Zone** represented highly visible components in a new American role in world affairs.

Central to that role was a large, modern, two-ocean navy. Roosevelt was so proud of the navy that, in 1907, he dispatched sixteen battleships—painted white to indicate their peaceful intent—on a fourteen-month world tour. Roosevelt later claimed that his purpose in sending the Great White Fleet "was to impress the American people." But he was clearly interested in impressing other nations too.

Another aspect of America's new role in the world revolved around the principle that the

Manchuria A region of northeast China that the Russians and Japanese fought to control in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Treaty of Portsmouth Treaty in 1905 ending the Russo-Japanese War, which was negotiated at a conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, through Theodore Roosevelt's mediation.

Canal Zone Territory under U.S. control including the Panama Canal and land extending 5 miles on either side of it.

United States should control an **isthmian** canal. Protecting that canal led the United States to establish **hegemony** in the Caribbean and Central America as a means of preventing any other major power from threatening the canal. The new American role also focused on the Pacific. Captain Mahan had pointed out that the Atlantic Ocean had been the theater of conflict among European nations in the eighteenth century. He looked to the Pacific Ocean as the likely theater of twentieth-century conflict. Again, considerations of commercial enterprise and naval strategy coincided in leading the United States to acquire naval bases at strategic points in the central Pacific (Hawai'i), south Pacific (eastern Samoa), and off eastern Asia (the Philippines).

America's new vision of the world divided nations into two broad categories. On the one hand were all the "civilized" nations. On the other were those nations that Theodore Roosevelt described as "barbarous." American policy toward "civilized" countries—the European powers, Japan, and the large, stable nations of Latin America—focused on finding peaceful ways to realize mutual objectives, especially through arbitration. In eastern Asia, McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft looked to a balance of power among the contending "civilized" powers as most likely to realize the American objective of maintaining access to the China market.

The conviction that arbitration was the appropriate means to settle disputes among "civilized" countries was widespread. An international conference in 1899 created a Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Netherlands. Housed in a marble "peace palace" built through a donation from Andrew Carnegie, the **Hague Court** functioned as a source of neutral arbitrators for international disputes. Both Roosevelt and Taft tried to negotiate arbitration treaties with major powers, only to find that the Senate was not willing to ratify them. Senators feared that such treaties might diminish their future role in approving agreements with other countries.

The United States and Britain repeatedly used arbitration to settle disputes between themselves. In addition to the *Alabama* claims, they used arbitration in 1903 to settle questions over the boundary between Alaska and Canada and in 1909 to end a dispute over the rights of American fishermen operating off the coast of Canada.

Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American relations with Great Britain improved steadily. As Germany expanded its army and navy and increasingly challenged Britain, British policymakers sought to improve ties with the United States, the only nation besides Great Britain with a navy comparable to Germany's. During the Spanish-American War, Britain alone among the major European powers sided with the United States and encouraged its acquisi-

tion of the Philippines. In signing the Hay-Pauncefote Treaties and reducing its naval forces in the Caribbean, Britain delivered a clear signal: it not only accepted American dominance there but even depended on the United States to protect its own holdings in the region.

isthmian Pertaining to a narrow strip of land connecting two larger landmasses; in this case, the isthmus was Panama.

hegemony The dominance of one over another.

Hague Court Body of delegates from about fifty member nations created in the Netherlands in 1899 for the purpose of peacefully resolving international conflicts; also known as the Permanent Court of Arbitration.

SUMMARY

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

From 1865 to 1889, few Americans *expected* their nation to take a major part in world affairs. The United States did make *choices* to acquire Alaska and to expel the French from Mexico. Other Ameri-

can *choices* brought some involvement in the Caribbean and Central America and in eastern Asia and the Pacific.

The 1890s witnessed the development of enlarged *expectations* and daring *choices* in foreign affairs. During the administration of Benjamin Harrison, Congress approved the creation of a modern navy. Although a revolution presented the United States with an opportunity to annex Hawaii, President Grover Cleveland *chose* to reject that course. However, Cleveland boldly threatened war with Great Britain over a disputed boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and Britain *chose* to back down.

A revolution in Cuba led the United States into a one-sided war with Spain in 1898. The immediate *outcome* of the war was acquisition of an American colonial empire that included Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico. Congress annexed Hawai'i in the midst of the war, and the United States acquired Samoa by treaty in 1899. The Filipinos *chose* to resist the imposition of American authority, leading to a three-year war that cost more lives than the Spanish-American War. With the Philippines in hand and an improved navy on the seas, the United States was free of old *constraints* on its influence in East

Asia. It now *chose* to assert the principle of the Open Door in China, where American troops helped suppress the Boxer Rebellion.

President Theodore Roosevelt's *choices* played an important role in defining America's status as a world power. He secured rights to build a U.S.-controlled canal through Panama and established Panama as an American protectorate. The Roosevelt Corollary declared that the United States was the dominant power in the Caribbean and Central America. In eastern Asia, by contrast, Roosevelt *chose* to bolster the Open Door policy by maintaining a balance of power.

Roosevelt and many others *expected* that "civilized" nations had no need to go to war. Thus he *chose* to seek arbitration treaties with leading nations, efforts that failed because of Senate opposition. Faced with the rise of German military and naval power, Great Britain *chose* to improve its relations with the United States.

One *outcome* of America's *choices* in foreign affairs was the acquisition of colonies in a foreign policy usually described as imperialism. A larger *outcome* was that the United States took on the role of a world power, thereby redefining its relations with the rest of the world.

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