

An Emerging World Power

1877–1914

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives

After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How did economic interests affect American involvement in overseas expansion?
2. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
3. In what ways did President Wilson attempt to reconcile America's foreign policy with the nation's political ideals?
4. What were the major patterns and trends of American foreign policy between 1877 and 1914?

Chapter Annotated Outline

I. The Roots of Expansion

A. Diplomacy in the Gilded Age

1. In 1880 the United States had a population of 50 million, and the nation's industrial production ranked second only to Britain's.
2. The Civil War had put the United States at odds with Britain and France. The United States opposed France's attempt to establish a puppet regime in Mexico and, with Britain, the issues involved damages to Union shipping by the *Alabama* and other Confederate sea raiders operating from English ports.
3. In the years after the Civil War, the United States lapsed into diplomatic inactivity as the building of the nation's industrial economy turned Americans' attention inward.
4. Americans shared a sense of security and isolation from the rest of the world, even

though new international telegraphic cables provided overseas communication after the 1860s.

5. The U.S. Navy fleet gradually deteriorated; the administration of Chester A. Arthur (1881–1885) began a modest upgrading program, but the navy remained small.
6. Domestic politics made it difficult to develop a coherent foreign policy, and appointment to the foreign service was mostly through the spoils system.
7. The State Department tended to be inactive and exerted little control over either policy or its missions abroad; the American presence often consisted of independent religious missionaries.
8. The expansionist enthusiasms of the Civil War era subsided in the Caribbean and, despite its claims of exclusive rights, the United States stood by when a French company started to dig across the Panama isthmus in 1880.
9. Diplomatic activity quickened when James G. Blaine became secretary of state in 1881; he tried his hand at settling disputes in South America, and he called the first Pan-American conference.
10. His successor canceled the conference, an act that was a characteristic example of Gilded Age diplomacy, driven largely by partisan politics and carried out without any clear sense of national purpose.
11. Pan-Americanism—the notion of a community of western-hemispheric states—took root. When Blaine returned in 1889 for a second stint at the State Department, he approved plans for another Pan-American conference.
12. Nothing came of the conference, though the Pan-American Union was founded, and any South American goodwill was

blasted by the humiliation the United States visited on Chile because of a riot against American sailors in the port of Valparaiso in 1891.

13. In the Pacific, American interest centered on Hawaii, where sugarcane had attracted American planters and investors; an 1875 treaty had given Hawaiian sugar duty-free entry into the American market and declared the islands off limits to other powers.
 14. After the McKinley Tariff cancelled Hawaii's favored access to the American market, sugar planters revolted in January 1893 against Queen Liliuokalani and negotiated a treaty of annexation. Cleveland halted the annexation on the basis that it would have violated America's "honor and morality" and nonimperial tradition.
 15. In 1867 the United States purchased Alaska from imperial Russia, and to the south it secured rights in 1878 to a coaling station in Pago Pago Harbor in the Samoan Islands and established an informal protectorate there.
 16. American diplomacy during the Gilded Age has been characterized as a series of incidents rather than the pursuit of a clear foreign policy.
- B. The Economy of Expansionism
1. American isolationism began to be questioned as the prodigious economy of America demanded that Americans look outward.
 2. America's gross domestic product quadrupled between 1870 and 1900, and as the industrial economy expanded, so did agricultural and factory exports.
 3. American firms such as the Singer Sewing Machine Company and Standard Oil began to establish their factories overseas.
 4. Foreign trade was important for reasons of international finance: to balance its foreign debt account, the United States needed to export more goods than it imported.
 5. Many thought that the nation's capacity to produce had outpaced its capacity to consume, so the United States needed buyers in foreign markets to purchase its surplus products.
 6. Europe and Canada represented the bulk of American export trade where the normal diplomatic practices sufficed to protect the nation's economic interests; other regions, such as Asia and Latin America, demanded a tougher brand of intervention because there the United States was competing with other industrial powers.
7. Asia and Latin America represented only a modest part of America's export trade. The importance of the non-Western markets was not so much their current value as their future promise, especially the China trade, which many felt would one day be the key to American prosperity.
8. The pace of European imperialism accelerated in the mid-1880s: Africa was carved up after the Berlin Conference; Japan transformed itself into a major power in the Sino-Japanese War, which started a scramble to divide China up into spheres of influence; and European powers challenged American interests in Latin America.
 9. The Panic of 1893 set in motion industrial strikes and agrarian protests that many Americans took to be symptoms of revolution. With the nation's social stability at risk, securing the markets of Latin America and Asia became an urgent matter.
- C. The Making of a "Large" Foreign Policy
1. In his book *The Influence of Seapower upon History* (1890), Captain Alfred T. Mahan argued that the key to imperial power was control of the seas; from this insight emerged an expansionist strategy.
 2. Traversing the oceans required a robust merchant marine, a powerful navy to protect American commerce, and strategic overseas bases.
 3. Mahan called for a canal across Central America to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, with control over strategic points in defense of American trading interests.
 4. Politicians such as Teddy Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge accepted Mahan's underlying logic, and pushed for a "large policy"; from 1889 onward a surprising consistency began to emerge in the conduct of American foreign policy.
 5. In 1890, under Benjamin Harrison's administration, Congress appropriated funds for three battleships as the first installment on a two-ocean navy.
 6. Grover Cleveland's administration cancelled Harrison's scheme for annexing Hawaii, establishing its antiexpansionist credentials, but picked up the naval

- program; the nation's commercial vitality depended on its naval power.
7. For years a border dispute simmered between Venezuela and British Guiana, and the United States demanded that the British resolve it.
 8. Invoking the Monroe Doctrine, Secretary of State Richard Olney warned Britain that the United States would brook no challenge to its vital interests in the Caribbean.
 9. Realizing that the Cleveland administration meant business, the British agreed to arbitration of the border dispute.
 10. Secretary of State Olney asserted that other countries would now have to accommodate America's need for access to "more markets and larger markets."
- D. The Ideology of Expansionism
1. One source of expansionist dogma was Social Darwinism: if the United States wanted to survive, it had to expand.
 2. Linked to Social Darwinism was a spreading belief in the inherent superiority of the **Anglo-Saxon** race.
 3. John Fiske's "Manifest Destiny" lecture espoused the belief that every land on the earth's surface should become English in its language, religion, political habits, and bloodline.
 4. Frederick Jackson Turner suggested a link between the closing of the western frontier and overseas expansion, and as Turner predicted, American confidence in Manifest Destiny turned outward.
- II. An American Empire
- A. The Cuban Crisis
1. In February 1895 Cuban patriots rebelled and began a guerrilla war for their freedom from Spain; the Spanish commander, Valeriano Weyler, adopted a policy of "reconcentration."
 2. The Junta, a key group of exiles, tried to make a case for the *Cuba Libre* in New York; William Randolph Hearst put Cuba's plight on the front page of the *New York Journal* to boost circulation.
 3. Americans felt concern and sympathy for the Cubans; their anger against Spain rose along with a fiery patriotism that came to be known as **jingoism**.
 4. Congress began calling for Cuban independence, but Grover Cleveland was more concerned that the Cuban civil war was disrupting trade and harming American property interests.
- B. The Spoils of War
1. When Spain declared war on April 24, 1898, Theodore Roosevelt was commissioned lieutenant colonel in the volunteer cavalry regiment known as the Rough Riders.
 2. Confusion reigned in the swelling volunteer army: uniforms did not arrive, the food was bad, the sanitation was worse, rifles were in short supply, and no
5. William McKinley, like Cleveland, felt that the United States was the dominant Caribbean power with vital interests to be protected, but McKinley was tougher on the Spaniards.
 6. McKinley was sensitive to business fears that any rash action might disrupt an economy just recovering from the depression.
 7. On September 18, 1897, the United States informed the Spanish government that it was time to end the war, or the United States would take steps to end it.
 8. Spain backed away from reconcentration and offered Cuba a degree of self-rule, but the Cuban rebels demanded full independence.
 9. The *New York Journal* published the private letter of Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish minister to the United States, which called President McKinley weak and implied that the Spanish government did not take American demands seriously.
 10. A week later the U.S. battle cruiser *Maine* blew up and sank in Havana Harbor, killing 260 seamen; now McKinley had to contend with popular clamor for a war against Spain.
 11. Spain rejected McKinley's demands for an immediate armistice, abandonment of the practice of reconcentration, and peace negotiations.
 12. The War Hawks in Congress chafed under McKinley's cautious progress, but the president did not lose control.
 13. The resolutions authorizing intervention in Cuba contained an amendment disclaiming any intention by the United States of taking possession of Cuba.
 14. It was not *because* of expansionist ambitions that McKinley forced Spain into a corner, but once war came, McKinley saw it as an opportunity for expansion.

provisions had been made for getting troops to Cuba.

3. The small regular army provided a nucleus for the civilians who had to be turned into soldiers inside of a few weeks.
 4. The navy was in better shape, as Spain had nothing to match American battleships and armored cruisers.
 5. On May 1 American ships cornered the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and destroyed it; Manila, the Philippine capital, fell on August 13, 1898.
 6. After Commodore George Dewey's naval victory, Americans were not going to let the Philippine Islands go; the Philippines made a strategic base in the western Pacific and projected American power into Asia and its markets.
 7. Hawaiian annexation went through Congress by joint resolution in July 1898; Hawaii was now a crucial halfway station on the way to the Philippines.
 8. The navy also pressed for a coaling base in Guam in the central Pacific and a base in Puerto Rico in the Caribbean.
 9. The main battle in the campaign in Cuba occurred near Santiago on the heights commanded by San Juan Hill; convinced that Santiago could not be saved, Spanish forces surrendered.
 10. In an armistice, Spain agreed to liberate Cuba and cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States, and American forces occupied Manila pending a peace treaty.
- C. The Imperial Experiment
1. As to the question of what to do with the Philippines, not even avid American expansionists advocated colonial rule over subject peoples.
 2. McKinley and his advisors felt that they could neither return the islands to harsh Spanish rule nor did they believe that the Filipinos were fit to rule themselves.
 3. In the Treaty of Paris, the Spanish ceded the Philippines to the United States for a payment of \$20 million.
 4. Opponents of the treaty invoked American republican principles, declaring that the federal government could not conquer an alien people and hold them in subjugation.
 5. In November 1890 a social elite of old-line Mugwump reformers from Boston formed the first of the Anti-Imperialist Leagues that began to spring up around the country.
 6. The anti-imperialists never developed a popular movement: they shared few other interests and they lacked "the common touch."
 7. Before the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, fighting broke out between American and Filipino patrols; confronted with American annexation, Filipinos turned their guns on American forces.
 8. Fighting tenacious Filipino guerrillas, the U.S. Army resorted to the reconcentration tactic the Spaniards had used in Cuba.
 9. The fighting ended in 1902 and the governor-general, William Howard Taft, set up a civilian administration, with the intent of making the Philippines a model of American road building and sanitary engineering.
 10. Americans had not anticipated the brutal methods needed to subdue the Filipino guerrillas; the Jones Act (1916) formally committed the United States to granting Philippine independence but set no date.
 11. In a few years the United States had assembled an overseas empire—Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and several of the Samoan islands—and had moved into a position of what is commonly called a world power.
- III. Onto the World Stage
- A. A Power among Powers
1. Unlike his predecessors in the White House, Theodore Roosevelt, who assumed the presidency in 1901 after McKinley's assassination, had no doubt about America's role in the world.
 2. Roosevelt justified American dominance in the Caribbean by saying that it was incumbent on the civilized powers to insist on the proper policing of the world and the maintenance of the balance of power.
 3. The cornerstone of Roosevelt's thinking was Anglo-American friendship. The British eagerly reciprocated with the Hay-Pauncefote Agreement of 1901, in which they gave up their rights to participate in any Central American canal project. Two years later, the British settled the last U.S.-Canadian border dispute in favor of the Americans.
 4. There was no formal alliance, but Anglo-American friendship had been placed on such a firm basis that it was assumed that the Americans and the British would never have a parricidal war.

5. In regard to American power, especially naval power, Roosevelt said, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.”
 6. At the top of Roosevelt’s agenda was a canal across Central America. Roosevelt was furious when the Colombian legislature voted down his proposal to lease land for a canal. He contemplated outright seizure of Panama but instead lent covert assistance that ensured a bloodless Panamanian revolution against Colombia.
 7. On November 7, 1901, the United States recognized Panama and two weeks later received a perpetually renewable lease on a canal zone.
 8. Undertaking an enormous effort of eight years, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers finished the Panama Canal in 1914, giving the United States a commanding commercial and strategic position in the Western Hemisphere.
 9. A condition for Cuban independence had been a proviso called the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene if Cuba’s independence or internal order was threatened and granted the United States a lease on Guantanamo Bay, where the U.S. Navy built a large base.
 10. The 1904 Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which announced that the United States would act as “policeman” of the region, transformed that doctrine’s broad principle against European interference in Latin America into an unrestricted American right to regulate Caribbean affairs.
 11. On occasions when Caribbean domestic order broke down, the U.S. Marines occupied Cuba in 1906, Nicaragua in 1909, and Haiti and the Dominican Republic in later years.
- B. The Open Door in Asia
1. In 1890 U.S. secretary of state John Hay sent the powers occupying China an “open door” note claiming the right of equal trade access for all nations that wanted to do business there.
 2. In 1900 the United States joined a multinational campaign to break the Boxers’ siege of the diplomatic missions in Peking.
 3. America took this opportunity to assert a second principle of the Open Door policy: that China would be preserved as a “territorial and administrative entity.” As long as the legal fiction of an independent China survived, so would American claims to equal access to the China market.
4. Britain, Germany, France, and Russia were strongly entrenched in East Asia and not inclined to defer to American interests.
 5. Anxious to restore some semblance of power in the East, Roosevelt mediated a settlement of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905; Japan emerged as the predominant power in East Asia.
 6. Though the United States respected Japan’s “paramount interest in what surrounds the Yellow Sea,” a surge of anti-Asian sentiment in California complicated Roosevelt’s efforts to achieve Asian accommodation for American interests in the Pacific.
 7. The “Gentlemen’s Agreement” of 1907, in which Japan agreed to restrict immigration to the United States, smoothed over Japan’s fury over mistreatment of Japanese, but periodic racist slights by Americans made for continuing tensions.
 8. The Root-Takahira Agreement of 1908 confirmed the status quo in the Pacific as well as the principles of free oceanic commerce and equal trade opportunity in China.
 9. William Howard Taft hoped that with **dollar diplomacy** American capital would counterbalance Japanese power and pave the way for increased commercial activities.
 10. When the Chinese Revolution of 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty, Taft supported the victorious Chinese nationalists, and the United States entered a long-term rivalry with Japan.
- C. Wilson and Mexico
1. Woodrow Wilson opposed dollar diplomacy, which he believed bullied weaker countries financially and gave undue advantage to American business.
 2. Wilson insisted that the United States should conduct its foreign policy in conformity with its democratic principles.
 3. Porfirio Díaz, Mexico’s dictator, was overthrown by Francisco Madero, who spoke for liberty and constitutionalism, much as did Wilson.
 4. But before Madero could carry out his reforms, he was deposed and murdered in 1913 by Victoriano Huerta.
 5. Although other powers were quick to recognize Huerta’s provisional government,

- Wilson abhorred him, and the United States did not recognize his government.
6. Wilson intended to force Huerta out and to put the Mexican revolution back on the constitutional path started by Madero, undeterred by the fact that American business interests, with big investments in Mexico, favored Huerta.
 7. Venustiano Carranza, leading a Constitutionalist movement in northern Mexico, did not want American intervention; he only wanted recognition so that he could purchase U.S. weapons.
 8. In 1914 American weapons began to flow to Carranza's troops; but as it became clear that Huerta was not going to fall, Wilson ordered the American occupation of the port of Veracruz.
 9. Huerta's regime began to crumble, yet Carranza condemned the United States, and his forces came close to engaging the Americans. Carranza's entry into Mexico City in August 1914 was overshadowed by the anti-Americanism inspired by Wilson's insensitivity to Mexican pride and revolutionary zeal.
 10. Carranza was challenged by his northern general, Pancho Villa, with some encouragement by American interests in Mexico. When Villa stirred up trouble along the border, Wilson sent troops under Pershing into Mexico, which further antagonized Mexico to the point that war was only narrowly averted.
 11. In 1917 a new Mexican constitution was ratified, elections were completed, and the Carranza government finally received official recognition from Washington.
- D. The Gathering Storm in Europe
1. In Europe there was rivalry between Germany, France, and Britain; in the Balkans, Austria-Hungary and Russia were maneuvering for dominance.
 2. These conflicts created two groups of allies: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy made up the Triple Alliance, and France and Russia made up the Dual Alliance.
 3. Britain reached an entente with France in 1904 and Russia by 1907, laying the foundation for a Triple Entente; a war between two great European power blocs became more likely.
 4. On becoming president, Roosevelt took a lively interest in European affairs, and as the head of a Great Power, he was eager to

make a contribution to the cause of peace there.

5. At an international conference in 1906 at Algeciras, Spain, a looming crisis over territories in North Africa was averted and the U.S. role defined: the United States would be the apostle of peace, distinguished by a lack of selfish interest in European affairs.
6. The Hague Peace Conference of 1899 offered a new hope for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Permanent Court of Arbitration.
7. Both Roosevelt and Taft negotiated arbitration treaties with other countries, only to have them crippled by a Senate afraid of any erosion of the nation's sovereignty.
8. William Jennings Bryan's "cooling off" treaties with other countries were admirable but had no bearing on the explosive power politics of Europe.

Key Terms

Anglo-Saxonism A theory widely held in the late nineteenth century that the English-speaking peoples were racially superior and, for that reason, justified in colonizing and dominating the peoples of less-developed areas of the world. Combined with Social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxonism fueled American expansionism in the late nineteenth century. (647)

jingoism This term came to refer to the super-patriotism that took hold in the mid-1890s during the American dispute with Spain over Cuba. Jingos were enthusiastic about a military solution as a way of showing the nation's mettle and, when diplomacy failed, they got their wish with the Spanish-American War of 1898. (648)

dollar diplomacy Policy adopted by President Taft emphasizing the connection between America's economic and political interests overseas. The benefits would flow in both directions. Business would gain from diplomatic efforts on its behalf, while the strengthened American economic presence overseas would give added leverage to American diplomacy. (664)

Lecture Strategies

1. Deliver a lecture on Alfred Thayer Mahan and American sea power. Some points to include are the American naval policy before Mahan, the sources of Mahan's ideas on sea power, the reasons

for Mahan's rise to prominence here and abroad, Mahan's influence compared with that of other contemporary naval advocates, and Mahan's relationship with those who favored American expansion.

2. Write a lecture discussing the noneconomic sources of American expansionism. Note factors such as the activities and influence of missionaries, the impact of international rivalries on American expansionist thought, the appearance of Pan-Americanism in the 1880s, the central place of expansionism in America before the 1880s, and the importance of Social Darwinism and Anglo-Saxonism in the changing foreign policy climate late in the nineteenth century.
3. Write a lecture evaluating William McKinley. Did he shape events, or did events determine his course? What influenced McKinley's ideas about expansionism? Was he an effective leader during the crisis and war with Spain? Did McKinley consider the long-term consequences of expansionism?
4. A lecture on the Spanish-American War can involve many subtopics: the military situations of the United States and Spain, the conduct of the invasion of Cuba, the campaign in Puerto Rico and how the United States was drawn into the Philippines, and the decisive factors in the American victory.
5. Write a lecture analyzing the Philippine insurrection. Explain how the United States became involved in the archipelago, note the reasons the United States chose to remain in the islands, and detail how the fighting between Filipinos and Americans started. Trace the course of the insurrection and discuss the tactics employed by the American military and the way the United States achieved victory. Finally, examine the human costs of pacification.
6. Many Americans had deep misgivings about the acquisition of an overseas empire. Consult anti-imperialist literature and write a lecture outlining the case of the anti-imperialists. Why did they oppose U.S. expansion?
7. Write a lecture explaining the U.S. acquisition of the Panama Canal. Describe France's attempt to build the canal and their motives for doing so. Explain America's historic interest in the region, elaborate on Theodore Roosevelt's determination to construct and control an isthmian canal, and analyze the Panamanian revolution and America's role in it. Have students compare the pluses and minuses of the American presence in Panama and the Canal Zone.

8. Write a lecture comparing American open-door diplomacy toward China under William McKinley with Japanese-American relations during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. Explore the notion of dollar diplomacy, and show how it influenced differing policies.
9. Write a lecture examining Woodrow Wilson's Latin American policy between 1913 and 1916. Reconcile the president's initial renunciation of territorial ambitions with the frequent interventions that occurred in the Caribbean region. Note Wilson's interest in Mexico, how the two nations almost drifted into war, and the means by which hostilities were avoided. Ask what lessons can be learned from Wilson's record.

Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

The Roots of Expansion (pp. 642–648)

1. What is the relationship between America's economic interests abroad and the expansionist impulse of the late nineteenth century?
 - A large U.S. population required improved balance of trade relationships with the major powers, new natural resources, and new markets to sell goods produced by the United States.
 - U.S. leaders felt that colonies were fast disappearing under European expansion, necessitating U.S. overseas expansion.
2. Describe Alfred T. Mahan's impact on American strategic thinking in the late nineteenth century.
 - Mahan single-handedly created a strategy or blueprint for U.S. expansion, focusing on the need for the nation to build a stronger navy and to establish colonial bases to refuel U.S. ships on their way to enforce new trade agreements with other nations. He also called for the construction of a canal in Latin America to facilitate trade and for the movement of U.S. naval forces to protect overseas colonies.
3. What were the intellectual currents that encouraged Americans to believe that their country should be an imperial power?
 - The intellectual currents included individualism, republican ideology, Social Darwinism,

Anglo-Saxonism, Manifest Destiny, and jingoism.

An American Empire (pp. 648–655)

1. Why should a rebellion in Cuba—essentially an internal affair of Spain’s—have become a cause for war with the United States?
 - U.S. leaders cited the threats to U.S. business interests on the island, and the need to rescue Cuban people from the darkness of Spanish colonization as justification for the invasion of Cuba.
 - The sinking of the battleship *Maine* inflamed American jingoism and helped to unleash forces of Manifest Destiny, Social Darwinism, and Anglo-Saxon racism to bring the United States to war.
2. If America’s quarrel with Spain was over Cuba, why was the most important engagement of the Spanish-American War Dewey’s naval victory in the Philippines?
 - Dewey’s victory became a key part of American imperial and expansionist policy. The geographic location of the Philippines in Asia provided the United States with a new military base in the region to anchor a U.S. presence and prevent further European penetration into China and Asia.
 - Access to more markets in Asia was also vital to U.S. interests.
3. If, as Americans repeatedly said, they had fought Spain to help the Cuban people gain independence, how did the United States find itself fighting the Filipino people for just the opposite reason, that is, to prevent them from having independence?
 - U.S. economic and geopolitical interests outweighed any real sentiment toward allowing the Filipinos to enjoy immediate independence and democracy.
 - The rise of a resistance movement in the Philippines forced the United States to justify to its people and the world the use of military force to shut down a democratic movement. Ideologies of Manifest Destiny, Anglo-Saxonism, jingoism, and Social Darwinism combined to justify a U.S. takeover.

Onto the World Stage (pp. 655–667)

1. What did Roosevelt mean when he said the United States had to be the “policeman” of the Caribbean?

- Roosevelt meant that the United States needed to protect unstable and vulnerable nations in the region from European attempts to create exploitative and undemocratic institutions.
 - Acting as a policeman would also uphold national honor in foreign diplomacy and regulate the aggressive politics between European nations over control of new Caribbean colonies.
 - While acting as a policeman, the United States thought it could help uplift backward nations through Christianity, capitalism, and democracy.
2. Why did the United States find it so much more difficult to work its will in the Far East than in the Caribbean?
 - Asia was much farther away in terms of geography.
 - The institutions and values of the Far East were more foreign to U.S. diplomats and policymakers than those of the Hispanic Caribbean.
 - Rising Asian nationalism created a resistance movement against U.S. policy goals in the form of the Boxer Rebellion.
 - European powers conceded U.S. control of the Caribbean but not the Far East, where China remained a major focus of Europe.
 - Europeans were already entrenched in the Far East.
 3. Woodrow Wilson believed the United States should be true to its democratic principles in dealing with Latin America. How would you rate Wilson’s approach when he applied it to the Mexican Revolution?
 - Regarding the Mexican Revolution, Wilson acted undemocratically by occupying Veracruz and sending U.S. forces into Mexico in pursuit of Poncho Villa, as well as firing on Mexican cities.
 - Wilson stated “we act in the interest of Mexico alone . . . We are seeking to counsel Mexico for its own good.” Wilson was insensitive to Mexican pride and revolutionary zeal.
 - Wilson attempted to shape Mexican elections according to his interpretation of the Mexican constitution.

Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 21 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. Why did it become untenable for the United States to adhere to its traditional isolation from world affairs?

- The increase of European colonization in Africa and the Americas meant that nations to conquer and make into new colonies were fast disappearing.
 - The rise of American industry and business onto the world stage placed the United States in more direct competition with Europe for markets abroad, especially in Asia.
 - The U.S. population was increasing while available land was decreasing.
 - Ideological shifts in the form of Social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxonism, Manifest Destiny, and jingoism were on the increase since the late nineteenth century, fueling a U.S. global expansionist policy.
2. By 1899 the United States had acquired an overseas empire. How did that happen?
 - Based on ideological justifications (Social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxonism) of bringing progress to “barbarous” nations, the United States created aggressive foreign policies.
 - The American business community’s need to expand U.S. markets to maintain profits and a high standard of living for a growing population compelled national leaders like Teddy Roosevelt and Alfred Mahan to extend the U.S. empire into Asia.
 - The capture of the Philippines by an enlarged navy made possible the creation of an overseas empire.
 3. How did Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson differ as architects of American imperialism?
 - *Roosevelt*: He believed in the United States acting as the moral and physical policeman of the world, carrying a “big stick” to force out European interests. Roosevelt believed in an aggressive foreign policy based on an expanding navy and viewed U.S. expansion through the reigning ideology of the day.
 - *Taft*: As a federal judge and former military governor of the Philippines, Taft believed in a more economic and pragmatic and less idealistic approach to increasing U.S. foreign penetration of Asia. He pressed for a larger role for American investors in Asia, a policy known as dollar diplomacy. American capital would counterbalance Asian power and pave the way for increased commercial opportunities.
 - *Wilson*: A former college president and the son of Presbyterian ministers, Wilson adopted a moral and reform view of U.S. expansion in the interests of bringing Christianity and civiliza-

tion to backward peoples. He wanted to fix the problems of U.S. expansionist policy. He championed economic interests as the bedrock of U.S. expansion, but deplored Taft’s dollar diplomacy, which he believed bullied weaker countries financially. He believed the United States should conduct its policies according to its democratic principles.

Class Discussion Starters

1. What evidence exists for America’s lack of interest in foreign affairs before the 1890s?

Possible answers

- a. Before 1890 prominent citizens, even the young Theodore Roosevelt, expressed negative sentiments about overseas involvements.
- b. American military forces were scattered throughout the West and committed to fighting Indians.
- c. The United States Navy declined after the Civil War.
- d. Diplomatic appointments, both by the United States and to the United States from foreign countries, were of a generally low quality.

2. What were the economic sources of expansionism?

Possible answers

- a. Insufficient domestic markets existed to absorb the burgeoning output of American industry.
- b. Export outlets were desirable in periods of economic downturn; the more output that was sent abroad in bad times, the fewer workers who would need to be dismissed.
- c. Although exports to selected non-Western areas might be relatively small, the potential—in China, for example—was enormous.
- d. Exports needed to be boosted to balance the repatriation of the earnings of foreign investors in America.

3. What were some of Alfred Thayer Mahan’s ideas?

Possible answers

- a. Historically, great nations or empires had been major naval powers.
- b. Sea powers had to have strategic overseas bases to sustain their naval forces and commerce.

- c. A strong navy with secure overseas bases and the ability to move rapidly from one ocean to another could protect the nation's merchant marine, safeguarding foreign trade.
- d. With an expanded, modern fleet, the United States could deemphasize shore defenses.
- e. An interoceanic canal linking the Atlantic and the Pacific was indispensable to America's playing a larger role in international affairs.

4. What was the significance of the Venezuela crisis?

Possible answers

- a. The United States invoked the Monroe Doctrine, warning against European interference in the Western Hemisphere.
- b. The Venezuelan episode was a logical step in American foreign policy's outward thrust.
- c. The crisis confirmed American domination of the Western Hemisphere.
- d. American self-assertion reminded Britain that the United States was a valuable ally.

5. What were the elements of the ideology of American expansionism?

Possible answers

- a. Social Darwinist thought promoted the idea that great nations must expand; America, being a great nation, inevitably had to create an empire.
- b. The United States was mainly an Anglo-Saxon nation, and Anglo-Saxons had proved themselves to be of superior racial stock. If the United States expanded abroad, it would have the higher motive of helping lesser races develop.
- c. Americans realized that the domestic frontier had closed. In the words of the historian Frederick Jackson Turner, a "wider field," the international arena, was the new frontier.

6. Why did America declare war on Spain?

Possible answers

- a. Spain had been unable to crush the Cuban insurrection even though Spanish troops resorted to cruel and barbarous treatment of the Cuban populace.
- b. A media blitz involving the publishing empires of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst featured stories sympathetic to the

Cubans and swayed American popular opinion toward support of an intervention.

- c. The fighting was hurting American investments in Cuba.
- d. The United States wished to end Caribbean instability, a goal that could be partially accomplished by resolving the Cuban imbroglio.
- e. Neither Spain nor the United States could agree on a satisfactory negotiated end to the Cuban insurrection.
- f. The sinking of the battleship *Maine* and the publication of the Spanish envoy Dupuy de Lôme's indiscreet criticisms of President McKinley made already tense relations worse.

7. How and why did America acquire the Philippines?

Possible answers

- a. Commodore George Dewey's victory at the Battle of Manila Bay handed America a plum possession in the western Pacific.
- b. Having defeated Spain, the United States could not return the islands to that nation.
- c. The partitioning of the Philippines among the imperial powers—seen as a real danger in Washington—could jeopardize America's Pacific commerce.
- d. Control of the Philippines gave the United States more influence on international policy in nearby China and easier access to Chinese markets.
- e. It was thought that the Filipinos had to be "civilized"; the natives needed to be schooled in the science of government. The islands could be granted independence later.

8. Why was there an Anglo-American rapprochement, and what signs indicated that the two English-speaking nations were drawing closer together?

Possible answers

- a. Britain's diplomatic isolation dictated a more conciliatory policy toward America.
- b. The American policymaking elite developed more tolerant attitudes toward Britain.
- c. The British conceded any right to the Panama Canal, consenting to American control there as well as American dominance in the Caribbean.
- d. The British sacrificed the interests and dreams

of their Canadian subjects and agreed to an Alaskan boundary settlement favorable to the United States.

- e. The British and Americans shared a common language and a common belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority.

9. Where and why did the United States intervene in the Caribbean between 1898 and 1916?

Possible answers

- a. In Venezuela in 1898 to end a border dispute with Great Britain.
- b. In Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 to end Spanish control, and twice more in Cuba (1906 and 1917) because of political instability there.
- c. In Panama in 1903 to end Colombian control and build an isthmian canal.
- d. In the Dominican Republic in 1905 and 1916 to promote economic and political stability. Similar intervention provoked a rebellion in Nicaragua in 1912, resulting in occupation by American troops.
- e. In Mexico in 1914 because of an incident involving American sailors in Tampico, and again in 1916–1917 because of violation of the American border by Mexican forces.
- f. In Haiti in 1915 because of political instability.

10. Why did the American expansion across the Pacific lose some of its luster early in the twentieth century?

Possible answers

- a. The Open Door notes of 1899 and 1900 were not honored by other nations.
- b. The China market never materialized.
- c. Japan emerged as a significant East Asian force that was potentially threatening to America's Philippine colony.
- d. Dollar diplomacy in China failed during Taft's presidency.
- e. News of brutality inflicted by American troops on Filipinos nullified claims of a civilizing mission.

Classroom Activities

1. After lecturing about the United States' invasion of Cuba and the Philippines, bring in a copy of one of

Mark Twain's irony-laden articles on U.S. expansion. After reading key passages, ask the students to compare the tenets of the anti-imperialism movement with the modern antiwar movement regarding the Iraq conflict. Be sure to keep students on task of explaining the major aspects of the anti-expansionist credo. You may want to show excerpts from the PBS documentary on Mark Twain to provide a visual component to the exercise.

2. Create the conditions for a debate between Aguinaldo, the Filipino resistance leader, and President Roosevelt regarding the importance of the U.S. presence in the archipelago. Divide the class into opposing sides and give the students enough time to talk among themselves. If the class is large, simply divide the room in half and start a general discussion about opposing perspectives.

Working with Documents

COMPARING AMERICAN VOICES

Debating the Philippines (p. 656)

1. In the text we offer an account of the reasons the United States decided to hold the Philippines. In what ways does General MacArthur's testimony add to our account? Confirm it? Contradict it?
 - MacArthur states that the United States wanted to hold the Philippines to fulfill a providential Christian mission of bringing democratic and republican institutions to a people trapped in darkness.
2. In the same vein: The text tells you about the anti-imperialist movement. In what ways does Senator Patterson's cross-examination of General MacArthur provide you with a better sense of what was eating the anti-imperialists?
 - Anti-imperialists disdained the destruction of the people of the Philippines by the U.S. government's attempt to bring democracy to them. They also objected to the contradiction between the right of people to self-government under the laws of human nature, and the United States' use of force over the Filipino people.
3. Does the clash of ideas in the documents you have just read strike you as dated, in the sense, for example, that the Model T or the nickelodeon are dated? Or does that debate remain relevant for our own time, reminding you of what you today might read about in a paper or hear in a newscast?

- The debate echoes recent discussions about events taking place in Iraq, as a much larger militarized nation attacks weaker forces with high civilian casualties in the avowed interest of bringing self-government, despite resistance from the subject population.

VOICES FROM ABROAD

Jean Hess, Émile Zola, and Ruben Dario: American Goliath (p. 660)

1. The theme of this chapter is the emergence of the United States as a Great Power. What evidence is there in these documents that foreigners actually saw the United States that way?
 - These foreigners viewed the United States as a great power in terms of economic might, moral certainty from its history of representative democracy, and a high standard of living for average citizens.
2. In world affairs Americans generally had a fairly high opinion of themselves—better, certainly, than that of the corrupt Europeans. Do these documents suggest that Europeans took the Americans at their own word?
 - All of the documents mention that the United States symbolizes the human struggle for liberty and democracy in world history.
 - The United States is depicted as a modern nation producing wealth for many citizens.
3. Ruben Dario says that Americans have “barbarous souls.” Does anything in his poem—or the fact that he’s a Nicaraguan—suggest why he might say that? Is his judgment shared by the Frenchmen Hess and Zola?
 - Dario views the United States as a nation bent on invasion of Latin America for monetary gain despite a history of liberty and democracy.
 - Zola and Hess share his sentiments, but are not as vitriolic and emphasize the monetary deals and quest for world power of U.S. national leaders.

Reading American Pictures

Imperial Dilemmas (p. 658)

1. The date on the *Life* magazine cover—June 16, 1898—is significant. Commodore Dewey has won his smashing victory in Manila Bay, opening the path to an overseas empire, and U.S. troops are

preparing for the assault on Cuba. At this important moment, what is the *Life* cartoon’s message?

- *Life*’s message is that the United States has increased its militancy abroad, but is heading for a disaster because it has little knowledge of the regions it is invading.
 - Recent events that elicited a similar interpretation by the media and the public include the Vietnam conflict and the U.S. invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan.
2. The United States went to war with Spain ostensibly to secure Cuban independence. What second thoughts about that objective are raised in the cartoon “Free Cuba”? Does it give you an inkling of the policy the United States would pursue with Cuba and the Philippines once their independence from Spain had been secured?
 - A Cuba free from Spanish rule also meant a descent into anarchy, since the Cubans had no experience or ability to practice peaceful democracy. The image indicates a profound paternalism, which lay at the heart of the U.S. ideology and practice of military occupation at the expense of the independence and democratic development of the Cuban people.
 3. In recent years, historians have become sensitive to the role of gender in many aspects of American life, even aspects seemingly remote—like international relations. Can you find any evidence in either of these cartoons that gendered thinking helped shape America’s imperial adventure? In what ways?
 - The armed forces were always represented through male images, such as Uncle Sam, while democracy and liberty were represented in more gentle, feminine terms—as Cuba is personified here as a woman needing help from a male-oriented U.S. military and foreign policy.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- *The Spanish-American War*
www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898
A Library of Congress site providing resources and documents covering all aspects and theaters of the conflict.
- *American Imperialism*
www.boondocksnet.com
This site includes an extensive collection of stereoscopic images, political cartoons, maps, photographs, and documents from the period.

- *President McKinley's War message*
www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/mkinly2.htm
This page, included on Mount Holyoke College's Web site, provides the text of McKinley's justification of the invasion of Cuba.

Films

- *Then There Were None* (1995, Pacific Islanders in Communications, 26 minutes)
A passionate documentary analysis by Hawaiian native Elizabeth Lindsey of the U.S. takeover of Hawaii in 1898.
- *TR: The Story of Theodore Roosevelt* (1997, PBS documentary, 120 minutes)
This documentary from the American Experience series chronicles the life and times of the first cowboy president.
- *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish American War* (1999, PBS documentary, 120 minutes)
This documentary examines the war that steered the United States to the center stage as a world power.

Literature

- Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1890)
The primary text of the famous naval officer's treatise on U.S. world power.
- Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" (Paper presented at the American Historical Association meeting during the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893)
The western historian's thesis on the decline of the frontier provides the historical context of U.S. global expansion.
- Charles Neider, ed., *The Autobiography of Mark Twain* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1959)
Perhaps the most important cultural observer of the late nineteenth century, Twain commented extensively on U.S. expansion.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin's Resources for Chapter 21

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 21 are available as full-color acetates:

- Battle of Santiago de Cuba, 1898
- Map 21.1 The Spanish-American War of 1898
- Map 21.2 The American Empire, 1917
- Free Cuba?
- Hurrah for Imperialism!, *Life*, 1898
- Map 21.3 The Panama Canal: The Design
- Map 21.4 Policeman of the Caribbean
- Map 21.5 The Great Powers in East Asia, 1898–1910

Instructor's Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 21, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

- Map 21.1 The Spanish-American War of 1898
- Map 21.2 The American Empire, 1917
- Map 21.3 The Panama Canal: The Design
- Map 21.4 Policeman of the Caribbean
- Map 21.5 The Great Powers in East Asia, 1898–1910
- Figure 21.1 Balance of U.S. Imports, 1870–1914
- Battle of Santiago de Cuba, 1898
- Alfred T. Mahan
- The Battle of San Juan Hill
- Free Cuba?
- Hurrah for Imperialism! *Life*, 1898

Using the Bedford Series with *America's History, Sixth Edition*

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 21 include

- *The Japanese Discovery of America: A Brief History with Documents*, by Peter Duus, *Stanford University*

FOR STUDENTS**Documents to Accompany *America's History***

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 21 of the companion reader Kevin J. Fernlund, *University of Missouri-St. Louis*:

1. James G. Blaine, The American System (1881)
2. Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890)
3. Frederick Jackson Turner, The Significance of the Frontier in American History (1893)
4. Albert J. Beveridge, The March of the Flag (1898)
5. William James, The Philippines Tangle (1899)
6. William McKinley, On Prayer and the Philippines (1899)
7. R.C. Bowman, Cartoon on the Philippines and Cuba (1901)
8. John Hay, Open Door Notes (1899, 1900)
9. Mark Twain, To the Person Sitting in the Darkness (1901)
10. Theodore Roosevelt, The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine (1904, 1905)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 21:

Map Activity

- Map 21.1 The Spanish-American War of 1898

Visual Activity

- Reading American Pictures: *Imperial Dilemmas*

Reading Historical Documents Activities

- Comparing American Voices: *Debating the Philippines*
- Voices from Abroad: John Hess, Emile Zola, and Ruben Dario: *American Goliath*