Chapter Eight: America Builds An Empire

“Speak softly and carry a big stick.”
-Theodore Roosevelt
Objective:
- Identify, evaluate, and explain American expansionism, the Spanish-American War, and individuals, like Alfred Thayer Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, and Sanford B. Dole.

Essential Questions:
- How did the Spanish-American War mark a “turning point” in American history?
- What strategic and political factors led America to become an imperial power?
- What were the main consequences of American imperialism?

TEKS:
- History: 2 (A), 2 (B), 2 (C), 2 (D), 4 (A), 4 (B)
- Geography: 12 (A), 12 (B)
- Economics: 15 (C), 15 (D)
Chapter Vocabulary

- Foreign Policy
- Spanish-American War
- Joseph Pulitzer
- William Randolph Hearst
- Yellow Journalism
- De Lome Letter
- U.S.S. Maine
- Theodore Roosevelt
- Imperialism
- Alfred Thayer Mahan

- Platt Amendment
- Queen Liliuokalani
- Sandford B. Dole
- John Hay
- Open Door Policy
- Boxer Rebellion
- Panama Canal
- Big Stick Policy
- Dollar Diplomacy
- Watchful Waiting
- Pancho Villa
Important Ideas

• Foreign policy consists of a country's policies towards other nations.

• The main causes of the Spanish-American War included Spain's harsh treatment of Cubans; the sensationalization of events by American newspapers, known as "yellow journalism"; the publication of the De Lome letter calling President McKinley "weak": and the mysterious explosion of the U.S.S. Maine in Havana Harbor. Many Americans blamed Spain. When an agreement could not be reached, President McKinley asked Congress to intervene in Cuba.

• The war was fought in the Caribbean and Pacific. The U.S. Pacific Fleet defeated the Spanish at Manila Bay. Theodore Roosevelt's volunteer "Rough Riders" joined U.S. troops in Cuba. Other forces captured Guam and Puerto Rico.

• The United States emerged from the war as a major world power, after displaying its naval strength. It was also left in occupation of Spain's former colonies - Cuba, the Philippines. Guam and Puerto Rico.
Important Ideas

• Imperialists called for the United States to annex these islands as new overseas colonies. They felt it would: provide raw materials and markets for U.S. industries; add to the nation's prestige in the world community; allow America to compete with other major powers that had colonies; and allow the United States to spread its Christian ideals and way of life to less fortunate native peoples.

• Alfred Thayer Mahan was a leading imperialist who felt that national greatness was based on a nation's naval power. He urged a large navy, a large merchant fleet, and colonies to serve as coaling stations and places for trade.

• Anti-Imperialists opposed the acquisition of colonies by the United States, arguing that imperial rule over others violated the American spirit of democracy.

• In the end, the imperialists won the debate. America annexed the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam as colonies. Cuba became an informal protectorate. The United States also annexed Hawaii, Samoa, and Midway in the Pacific.

• In Hawaii, American plantation owners overthrew the queen. Sandford Dole became Hawaii's President and later its first governor.
Important Ideas

- John Hay announced the Open Door Policy in China to protect U.S. trade despite the "spheres of influence" carved out by the European powers. The United States also intervened to help crush the Boxer Rebellion in China. Hay opposed attempts by European powers to break up China after the rebellion.

- The United States became the first power to open Japan to foreign trade. Soon after, Japan industrialized and emerged as a leading military power in Asia, defeating China and then Russia in two separate wars.

- The Spanish-American War demonstrated the need for a canal through Central America so U.S. warships could move back and forth between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Roosevelt negotiated with Colombia for the right to build a canal through Panama. He sent ships to protect an uprising by Panamanians against Colombia in exchange for a strip of land known as the Panama Canal Zone.

- The U.S. intervened in the Caribbean, which became virtually an "American Lake." Roosevelt asserted the right to intervene under his Big Stick Policy.
What is Foreign Policy?

• Foreign policy refers to a country's policies towards other countries. Social scientists believe there are certain characteristics that make foreign policy special.

  • **International Anarchy:**
    ▫ Each independent, sovereign nation has its own laws that citizens must obey. If citizens fail to obey these laws, they can be punished. Sovereign countries, however, are not subject to such higher laws. For this reason, social scientists say that sovereign nations exist in a system of international anarchy. Each nation must depend on its own military and economic power to survive. On the other hand, countries usually follow some rules and customs to get along with one another.

• **Balance of Power:**
  ▫ When one country becomes too powerful, other countries sometimes band together in an alliance or coalition to protect themselves and make sure the threatening power does not become any stronger. This tendency is known as maintaining the balance of power.
What is Foreign Policy?

- **Control of U.S. Foreign Policy:**
  - In the United States, the Constitution places control of foreign policy in the hands of both the President and Congress. While the President and Secretary of State handle day-to-day diplomacy, they need Congress to vote funds to support their policies, or to declare war.

- **Traditional Foreign Policy:**
  - For much of their early history, Americans felt safe behind their two oceans. These oceans protected Americans from attack. President Washington had warned Americans to avoid entanglements with European nations, who were frequently at war with each other. Instead, he advised Americans to focus on the Western Hemisphere. For the first 150 years after independence, Americans largely followed Washington's advice.

- **National Interests:**
  - In the conduct of foreign policy, each nation is usually guided by its national interests. For the United States, these include security from attack, protecting American investments, and promoting American democracy and its way of life. To evaluate a particular foreign policy, you must determine how well it promotes these goals.
Origins of the Spanish-American War

- Once the greatest of all world empires, by 1890 Spain's overseas empire had been reduced to Cuba, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and a few smaller islands.
- Most Cubans were peasants and laborers working on sugar and tobacco plantations. In 1894, the United States raised its tariff on foreign sugar. This made it harder for Cuba to export its sugar, leading to unemployment. Cuban exiles in the United States, led by Jose Marti, sailed home and declared Cuban independence in 1895. Spain responded by sending a Spanish army to Cuba to crush the rebellion. They used brutal methods to repress the uprising. To isolate the rebels, entire villages were forced into camps surrounded by barbed wire, where many died of disease and starvation.
Origins of the Spanish-American War

- These events raised humanitarian concerns in the United States. They were reported in newspapers like Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. These newspapers deliberately sensationalized the news, depicting the Spaniards as murderous brutes in order to sell more newspapers. This technique became known as "yellow journalism." Their unbalanced reporting increased their circulations, but gave Americans an inaccurate picture of events in Cuba. Americans were also concerned to protect their investments in and trade with Cuba.
The Triggering Events

• In early 1898, a letter by De Lome, the Spanish ambassador, was published in newspapers in the United States. The De Lome letter outraged Americans by calling President McKinley "weak." Shortly afterwards, the *U.S.S. Maine* was sent to Cuba to protect the lives and property of Americans. While it was moored in Havana Harbor, it was sunk by an explosion that killed 258 U.S. sailors and injured many others. Although the cause of the explosion remains unknown, the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers blamed the Spanish for sabotage.

• The sinking of the *Maine* set off a firestorm of protests in the United States. The Spanish government was willing to halt its fighting against the Cuban rebels and even to open the camps of Cuban prisoners, but refused to grant Cuba its independence.
The Spanish-American War

- The Spanish-American War was fought on two fronts - in the Pacific and the Caribbean. Shortly after the start of the war, the U.S. Pacific fleet sailed to the Philippines to aid Filipino rebels already in revolt against Spain. The navy defeated a squadron of Spanish ships in Manila Bay. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt raised a volunteer force, known as the "Rough Riders." Acting with other army regiments, they defeated Spanish forces at San Juan Hill in Cuba. The U.S. Navy also took Guantanamo Bay. Nevertheless, some U.S. Army troops had to withdraw from Cuba because they were contracting Yellow Fever. Other forces occupied Guam and Puerto Rico. Within four months, Spain was defeated. American forces were left in occupation of the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam.
The Spanish-American War marked the end of Spain's colonial empire and the emergence of the United States as a world power. The war had let the United States demonstrate its naval strength to the world. It also raised a critical issue for Americans: What should the United States do with the former Spanish colonies it was now occupying? Many historians see the war as a turning point because the United States had awakened to its potential as a world power.
American Imperialism

- By the war's end, the United States was occupying four of Spain's former colonies. Many Americans believed they should annex them. These American "imperialists" saw this as a unique opportunity, pointing out how European powers had recently acquired colonies in Africa and Asia. They believed the United States should take its own colonies before there was nothing else left to grab.
- The imperialists gave these arguments on behalf of U.S. colonial expansion:

  - **Need For Raw Materials and Markets.** The United States was now an industrial power. Colonies could provide needed raw materials for factories, a guaranteed market for manufacturers, and a place for farmers to sell their surplus crops.
  - **Strategic Reasons.** Some Americans believed colonies would promote American naval strength. With naval bases throughout the world, America would be able to maintain a powerful navy to protect its interests.
  - **Nationalism.** Some saw colonial expansion as a means of showing that the United States was a great and powerful nation. They argued that the European powers were gathering colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, and that the United States should grab its own colonies before nothing was left.
  - **Attitudes towards other Peoples.** Many Americans believed in Anglo-Saxon superiority — that Americans were a "superior race" that should rule others. Progressives believed that by spreading American institutions, they could help other, less fortunate peoples. Missionaries wanted to convert native peoples to Christianity.
American Imperialism

- Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, President of the Naval War College, was America's leading advocate for imperial expansion. Theodore Roosevelt was one of Mahan's followers. In his *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), Mahan focused on the harsh political realities of expansion. Mahan argued that to achieve world power, a country needed a powerful navy. For this, a country also needed a large merchant marine to supply its sailors. Finally, a world power required colonies and naval bases to provide coaling stations for its steamships, and to create the trade needed to support its merchant ships.

- Because other powers were also competing for naval supremacy and world markets, Mahan believed it was essential for Americans to seize control of Pacific trade routes, to construct a canal through Central America, and to dominate the Caribbean region. Geographically, Americans would then control the sea lanes from the Caribbean Sea across the Pacific Ocean all the way to China and Japan.
The Anti-Imperialists

• On the other hand, the United States itself had once consisted of thirteen colonies. Even as late as the 1890s, many Americans felt uneasy about forcing colonial rule on others. Opponents of colonialism, like Mark Twain and Andrew Carnegie, felt imperialism violated the basic democratic principles of self-government on which the United States was founded. Some of these anti-imperialists formed the American Anti-Imperialist League in 1898 to oppose the acquisition of colonies.
The Anti-Imperialists

- In the end, the imperialists won the argument. After the Spanish-American War, the United States acquired a colonial empire consisting of the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Samoa, and Midway. One U.S. Senator and Anti-Imperialist League member mourned "the danger that we are to be transformed from a Republic, founded on the Declaration of Independence, into a vulgar, common empire, founded on force."

A Congressional resolution, passed just before the war, had guaranteed the independence of Cuba, but even this island came under the informal control of the United States. Cubans were forced to agree to the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs at any time.
Filipinos were greatly disappointed when the U.S. Congress decided to annex the Philippines instead of granting them their independence. Filipino rebels fought against their new colonial rulers until they were finally defeated in 1902.
America in the Pacific: Hawaii

- The Hawaiian islands once provided a refueling station for American ships. American settlers built sugar and pineapple plantations on Hawaii. Missionaries were also sent to Hawaii to convert the natives to Christianity. In the 1890s, Queen Liliuokalani, the native ruler, tried to take political power back from American landowners. In response, American landowners overthrew the Queen in 1893. Sandford B. Dole, a lawyer, led the provisional government while it worked out plans for the United States to annex the islands. Dole had worked to limit native rights in 1887 and had helped to overthrow the Queen.
America in the Pacific: Hawaii

- When President Cleveland refused to annex Hawaii because of the planters' actions in seizing power, Dole served as Hawaii's President. After the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Congress then voted to annex Hawaii in 1898. Dole served as Governor of Hawaii from 1900 to 1903. One of his cousins developed the Dole pineapple company.
America in the Pacific: Other Pacific Islands

- Guam:
  - Guam was an important port-of-call for Spanish ships crossing the Pacific from Mexico to the Philippines. In 1898, Guam was taken from Spain by the United States during the Spanish-American War. Today, it is an unincorporated territory of the United States.

- Samoa and Midway:
  - Midway had become an American possession in 1867, even before the Spanish-American War. In 1899, Samoa was divided between Germany and the United States. These Pacific islands provided valuable naval bases and refueling stations for American ships traveling to Asia.
America & East Asia: China

- In China, European powers had already established exclusive "spheres of influence" (areas where they enjoyed special privileges) in the 1850s. The United States did not have a sphere of influence there, but had long carried on active trade in China. If other nations were permitted to partition China, the United States would likely be blocked from future economic activities. U.S. Secretary of State John Hay was anxious to protect American businessmen and investors there. He worried that American trade would be shut out of China by these European powers. Hay saw China as a vital market for America's new industrial economy. In 1899, Hay announced the "Open Door" Policy, giving equal trading rights to all foreign nations in China. Hay sent notes to the other major powers and declared his policy to be in effect.
• Only a few months later, in 1900, a rebellion erupted in China. It was led by the Boxers, a group opposing Western influence in China. The Boxer Rebellion threatened the lives of foreigners living in China. An international army, with U.S. participation, was sent to China where it crushed the rebellion. Hay announced that the United States would oppose any attempt by other nations to use the rebellion as an excuse to dismember China.
America & East Asia: Japan

- The United States opened an isolationist Japan to Western trade and influence when Commodore Matthew Perry landed there with American gunships in 1853. By the 1890s, Japan had adopted Western ways and had become the first Asian industrial power. Japan also adopted imperialist policies, defeating China in 1894. In 1905, Japan surprised the West by defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War. President Roosevelt brought the Russians and Japanese together and negotiated a peaceful settlement in the Treaty of Portsmouth (1905). He won the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.
America in the Caribbean

- As you learned earlier in this chapter, the Spanish-American War gave the United States direct control of Puerto Rico and indirect control of Cuba. These acquisitions led to increased American interest in the Caribbean region.

**Hemispheric Security.** The United States sought to keep foreign powers out of the Caribbean because they might pose a threat to U.S. security.

**Economic Interests.** The Caribbean region was an important supplier of agricultural products, like sugar, and provided a valuable market for American goods and investment.

**Reasons for U.S. Interest in the Caribbean**

- **Need for a Canal.** The Spanish-American War demonstrated that the United States needed easier access by water between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. The most likely way to achieve this was by building a canal in Central America.
Puerto Rico

- Puerto Rico is a small island in the Caribbean Sea, 100 miles long by 35 miles wide. It became an American possession after the Spanish-American War in 1898. In May 1900, the U.S. government established to a civil government with a governor, an upper house of delegates picked by the President and approved by Congress, and a lower house elected by popular vote.
Cuba

- Cuba is the largest island in the Caribbean. As you learned earlier, Congress had passed a resolution before the Spanish-American War not to annex Cuba. Nevertheless, after the war, Cuba became a "protectorate" under American control. U.S. forces remained on the island, and American businesses invested heavily in Cuba. Cubans were forced to agree to the Platt Amendment, which gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs at any time. The Platt Amendment was not repealed until the 1930s.
Panama Canal

- During the Spanish-American War, warships in the Pacific fleet had to sail 16,000 miles around the tip of South America to reach the Caribbean. This highlighted the need for a canal to send ships back and forth between the two oceans instead of having two separate naval fleets. The Isthmus of Panama, the narrowest point in Central America, was the best place to build the canal.
Panama Canal

- At this time, Panama was a part of Colombia. The U.S. and the government of Colombia entered into negotiations but could not agree on terms. While President Roosevelt was waiting to hear from Colombia, he struck a deal with Panamanian rebels who wished to obtain their independence. Roosevelt sent a U.S. warship to Panama to protect the rebels when they took action. Immediately afterwards, Roosevelt recognized Panama as a new country. In return, the new government of Panama gave the United States complete control of a 10-mile strip of rainforest through the center of Panama, known as the Panama Canal Zone.
Challenges of Building the Canal

• President Roosevelt ordered the building of the canal almost at once. The construction of the canal presented as many problems as the political obstacles. Construction of its 51-mile length took 10 years (1903 -1914) to complete, at a cost of thousands of lives and $400 million.

• Because the canal crossed landforms at different elevations, engineers had to design a series of six giant locks. Panama's tropical climate posed special challenges: workers labored in intense heat as they cut through mountains and dense rainforests. Heavy rains caused frequent mudslides. Dr. Walter Reed had just discovered that yellow fever was spread by mosquitoes. To reduce the threat of yellow fever, Dr. William Gorgas of the U.S. Army, ordered all swamps drained, vegetation cut down, and all standing water sprayed with oil to prevent further breeding of mosquito larvae.
The Caribbean As An “American Lake”

- The **Monroe Doctrine** (1823) had prevented Europeans from establishing new colonies in the Western Hemisphere. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, American governments extended the Monroe Doctrine by intervening in the Caribbean to protect America's economic interests.
In 1904, President Roosevelt barred European countries from using force to collect debts owed to them by the Dominican Republic. Roosevelt declared that the United States would collect the debt for them, acting as an "international police power." He called this the "Roosevelt Corollary" to the Monroe Doctrine. It became popularly known as the Big Stick Policy, since Roosevelt boasted he would "walk softly but carry a big stick." The corollary was often used to justify sending U.S. troops to the West Indies and Central America. These frequent interventions in Haiti, Nicaragua, Honduras, and the Dominican Republic were deeply resented by Latin Americans.
President Taft encouraged bankers to invest in the countries of the Caribbean region. His use of American investment to promote American foreign policy goals became known as "dollar diplomacy." If a Latin American country could not repay its loans on time, the U.S. government then sent in troops to make sure the money was repaid. For example, U.S. bankers lent money to Nicaragua. When the government had trouble making its loan repayments, U.S. bankers sought control of Nicaragua's railroads, custom duties, and national bank. When the Nicaraguan government refused to agree, President Taft sent in the U.S. Marines.
Wilson’s Latin American Policy

- President Wilson sought to distinguish his Presidency from the bullying tactics of earlier Presidents, but events soon prevented him from keeping his promise.
- Wilson quickly followed the pattern of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft by sending troops to Haiti, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic to protect American interests. President Wilson also expanded America's colonial empire by purchasing the Virgin Islands from Denmark in 1917.
Wilson’s Latin American Policy

- Mexico was already undergoing a violent revolution when Woodrow Wilson became President. Wilson refused to recognize its new government, which had seized power through violence. Instead, he adopted a policy of "watchful waiting." When troops of the rebel leader Pancho Villa murdered Americans in New Mexico and retreated across the border, Wilson reacted. He sent an American Expeditionary Force into Mexico under General John J. Pershing to apprehend him. Nevertheless, Pancho Villa eluded capture. Wilson finally withdrew these troops in 1917, when America entered World War I in Europe.