

# AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

## US HISTORY

### ENDURING UNDERSTANDING

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, competition for economic, political, and military power brought the United States into international conflict.

### ESSENTIAL QUESTION

- How did global competition motivate the United States to become a world power?
- How did the U.S. exercise this new power?

### FORCES OF UNITY AND DISUNITY

6.14: Students understand the tensions between the forces of unity and those of disunity in various times in their local community, in the United States, and in various locations world wide.

### FOCUS QUESTIONS

Should the U.S. become an Imperialist Power?

What should our foreign policy (role) consist of today?

## The United States Becomes a World Power (1890-1920)

By 1890, the United States had by far the world's most productive economy. American industry produced twice as much as its closest competitor--Britain. But the United States was not a great military or diplomatic power. Its army numbered less than 30,000 troops, and its navy had only about 10,000 men.

Britain's army was five times the size of its American counterpart, and its navy was ten times bigger. The United States' military was small because the country was situated between two large oceans and was surrounded by weak or friendly nations. It faced no serious military threats and had little interest in asserting military power overseas.

From the Civil War until the 1890s, most Americans had little interest in territorial expansion. William Seward, the secretary of state under presidents Lincoln and Johnson, did envision American expansion into Alaska, Canada, Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean, Iceland, Greenland, Hawaii, and other Pacific islands.

But he witnessed only two small parts of this vision. In 1867, the United States purchased Alaska from Russia for \$72 million and occupied the Midway Islands in the Pacific.

**Americans resisted expansion for two major reasons.** One was that imperial rule seemed inconsistent with America's political principles. The other was that the United States was uninterested in acquiring people with different cultures, languages, and religions. But where an older generation of moralists thought that ruling a people without their consent violated a core principle of republicanism, a younger generation believed that the United States had a duty to uplift backward societies.

By the mid-1890s, a shift had taken place in American attitudes toward expansion that was sparked partly by a European scramble for empire. Between 1870 and 1900, the European powers seized 10 million square miles of territory in Africa and Asia, a fifth of the world's land mass. About 150 million people were subjected to colonial rule.

In the United States, a growing number of policy makers, bankers, manufacturers, and trade unions grew fearful that the country might be closed out in the struggle for global markets and raw materials.

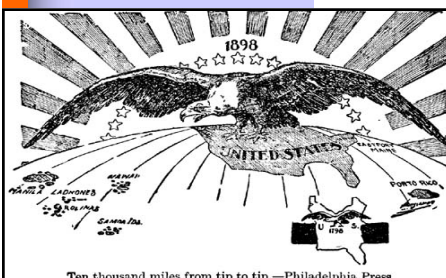
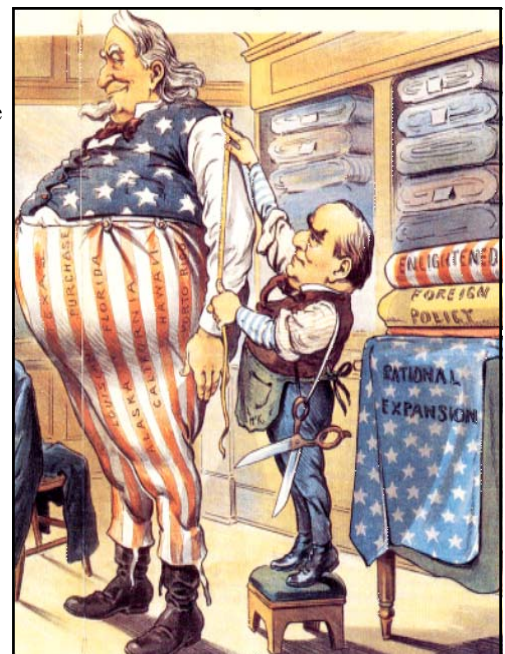
A belief that the world's nations were engaged in a **Darwinian** struggle for survival and that countries that failed to compete were doomed to decline also contributed to a new boldness on the part of the United States.

By the 1890s, the American economy was increasingly dependent on foreign trade. A quarter of the nation's farm products and half its petroleum were sold overseas.

Alfred Thayer Mahan, a naval strategist and the author of *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, argued that national prosperity and power depended on control of the world's sea-lanes. "Whoever rules the waves rules the world," Mahan wrote.



To become a major naval power, the United States began to replace its wooden sailing ships with steel vessels powered by coal or oil in 1883. But control of the seas would also require the acquisition of naval bases and coaling stations. Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm had copies of Mahan's books placed on every ship in the German High Seas Fleet and the Japanese government put translations in its imperial bureaus. *(continued at the top of page 2)*



## America Becomes a World Power (continued)

During the late 19th century, the idea that the United States had a special mission to uplift "backward" people around the world also commanded growing support.

The mainstream Protestant religious groups established religion missions in Africa and Asia, including 500 missions in China by 1890.

During the late 1880s, American foreign policy makers began to display a new assertiveness.

The United States came close to declaring war against Germany over Samoa in 1889; against Chile in 1891 over the treatment of U.S. sailors; and against Britain in 1895, over a territorial dispute between Venezuela and Britain.

American involvement in the overthrow of Hawaii's monarchy in 1893 precipitated a momentous debate over the United States' global role.

They debated whether the U.S. should behave like a great power and seize colonies or whether it should remain isolated.

### Should the U.S. Become an Imperialist Power?

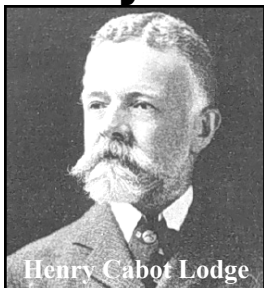
As the United States approached the end of the 1800s, Americans began to debate whether or not the country should continue to expand overseas. Some argued that gaining an overseas empire would enable the United States to play a stronger role in world affairs. Others opposed becoming an imperialist power for both moral and realistic reasons.

There were four main schools of thought when it came to America's role towards imperialism:

1. **Henry Cabot Lodge:** The U.S. must expand to compete;
2. **Carl Schurz:** The U.S. should become a power for peace;
3. **Josiah Strong:** The U.S. should spread Anglo-Saxon civilization; and
4. **Alfred T. Mahan:** The U.S. must become a great sea power.

**Evaluate:** *What school and/or schools of thought do you agree with concerning America's role towards imperialism? Do you agree with one or a combination of any four philosophies?*

## Henry Cabot Lodge: *The U.S. must expand to compete!!!*



Pointing to the European scramble for colonies, some Americans argued that from a practical opinion, the United States must expand to compete economically.

Their arguments often reflected a **social Darwinist** emphasis on "survival of the fittest." Henry Cabot Lodge, a powerful member of the Senate Committee on Foreign relations, strongly urged the country to join the imperialist club by stating:

*"Small states are of the past and have no future. The modern movement is all toward the concentration of people and territory into great nations and large dominions (self-governing territories).*

*The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defense all the waste places of the earth. It is a movement which makes for civilization and advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march."*



## Carl Schurz: *The U.S. should become a power for peace!!!*

Some Americans saw imperialism as fundamentally un-American. They wondered how the United States could spread its democratic ideals abroad if it did not respect the rights of other nations.



Anti-imperialist politician and **reformer** Carl Schurz acknowledged that the nation should defend its interests.

But he also believed that U.S. foreign policy should promote peace, not conquest by stating:

*"In its dealings with other nations (the United States) should have scrupulous (careful) regard, not only for their rights, but also for their self-respect. With all its resources for war, it should be the great peace power of the world.*

*It (America) should seek to influence mankind, not by heavy artillery, but by good example and wise counsel. It should see its highest glory, not in battles won, but in wars prevented.*

*It should be so invariably (always) just and fair, so trustworthy that other nations would instinctively turn to it as the great preserver of the world's peace."*



## Josiah Strong: *The U.S. should spread Anglo-Saxon civilization!!!*

Some Americans supported imperialism from a moral rather than an economic opinion. They saw much of the world as living in darkness. It was the duty of the United States, in their view, to bring the light of freedom and Christianity to those dark places. Josiah Strong, a Christian missionary leader, was a leader of this group.

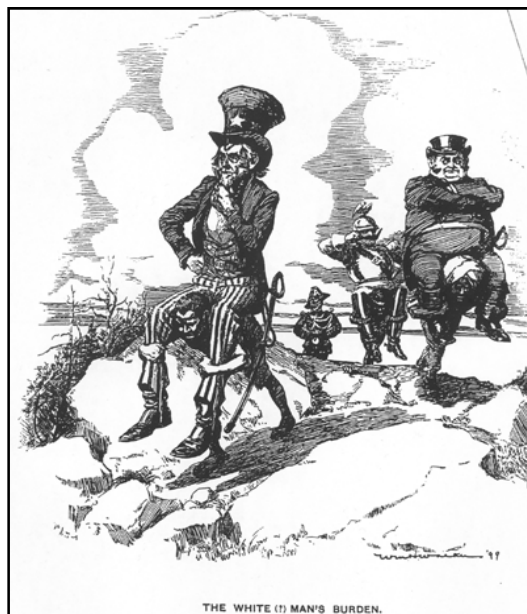


In his influential book *Our Country*, Strong wrote that the United States had a “divine mission” to spread its **Anglo-Saxon civilization** around the world. When he used the term Anglo-Saxons, Strong was referring to white English-speaking peoples. In his view, Anglo-Saxon civilization was superior to all others because it was founded on the twin ideas of civil liberty and Christianity.

Strong once said, “*To be a Christian and an Anglo-Saxon and an American, is to stand at the very mountain top of privilege.*” While such views seem racist today, they were widely accepted a century ago. Strong also stated:

*“It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world’s future... Then this race of unequalled energy...the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization...will spread itself over the earth...”*

*This powerful race will move down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America,*



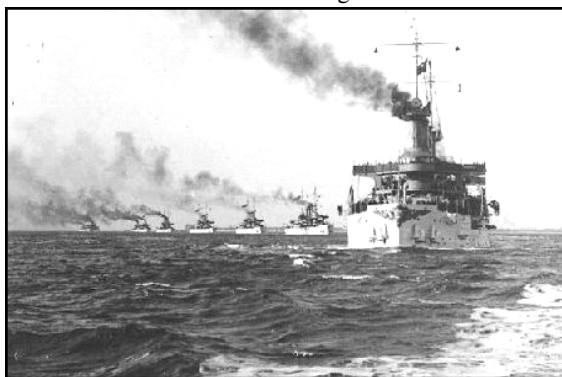
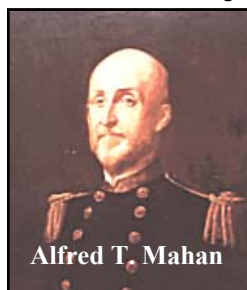
*out upon the islands of the sea, over upon Africa and beyond...Is there room for reasonable doubt that this race...is destined to dispossess (strip) many weaker races, assimilate (blend in) others, and mold the remainder, until, in a very true and important sense, it has Anglo-Saxonized mankind?”*

## Alfred T. Mahan: *The U.S. must become a great sea power!!!*

Some supporters of imperialism were more concerned with national power than the spread of civilization. This was true of naval officer and military historian, Alfred T. Mahan.

In an important book titled *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Mahan argued that sea power was key to national greatness. The time had come, he believed, for Americans to pay more attention to becoming a major world power.

*“Whether they will or not, Americans must now begin to look outward,”* Mahan wrote in an article summarizing his views. *“The growing production of the country demands it. An increasing volume of public sentiment demands it.”*



To Mahan and his supporters, becoming a world power meant

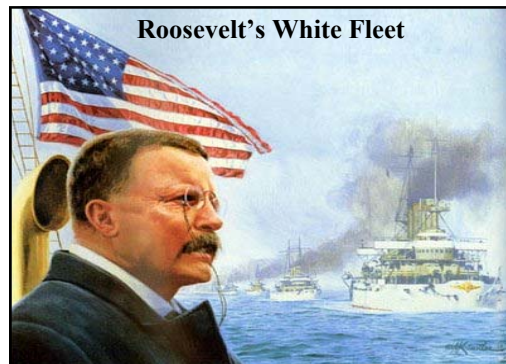
building a strong navy. This would require not only ships, but also well-protected harbors. It would also require naval repair facilities and coaling stations overseas in U.S.-

controlled territories like American Samoa. Mahan wrote that influence in world affairs...

*“...requires underlying (basic) military readiness, like the proverbial (well-known) iron hand under the velvet glove. To provide this, three things are needful: First protection of the nation’s chief harbors by*

*fortifications and coast-defense ships, which gives defensive strength...Secondly, naval force, the arm of offensive power, which alone enables a country to extend its influence outward.*

*Thirdly, it should be an inviolable (unbreakable) resolution of our national policy, that no foreign state should henceforth acquire a coaling position (station) within three thousand miles of San Francisco...For fuel is the life of modern naval warfare; it is the food of the ship; without it the modern monsters of the deep lie.”*



## What was the Monroe Doctrine?

In the early 1800s, the United States was beginning to recognize that it had enormous potential in expansion and growth. During this time, the Spanish colonies in Latin America were slowly gaining their independence and these vulnerable colonies were now up for grabs should the new Latin American countries not be able to establish a stable form of government.

The U.S. foreign policy at this time was guided by two goals. The first goal was to keep the United States free of foreign alliances and out of foreign conflicts. The second was to expand the United States



across the North American continent. As Americans began to look outward in the late 1800s, they debated the nation's proper role in world affairs.

One of the most notable milestones of President James Monroe's administration was the establishment of his **Monroe Doctrine**.

With the help of John Quincy Adams in December of 1823, Monroe delivered a message to Congress and the rest of the world that set forth the following principles, which would later become known as the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine basically stated:

1. The **Western Hemisphere** was no longer open for European colonization;
2. The **political system** of the Americas was different from Europe (democracy vs. monarchy);
3. The United States would regard any **interference** in Western hemispheric affairs as a **threat** to its security; and
4. The United States would **keep out** of European wars and would not disturb existing colonies in the Western Hemisphere.



In one sense, this doctrine was an act of **isolationism**, with America withdrawing from the political powers of Europe. But it was also a recognition of a changing world order.

The doctrine became the basis for a good deal of high-handed interference in South American affairs as the United States embarked on a path of interfering in Central and South America.

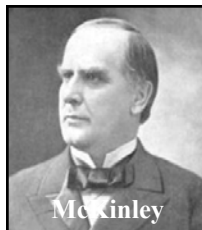
## Three Presidents, Three Foreign Policies

Watching England, Germany, France, and Belgium spread their global empires in Asia and Africa, America concentrated its imperialist intentions by going to war with Spain in what would be known as the Spanish American War.

By going to war with Spain and gaining overseas possessions, President McKinley had set the stage for a more aggressive foreign policy.

The next three presidents—Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson—pursued their own policies. But all three gave the United States an even greater role in world affairs.

Although their foreign policies differed, each president intervened abroad to pursue American goals.



Some goals were **realist**, such as controlling access to foreign resources.

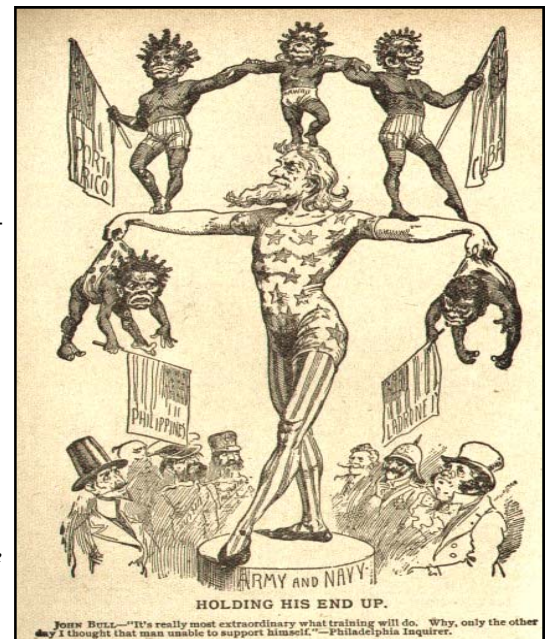
Other goals were **idealist**, such as promoting democracy.

In developing foreign policy, the guiding principle for all three presidents was to serve the **national interest**.

The national interest is the set of goals—**political, economic, military, and cultural**—that a nation considers important.

Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson carried out foreign policies they believed would advance American interests.

*The cartoon on the right shows how Uncle Sam is taking over different cultures and training them to meet his interests.*



## Roosevelt Expands U.S. Involvement Overseas

Theodore Roosevelt applied an energetic spirit to foreign policy. He wanted to make the United States a great power that could exert influence around the world.

He believed that the country must meet any challenge to its national interest overseas.

Roosevelt once wrote, “*I have always been fond of the West African proverb: ‘Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.’*”

He believed in working quietly and patiently to achieve goals overseas but using force if necessary. Roosevelt’s strong-arm approach to foreign affairs became known as the **Big Stick Policy**.

In 1904, Roosevelt formalized this policy in a major address to Congress. He reminded his audience that the **Monroe Doctrine** was designed to prevent Europeans from interfering in the Americas.

Yet he noted that nearly a century later many countries in the **Western Hemisphere** were still too weak to defend themselves. Roosevelt asserted (insisted) that the United States there-

fore must use “international police power” to preserve peace and order in the hemisphere and protect American interests.

He claimed that this power would help protect weak nations and was a direct extension of the Monroe Doctrine. For that reason, his statement became known as the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. A **corollary** is a proposition that is a logical extension of a principle.

Over the next several decades, the United States **intervened** (stepped in) repeatedly in Latin America and the Caribbean. It sent troops to stop rebellious behavior and prop up rulers who supported U.S. interests.

Roosevelt and his successors claimed that these actions were necessary to promote stability in the region, but many critics saw them as an exercise of imperial power.

Roosevelt also used diplomacy to help bring peace to a foreign region. In 1905, he mediated



(resolved) a conflict between Japan and Russia, which were fighting to control Korea and Manchuria. For his efforts in ending the war, he won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

However, the treaty left both Japan and Russia dissatisfied and resentful of the United States.

**Evaluate:** *Would your character agree, disagree, or partially agree with Roosevelt’s Big Stick Policy? How would your character respond to Roosevelt’s reactions concerning the events in Latin America? Japan and Russia?*

## Taft Advances U.S. Economic Interests



After becoming president in 1909, William Howard Taft continued the main thrust of Roosevelt’s foreign policy but shifted to economic goals.

His policy, which became known as **Dollar Diplomacy**, was to encourage and protect American trade and investment in Latin America and Asia.

Taft believed that strong economic presence overseas would advance American interests.

Taft claimed that Dollar Diplomacy would limit the use of force overseas. But the United States continued to intervene militarily.

In Nicaragua, for example, the U.S. supported a revolt that brought a pro-U.S. leader into power in 1911. American banks then provided loans to the new government. The government was corrupt and unpopular, however, and

a new revolt broke out in 1912. Taft sent marines to put it down and to protect American business interests. The United States kept troops in Nicaragua almost continuously until 1933.

**Evaluate:** *Would your character agree, disagree, or partially agree with Taft’s Dollar Diplomacy? How would your character respond to Taft’s reactions concerning the events in Nicaragua?*

## Wilson Champions Democracy Around the Globe



When Woodrow Wilson became president in 1913, he tried to take a moral approach to foreign relations.

He called this policy **Moral Diplomacy**. It was based on democratic ideals, rather than economic investment or the use of force.

The United States should use its power to aid “the development of constitutional liberty in the world,” Wilson said, by basing its foreign policy on “human rights, national integrity, and opportunity...”

Wilson also introduced a concept called **Self-Determination** in to American foreign policy. By this he meant the right of other peoples to determine their own government, free of outside influence.

In dealing with the countries of Latin America, Wilson said, “We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor...whether it squares with our own interest or not.”

Wilson’s principles were tested by more turmoil in Latin America. In 1915, a revolt in Haiti prompted him to send marines to protect American lives and investments. It was not

until 1934 that the United States withdrew its troops from Haiti. In 1916, Wilson sent troops to the Dominican Republic, where they stayed for 12 years.

Ironically, despite Wilson’s best intentions with his Moral Diplomacy and Self-Determination policies, Wilson actually intervened more than either Taft or Roosevelt.

**Evaluate:** *Would your character agree, disagree, or partially agree with Wilson’s Moral Diplomacy? Self-Determination? How would your character respond to Wilson’s reactions concerning the events in Haiti? The Dominican Republic?*

## The Spanish American War Period: 1890-1920

The Spanish American War can be noted as America's muscle-flexing war, a war that a young, cocky nation fought to shake off the cobwebs, pull itself out of the economic depression, and prove itself to an arrogant Europe.

### Trouble in Cuba

The debate over America's global role intensified when Cubans began to fight for their independence from Spain in 1895. A fading world power, Spain was trying to maintain control over a native population that demanded its freedom, as America had demanded and won its independence a century earlier. Americans were sympathetic to Cuba's struggle for independence, but were divided about how to help.

The Republican Speaker of the House did not want "to spill American blood," unless American interests were directly threatened, whereas Theodore Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, pushed for war against Spain. But an element of fear also played into the decision to intervene. There was already one black republic in the Western Hemisphere, in Haiti. The United States did not want black republic in Cuba...remember, this is the time of the discriminatory, Jim Crow (segregation) laws in the United States where 'separate but equal' was allowed.

In addition, President William McKinley was deeply hesitant about war against Spain. The last president to have served in the Civil War, McKinley said he had seen too much carnage at battles like Antietam to be enthusiastic about war with Spain. "I've been through one war. I have seen the dead piled up, and I do not want to see another."

### The Push for War & Role of the Media

Ultimately, however, the pressure of public opinion forced McKinley into the war that made the United States an international power. Newspaper publishers like William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer worked up war fever among the public with reports of Spanish atrocities against Cuban rebels. These sensationalized news stories, often exaggerated, soon became known as **yellow journalism**. Yellow journalism helped inflame public support for going to war against Spain.

Hearst's *New York Journal* published a leaked letter in which the chief Spanish diplomat in Washington, Enrique Doby de Lome, described President McKinley as "weak" and a "petty politician." Hearst publicized the DeLome letter under the screaming headline: "**WORST INSULT TO THE UNITED STATES IN ITS HISTORY.**"

### Remember the Maine!

Days later, on February 15, 1898, an explosion sank the *U.S.S. Maine* in Cuban's Havana harbor. More than 260 American sailors were killed in the blast. Newspapers around the country responded with calls for vengeance.

The *Maine* had been sent to Cuba in January 1898 after riots broke out in the streets of Havana. Fearing harm to American citizens and property, President McKinley sent the *Maine* to Cuba to protect American interests.

Despite sketchy evidence, a naval court of inquiry blamed the explosion on a Spanish mine, further inflaming public sentiment against Spain.



Eighty years later, U.S. Naval researchers who studied the explosion of the *Maine* concluded a Spanish mine was not responsible. It is now thought that heat from a fire in a coal bin exploded a nearby supply of ammunition.

As anti-Spanish feelings in the United States reached an all-time high, Senator Redfield Proctor of Vermont, after returning from a visit to Cuba, announced that he had reversed his position from **isolationism to intervention** "...because of the spectacle of a million and a half people, the entire native population of Cuba, struggling for freedom and deliverance."

### War is Declared

After ten days of debate, Congress declared war, but only after adopting the **Teller Amendment**. The amendment made it clear that Spain should give up her colony of Cuba and that Cuba should be an independent Republic.

In addition, the amendment gave the President of the United States the right to enforce the amendment with the use of "the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect."

Although The United States did not claim to have imperialist ambitions, and it announced that

the United States would not acquire Cuba, European leaders were shocked by the Teller Amendment.

Britain's Queen Victoria called on the European powers to "unite...against such unheard [off] conduct," since the United States might in the future declare Ireland and other colonies independent.

### Results of the Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War lasted only a few months, but it had dramatic results. The United States won the conflict convincingly, demonstrating military power in overseas combat, with few American battle casualties. In the end, there were 5,462 American deaths in the war, only 379 of which were battle casualties. Yellow fever, malaria, and other diseases were primarily responsible for most of them.

With its victory, the United States emerged as a new world power. It had defeated a European nation (Spain) and won control of overseas territories. In the Treaty of Paris, the United States solidified its new position in world affairs. The 144-day war resulted in the United States taking control of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam. With the annexation of Hawaii in 1898, America had in place its "stepping-stones" to a new Pacific empire.

### The Long-Term Effects...Broken Promises or Manifest Destiny?

Despite its promise from the Teller Amendment that Cuba should be an independent nation, the United States set up a military government in Cuba and made the soldiers' withdrawal contingent on the Cubans accepting the **Platt Amendment**.

The amendment gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba to protect "life, property, and individual liberties." The amendment also gave the United States the right to buy or lease Cuban land for naval bases. To this day, the United States still operates a naval base at Guantanamo Bay, on Cuba's southeastern coast.

American business companies also gained significant control over the Cuban economy. By 1913, American investment on the island had quadrupled from prewar levels to \$220 million. U.S. business interests owned 60 percent of Cuba's rural lands and controlled many of the island's industries.

## "A Man, A Plan, A Canal, Panama"

Resources: *History Alive—Pursuing American Ideals*

### Overview

In the early 1900s, Latin America and the Caribbean were a special focus of U.S. foreign policy. The United States viewed this region as its own "backyard" and therefore a good place to exert its power and influence. In addition to Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, the United States intervened in other Latin American countries, notably Panama, Mexico, and Puerto Rico.



### The U.S. Helps Panama Overthrow Colombian Rule

The United States became interested in Panama in the mid-1800s. Various nations wanted to build a canal across Central America as a shortcut between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Such a canal would have enormous commercial and military value.

During the Spanish-American War, the battleship USS Oregon had to travel almost 14,000 miles around the tip of South America to get from California to Cuba. A canal would shorten the journey to just under 5,000 miles.

The narrow isthmus of Panama was part of Colombia. The Roosevelt administration tried to lease the land in Panama for a canal, but the Colombian government

turned down the offer. In 1903, the United States encouraged a revolt in Panama. Roosevelt sent warships to prevent Colombian troops from intervening. The revolt succeeded, and the United States quickly recognized Panama as an independent nation.

Years later, President Roosevelt said that the people of Panama rebelled against Colombia "literally as one man." A senator quipped, "Yes, and the one man was Roosevelt." In 1911, Roosevelt said bluntly, "I took the Isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal but to debate me." In 1906, eager to see the greatest accomplishment of his presidency, he became the first president to travel overseas. He went to Panama at the height of the rainy season and took the controls of a 95-ton steam shovel.

### The Panama Canal: An Engineering Feat

The new government soon signed a treaty allowing the United States to build the Panama Canal. The 51-mile canal was a marvel of engineering. At least 40,000 workers carved the "Big Ditch" through mountains, rainforests, and swamps. Thousands of workers fell prey to tropical diseases such as malaria and yellow fever. One worker complained that the mosquitoes were so thick "you get a mouthful with every breath."

### The Canal Opens Opportunities and Controversies

After 10 years of construction, the canal opened to great fanfare on August 15, 1914. Roosevelt called it "the most important action I took in foreign affairs."

Although the canal helped to improve international trade, Roosevelt's actions in Panama angered many Latin Americans. In 1921, the United States tried to undo some of this damage by paying Colombia \$25 million. Colombia's government also had special access to the canal. For most of the 1900s, however, the United States treated the canal as its own property.

At the end of the 20th century, the canal was no longer essential to U.S. strategic or economic interests. Aircraft carriers and oil tankers were too large to pass through the canal's locks. Earlier in the century, however, the canal was regarded as a vital national interest. During World War II, the United States stationed 65,000 troops in Panama to protect the canal. A number of U.S. interventions in the Caribbean and Central America were undertaken largely to protect the canal from hostile powers.

At noon on December 31, 1999, the United States voluntarily gave

up the Panama Canal, ending 85 years of control. Prior to the development of the atomic bomb and the landing of astronauts on the moon, the Panama Canal was perhaps this country's biggest engineering achievement. Fifty-one miles long, with about \$3.5 billion in bases and infrastructure, the canal links the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.



## More U.S. Involvement in Latin America

### U.S. Businesses Invest Heavily in Mexico

The United States also played a strong role in Mexico in the early 1900s. Since 1884, the dictator Porfirio Díaz had ruled the country with a heavy hand. Most Mexicans remained poor, while a handful of landowners, businesspeople, and foreign investors grew very rich. Americans were among the chief investors.

By 1910, U.S. businesses had invested around \$2 billion in Mexico, buying up land, banks, mines, and other properties. Revolution was brewing, however, and in 1910, Francisco Madero attempted to lead a revolt. Madero failed to gain enough support, but another uprising ousted Díaz in 1911. Madero took power but could not control the country.

One of his generals, Victoriano Huerta, overthrew him and had him killed. Other countries then recognized the Huerta government. American business interests wanted President Wilson to do the same. They believed that Huerta would stabilize the country and protect their investments.

Wilson was horrified by Madero's murder, however, and Wilson wanted to promote democracy in Mexico and refused to recognize what he called "a government of butchers." Instead, he backed Huerta's chief opponent, General Venustiano Carranza, who he hoped would support democratic reform.

### U.S. Nearly Goes to War with Mexico

Tensions between Wilson and the Huerta government almost led to war. In 1914, Wilson sent troops to Veracruz, a port on the Gulf of Mexico, to keep weapons from reaching Huerta's army. In the battle with Huerta's soldiers in the streets of Veracruz,

about 90 Americans and at least 300 Mexicans were killed or wounded. Much to Wilson's surprise, most Mexicans—including Carranza—opposed the U.S. action.

Other Latin American countries also criticized the intervention. Wilson hastily pulled the forces out, saying that he was only trying to help Mexico. Several months later, Huerta resigned and Carranza gained power. But the Mexican Revolution continued. Two rebel leaders, Emiliano Zapata and Francisco "Pancho" Villa, rose up against Carranza.



*President Wilson tried to support the growth of democracy in Mexico. This 1913 cartoon depicts Wilson scolding Mexico. In the caption, Wilson threatens to keep wagging his finger if Mexico does not behave.*

**Critical Thinking:** What is your interpretation of the artist's intent with this cartoon? Explain.

Villa, in particular, aroused American concern. Hoping to force a U.S. intervention, he ordered attacks on American citizens in Mexico and the United States. In one cross-border raid in 1916, Villa was responsible for the killing of 17 Americans in New Mexico.

Wilson sent troops to capture him, but Villa eluded the American forces, drawing them deeper into Mexico. This military action alarmed the Mexican people, who feared a U.S. invasion. Carranza insisted that the American troops leave. At that point, the United States was nearing entry into World War I. Recognizing the failure of the intervention, Wilson withdrew from Mexico.

### Puerto Rico Remains a U.S. Possession

The United States also became deeply involved in Puerto Rico. After the Spanish-American War, it instituted a military government that began to develop Puerto Rico's infrastructure. It set up schools and a postal service. It also built roads and improved sanitation.

In 1900, the United States established a civilian government led by an American governor. Puerto Ricans formed political parties and organized a legislature. But the island remained an American possession. Over the next two decades, Puerto Ricans grew increasingly frustrated with American rule. They were neither U.S. citizens nor an independent nation. The United States recognized Puerto Rico's strategic value in the Caribbean, however, and wanted to maintain control over the island.

In 1917, President Wilson signed the *Jones Act*, making Puerto Rico a U.S. territory. Puerto Ricans became citizens but were not granted all the rights of citizenship. They could not elect their own governor or vote in U.S. elections.

### Puerto Rico's Status Evolves

Over time, Puerto Rico became more integrated into the U.S. economy. At first, American investors poured money into sugar production, which became the island's main economic activity. The sugar industry produced great wealth for a small minority but left most Puerto Ricans in poverty.

In 1930, the average annual income was just \$122, one fifth of the U.S. average. Later on, Americans would make large investments in manufacturing plants. Still, many Puerto Ricans migrated to the United States. Many moved to the East Coast, seeking opportunity in New York and other cities. A series of reforms brought political change. In 1948, Puerto Ricans elected their governor for the first time.

In 1952, the island became a U.S. commonwealth. This status gave Puerto Rico control over its own laws and finances but left decisions on defense and tariffs in U.S. hands. Although most Puerto Ricans welcomed this change, some wanted more control over their affairs. They argued that the island would be better off as either a U.S. state or an independent nation. In several elections held after 1967, however, voters chose to remain a commonwealth.



## Policing the Caribbean and Central America

Resources: *History Alive—Pursuing American Ideals*

### The Roosevelt Corollary and the Dominican Republic

In 1904, Germany demanded a port in Santo Domingo (now the Dominican Republic) as compensation for an unpaid loan from Santo Domingo. Theodore Roosevelt, who had become president after William McKinley's assassination, told Germany to stay out of the Western Hemisphere and said that the United States would take care of the problem. He announced the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine:

*“Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the western hemisphere, the adherence of the U.S. to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of international police power.”*

Several recent developments led Roosevelt to declare that the United States would be the policeman of the Caribbean and Central America. Three European nations had blockaded Venezuela's ports, violating the Monroe Doctrine's declaration that Europe should not interfere in the Americas.

Meanwhile, an international court in The Hague in the Netherlands had ruled that a creditor nation that had used force would receive preference in repayment of a loan. Further, Roosevelt had recently gained the right to build the Panama Canal; he believed that any threat to the canal threatened U.S. strategic and economic interests.

To enforce order, forestall foreign intervention, and protect U.S. economic interests, the United States intervened in the Caribbean and Central America some 20 times over the next quarter century—namely, in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama. Each intervention followed a common pattern: after intervening to restore order, U.S. forces became embroiled in the countries' internal political disputes. Before exiting, the United States would train and fund a police force and military to maintain order and would sponsor an election intended to put into power a strong leader supportive of American interests.

Unfortunately, the men who took power in many of these countries, such as Anastasio Somoza in Nicaragua, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and Francois Duvalier in Haiti, established dictatorial rule. As a result, many Latin Americans were not happy with the United States as we were responsible for allowing these cruel leaders to come to power.

### Intervention in Haiti

In July 1915, a mob murdered Haiti's seventh president in seven years. Vilbrun Guillaume Sam was dragged out of the French delegation and hacked to death. The mob then paraded his mutilated body through the streets of the Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince.

During the preceding 72 years, Haiti had experience 102 revolts, wars, or coups; only one of the country's 22 presidents had served a complete term, and merely four died of natural causes. With the European powers engaged in World War I, President Woodrow

the United States took over the collection of customs duties. Americans also settled disputes, distributed food and medicine, censored the press, and ran military courts.

In addition, the United States helped build about a thousand miles of unpaved roads and a number of agricultural and vocational schools, and trained the Haitian army and police. It also helped to replace a government led by blacks with a government headed by mulattoes (people who have black and white ancestry).

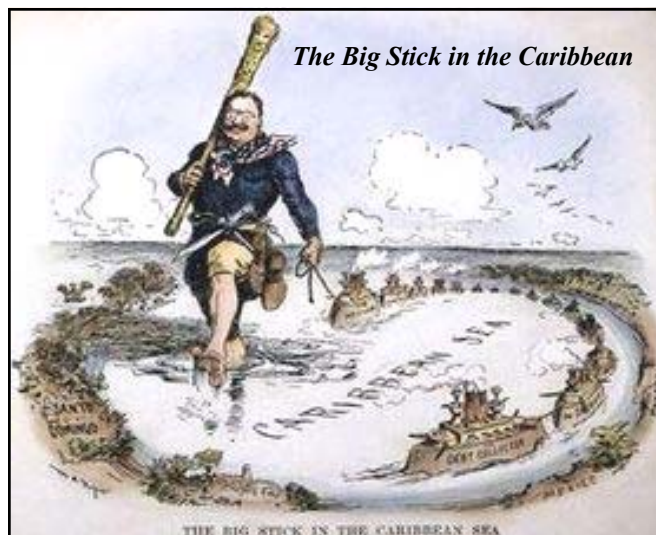
The U.S. forced the Haitians to adopt a new constitution which gave American businessmen the right to own land in Haiti. While campaigning for vice president in 1920, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who had served as assistant secretary of the Navy in the Wilson Administration, later boasted, "I wrote Haiti's Constitution myself, and if I do say it, it was a pretty good little Constitution."

Many Haitians resisted the American occupation. In the fall of 1918, Charlemagne Peralte, a former Haitian army officer, launched a guerrilla war against the U.S. Marines to protest a system of forced labor imposed by the United States to build roads in Haiti. In 1919, he was captured and killed by U.S. Marines, and his body was photographed against a door with a crucifix and a Haitian flag as a lesson to others.

During the first five years of the occupation, American forces killed about 2,250 Haitians. In December 1929, U.S. Marines fired on a crowd of protesters armed with rocks and machetes, killing 12 and wounding 23. The incident stirred international condemnation and ultimately led to the end of the American occupation.

By that time, Roosevelt had changed his mind. In 1928, he had criticized the Republican administrations for relying on the Marines and "**gunboat diplomacy.**"

*"Single-handed intervention by us in the internal affairs of other nations in this hemisphere must end,"* he wrote. After he became president in 1933, Roosevelt proclaimed a new policy toward Latin America. Under the **Good Neighbor** policy, he removed American Marines from Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua.



Wilson feared that Germany might occupy Haiti and threaten the sea route to the Panama Canal. To protect U.S. interests and to restore order, the president sent 330 marines and sailors to Haiti.

This was not the first time that Wilson had sent marines into Latin America. Determined to "*teach Latin Americans to elect good men,*" he had sent American naval forces into Mexico in 1913 during the Mexican Revolution. American Marines seized the city of Veracruz and imposed martial law (military rule).

The last marines did not leave Haiti until 1934. To ensure repayment of Haiti's debts,

## U.S. Involvement in Asia and the Pacific

### The Philippines Fight For Independence From the U.S.

During the Spanish-American War, the United States captured the Philippines with the help of Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo. After the war, Aguinaldo called for independence. He claimed that the United States had promised freedom for the islands.

The United States decided not to grant independence, however. President McKinley believed that the Filipinos were not ready for self-government. He said that he wanted to "uplift and civilize and Christianize" the Filipino people. He also wanted to maintain American control over the islands to prevent another nation from seizing power.

Still, the Filipinos moved ahead with their plans for independence by writing a constitution and electing Aguinaldo president. But the United States refused to recognize the new government. In February 1899, fighting broke out between Filipino and American forces.

The United States sent hundreds of thousands of soldiers to the Philippines to put down the revolt. In battle after battle, the Filipino army was defeated. Aguinaldo then switched to guerrilla tactics, launching quick strikes on American troops.

The United States responded with brutal force, destroying villages and herding civilians into prison camps. Mark Twain, one of many Americans who opposed the U.S. policy toward the Philippines, wrote bitterly,

*"We have pacified . . . the islanders and buried them; destroyed their fields; burned their villages; and turned their widows and orphans out-of-doors . . . And so . . . we are a World Power."*

In 1901, the United States finally captured Aguinaldo. A year later, the fighting was over. The war had lasted more than three years, at great human cost. More than 200,000 Filipinos and about 5,000 Americans had died. After the

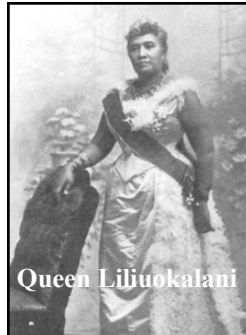
war, the United States set up a central government for the islands.

The United States built schools and made improvements to Philippine harbors. It also established local governments and encouraged Filipinos to participate in them. The United States controlled the Philippines for the next half-century, finally granting independence on July 4, 1946.

### U.S. Businesses Prosper in Hawaii

The Hawaiian Islands had been a focus of American interest long before the Spanish-American War. Known as the "Crossroads of the Pacific," Hawaii was an important stop for ships crossing the Pacific Ocean.

In 1820, Protestant missionaries arrived in Hawaii. Within decades most Hawaiians had converted to Christianity. By the late 1800s, the United States regarded Hawaii as an economic asset. The economy of the islands centered on the export of tropical crops, especially sugarcane and pineapple.



Queen Liliuokalani

White American planters controlled the industry, shipping most of their crops to the United States and becoming wealthy and powerful in the process. At the time, Hawaii was still a kingdom ruled by a constitutional monarch. In 1891, Liliuokalani became queen of Hawaii. She was a strong leader who resented the dominance of the wealthy white minority on the islands. She established a new constitution that gave more power to native Hawaiians.

But a small group of white planters refused to accept the constitution and called on the American government for help. In 1893, U.S. military forces landed and helped the planters overthrow the queen. In 1894, Sanford Dole, who was beginning his pineapple business, declared himself president of the Republic of Hawaii without a popular vote. The new government found the queen guilty of treason and sentenced her to five years of hard labor and a \$5,000

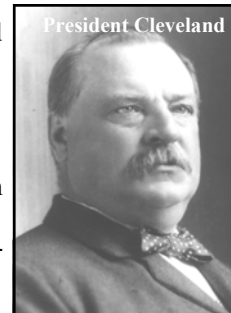
**Period:** 1890-1920

fine. While the sentence of hard labor was not carried out, the queen was placed under house arrest.

### The U.S. Annexes the Hawaiian Islands

After the revolt, the white planters controlled the government. They applied to Congress for annexation, hoping to make Hawaii part of the United States. President Benjamin Harrison agreed to the islands' annexation.

Then a new president, Grover Cleveland, assumed office. After discovering the circumstances of the revolt, Cleveland withdrew the annexation treaty and called



President Cleveland

on the planters to return Queen Liliuokalani to her throne. The planters refused and instead proclaimed Hawaii an independent republic.

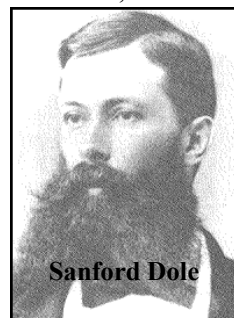
Throughout the 1890s, Americans continued to debate the question of annexing Hawaii. Those in favor stressed the im-

portance of Hawaii's location and the value of controlling the islands. They also hoped to continue spreading Christianity and the American way of life in Hawaii.

Those opposed to annexation pointed out that colonization often caused problems. Some feared the introduction of new races and cultures into the United States. Others thought it was un-American to deprive a people of their sovereignty.

The American intervention in Hawaii produced deep resentment among native Hawaiians. Nevertheless, during the Spanish-American War in 1898, Hawaii was annexed as Congress recognized its importance as a port for the navy. Hawaii became a U.S. territory two years later. In 1959, it became a state, the only one that is not part of North America.

In 1993, a joined Congressional resolution, signed by President Bill Clinton, apologized for the U.S. role in the overthrow. The House approved the resolution by voice vote. The Senate passed it 65 to 34 votes.



Sanford Dole

# U.S. Interest in China

## U.S. Interest in China

In the late 1800s, the United States also focused its attention on China. This huge nation was rich in resources and offered a potentially large market for American goods. In the 1890s, the United States and other foreign powers watched with interest as China and Japan engaged in a war over Korea. This war revealed that China was neither strong nor stable. Russia, France, and Germany supported China at the war's end and demanded favors in return.

These powers, along with Britain and Japan, began to carve out spheres of influence from Chinese territory. These were areas in which a single nation controlled trading rights. In some cases, the foreign powers also demanded land for military bases. As a result, much of China was soon carved into pieces of foreign-dominated territory.

The United States wanted to prevent foreign colonization of China in order to maintain its own access to Chinese markets. With this goal in mind, Secretary of State John Hay issued several foreign policy statements, which became known collectively as the **Open Door Policy**.

The first statement, in 1899, called on foreign nations to allow free trade in China. Although some foreign powers gave vague replies, Hay boldly an-

nounced that the Open Door Policy was "final and definitive."

## The U.S. Fights to Keep an Open Door to China

The Chinese were deeply ashamed of their nation's weakness. They were proud of their ancient heritage and furious with other countries for controlling China and undermining Chinese traditions.

Some Chinese tried to persuade their government to implement reforms so that China could compete in the modern world and resist western influence. One Chinese group eventually took up arms in an effort to restore national control. This group, called the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, was commonly known as the Boxers.

In 1900, the Boxers led an insurrection, rising up to try to expel the "foreign devils" from China. The Boxers killed hundreds of foreigners, including Christian missionaries, along with thousands of Chinese Christians.

Within a few months, however, the United States, Japan, and European powers had banded together to crush the uprising. Secretary of State Hay feared that foreign powers would attempt to use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to take stronger control over China. He therefore issued a firmer statement of the Open Door Policy, insisting that foreign nations not



*This cartoon emphasizes the success of the Open Door Policy. It portrays the United States as having the power to keep China open to trade with all nations. Uncle Sam's key is labeled, "American Diplomacy."*

**Critical Thinking:** What is the artist's intent with this political cartoon? Explain.

only allow free trade, but also respect Chinese independence. The other nations did not object, mainly because they did not want to fight each other over China. As a result, China remained open to American trade and influence.

The other nations did not object, mainly because they did not want to fight each other over China. As a result, China remained open to American trade and influence.

## NEWSLETTER SUMMARY

### Roosevelt Corollary

In 1904, he issued the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. This policy called on the United States to use "international police power" to promote order and security in the Western Hemisphere. The use of force became a key element of foreign policy: *Alfred T. Mahan*.

### Dollar Diplomacy

President Taft's Dollar Diplomacy focused on economic goals overseas. He emphasized the spread of American influence through economic activity. But he also sent troops to protect American interests: *Henry Cabot Lodge*.

### Moral Diplomacy

President Wilson favored a moral approach to foreign policy. He wanted to spread democratic ideals overseas. Yet he also used force to uphold American interests: *Josiah Strong*.

### Self-Determination

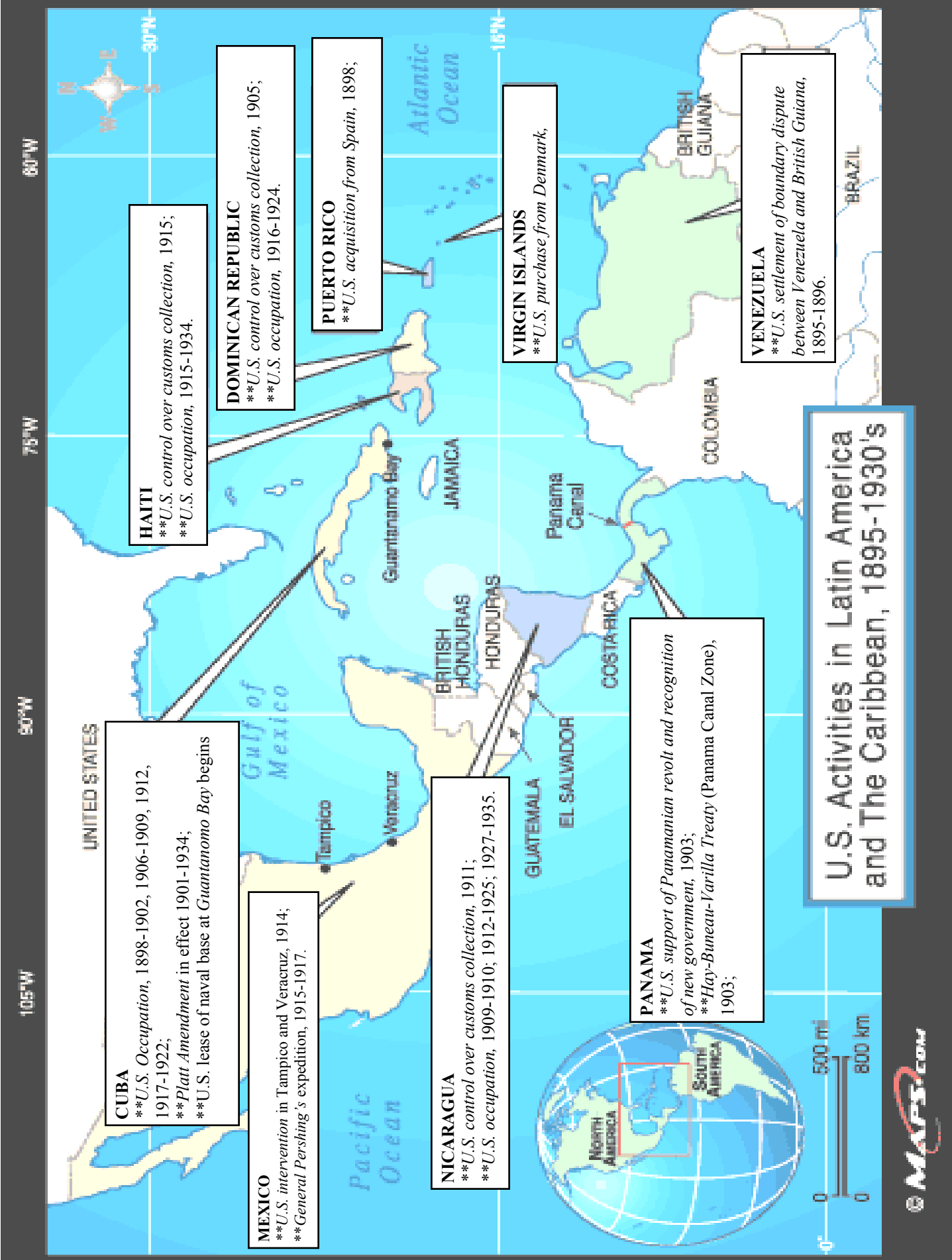
President Wilson felt that it should be the right of the peoples to determine their own government, free of outside influence: *Carl Schurz*.

### Latin America

The United States became deeply involved in Latin America in the early 1900s. It helped Panama gain independence and built the Panama Canal. It intervened in Mexico. It made Puerto Rico a U.S. possession.

### Asia and the Pacific

The Philippines became a U.S. possession, and the United States put down an independence movement there. It annexed Hawaii after white planters overthrew the native monarchy. In China, it applied its Open Door Policy to limit foreign control and maintain access to Chinese markets.



**CUBA**  
 \*\*U.S. Occupation, 1898-1902, 1906-1909, 1912, 1917-1922;  
 \*\**Platt Amendment* in effect 1901-1934;  
 \*\*U.S. lease of naval base at *Guantanamo Bay* begins

**MEXICO**  
 \*\*U.S. intervention in Tampico and Veracruz, 1914;  
 \*\**General Pershing's* expedition, 1915-1917.

**NICARAGUA**  
 \*\*U.S. control over customs collection, 1911;  
 \*\*U.S. occupation, 1909-1910; 1912-1925; 1927-1935.

**PANAMA**  
 \*\*U.S. support of Panamanian revolt and recognition of new government, 1903;  
 \*\**Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty* (Panama Canal Zone), 1903;

**HAITI**  
 \*\*U.S. control over customs collection, 1915;  
 \*\*U.S. occupation, 1915-1934.

**DOMINICAN REPUBLIC**  
 \*\*U.S. control over customs collection, 1905;  
 \*\*U.S. occupation, 1916-1924.

**PUERTO RICO**  
 \*\*U.S. acquisition from Spain, 1898;

**VIRGIN ISLANDS**  
 \*\*U.S. purchase from Denmark,

**VENEZUELA**  
 \*\*U.S. settlement of boundary dispute between Venezuela and British Guiana, 1895-1896.

**U.S. Activities in Latin America and The Caribbean, 1895-1930's**