



CHAPTER 22 FROM ISOLATION TO EMPIRE

The American Nation:
A History of the United States, 13th edition
Carnes/Garraty

ISOLATION OR IMPERIALISM?

- While U.S. had little interest in Europe, it did have a large economic interest in Latin America and a growing one in East Asia
 - Shifts in foreign commerce as a result of industrialization strengthened U.S. interest in these areas
- U.S. disdain for Europe rested on several foundations:
 - Faith in unique character of American civilization and converse suspicion of supposedly aristocratic and decadent society
 - Bitter memories of indignities suffered during Revolution and Napoleonic Wars and anger at European attitudes to U.S. during Civil War
 - Dislike for the pomp and punctilio of European monarchies
 - U.S. was invulnerable to European attack and also incapable of mounting an offensive against a European power

ISOLATION OR IMPERIALISM?

- When conflicts with great powers erupted, U.S. pressed its claims hard
 - Insisted Britain pay for the loss of 100,000 tons of American shipping sunk by Confederate cruisers that had been built in British shipyards
 - Some politicians tried to get Britain to pay entire cost of war after Gettysburg saying that without British support Confederates would have collapsed at that point
- 1871: the two nations signed Treaty of Washington, agreeing to arbitrate these Civil War claims
 - Judges awarded the United States \$15.5 million

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- During the Civil War, France established a protectorate over Mexico, installing Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor
 - 1866: Secretary of State William Seward demanded the French withdraw, and U.S. moved 50,000 soldiers to Rio Grande
 - French pulled their troops out of Mexico during the winter of 1866-1867
 - Mexican nationalists seized and executed Maximilian
- 1867: U.S. purchased Alaska from the Russians for \$7.2 million

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- 1867: Seward acquired Midway Islands in the Pacific
 - Had been discovered in 1859 by U.S. Naval officer N.C. Brooks
- Seward also wanted Hawaiian islands and Cuba
- 1870: Grant submitted to the Senate a treaty annexing the Dominican Republic
 - Expansionists stressed the wealth and resources of the country, the markets it would provide, and its climate
 - Opposite side argued it was far away, and the population was dark skinned, semi-civilized people who could not speak English
 - Treaty was rejected



A CUBAN LANDSCAPE NEAR HAVANA, CUBA 1904
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division,
Detroit Publishing Company Collection

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- By the late 1880s, the U.S. was exporting a steadily increasing share of its agricultural and industrial output
 - Exports were \$450 million in 1870 and passed the billion mark in the 1890s
 - Imports increased as well
- 1898: U.S. shipped more manufactures abroad than it imported
 - U.S. steelmakers could compete with producers anywhere in the world
 - When American industrialists became conscious of ability to compete with Europeans in far-off markets, they took more interest in world affairs

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- Darwin's theories, when applied to international relations, gave manifest destiny new plausibility
 - John Fiske: democracy, as "fittest" governmental system, was destined to spread over globe
 - Josiah Strong (1885): found racist and religious justifications for U.S. expansionism, since Anglo-Saxon race possessed an instinct for colonization
- Completion of the conquest of the American West encouraged Americans to consider expansion beyond the seas
 - 1870s and 1880s: European liberals were starting to support European imperialism
 - English especially began talking about Anglo-Saxon superiority and need to spread Christianity

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- Excitement and adventure of overseas enterprises appealed to many Americans
- Military and strategic arguments were advanced in support of overseas expansion
 - In the 1880s, only 25,000 men were still in the military and they were mostly fighting Indians
 - Half the navy had been scrapped after the war and the remaining ships were obsolete
 - U.S. still used wooden ships when everyone else was building steam-powered iron warships

ORIGINS OF THE LARGE POLICY: Coveting Colonies

- Alfred Thayer Mahan wrote *Influence of Sea Power Upon History* (1890) and *Influence of Sea Power Upon the French Revolution and Empire* (1892) in which he argued that a nation with a powerful navy and the overseas bases necessary to maintain it would be invulnerable in war and prosperous in peace
 - U.S. must build strong modern Navy
 - U.S. must acquire a string of coaling stations and bases in the Caribbean, annex the Hawaiian Islands, and cut a canal across Central America
- Mahan attracted many influential disciples including Congressman Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

- China: first American ship arrived in late eighteenth century
 - Treaty of Wanghia (1844): American merchants in China enjoyed many privileges and trade expanded rapidly
 - By late 1880s, over 500 American missionaries were living in China

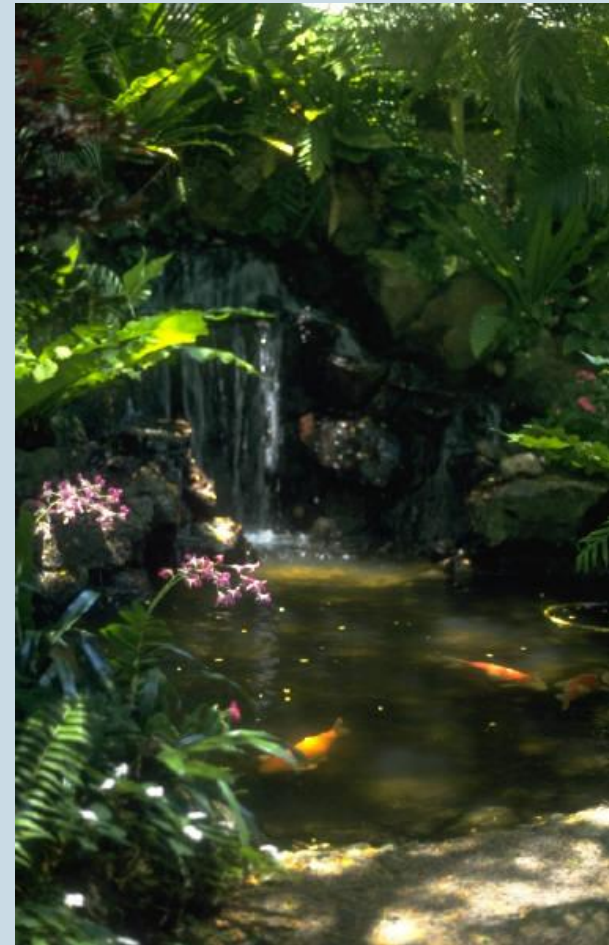


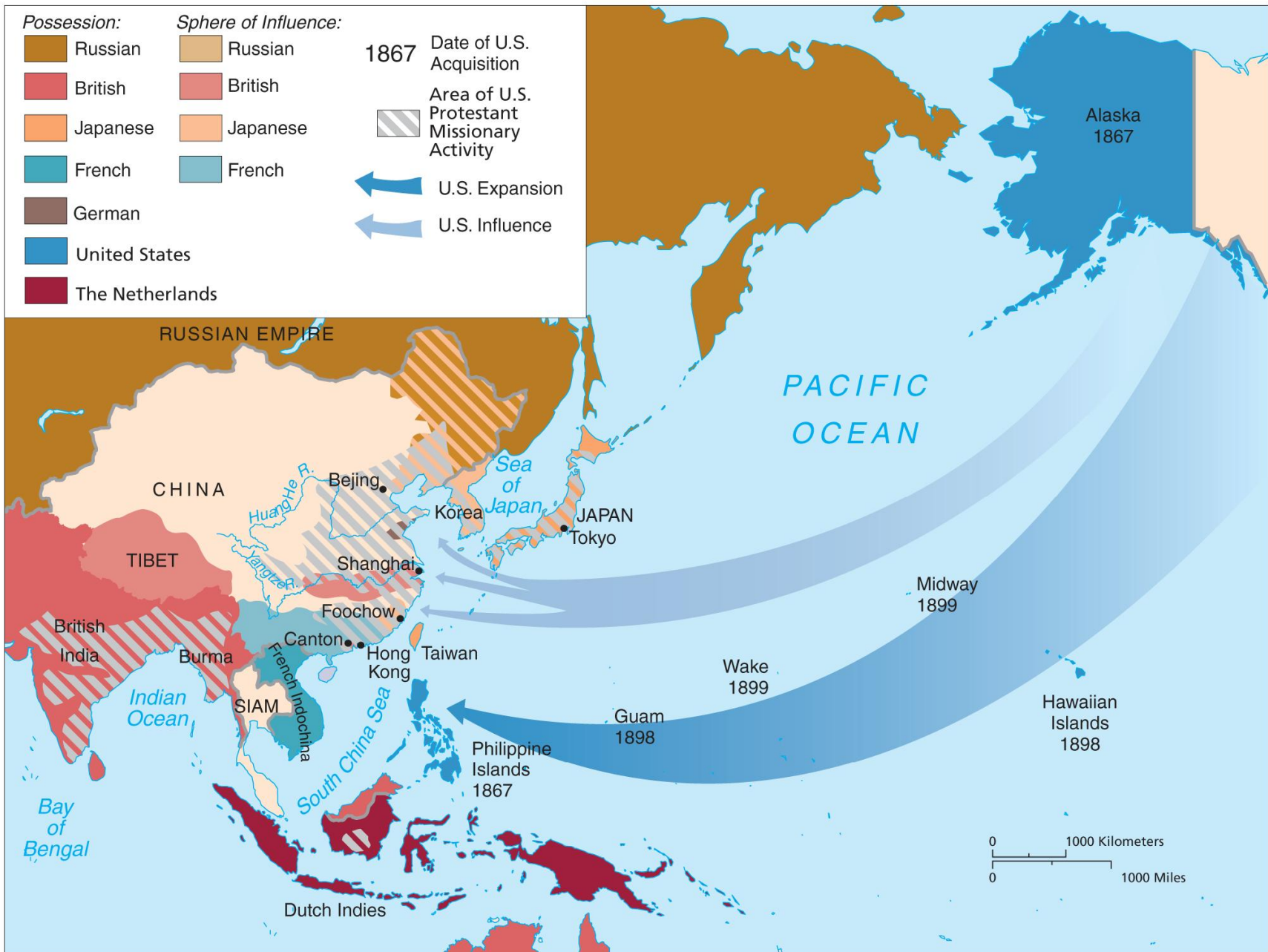
CHINESE SUBJECTS, 1901

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

- Hawaii was an important way station on route to China
 - By 1820, merchants and missionaries were making contacts there
 - As early as 1854, a movement to annex the islands existed
- Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan led to the signing of a commercial treaty (1858) that opened several Japanese ports to American traders





★ The Course of Empire, 1867–1901

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

- U.S. cooperated with the European powers in expanding commercial opportunities in East Asia
 - Claimed special position in Hawaii but acknowledged Europeans had interests in the islands
- U.S. commercial privileges in China continued despite 1882 American ban of Chinese immigration to U.S.

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

- American influence in Hawaii increased rapidly
 - Descendants of missionaries, usually involved in raising sugar, dominated the Hawaiian monarchy
 - 1875: reciprocity agreement admitted Hawaiian sugar to U.S. free of duty in return for a promise to yield no territory to a foreign power
 - 1887: U.S. obtained the right to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor
- U.S. obtained a foothold in the Samoan islands

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

HAWAI'I

- McKinley Tariff Act of 1890
 - Discontinued the duty on raw sugar and compensated American producers of cane and beet sugar by giving them a 2 cents per pound bounty
 - Destroyed the advantage Hawaiian sugar producers had under the previous reciprocity agreement
- 1891: Queen Liliuokalani, a determined nationalist, took the Hawaiian throne
 - Placed herself at head of “Hawaii for Hawaiians movement”
 - Abolished the existing constitution under which the white minority had controlled the islands
 - Attempted to rule as an absolute monarch

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

HAWAI'I

- January 1893: with the connivance of U.S. minister John L. Stevens, who ordered 150 marines into Honolulu, resident Americans deposed the queen and set up a provisional government
 - Stevens recognized the regime
 - The new government sent a delegation to Washington to ask for annexation
 - Harrison administration negotiated a treaty and sent it to Senate but new Cleveland administration withdrew it



TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN THE PACIFIC

HAWAI'I

- Cleveland disapproved of the use of U.S. troops and sent special commissioner, James H. Blount, to investigate
 - Reported Hawaiians opposed annexation
 - Cleveland dismissed Stevens and tried to restore Lilioukalani, which was not possible because provisional government was deeply entrenched
- Hawaiian debate continued over the next four years
 - Concern another power—Great Britain or Japan—might take over Hawaii
 - When Republicans returned to power in 1897, another annexation treaty was negotiated but domestic sugar producers objected and a two-thirds majority in the Senate could not be obtained
- 1898: Congress annexed Hawaii by joint resolution after war with Spain broke out

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN LATIN AMERICA

- U.S. was even more prone to expansion in Latin America
 - Larger economic interests
 - Strategic importance of region clearer
 - Monroe Doctrine
- As early as 1869, Grant favored an American-owned canal across the isthmus of Panama despite the fact U.S. had agreed in the 1850 Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with great Britain that neither nation would “obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control” of an inter-oceanic canal



CHORRERA, PANAMA, street scene 1910-1920

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit

Publishing Company Collection

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN LATIN AMERICA

- 1880: Frenchman Ferdinand de Lesseps organized a company to build a canal
 - President Hayes announced U.S. would not let canal be controlled by a European nation
- 1895: Venezuela Crisis
 - Dispute over border between Venezuela and British Guiana
 - July 1895: Secretary of State Olney sent an ultimatum to Great Britain telling it that by occupying the disputed territory, it was invading Venezuela and violating the Monroe Doctrine
 - Unless Great Britain agreed to arbitration, Cleveland would bring the matter to the U.S. Congress

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN LATIN AMERICA

- Britain did not take a threat of war seriously since U.S. had minimal navy compared to 50 British battleships, 25 armored cruisers and many smaller vessels
 - British rejected that the matter involved Monroe Doctrine and refused arbitration
 - 17 December 1895: Cleveland asked Congress for authority to appoint an American commission to determine the correct line between British Guiana and Venezuela and, once done, U.S. should resist by all necessary means the acquisition of Venezuelan territory by British
 - Congress appropriated \$100,000 for boundary commission

TOWARD AN EMPIRE IN LATIN AMERICA

- Britain, distracted by the rise of Germany as a military and economic rival, did not want problems with United States
 - Canada was also vulnerable
- Britain agreed to arbitrate the boundary
- Soon, Olney was talking about American sympathies for the British
- Commission awarded nearly all the disputed territory to the British
- The affair marked the beginning of an era of Anglo-American friendship

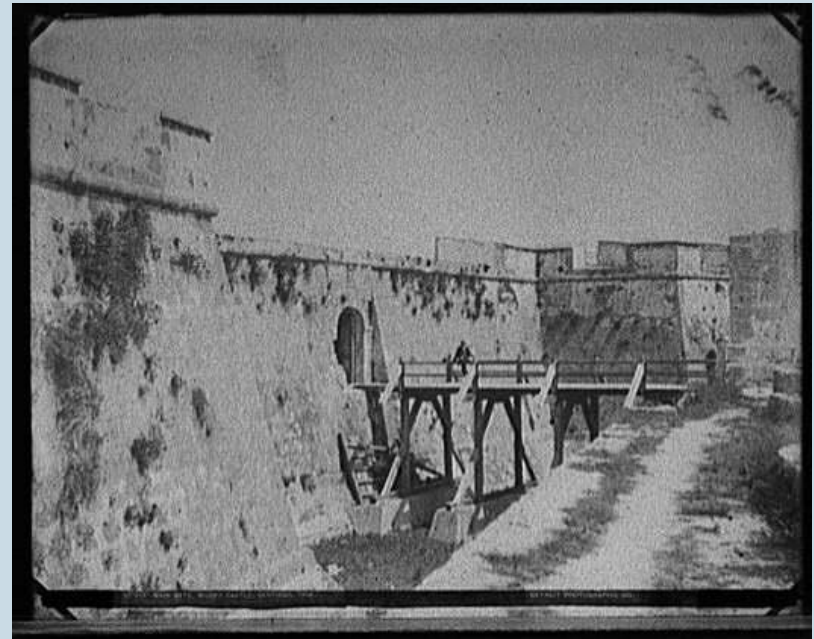


CARACAS, VENEZUELA 1900-1906

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- 10 February 1896: General Valeriano Weyler arrived in Havana from Spain to take up duties as governor of Cuba
 - Cuban nationalist rebels had been waging a guerilla war since 1895
 - Weyler herded rural population into “reconcentration” camps to deprive rebels of food and recruits, hardening the resistance in Cuba



MAIN GATE, MORO CASTLE, Santiago, Cuba 1898

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- U.S. had long been interested in Cuba and there had been considerable support for the Cubans when they had revolted in 1868
 - Spain had pacified rebels by 1878 by promising reforms
 - Slavery was not abolished until 1886
- New revolt had been precipitated by the depression of the 1890s and the 40 percent increase in Cuban sugar rates under the 1894 American tariff, which cut off Cuban growers from American market

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

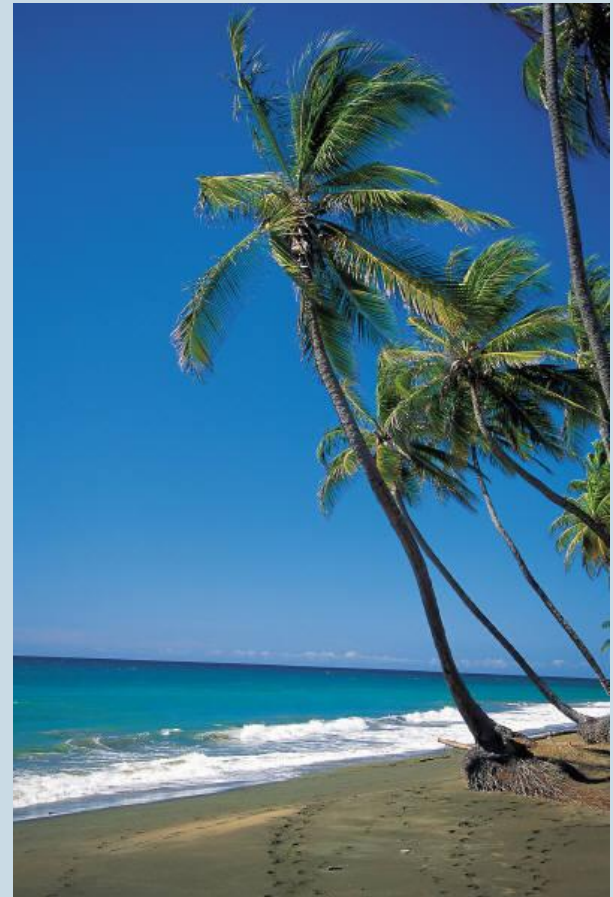
- Public sympathy was behind the Cubans who seemed to be fighting for democracy and liberty
- Many groups demanded the U.S. support the Cuban rebels
 - \$50 million in U.S. investments in Cuban sugar plantations were endangered by the fighting and social chaos
 - Cuban propagandists in U.S. played on American sentiments, exaggerating the cruelty of Weyler and the horrors of the reconcentration camps

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- April 1896: Congress adopted a resolution suggesting the revolutionaries be granted the status of belligerents
 - Cleveland refused to go that far but did exert pressure on Spain to remove causes of complaints
 - Offered U.S. help as mediator, but Spain rejected
- Expansionists continued to demand intervention
- The press kept resentment alive with tales of Spanish atrocities
 - Joseph Pulitzer *New York World*
 - William Randolph Hearst *New York Journal*

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- McKinley warned Spain that Cuba must be pacified but did not threaten intervention
- New government in Spain recalled Weyler and promised partial self-government to the Cubans
- December 1897: McKinley urged that Spain be given a chance to settle things in Cuba
 - Fighting in Cuba continued
 - *U.S.S Maine* was dispatched to Havana when riots broke out in January 1898



THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- *New York Journal* printed a letter written by Spanish Minister in Washington, Depuy de Lôme, to a friend in Cuba
 - Characterized McKinley as a small-time politician and a “bidder for the admiration of the crowd”
 - American outrage was not resolved by de Lôme’s resignation
- 15 February 1898: the *Maine* exploded and sank in Havana harbor killing 260 crewmen

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

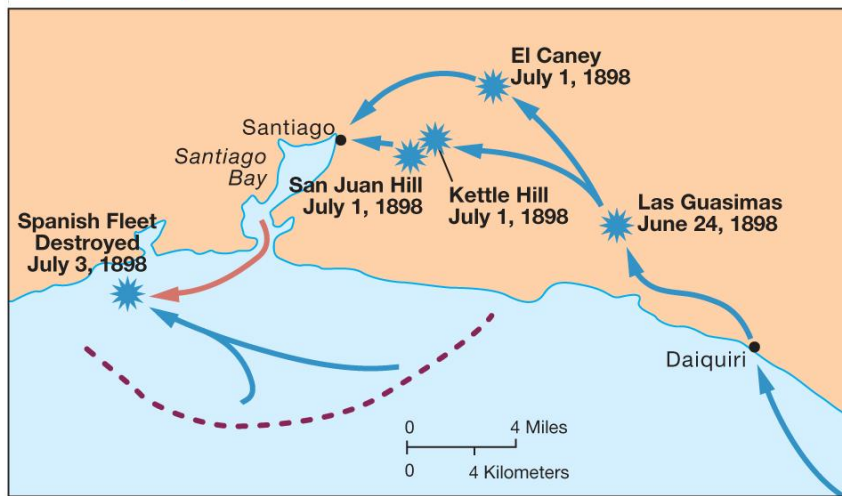
- Naval court determined that the ship had been sunk by a mine (more likely an internal explosion)
- McKinley refused to be rushed to war but could hardly resist
 - Spain could not put down rebellion nor give in to increasingly extreme rebel demands
 - To grant independence might have led to fall of Spanish government, even fall of the monarchy
 - Rebels, sensing victory, refused to give an inch

THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

- Most American business interests opposed intervention, as did McKinley
- Congress seemed determined to intervene and castigated McKinley for his timidity
- Finally, in early April, McKinley submitted a request to Congress for the use of American armed forces to secure the end of hostilities in Cuba
- At the last moment, the Spanish government ordered its troops to stop hostilities on the island
 - Cuban nationalists insisted on full independence
 - Spanish politicians were unwilling to give in to this

THE “SPLENDID LITTLE” SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

- 20 April 1898: Congress, by joint resolution, recognized the independence of Cuba and authorized use of armed forces to drive out Spanish
 - Teller Amendment: disclaimed any intention of adding Cuban territory to the United States
 - 24 April 1898: Spain declared war on the U.S.
- Weeks earlier, Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy, had alerted Admiral George Dewey of the Pacific Fleet in Hong Kong to move against the Spanish fleet in Manila if war came
 - When war came, Dewey headed to the Philippines
 - On 1 May 1898, he sank the Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor



★ Spanish-American War: Caribbean Theater

THE “SPLENDID LITTLE” SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

- Dewey asked for troops to take and hold Manila
 - McKinley sent 11,000 soldiers and additional navy support
 - August 13, 1898: these forces, assisted by Filipinos under Emilio Aguinaldo, captured Manila

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs
Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection



Pearson Education, Inc., publishing as Longman
© 2008

THE “SPLENDID LITTLE” SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

- In Cuba, the U.S. had won a swift and total victory
 - At the beginning of the war, 28,000 men were in U.S. regular army
 - 200,000 hastily enlisted volunteers to bolster this force
 - In May 1898, expeditionary force gathered at Tampa, Florida
 - Organization was abominable
 - Aggressive units, like those under Theodore Roosevelt who had resigned his position to join the war, scrambled for supplies and space, shouldering aside others

THE “SPLENDID LITTLE” SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

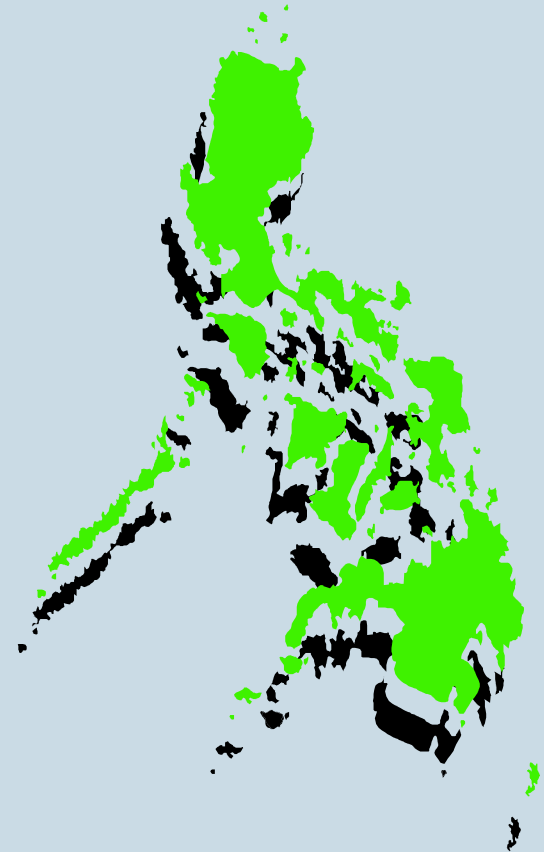
- 9 May 1898: American ships found the Spanish fleet under Admiral Cervera in Santiago harbor and blockaded them
- June 1898: 17,000 man expeditionary force under General William Shafter landed east of Santiago and headed toward that city
 - Fought in wool uniforms
 - Ate “embalmed” beef
 - Used old-fashioned rifles with black powder cartridges that marked their position

THE “SPLENDID LITTLE” SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

- July 1, 1898: Americans broke through defenses
- Admiral Cervera tried to run the blockade on July 3 only to be hunted down and destroyed with the loss of only one American life
- July 17, 1898: Santiago surrendered
- Puerto Rico was occupied a few days later
- 12 August 1898: Spain agreed to leave Cuba and cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States
- Fate of the Philippines was to be settled at a formal peace conference in Paris on October 1, 1898

DEVELOPING A COLONIAL POLICY

- While Spain did not want to surrender the Philippines, they had little choice
- Europeans were impressed with American actions and convinced the United States was planning to become a major force in international affairs, but Americans themselves were divided in their feelings
- The Teller Amendment prohibited U.S. acquisition of Cuba, but expansionists wanted to keep the Philippines
 - McKinley was cautious but supportive.
 - Business leaders called the archipelago the “gateway to the markets of East Asia”



THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

- War had produced a unifying patriotic fervor
 - Furthered North-South reconciliation
- Yet raised divisive questions
 - Important minority objected to overseas acquisitions
 - Andrew Carnegie, labor leader Samuel Gompers, Senator George Frisbee Hoar of Massachusetts, “Pitchfork Ben” Tillman, Mark Twain, William Dean Howells, Jane Addams, Charles Eliot of Harvard, and David Starr Jordan of Stanford

THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

- Anti-imperialists insisted that since Philippines would never be a state, it was unconstitutional to annex them
 - Violation of Declaration of Independence to govern foreign territory without consent of inhabitants
- Many people who opposed annexation were neither idealists nor constitutional purists
 - Some Democrats opposed it for partisan reasons
 - Others were governed by racial or ethnic prejudices

THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

- McKinley saw no practical alternative to annexation
 - Public opinion would not sanction restoring Spanish authority in the Philippines and allowing some other power to have them
 - Filipinos were not sufficiently advanced and socially united to form a stable government
- McKinley told peace commissioners to insist on the Philippines
 - U.S. would pay \$20 million

THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS

- There was a close battle in the U.S. Senate over treaty approval
 - William Jennings Bryan, titular head of the Democratic Party, could have prevented ratification by urging his supporters to vote nay but he opted to accept the treaty with the hopes of giving the Philippines independence rather than remaining at war with Spain
- The treaty was ratified in February 1899 by a vote of 57 to 27

THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

- Bryan had claimed that the issue of the Philippines would be brought to the people in the election of 1900
 - Did not happen
 - Bryan focused on free silver not the Philippines, which drove conservative anti-imperialists into the McKinley camp
- February 1899: war broke out with Filipinos led by Emilio Aguinaldo
 - Resulted in savage guerilla war that cost more money and more lives than war with Spanish



THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

- Goaded by sneak attacks and instances of cruelty to captives and without a lot of respect for the Filipinos to begin with, American soldiers responded in kind
 - Civilians were rounded up
 - Prisoners were tortured
 - Property was destroyed
 - Tales of rape, arson and murder by U.S. troops filtered back to U.S.
- Over 70,000 American soldiers were sent to the Philippines
 - Around 5,000 lost their lives

THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

- 1899: McKinley dispatched a commission to study conditions in the islands
 - Reported problems caused by ambitions of nationalist leaders and recommended independence at some unspecified future point
- Second Philippine Commission dispatched in 1900 to establish a civilian government
 - Head of commission, William Howard Taft, became the first governor general of the islands
- The question of the fate of the Philippines was essentially settled by McKinley's victory in the election of 1900



CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

- McKinley set up military governments in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines without specific congressional authority
- 1900: Congress passed the Foraker Act which established civil government for Puerto Rico
 - Did not give Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship or full local self-government
 - Placed a tariff on Puerto Rican produces imported into the United States



PUERTO RICAN NATIVES, 1903

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

- Tariff provision was challenged in court
 - *Downes v. Bidwell* (1901) Supreme Court upheld the legality of the duties
 - In this and other “insular” cases, the reasoning of the judges was difficult to follow but the effect was clear: the Constitution did not follow the flag and Congress could act toward the colonies almost as it pleased
- Biggest issue for Americans was in Cuba, where U.S. had promised independence but was confronted by a feeble, oligarchic and corrupt insurgent government and an economy in a state of collapse

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

- 1898: U.S. established military government and stopped attempts by Americans to exploit Cuban concessions and franchises by forbidding those during the occupation
- December 1899: Leonard Wood became military governor as the desperate state of the people, the heavy economic stake of Americans in the island, and its strategic importance militated against withdrawal



RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG OVER
THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S PALACE,
Havana, Jan. 1, 1899

Library of Congress, Prints and
Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing

Company Collection

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

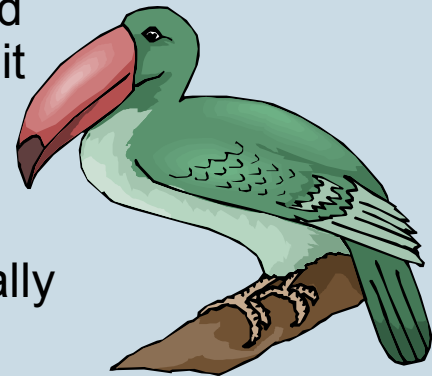
- U.S. did withdraw after doing a great deal to modernize sugar production, improve sanitary conditions, establish schools and restore orderly administration
- At the constitutional convention that met in November 1900, Americans insisted the Cubans accept the Platt Amendment
 - Authorized American intervention whenever necessary for the “preservation of Cuban independence” and the “maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty”
 - Cuba had to promise to make no treaty with a foreign power compromising its independence
 - Had to grant naval bases to U.S.
- May 1902: United States turned over the government to the new republic
- 1903: Cuba and the United States signed a reciprocity treaty that tightened the economic bonds between them

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

- U.S. occupied Cuba again in 1906, at the request of the Cuban authorities, and constantly used the threat of intervention to coerce the Cuban government
- American economic penetration proceeded rapidly without regard for the well-being of Cuban peasants
- Overall, American good intentions were marred by attempts to apply American standards without regard to Cuban feelings

THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA

- Once the United States accepted the role of protector and stabilizer in parts of the Caribbean and Central America, it seemed desirable, for the same economic, strategic and humanitarian reasons, to supervise the entire region
- Caribbean and Central American countries were economically underdeveloped, socially backward, politically unstable and desperately poor
 - A few families owned most of the land and dominated social and political life
 - Most people were uneducated peasants, many of whom were little better off than slaves.
 - Rival cliques of wealthy families struggled for power with force being the main method of initiating a change in government
- European merchants and bankers regularly cheated their Latin American customers, who frequently refused to honor their obligations





★ **The United States in the Caribbean and Central America**

Puerto Rico was ceded by Spain to the United States after the Spanish-American War; the Virgin Islands were bought from Denmark; the Canal Zone was leased from Panama. The ranges of dates following Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, and Panama cover those years during which the United States either had troops in occupation or in some other way (such as financial) had a protectorate relationship with that country.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN AND CENTRAL AMERICA

- 1902: Venezuela's Cipriano Castro refused to honor debts to citizens of European nations
 - Germany and Great Britain blockaded Venezuelan ports.
 - U.S. pressured the Europeans into accepting arbitration, thereby accepting for the first time the broad implications of the Monroe Doctrine
- 1903: the Dominican Republic defaulted on \$40 million in bonds
 - President Roosevelt announced that under the Monroe Doctrine the United States would not permit European countries to intervene in Latin America
 - U.S. took charge of Dominican customs service and devoted 55 percent of revenue to debt payment
- December 1904: Roosevelt Corollary
 - To ensure proper behavior, U.S. would act as a police force in the hemisphere

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

- 1894-1895: Japan defeated China in a conflict over control of Korea
 - Concerned over Japan's aggressiveness, European powers hastened to carve out new spheres of influence on the Chinese coast
 - U.S. Secretary of State John Hay was urged by business leaders fearful of missing out on the China market to prevent the further absorption of China by the great powers
- 1899: Open Door Notes asked the great powers to agree to respect the trading rights of all countries and to impose no discriminatory duties within their spheres of influence, while recommending that Chinese tariffs continued to be collected by Chinese officials

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

- March 1900: Despite noncommittal replies, Hay announced that the powers had accepted the terms of the notes
 - In actuality, the powers did not extend their territories because they did not want to precipitate in a war amongst themselves
 - Marked a bold foray into international affairs and away from isolation
- Chinese nationalists launched the Boxer Rebellion, attacking Peking and driving foreigners behind the walls of their legations to await rescue by a multi-national force that included 2,500 Americans

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

- Fearing that Europeans would use the rebellion as an excuse to expand their spheres in China, Hay issued a second series of Open Door notes
 - Announced U.S. believed in preservation of Chinese territorial and administrative integrity and in impartial trade with all parts of Chinese empire
 - Broadened Open Door notes to include all China, not just spheres of influence
- American business interests were free to develop and compete with Europeans as a result



CHINESE WOMAN & CHILDREN, 1901
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division,
Detroit Publishing Company Collection

THE OPEN DOOR POLICY

- Japan attacked Russia in a dispute over Manchuria and smashed the Russian fleet in 1905
 - Not prepared for long war so suggested Roosevelt arbitrate
- June 1905: Portsmouth, New Hampshire, combatants met for peace conference
 - Japan won title to Russia's sphere around Port Arthur and a free hand in Korea
 - Did not get all of Sakhalin (only half) nor an indemnity which they wanted
- Treaty was unpopular in Japan and feelings against U.S. worsened when San Francisco school board segregated Asian children in 1906
 - Japan protested
 - Roosevelt convinced San Francisco to change policy in return for promise to cut off further Japanese immigration, which he did through a "Gentleman's Agreement" in 1907

THE PANAMA CANAL

- Expanding interests in Latin America and East Asia made an interoceanic canal a necessity, but had to get rid of old Clayton-Bulwer Treaty with Great Britain
- 1901: Hay-Pauncefote Treaty abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and allowed U.S. to build and fortify a canal which the U.S. agreed to operate free and open to all nations
- There were two possible routes
 - Across Colombian province of Panama where terrain was rugged and unhealthy
 - Across Nicaragua which was longer but relatively easy since it included a lot of natural waterways

THE PANAMA CANAL

- Commission recommended Nicaraguan route because French company wanted \$109 million for its assets (commission said only worth \$40 million)
 - French company lowered its price to \$40 million
 - Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French engineer with heavy company investments, made good use of propaganda
 - Roosevelt settled on Panamanian route
- 1903 Hay-Herrán Treaty
 - 99-year lease on a 6-mile wide zone
 - U.S. paid Colombia \$10 million and annual rent of \$250,000
- Colombia demanded \$15 million and \$10 million of company's share

THE PANAMA CANAL

- Roosevelt refused to negotiate with Colombians and instead quietly supported a Panamanian revolution that occurred in 1903
 - Roosevelt recognized the new republic
 - Hay negotiated with Panamanian representative, Philippe Bunau-Varilla
- Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty:
 - 10-mile wide zone in perpetuity
 - \$10 million with \$250,000 a year in rent
 - U.S. was sovereign within canal zone
 - French company was paid \$40 million

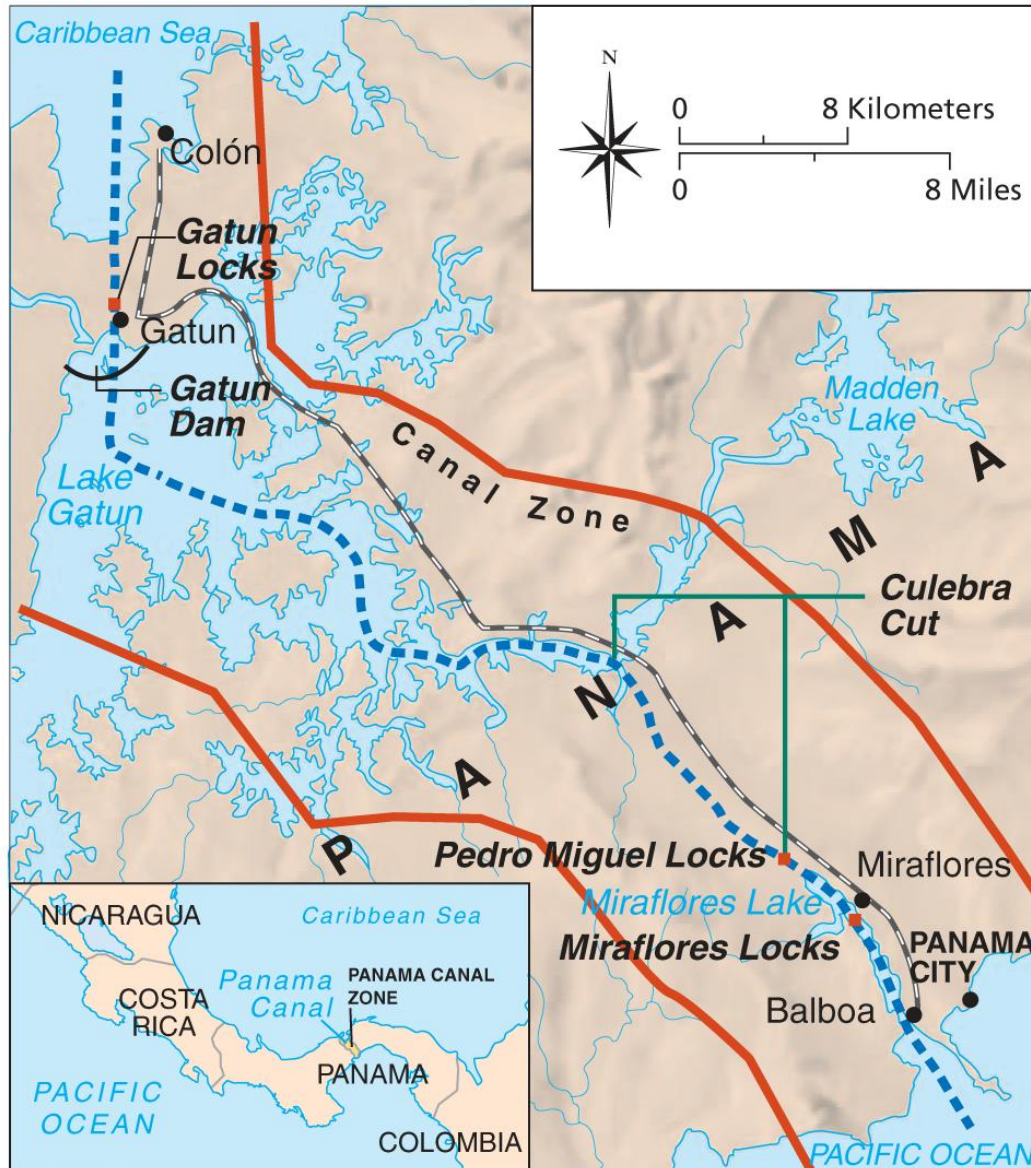
THE PANAMA CANAL

- 1921: U.S. made amends for actions by giving Colombia \$25 million while Colombia recognized Panamanian independence
- Canal opened 1914



CULEBRA CUT, looking north between the two highest hills, Panama Canal 1910-1920

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection



★ **The U.S. Panama Canal**

Following many negotiations, construction on the Panama Canal began in 1904. After many delays and hardships, it was completed in 1914.

IMPERIALISM WITHOUT COLONIES

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

- William Howard Taft called the policy of trying to influence outside areas without controlling them dollar diplomacy
 - Economic penetration would bring stability to underdeveloped areas and power and profit to the United States without the government having to commit troops or spend public funds
- Under Taft, the State Department won a place for American bankers in an international syndicate engaged in financing railroads in Manchuria
- When Nicaragua defaulted on its foreign debt in 1911, the department arranged for American bankers to reorganize Nicaraguan finances and manage the customs service
 - Efforts to establish similar arrangements in Honduras, Costa Rica, and Guatemala all failed
 - 1912: 2,500 American marines and sailors had to be landed in Nicaragua to put down a revolution
- American investments in Cuba reached \$500 million by 1920

IMPERIALISM WITHOUT COLONIES

- United States deserves fair marks for effort in its foreign relations following the Spanish-American War, barely passable marks for performance, and failing marks for results
- Narrowly defined, American imperialism lasted a short time with all overseas territory acquired between 1898 and 1903
- Hay's Open Door notes marked a retreat from imperialism while the Roosevelt Corollary and dollar diplomacy signaled the consolidation of a new policy

IMPERIALISM WITHOUT COLONIES

- More broadly defined, imperialism continued as the United States pursued a course that promoted American economic penetration of underdeveloped areas without the trouble of owning and controlling them
 - American statesmen regarded American expansion as beneficial to all concerned
 - Genuinely believed they were exporting democracy along with capitalism and industrialization
 - Assumed occupants of foreign countries had, or should have, the same values and desires as Americans did

IMPERIALISM WITHOUT COLONIES

- Dollar Diplomacy had two main objectives:
 - The avoidance of violence
 - Economic development of Latin America
 - BUT paid little attention to how either was obtained and thus was a self-defeating policy, since real stability depended on local support which was not fostered by this policy



PANAMA CANAL, looking north at Gold Hill, Cucaracha slide, 1912-1914

Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Detroit

Publishing Company Collection

MILESTONES

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 1850 | Britain and United States sign Clayton-Bulwer Treaty concerning interoceanic canal | |
| 1858 | Commercial treaty with Japan opens several ports to American trade | |
| 1867 | United States buys Alaska from Russia | |
| 1871 | Treaty of Washington settles <i>Alabama</i> claims | |
| 1875 | Reciprocity treaty increases U.S. influence in Hawaii | |
| 1885 | Josiah Strong justifies expansionism in <i>Our Country</i> | |
| 1890 | A. T. Mahan fuels American imperialism in <i>The Influence of Sea Power</i> | |
| 1893 | United States helps sugar planters depose Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii | |
| 1895 | United States supports Venezuela in European border dispute over British Guiana | |
| 1898 | <i>Maine</i> explodes in Havana harbor
Spanish-American war breaks out
Dewey defeats Spanish fleet at Battle of Manila Bay
Theodore Roosevelt leads Rough Riders at the Battle of San Juan Hill
United States annexes Hawaii | |
| 1899 | Hays's Open Door notes safeguard United States access to China trade | |
| 1900 | | Platt Amendment gives United States naval stations and right to intervene in Cuba |
| 1901 | | Hay-Pauncefote Treaty gives United States rights to build interoceanic canal
Supreme Court's insular cases give Congress free reign over colonies |
| 1902 | | Europeans accept Monroe Doctrine during Venezuela bond dispute |
| 1904 | | Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine gives United States "international police power" |
| 1907 | | "Gentlemen's Agreement" curtails Japanese immigration |

WEBSITES

- William McKinley

<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/wmckinley.html>

- The Era of William McKinley

<http://ehistory.osu.edu/osu/mmh/mckinley/>

- William McKinley and the Spanish-American War

<http://www.history.osu.edu/Projects/McKinley/SpanAmWar.html>

- Sentenaryo/Centennial: The Philippine Revolution and the Philippine-American War

<http://www.boondocksnet.com/centennial/index.html>

- Selected Naval Documents: The Spanish American War

<http://www.history.navy.mil/wars/spanam/sn98-1.htm>

WEBSITES

- The Spanish-American War

<http://lcweb.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/trask.html>

- The First Open Door Note

<http://odur.let.rug.nl/~usa/D/1876-1900/foreignpolicy/opendr.htm>

- Imperialism Web Page

<http://www.smplanet.com/imperialism/toc.html>

- Theodore Roosevelt Association

<http://www.theodoreroosevelt.org>