

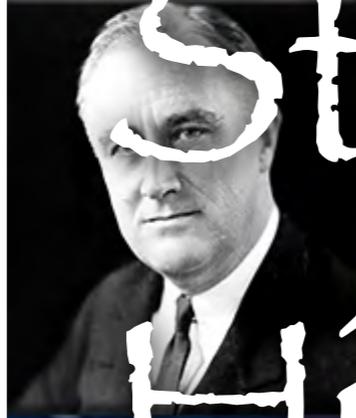
MI OPEN BOOK PROJECT

United

Reconstruction to Today

States

History

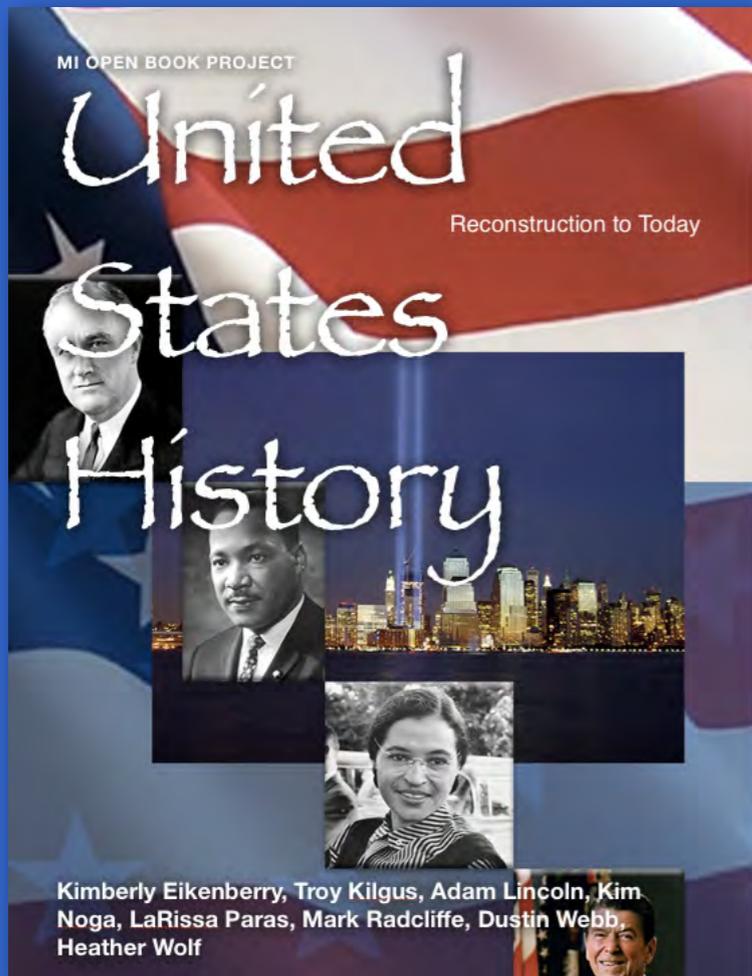


Kimberly Eikenberry, Troy Kilgus, Adam Lincoln, Kim Noga, LaRissa Paras, Mark Radcliffe, Dustin Webb, Heather Wolf



MICHIGAN

OPEN BOOK PROJECT



This is version 1.0 of this resource, released in August of 2016.

Information on the latest version and updates are available on the project homepage: <http://textbooks.wmisd.org/dashboard.html>



MICHIGAN OPEN BOOK PROJECT

The text of this book is licensed under a Creative Commons NonCommercial-ShareAlike (CC-BY-NC-SA) license as part of Michigan's participation in the national #GoOpen movement.

You are free to:

- Share** — copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format
 - Adapt** — remix, transform, and build upon the material
- The licensor cannot revoke these freedoms as long as you follow the license terms.

Under the following terms:

 **Attribution** — You must give **appropriate credit**, provide a link to the license, and **indicate if changes were made**. You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.

 **NonCommercial** — You may not use the material for **commercial purposes**.

No additional restrictions — You may not apply legal terms or **technological measures** that legally restrict others from doing anything the license permits.



The Michigan Open Book Project

Project Manager: Dave Johnson, Wexford-Missaukee Intermediate School District

HS US Team Editor: Rebecca Bush, Ottawa Area Intermediate School District

Authors

Kimberly Eikenberry, Grand Haven Public Schools

Troy Kilgus, Standish-Sterling Schools

Adam Lincoln, Ithaca Schools

Kim Noga, Ionia Public Schools

LaRissa Paras, Greenville Public Schools

Mike Radcliffe, Greenville Public Schools

Dustin Webb, Lake City Area Schools

Heather Wolf, Shepherd Public Schools



**MICHIGAN
OPEN BOOK PROJECT**



Kimberly Eikenberry

Grand Haven High School

Grand Haven Area Public Schools

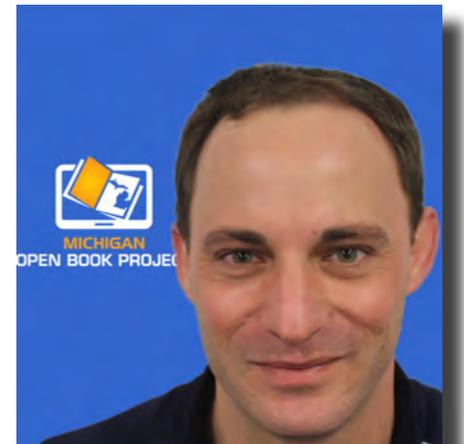
Kim has a B.A. in History and Social Studies and a M.A. in Educational Leadership, both from Western Michigan University. She has served in many roles during her thirteen years as an educator, including department chair, curriculum director, and administrator. Kim currently teaches World History and Economics at Grand Haven High School.

Troy Kilgus

Standish-Sterling Central High School

Standish-Sterling Community Schools

Troy Kilgus serves as the high school social studies chair at Standish-Sterling Central High School. In his eight years of teaching, he has taught various social studies courses including AP US History and multiple levels of French. Mr. Kilgus earned his undergraduate degree in French Education and his Masters in Teaching from Saginaw Valley State University.



Adam Lincoln

Ithaca Jr/Sr High School

Ithaca Schools

Adam began his teaching career at Cadillac High School in Cadillac, Michigan where he taught US History, Global Studies, and AP World History. After 7 years, he moved back home to central Michigan to teach at Ithaca Public Schools. While his main charge has been on teaching World History and starting the AP World History program, Adam also teaches 8th Grade History, US History, and History in Pop Culture. Adam helps advise Model United Nations, created the Ithaca Tech Club, and runs the Jumbotron at Ithaca Community Stadium during events. Adam has served as a member of the Michigan Council for the Social Studies for nearly a decade and has worked to unite his twin passions of Social Studies and effectively integrating technology into the classroom. Outside of school, Adam has served on the Content Advisory Committee, as a Social Studies item writer for the Department of Education, and worked for the PASST project. Adam teaches History and Social Studies methods classes at Alma College as adjunct faculty. Apart from the world of education, Adam has been married for 14 years to Emily, and they enjoy spending time with their son, Maxton.





Kim Noga

Ionia Public Schools

Ionia High School

Kim has a B.A. in History/ Social Studies and an M.A. in Curriculum and Teaching, both from Michigan State University. For the past 14 years she has been employed at Ionia High School where she teaches Economics, U.S. History, and Humanitarian Studies. Her hobbies include reading and traveling the world.

LaRissa Paras

Greenville High School

Greenville Public Schools

LaRissa is an alumni of Central Michigan University and the State University of New York. She is a tenured teacher in New York and now in Michigan where she works and resides with her husband and two rambunctious boys. Currently she is teaching World History and Current Issues at Greenville High School. She and her husband founded LP Inspire, LLC to encourage young people to grow into their best selves. She is also the proud creator of The Lotus Project, a successful mentoring program to help young women become empow-



Mike Radcliffe

Greenville High School

Greenville Public Schools

Mike Radcliffe is a native of South Lyon, Michigan. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from Colorado State University, followed by a Masters of Arts degree in American Studies from the University of Colorado. Over his 23 years of teaching students in Colorado and Michigan, he has taught Advanced Placement United States History, American Popular Culture, World History, World Geography, Sociology, and Economics. He currently serves as the department chair for the social studies department at Greenville High School, where he has taught the past 15 years. His previous textbook projects include serving as a teacher consultant for textbooks in US History and World Geography for Teachers Curriculum Institute. His interests include his wife



**MICHIGAN
OPEN BOOK PROJECT**

The Michigan Open Book Project Team would like to thank the following individuals for their help in reviewing some content in the book and guiding the development process.

Eric Hemenway - Director of Repatriation, Archives and Records, Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians

Jim Cameron, Michigan Department of Education

Melissa Kieswetter, Michigan Department of



**MICHIGAN
OPEN BOOK PROJECT**



Dustin Webb

Lake City High School

Lake City Area Schools

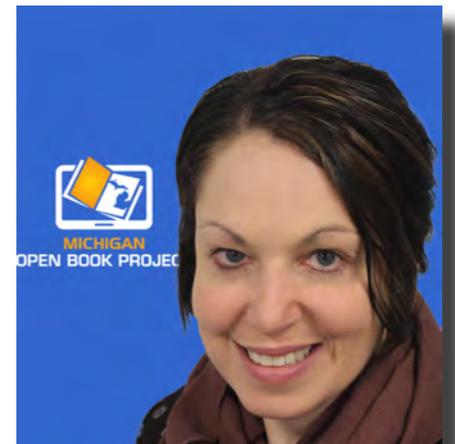
Biography Coming Soon!

Heather Wolf

Shepherd Public Schools

Shepherd High School

Heather has taught Social Studies at Shepherd High School for 16 years. She currently teaches American History and Law, but has also taught Modern American History, Civics, Current Events, and History of American Wars in the past. Heather is a graduate of Central Michigan University, where she earned both her undergraduate degree, as well as a Master of Arts in History. She also teaches Social Studies Methods and Pre-Student Teaching courses at CMU. Heather also is the chair of the Social Studies Department at Shepherd High School and is involved in many other facets of the school and community. Heather was named 2009 High School Educator of the Year by the Michigan Council for the Social Studies. She enjoys reading, traveling and spending time with her family.



Rebecca Bush

Instructional Consultant

Ottawa Area Intermediate School District

Rebecca Bush is currently the Social Studies Consultant at the Ottawa Area Intermediate School District (OAISD), where she assists K-12 social studies teachers in developing curriculum, modeling instructional strategies in social studies literacy, and designing district-level formative and summative assessments. Additionally, as Project Director, she has written and received multiple Teaching American History grants, working with teachers throughout an eight-county radius. She has presented at various national conferences on multiple topics surrounding social studies instruction as well as innovative techniques and topics in formative and summative assessment design. Currently she is Co-Project Director of The Performance Assessments of Social Studies Thinking (PASST) Project and assists with the professional development of teacher writers for the MI Open Book Project where she serves as an editor of several of the project's texts. Rebecca currently leads the Michigan Social



Chapter 3

How successful was the U.S. in balancing the ideals of democracy with those of imperialism as America became a world power?

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?
5. Were Wilson's 14 Points idealistic or realistic? How did America's response to WWI challenge the concept of the American dream and change what it meant to be an "American"?



Imperialistic Pursuits



QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Alfred Thayer Mahan

annexation

Frederick Jackson Turner

Imperialism

Queen Liliuokalani

Sanford B. Dole

Tariffs

Theodore Roosevelt

As progressives worked for domestic reform in political, economic, and social matters, others focused on and pushed for U.S. expansion overseas. American Imperialism was partly rooted in 'American exceptionalism,' the idea that the United States was different from other countries due to its specific world mission to spread liberty and democracy. While many Americans favored imperialistic endeavors, others wondered if the contradiction to democratic ideals was too large of a gamble in the area of foreign affairs.

“JUSTICE TOWARDS ALL NATIONS”

As George Washington bid farewell as President in 1793 amidst the turbulence of the French Revolution overseas, he provided the young country with some fatherly wisdom regarding relationships—specifically, the “great rule of conduct” of relationships between the U.S. and foreign powers in general: “Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.”



“...Just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. . . “

“ . . . Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none; or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.”

--George Washington’s Farewell Address, 1796

In Washington’s eyes, friendly trade relations with foreign countries was the goal, but playing favorites through political alliances that could needlessly drag the young nation into Europe’s seemingly endless cycles of imperial war and drama would need to be avoided.

Geography played an important role in America’s development. By the early 1900s, French ambassador Jules Jusserand noted that the United States was “blessed among nations....On the north she had a weak neighbor; on the south, another weak neighbor; on the east, fish, and on the west, fish.”

Washington had every reason to view those controversies as foreign since, in terms of its geography, the young country had tremendous capacity for growth. Geographically, the young nation took full advantage of the vast territory to its west. The century that followed saw an America that rapidly expanded

U.S. EXPANSION IN NORTH AMERICA



U.S. Expansion in North America is republished with permission of Stratfor.

across the North American continent, acquiring a path to the Pacific Ocean through negotiation, purchase, war and conquest. Unbeknownst to Washington, the following century would see the United States flourish at an unimagined rate, thanks in large part due to a geography that left it with seemingly unlimited natural resources, two vast oceans, and relatively few obstacles involving greater foreign powers.

For the better part of the following century, the United States was able to adhere to Washington's advice in regards to relationships overseas, despite the turbulence of war with Great Britain in the new nation's early "teen years". However, the late nineteenth century found the country jealously watching the great empires of Europe carve out large territories of control and influence in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, and the siren call of empire became irresistible. This policy of extending political, economic, and military control over other nations became known as imperialism.



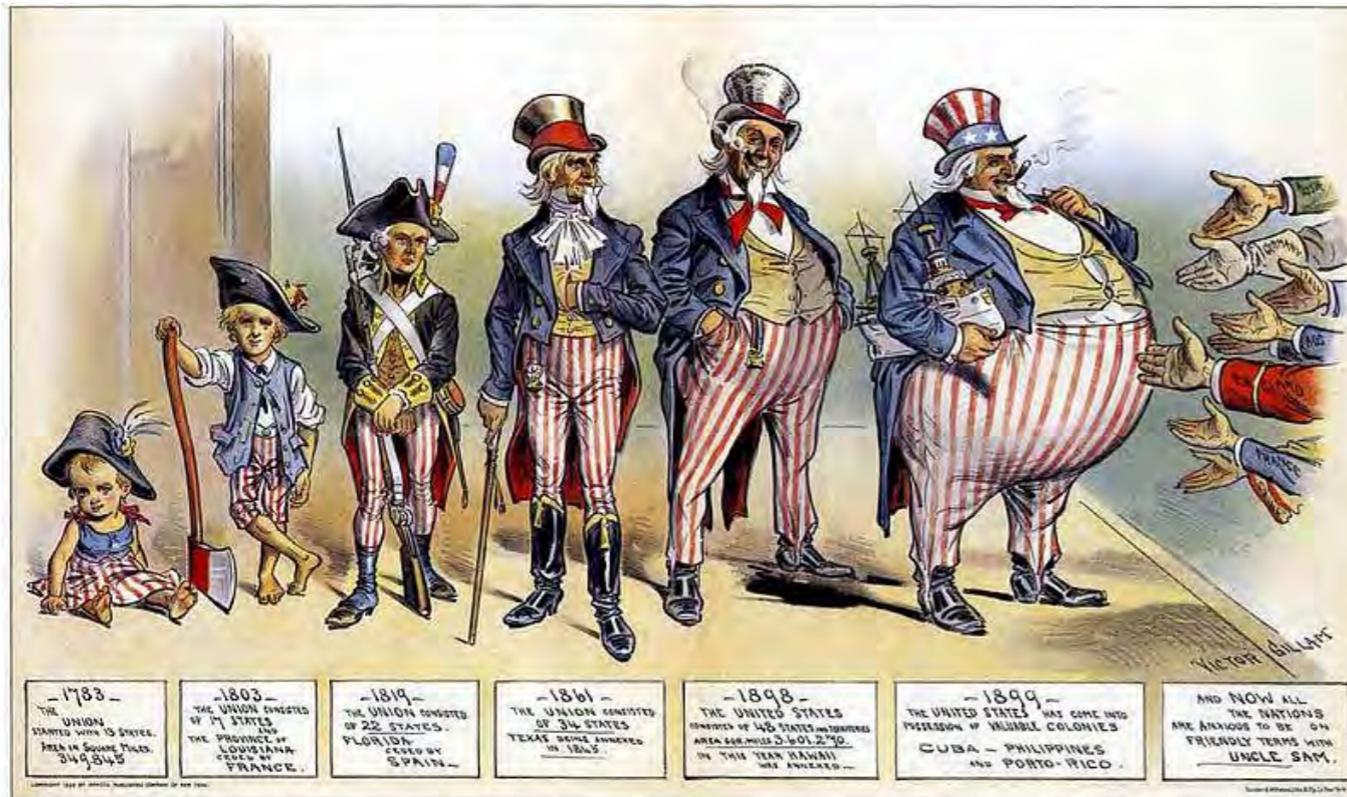
<http://howard.dearbornschools.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/566/2014/04/Grab-Bag-Imperialism.jpg>

Each new territory acquired by a foreign power within the waters surrounding the United States was a potential threat to United States security and economic interests. And as European powers began to troll the Pacific and Caribbean for large trophies to add to the economic and strategic might of their empires, America found itself racing to compete. The influence of America's international peers overseas proved too great, and Washington's earnest warning to avoid Europe's influence, fell upon deaf ears.

REDEFINING AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

Throughout the past century, historians have often debated the primary causes of America's shift away from Washington's foreign policy ideals toward the overseas pursuit of building an empire.

While opinions still differ on whether America stumbled upon the process of building an empire or actively pursued the creation of one, few would challenge the significant impact that America's territorial expansion would have on its emergence as a world power.



"A LESSON FOR ANTI-EXPANSIONISTS,"
 "Showing how Uncle Sam has been an expansionist first, last, and all the time."
 Judge, Arckell Publishing Company, New York, 1899 [Artist: Victor Gillam]

Cartoon Analysis:

1. What is the main argument presented by the cartoonist?
2. What evidence does the cartoonist present for his argument?
3. Is the argument convincing? Why or why not?

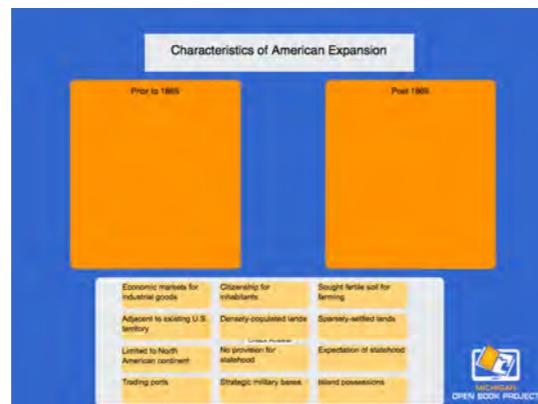
Early Settlement Patterns While historians in the twentieth century developed differing interpretations as to whether the expansion of the United States was "a great aberration" from previous periods of expansion, or was simply a continuation of patterns of

expansion begun in the colonial cradles of Jamestown and Plymouth, the patterns of territorial acquisition following the Civil War were significantly different from the acquisition of territories before the war. Prior to the Civil War, settlers generally migrated westward across the continent in pursuit of rich, fertile soil. New lands were frequently adjacent to existing U.S. territory and, despite the presence of smaller tribes of Native Americans, were perceived to be sparsely populated and open for settlement. When enough settlers had arrived in a particular area, the territory could then apply for statehood and enter the United States as a state equal with its colonial predecessors. Upon admission, the inhabitants were then considered citizens of the United States. Territories in the Old Northwest, the Louisiana Purchase, Florida, Texas, and California had followed this pattern, as did the land acquired from Mexico (Arizona and New Mexico).

Post-Civil War Settlement Patterns However, lands acquired following the Civil War tended to be island possessions away from the mainland United States that were desirable for strategic and economic reasons, such as naval bases, coaling stations, and trading ports along major shipping lanes. Whereas pre-Civil War land acquisition reflected the resource needs of an agrarian society, post-War expansion reflected the needs and desires of an industrial society seeking access to economic markets in

heavily-populated, foreign lands. The new lands were viewed as colonies to be possessed, with little regard for future statehood or potential citizenship for its settled populations.

Interactive 3.1 Characteristics of Expansion



Determine which of the following characterize American expansion prior to 1865, and which ones characterize Post-Civil War expansion.

AMERICA LOOKS OVERSEAS

Problems with the Industrial Economy Throughout much of the nineteenth century, American industry grew rapidly and profited greatly from America's vast natural resources, steady stream of immigrant labor, and technological advances in agriculture and industry. However, by the late 1800s, rapid gains in productivity had produced a new problem--America's domestic markets for its products were saturated. American industrial and agricultural

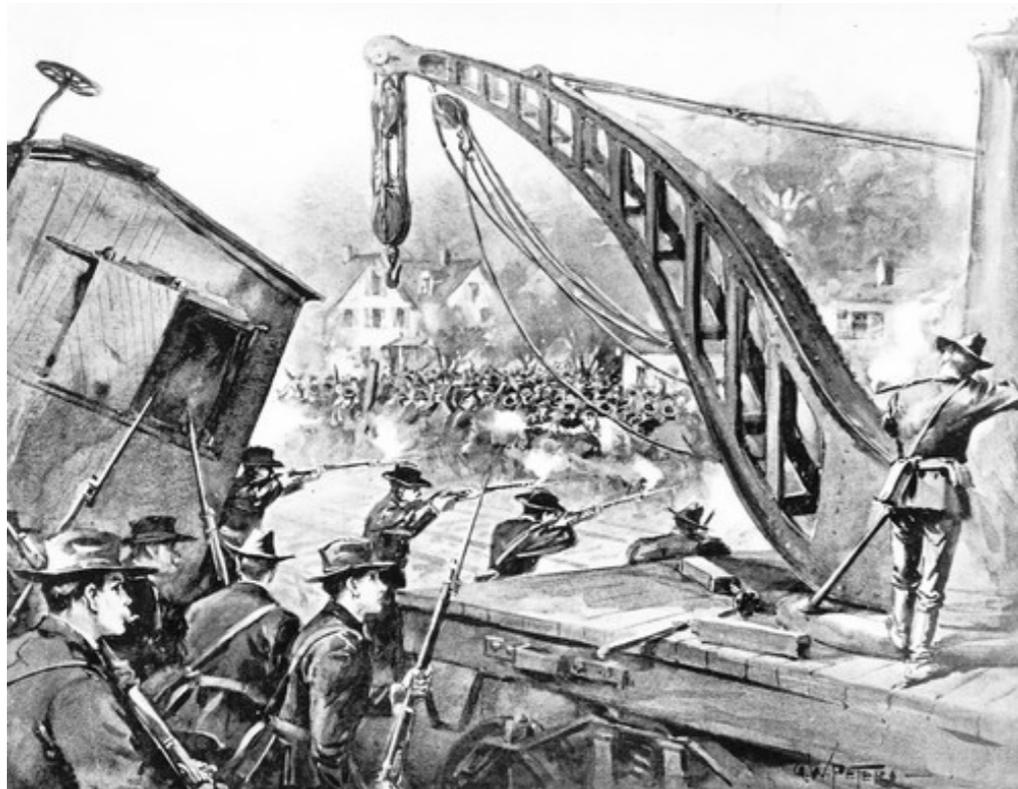
output had far outstripped the capacity of the American public to purchase its goods. As quantities of goods remained unsold, prices fell, as did profits. Employment rose and fell with the fortunes of business. The economic challenges of overproduction in an industrial economy resulted in several difficult financial crises throughout the late 1800s, including significant depressions in the years 1873-1878, 1882-1885, and 1893-1897 (the country's worst until the Great Depression of the 1930s). [4] Railroads, which had driven much of America's corporate growth, found themselves plagued by overexpansion and facing bankruptcy. With virtually half of the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century mired in economic uncertainty, social unrest in America increased.

Labor Unrest As workers fell upon hard times financially, labor unrest exploded in a series of violent strikes, forcing business leaders to conclude that new markets overseas for American goods were necessary before the American ship of state sank like a stone amidst the stormy waves of economic crisis.



Homestead Steel Strike, 1892

<http://explorepahistory.com/displayimage.php?imgId=1-2-10DA>



Striking workers fire on Pinkertons at Andrew Carnegie's Homestead Steel Plant



How might images such as these in weekly news magazines influence public opinion? How might these events be viewed by Businessmen? Workers? The Middle Class?

The Disappearing Frontier and Need for New Markets

Compounding the troubling situation domestically was the United States Census Bureau's 1890 announcement that the Western frontier was no longer distinguishable from settled areas.

Historian **Frederick Jackson Turner** argued that the American character, innovation and

democracy had been profoundly shaped by the frontier, and its disappearance would pose a challenge to America's future. With potential settlement and future markets within the country's borders limited, "new frontiers" and markets in Latin America and Asia became financially attractive for America's excessive agricultural and industrial products.

Interactive 3.2 The Frontier Thesis



For more on the Turner Thesis, [click here](#)

Technological Advances

Overseas markets became an option in the nineteenth century due to significant advances in communications and transportation technology. Since the 1830s, steamships had greatly reduced the time necessary to reach distant ports in such faraway places as Hong Kong, Manila, Hawaii, and China.

Communications developments such as telegraphs, telephones, and undersea cables further improved the information flow internationally, thereby assisting in raising public awareness and curiosity about lands previously absent from the public imagination.

Today, many Americans are exposed to foreign cultures through television, movies, and the internet. For many Americans in the late 19th century, their first exposure to foreign cultures came through seeing the world through a stereoscope.

Interactive 3.3 America on the Move



To learn more on American Transportation history, [click here](#)

Transportation Technology: Then and Now		
	1890s	Now
On the Farm	 <p>Horse and wagon Image Source</p>	 <p>Truck Image Source</p>
Getting Around Town	 <p>Electric Streetcar Image Source</p>	 <p>Light Rail Image Source</p>
Long Distance	 <p>Railroads Image Source</p>	 <p>Autos Image Source</p>
Spanning Continents	 <p>Ocean Liner Image Source</p>	 <p>Passenger Jet Image Source</p>

Christian Missions

As more people became aware of those distant shores, the missionary impulse to bring the message of Protestant Christianity to regions like Hawaii and China increased as well.

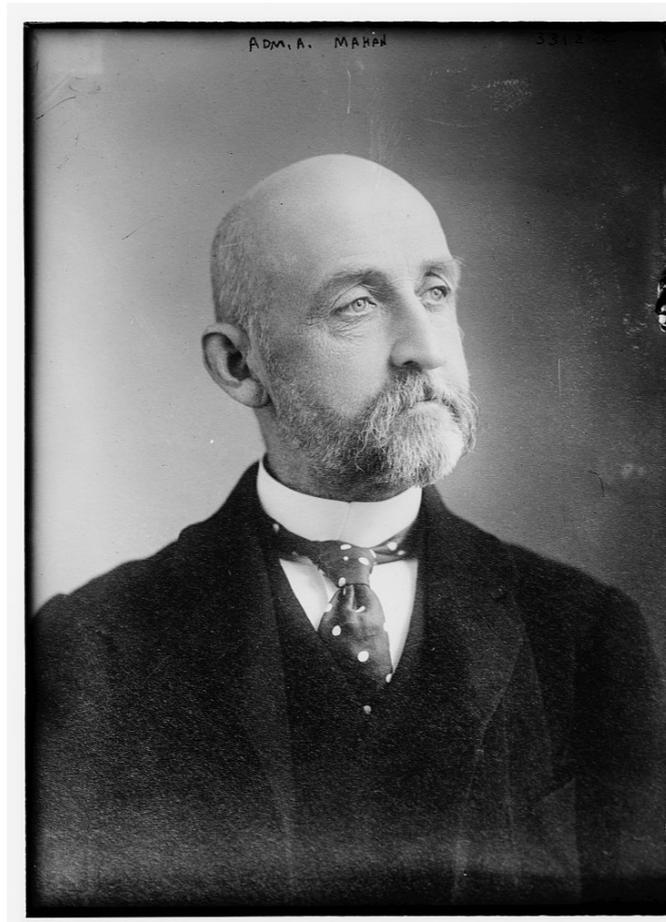
Christian missionaries sought to improve the lives of native populations by bringing Christianity, education, medicine, and modernization to distant populations.

Racial Superiority

Some expansionists, such as Josiah Strong, were strongly driven by the idea that the Anglo-Saxon race was superior to all others.

As the superior race, Strong argued that America had a moral responsibility to fulfill a divinely-appointed destiny of bringing the blessings of liberty and Christianity to less enlightened races.

Such ideas were blended into the period's economic arguments to further promote the expansion of democratic and



<https://www.loc.gov/item/ggb2005023626/>

economic interests overseas.

The Influence of Alfred Mahan Of course, in order to protect those markets and America's economic interests abroad, a strong navy was necessary, especially among nations that began to see the lessons of the biological world of Charles Darwin and the social world of Herbert Spencer in terms of "survival of the fittest" — Life among the nations was a continuous struggle for existence, and much like the biological world, the strongest nations would survive and dominate the weaker ones. In a world where ideas have consequences, Naval Academy graduate Alfred Thayer Mahan became the man who provided the rationale for American empire (in addition to the rationale for the naval buildup in Europe that contributed to World War I), and a powerful navy to back it. In a series of several books, including *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660-1783* (1890), Mahan argued that sea power was essential to national greatness, and that greatness was dependent upon a highly productive industrial economy, a large fleet of ships engaged in the "carrying trade," a powerful, modern navy to protect the merchant ships, and colonies that could provide strategic naval bases, foreign markets for products, and essential raw materials. Mahan's ideas heavily influenced policy makers across America and the Atlantic, including the future Assistant Secretary of the Navy and President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. Among Mahan's solutions to help America win the competitive struggle of the nations: Build strategic military bases in the Caribbean and the Pacific to guard

the canal and American interests from European encroachment, gain control of Hawaii and other islands along key trade routes in the Pacific, and construct a canal across the isthmus of Central America. When McMahan's book was published, the American Navy was ranked twelfth in the world. By the end of the 1890s, the United States was firmly anchored at number three.

Ultimately, America was not the only country heavily influenced by Mahan's writings. The European powers and Japan were persuaded as well, leading to a military arms race that would culminate in two world wars.

Below are a list of common foreign policy priorities of presidents over the ages. The year is 1896 and you are President of the United States. As you consider the social, economic, and political state of the nation, what would be your top three biggest foreign policy priorities? Justify your answer. What should be our top priorities today?

National Unity

To develop, promote, or maintain a sense of national identity by uniting Americans against a hostile, external group or force

Humanitarianism

To promote justice and stability globally through relief efforts, quality of life improvements, reduction in human trafficking, or to stop the actions of an aggressive/oppressive country against another

Markets

New outlets for manufactured products, services, or raw materials; access to foreign goods necessary to meet consumer demand

National Security

Actions taken to protect the country from foreign threats

Raw Materials

Acquisition of food, ports, or other natural resources

Ideology

To spread political, religious, or economic ideas (or to stop the spread of them in other areas)

Self-Determination

The desire to liberate a group or nation of people from the influence and domination of another

National Prestige or Pride

The desire for more power or influence among other nations, which may include the desire to overcome a previous loss or humiliation

SEEDS OF AN AMERICAN EMPIRE

Seward's Vision American expansion into the Pacific took root several decades earlier under Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson's Secretary of State, William Seward. As an early expansionist who envisioned a vast commercial empire that included Canada, Mexico, the Pacific, and Latin America, Seward and others like him saw the trade routes and markets of China and Asia as a significant key to American prosperity, in addition to a canal across Latin America that was protected by strategic island bases in the Caribbean. In order to orient American economic ties westward, Seward managed to annex the uninhabited Midway Islands northwest of Hawaii in 1867.

Alaska That same year, Seward encouraged a reluctant U.S. Congress to approve the purchase of Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million, which would provide the United States with fish, furs, and coaling stations for merchant ships in the Pacific. While many regarded Alaska as "Seward's Icebox" and "Seward's Folly," the sentiments were quickly forgotten by the time gold was discovered in the



Hawaii

Hawaii was also a key to Seward's vision of empire, although he was unsuccessful in negotiating economic treaties with the island nation. Known as the "Crossroads of the Pacific," Hawaii was strategically located in the heart of the Pacific and served as a vital port for whaling and merchant ships. Naval strategists valued its harbors, and it was perfectly situated to guard the approaches of any canal that might be built in Central America. Christian missionaries had first arrived on the island in 1820, and new settlers soon followed, as did American business investors who felt sugar cane could grow heartily in the Hawaiian climate. They were not disappointed. Soon, sugar cane became the heart of the Hawaiian economy. By the 1870s and 1880s,

economic treaties were signed between Hawaii and the United States that allowed Hawaiian sugar, an industry which soon came to be dominated by American planters, to be sold in the United States duty-free. This had been done in exchange for a Hawaiian pledge that no other nation would be able to lease or acquire Hawaiian territory or be granted special economic privileges. To protect American trade and provide a strategic military base in the Pacific, America further negotiated a naval base at Pearl Harbor. However, by 1890, the economic fortunes of Hawaiian sugar took a dramatic twist. That year, tariffs went into effect that made Hawaiian sugar more expensive in the United States. A tariff is a special tax placed on imported goods. Because

Hawaiian sugar had become so dependent upon American markets, the Hawaiian economy crashed, and unemployment skyrocketed among the large numbers of Chinese and Japanese immigrants who worked the cane fields and sugar mills. In an effort to re-assert political control over an island nation that was increasingly being dominated by a minority group of American planters, in 1891 the Hawaiian **queen Liliuokalani** began calling for a “Hawaii for the Hawaiians” that constitutionally restricted the political power of U.S. planters in favor of native Hawaiians.

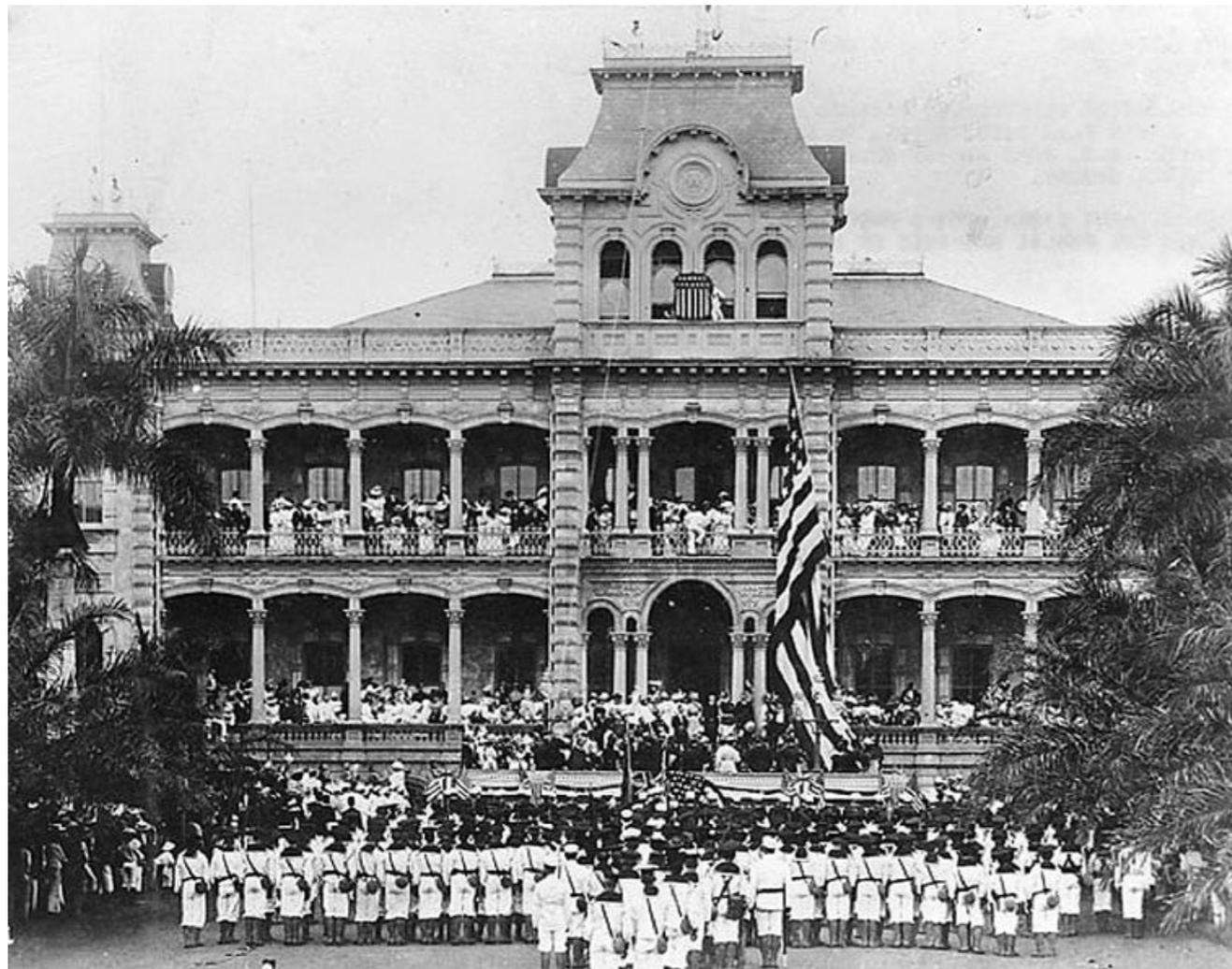


Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani in 1891

By January of 1893, American planters responded. Outraged by the queen’s quest to keep Hawaii independent, the white American planters revolted against Liliuokalani’s authority in a bloodless coup. An intimidating force of 150 U.S. Marines, called in by U.S. Ambassador John L. Stevens in response to planters’ requests to “protect American lives and property”, were lined up outside of the royal palace with Gatling guns. Queen Liliuokalani surrendered her throne to “the superior force of the United States,” in the hopes that she would be reinstated once leaders in Washington, D.C. investigated how her throne had been overthrown. A provisional government was immediately established with **Sanford B. Dole**, a Hawaiian-born son of American-born missionaries, as president. Stevens, sensing an opportunity for the United States to take over control of the islands, famously cabled back to Washington, “The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it.” The provisional government submitted a treaty for annexation into the United States. President Grover Cleveland, however, refused to seek annexation of the islands and had U.S. troops removed, believing Liliuokalani’s overthrow to be illegal and an “act of war.” When Cleveland sought Liliuokalani’s restoration to the throne, the white planters refused.

Instead, they drafted a constitution and proclaimed the birth of the new Republic of Hawaii, with Dole as its first president.

Despite native Hawaiian opposition, the republic would not have to wait long to gain admission to the United States, however, as the outbreak of the Spanish-American War on the island of Cuba 5,000 miles away would soon cause President William McKinley to support Hawaii's annexation in 1898.



The United States flag is raised over the 'Iolani Palace In Honolulu after the annexation of Hawaii

Interactive 3.4 The Impact of Annexation



To view the impact of annexation from the Hawaiian perspective, click here

Interactive 3.5 Hawaii's Story



Read Queen Liliuokalani's own story here



John Gast's American Progress, 1872

To what extent was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny in the 1840s?

The Spanish-American War

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Yellow Journalism

Reconcentration

Jingo

Teller Amendment

Rough Riders



<http://cdn.loc.gov/service/ppp/ppmsca/28700/28700v.jpg>

Cuba had found itself alongside Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Guam as the only remaining colonies of the once vast Spanish Empire that had rose to prominence with Columbus's discovery of the New World in 1492.

Cubans Seek Independence As Hawaiian planters discovered, the world was becoming much more interconnected in the nineteenth century, and connections with American markets could come with a steep price. Cuba's reliance on US markets for its sugar produced a situation similar to what Hawaii experienced only a few years earlier. Located 90 miles off the Florida coast, Cuba was home to a native population that had tried unsuccessfully to free itself from the colonial grip of Spain. However, Cuba was also home to the largest share of American investments overseas, with American business interests deeply involved in Cuban sugar and tobacco plantations, mining operations, business properties, and residences. Sugar planters in Cuba had also teamed up with American sugar planters in the United States to encourage Congress to pass tariff protections on Cuban sugar, at the expense of Hawaiian sugar. Now, only a few years later, Cuba found itself holding the short end of the stick when the U.S. Congress passed a tariff in 1894 that eliminated the special economic benefits given to Cuban sugar in U.S. markets. The ensuing decline in the demand for Cuban sugar deeply impacted the Cuban economy, as sugar growers on the island cut jobs and laid off thousands. Then, amidst the economic turmoil of 1895, Cuban separatists began their push to finally liberate themselves from Spanish rule. The Philippines followed suit by rebelling against Spanish rule in 1896.



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4c/Judge-2-6-1897.jpg>

In American political cartoons, Uncle Sam and Columbia have often been used to represent the United States. In this cartoon, Uncle Sam refers to the U.S. government, while Columbia is representative of the American people.



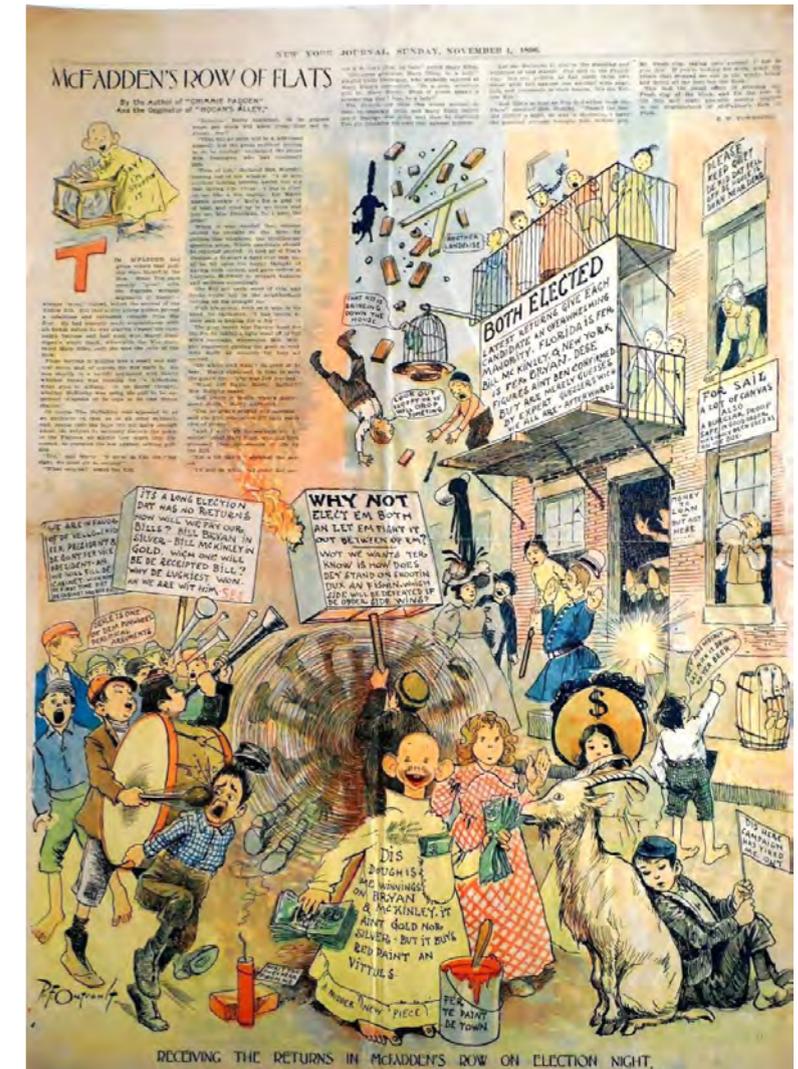
1. What are some of the symbols that are critical to understanding the political cartoon?
2. What is the cartoonist's perspective on assistance for Cuba?

U.S. Intervention in Cuba

For the United States, the strategic location of Cuba at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico and its tropical climate had left an indelible impression on the minds of policymakers who saw Cuba as key to American prosperity and security. Thomas Jefferson saw this as early as 1823: “[Cuba’s] addition to our confederacy is exactly what is wanting to round out our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest.” Several times in the 1800s, American presidents sought to purchase the island, but to no avail. In absence of actually acquiring the island, American policy was dictated by another of Jefferson’s ideas, that being that Cuba’s “independence against all the world, except Spain . . . would be nearly as valuable to us as if it were our own.” In other words, in the eyes of American foreign policy interests, the best Cuba was a free Cuba.

Yellow Journalism As the insurgency began to spread across the island of Cuba, American newspapers picked up the Cuban cause of independence and began to catalogue the violence and suffering of the Cubans in an effort to increase their newspaper circulation. Leading the way were William Randolph Hearst’s New York Journal and Joseph Pulitzer’s New York World, two newspaper publishers at war against one another on the journalistic battlefield of the country’s largest city. Using artillery such as bold, sensational headlines, riveting pictures, and novelty elements like comics, the newspapers engaged in direct

warfare designed to pay off the costs of expensive state-of-the-art printing presses by winning over the wallets of the American people. Their over-the-top style of reporting that emphasized eye-catching headlines over concern for the facts soon became known as **yellow journalism**.



Cartoon featuring the Yellow Kid, from which yellow journalism received its name

Interactive 3.6 The Yellow Kid



To learn about the Yellow Kid click here.

Interactive 3.7 Rise and Fall of Yellow Journalism



Learn about the rise and fall of Yellow Journalism here.

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP MAINE WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY

\$50,000!
\$50,000 REWARD!
 For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

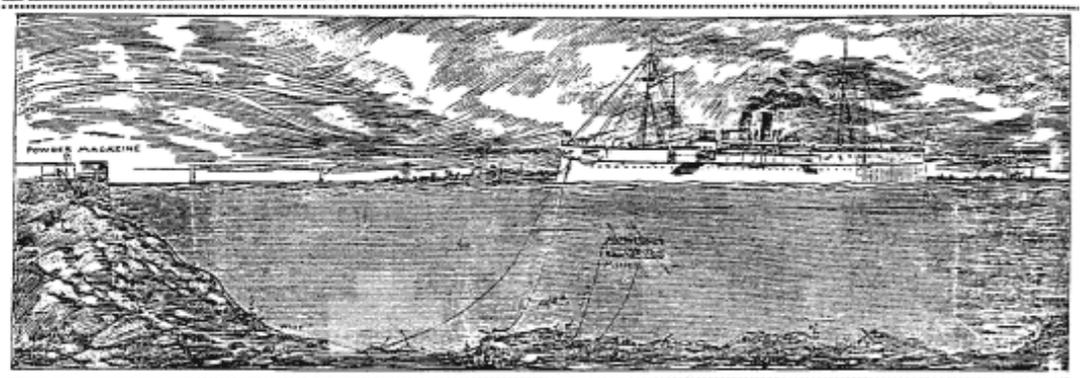
The New York Journal offers a reward of \$50,000 cash for information, furnished to it exclusively, that will identify the person or persons who sank the Maine.

Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.

The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 258 American Sailors to Their Death. Naval Officers Unanimous That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.

\$50,000!
\$50,000 REWARD!
 For the Detection of the Perpetrator of the Maine Outrage!

The New York Journal offers a reward of \$50,000 cash for information, furnished to it exclusively, that will identify the person or persons who sank the Maine.



NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE MAINE WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH MINE.
 Longer before, the Journal's special correspondent at Havana, tells that it is the secret opinion of many Spaniards in the Cuban capital that the Maine was destroyed and part of her crew killed by means of a submarine mine or sunken torpedo. This is the opinion of several American naval authorities. The Spaniards, it is believed, managed to have the Maine anchored over one of the harbor mines. This connected the ship with a powerful magazine, and it is thought the explosion was caused by setting an electric current through the mine. If this can be proven, the brutal nature of the Spaniards will be shown for the first time toward the people of this country.

Hidden Mine or a Sunken Torpedo Believed to Have Been the Weapon Used Against the American Man-of-War—Officers and Men Tell Thrilling Stories of Being Blown Into the Air Amid a Mass of Shattered Steel and Exploding Shells—Survivors Brought to Key West Scout the Idea of Accident—Spanish Officials Protest Too Much—Our Cabinet Orders a Searching Inquiry—Journal Sends Divers to Havana to Report Upon the Condition of the Wreck.

Reconcentration Not only did Americans begin to associate the Cuban struggle for independence with their own, but the national press collectively incited the public against Spain in other ways.

In an effort to put an end to the rebellion, the Spanish sent the veteran general, Valeriano Weyler, to Cuba in 1896. Known for his ability to pacify rebels, Weyler turned to a new policy to end the hit-and-run tactics of guerilla-style warfare that the Cubans had practiced with great success against the Spanish. Known as reconcentration, the policy sought to limit the guerillas' access to resources and people by forcing the local populations to move inside fortified camps and towns where access could be strictly controlled. Scorched earth tactics, or policies used by a military that involved destroying anything of value to an opposing army, were then used by the Spanish to further limit the guerillas' access to food and supplies. The policy of reconcentration had two significant impacts: First, the crowded conditions inside the camps and towns, combined with shortages of food, produced an abundance of disease, illness, and poor sanitation, killing an estimated one in every four Cubans inside the camps. Hundreds of Cubans perished as a result of the inadequate supplies.

Second, it drove many locals who had been undecided in the war to the side of the Cuban nationals. The American press, sensing an opportunity to increase their circulation and pay the bills, picked up the stories and made "Butcher" Weyler a household name. By the end of 1897, public outrage led the Spanish to recall Weyler and announce an end to reconcentrado.



How is this an example of "Yellow Journalism"?

The Impact of Weyler's Reconcentration Policy

"Torn from their homes, with foul earth, foul air, foul water and foul food, or none, what wonder that one-half have died and that one-quarter of the living are so diseased that they cannot be saved. A form of dropsy is a common disorder resulting from these conditions. Little children are still walking about with arms and chests terribly emaciated, eyes swollen and abdomen bloated to three times the natural size. The physicians say these cases are hopeless."

--Senator Redfield Proctor, "When Will the Need for this Help to End?", Address to the U.S. Senate, March 17, 1898

The story is often told that when William Randolph Hearst sent Frederic Remington, one of America's premier artists, to Cuba in order to capture the war being waged against the Cubans in 1897, Remington wired back that there was no war, and requested to be reassigned elsewhere. Hearst allegedly telegraphed back, "You furnish the pictures, and I'll furnish the war." However, there is no historical evidence that the two ever cabled the exchange.

Tensions Escalate As the Cuban revolt against Spanish rule began to impact American property and business interests, requests were made by American officials in Cuba to provide a warship in case American lives were jeopardized and evacuation deemed necessary. When riots by Spanish army officers in early

January of 1898 raised Presidential concerns that the Spanish were further losing control of the island, President McKinley, with the full permission of Spain, ordered one of America's newer battleships, the U.S.S. Maine, to Cuba. Spanish officials gave a warm reception for the ship, and one historian commented that the presence of the ship seemed to provide a calming of tensions in the city. However, two events permanently altered the course of affairs between Spain and the United States.

The De Lôme Letter First, tensions increased when a Cuban sympathizer intercepted personal correspondence between Spain's ambassador to the United States, Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, and a Spanish foreign minister residing in Cuba. De Lôme, concerned about the actual effectiveness of Spanish policy in Cuba and the influence of the yellow press, labeled McKinley as "weak," "a bidder for the admiration of the crowd", and "a would-be politician." While criticism of McKinley's decision-making was not new, the fact that it was from a Spanish minister set off a fury of outrage in the yellow press. The letter was initially published by Hearst's New York Journal with the headline, "Worst Insult to the United States in Its History!" American public opinion surged against Spain. In response, de Lôme resigned which left Spain without a high level ambassador in the U.S. Unfortunately, the next event would forever change the course of American history.



Explosion of the USS Maine https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Maine_explosion.jpg

Explosion of the U.S.S. Maine On the evening of February 15, a thunderous shockwave rippled through Havana as the U.S.S. Maine exploded. The source of the blast was just below the sleeping crew's quarters. The ship sank quickly. In all, 266 Americans died in the explosion. The yellow newspapers immediately blamed Spain. The New York World even offered \$50,000 to anyone who could identify the destroyer of the U.S.S. Maine. With sensational headlines, the yellow press devoted

pages to the tragedy. A popular rallying cry soon arose, "Remember the Maine and to Hell with Spain!" President McKinley, who had sought to avoid involvement in a war over Cuba, ordered an investigation into the causes of the explosion and requested \$50 million from Congress to prepare for war.

Much to the delight of the American public and to the total surprise of Spain, Congress wasted no time in passing the bill.

Near the end of March, six weeks after the explosion, the Presidential board of inquiry found the cause of the explosion to be external to the ship,

most likely a Spanish mine. More recent investigations have suggested coal may have combusted spontaneously in storage bins adjacent to the ship's powder magazine, thereby internally causing the explosion. Nevertheless, the leaked results of the commission further incited public opinion

toward war, a war that many Wall Street investors hoped to avoid due to its potential impact on trade with Cuba. Public sentiment on behalf of the Cuban people prevailed.



War with Spain On March 27, the President sent an ultimatum to Spain. Spain agreed to provide relief to the Cuban people, an end to reconcentrado, and to an **armistice** with the Cuban rebels.

However, it made no guarantees toward Cuban independence.

On April 11, President McKinley addressed Congress and asked for authorization to take necessary measures to end hostilities in Cuba, including the use of military and naval forces. On April 19, after debate over McKinley's request, Congress passed a joint resolution that declared Cuban independence, demanded that Spain withdraw its troops completely from Cuba, and granted McKinley authorization to use military force against Spain.

However, concerned that pro-imperial factions within the government might use the humanitarian response toward Cuba as an excuse to annex the island, Senator Henry M. Teller from Colorado proposed an additional measure stating that the United States had no intentions of controlling the island and would leave Cuba free and independent in the hands of its citizens once hostilities ended. This addition to the joint resolution, known as the Teller Amendment, was sent to McKinley and signed into law April 20. The next day, in response to the U.S. naval blockade of Cuba, the Spanish government cut diplomatic ties with the United States and declared war. On April 24, Congress did the same.

Even anti-imperialist voices in Congress saw justification in war: Senator George Hoar from Massachusetts commented, "We cannot look idly on while hundreds of innocent human beings, women and children and old men, die of hunger close to our

doors. If ever there is to be a war, it should be to prevent such things as that."

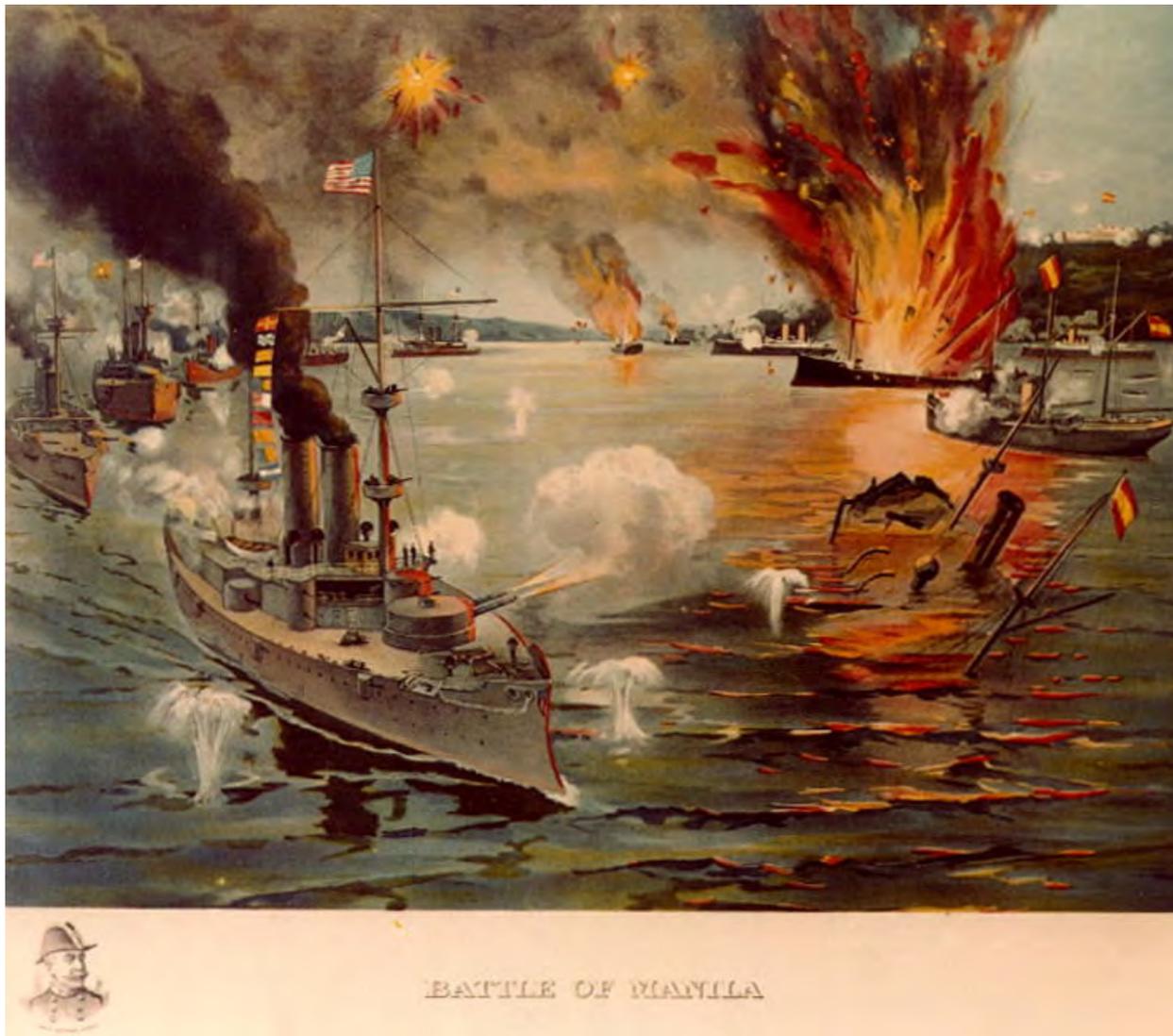
The U.S. Army soon found itself in a war that, logistically, it was unprepared for. Lacking necessities like sanitary training camps, healthy meat supplies, and sufficient knowledge of tropical illnesses, disease ended up taking ten times the number of American lives than Spanish bullets. A lack of uniforms, rifles, and experienced officers meant troop enthusiasm for war was usually higher than their actual preparedness to fight.

Dewey Captures the Philippines Despite the challenges faced by the army, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt took steps to insure that Alfred T. Mahan's recommendations became reality. Ten days after the U.S.S. Maine explosion, when Roosevelt's superior, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, stepped out of the office early one afternoon, Roosevelt capitalized on the opportunity to prepare for war by strategically ordering the American fleet in the Pacific to report to Hong Kong, then to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines in the event of war with Spain.

Interactive 3.8 The Spanish American War



For a short video overview of the Spanish-American War, [click here](#).



The U.S.S. Olympia in the Battle of Manila Bay

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Manila_Bay#/media/File:USS_Olympia_art_NH_91881-KN.jpg

On April 25, the fleet commander, Commodore George Dewey, received the orders to take the fleet to the Philippines. In the early dawn of May 1, Dewey's flagship, the U.S.S. Olympia, sailed into Manila Bay with five other warships and dropped into formation. As the U.S. fleet approached the anchored Spanish fleet, Dewey turned to the U.S.S. Olympia's captain, Captain Charles Gridley, and issued an iconic order: "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." [2]

Over the course of six hours, the entire Spanish fleet was decimated at the Battle of Manila Bay: three Spanish ships were sunk and seven more were reduced to flaming debris. By one o'clock in the afternoon, the Spanish governor of the Philippines had surrendered. Not a single American life was lost, and only nine were injured. The Spanish fleet, meanwhile, suffered 371 casualties. [3] George Dewey became a national hero. Soon thereafter, Filipino insurgents, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, gained control over most of the Philippine archipelago. The only remaining obstacle was the city of Manila, which was the last remaining stronghold for the Spanish. While besieging the city, Aguinaldo declared the independence of the Philippines from Spain on June 12th and declared that he would be dictator and supreme head of the formal government of the Philippines.

The U.S. Army in Cuba Meanwhile, in the United States, the recruitment of soldiers for the war in Cuba provided an interesting assortment of volunteers. Roosevelt, sensing a unique historical opportunity to "make his words good by his deeds" [5] and lead the country into a just war that he felt would liberate the suffering Cubans, protect sugar and tobacco interests, resigned his post in the Navy Department to assist in organizing a volunteer collection

Interactive 3.9 Charles Gridley



To read the fascinating story of former Michigan resident Captain Charles Gridley at the Battle of Manila Bay, [click here](#).

of horse-riding Harvard, Yale and Princeton graduates from the East with “young, sound, good shots and good riders” from the West. He had hoped to create a group that represented a cross-section of American society and included immigrant groups and American Indians. African Americans were excluded. The result was what the Army called the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, or simply, the **Rough Riders**. Led by Colonel Leonard



Some of our brave colored Boys who helped to free Cuba.

Image Source

In addition to serving in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, the US Army's 13th Cavalry Regiment, known as “Buffalo Soldiers,” also served in the Indian Wars, the Philippine-American War, and two World Wars. The Spanish referred to African American troops as “Smoked Yankees.”

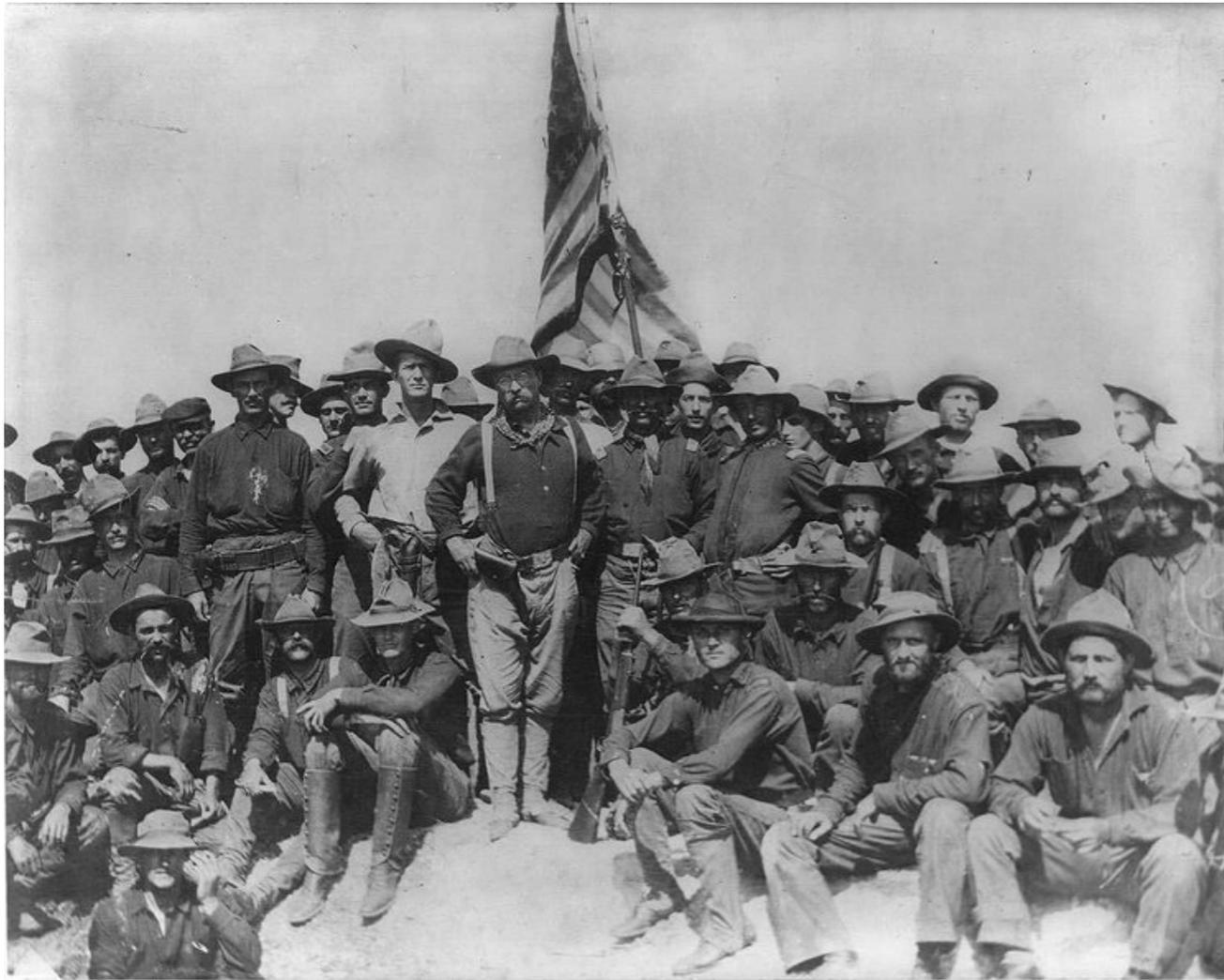
Wood and assisted by Roosevelt, the Rough Riders soon made their mark on history...without their horses. Unfortunately, due to crowded quarters on the ship headed for Cuban shores, the Rough Riders found themselves invading Cuba relatively horseless. They soon dubbed themselves, “Wood’s Weary Walkers.” Fortunately, Roosevelt was able to secure his horse for the travels, and the Rough Riders made a name for themselves when they charged a barrage of Spanish bullets to take Spanish positions at San Juan Hill and Kettle Hill.

Ironically, it was the African American Buffalo Soldiers that established themselves heroically in the fighting alongside the Rough Riders, but Roosevelt emerged as the Army’s largest hero for his own charge up Kettle Hill on the San Juan Heights. Roosevelt documented the account in his memoir, *The Rough Riders*, an account so centered around himself that Peter Finley Dunne’s popular fictitious political pundit, known as Mr. Dooley, light-heartedly noted that the account should have been called, “Alone in Cuba.”

Interactive 3.10 The Buffalo Soldiers



To learn more about the Buffalo Soldiers, click here



The Rough Riders after the Battle of San Juan Hill

<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/archive/c/cd/20091001190146%21RoughRiders.jpeg>

Interactive 3.11 Movie Footage



For actual historical movie footage from the Spanish-American War, [click here](#)

Roosevelt: A Just and Necessary War

Theodore Roosevelt, 1898

“During those years, while we continued at "peace," several hundred times as many lives were lost, lives of men, women, and children, as were lost during the three months' "war" which put an end to this slaughter and opened a career of peaceful progress to the Cubans. Yet there were misguided professional philanthropists who cared so much more for names than for facts that they preferred a "peace" of continuous murder to a "war" which stopped the murder and brought real peace. Spain's humiliation was certain, anyhow; indeed, it was more certain without war than with it, for she could not permanently keep the island, and she minded yielding to the Cubans more than yielding to us. Our own direct interests were great, because of the Cuban tobacco and sugar, and especially because of Cuba's relation to the projected Isthmian Canal. But even greater were our interests from the standpoint of humanity. Cuba was at our very doors. It was a dreadful thing for us to sit supinely and watch her death agony. It was our duty, even more from the standpoint of National honor than from the standpoint of National interest, to stop the devastation and destruction. Because of these considerations I favored war; and to-day, when in retrospect it is easier to see things clearly, there are few humane and honorable men who do not believe that the war was both just and necessary.”

Theodore Roosevelt: An Autobiography, 1913

With the Army victorious on land, the Navy was able to soundly defeat the Spanish fleet outside of the port of Santiago de Cuba once the poorly-armed and equipped Spanish fleet attempted to escape U.S. naval forces blockading the island. With the waters around Cuba securely in U.S. hands, the remaining Spanish army command in Santiago de Cuba surrendered within two weeks, bringing an end to the major fighting on the island. American forces then landed in Puerto Rico, the last remaining Spanish colony, and defeated the Spanish forces there within three weeks.

Terms of the Treaty On August 12, with the last of its major colonial holdings lost (Cuba and Puerto Rico), and the last remaining stronghold in the Philippines surrounded by insurgents (Manila), Spain asked McKinley for an armistice, an agreement to end the fighting. McKinley agreed. The next day, Spanish forces surrendered

Interactive 3.12 Popular Songs



http://www.authentichistory.com/1898-1913/4-imperialism/2-saw/4-afterward/18980000_Our_Terms-Judge-Zimmerman.jpg

Image Source

Manila to the custody of U.S. forces, rather than the Filipino insurgents.

In December, the Treaty of Paris formally ended the Spanish-American War. U.S. Secretary of State John Hay labeled the Spanish-American War “a splendid little war”.

Combat resulted in 379 American deaths. Tropical diseases and fever accounted for another 2500 lives lost. In just four months of fighting, the United States managed to acquire strategic holdings in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The Spanish agreed to give up all claims to Cuba, and Puerto Rico and Guam were ceded to the United States. The most controversial article in the treaty was the cession of

the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million. Convinced

Before there was iTunes, popular songs were purchased as sheet music, for play on pianos at home. Take a look here at the popular songs in 1898. What songs are you familiar with? Which ones reflect patriotism or the influence of the Spanish-American War? What other trends in the music does this collection reveal?

that he could not give the Philippines back to Spain, that the Filipinos were unfit for self-rule, and that the Philippines might be easy-pickings for imperial Pacific rivals like Germany, Russia, Japan or Great Britain, President McKinley made the decision to retain possession of the islands. When the treaty was submitted to the Senate for ratification, it touched off a storm of political and public debate.

Interactive 3.13 the Spanish American War Timeline



For a detailed timeline of the Spanish-American War, click here

Interactive 3.14 Treaty of Paris Terms



To read the terms of the Treaty of Paris, click here

The Debate over Empire

Theodore Roosevelt, Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and others who agreed with President McKinley saw a host of opportunity in retaining the Philippines. The Philippines would provide the United States with the necessary gateway to Asian markets that had been sought for American exports, while its raw materials could supply American industry. For McKinley, it was

an opportunity “to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them and by God's grace do the very best we could by them.” Not everybody agreed, especially the Filipinos.

Interactive 3.15 Decision on the Philippines



Click here to read what McKinley said influenced his decision to keep the Philippines



4. What is the cartoonist's opinion or message on this issue?

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3f/%22The_White_Man%27s_Burden%22_Judge_1899.png

Cartoon Analysis

"THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN" (with apologies to Rudyard Kipling)

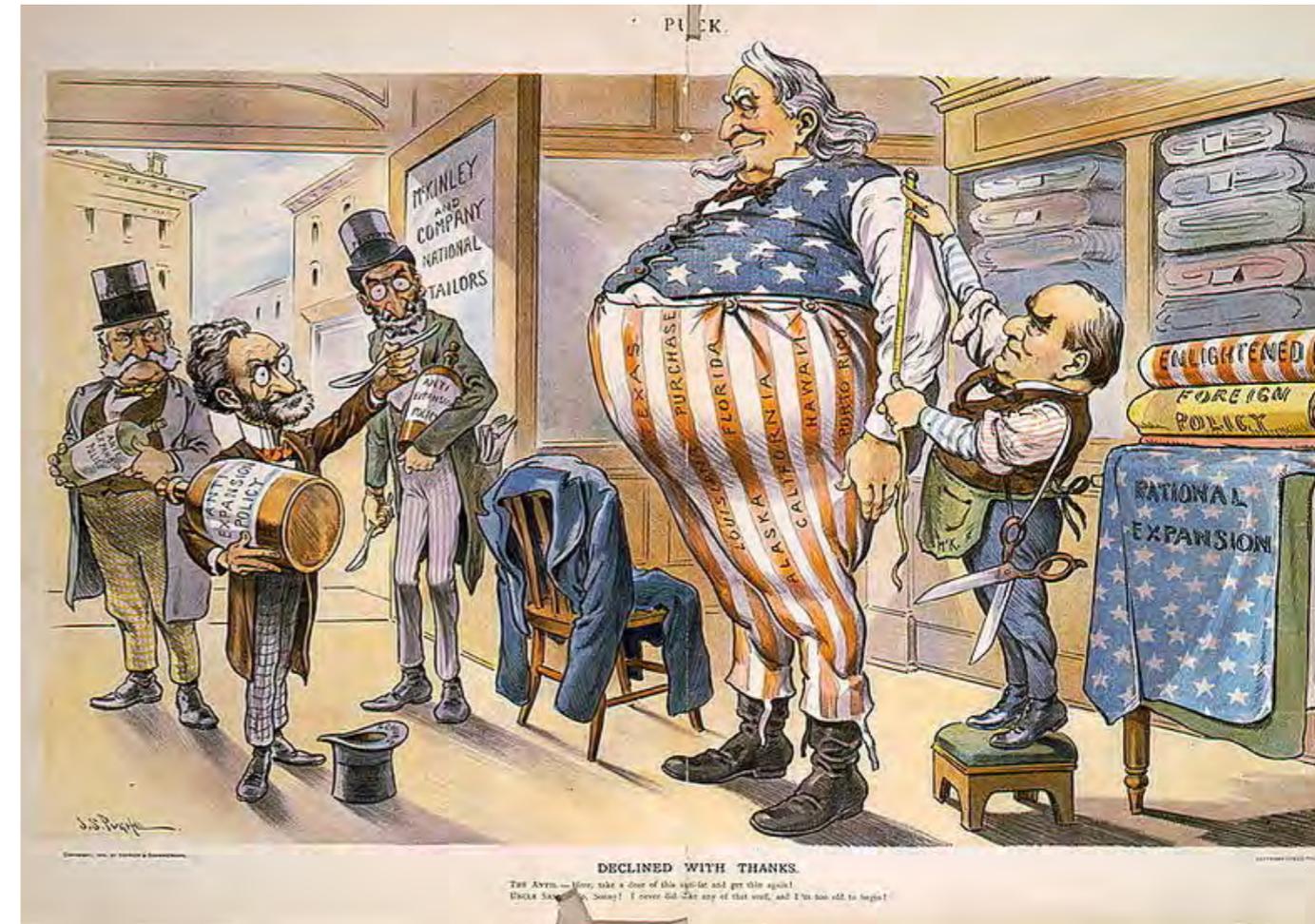
1. Describe the objects or people in the cartoon.
2. What words are being stepped over by John Bull (England) and Uncle Sam (United States)? What do they represent?
3. What issue is this political cartoon about?

Opposition to McKinley's expansionism galvanized immediately in the form of the Anti-Imperialist League, which included such prominent national figures such as the reformer Jane Addams, the writer Mark Twain, labor leader **Samuel Gompers**, and steel tycoon Andrew Carnegie (who offered to purchase the independence of the Philippines for \$20 million. McKinley declined the offer.). The League, organized in June of 1898, held meetings throughout the country and published tracts that promoted the message of liberty and self-determination for all men 'whatever race or color':

Interactive 3.16 American Anti-Imperialist League



To read the Platform of the American Antilmerialist League, look here



“DECLINED WITH THANKS”

The Anti--Here, take a dose of this anti-fat and get slim again!

Uncle Sam--No, Sonny!, I never did take any of that stuff, and I'm too old to begin!

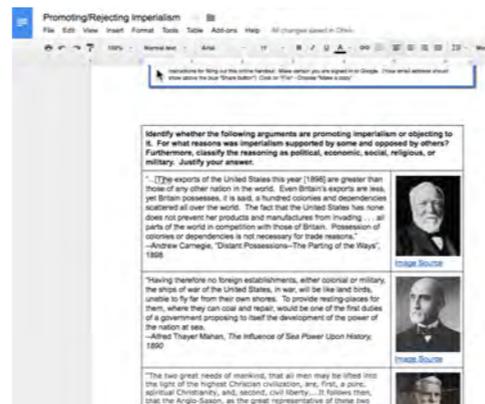


Does this political cartoon appear to be in favor of American expansion, or opposed to it? Defend your answer.

“We hold, with Abraham Lincoln, that "no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself, that is self-government, but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government-that is despotism."

Others opposed the **annexation** of the Philippines for economic and social reasons, as opposed to matters of principle. Labor leaders were concerned that the newly acquired territories would flood the market with cheap labor. Other members of the Anti-Imperialist League, such as E.L. Godkin, voiced racial concerns about admitting “alien, inferior, and mongrel races to our nationality.”

Interactive 3.17 Promoting/Rejecting Imperialism



Identify whether the following arguments are promoting imperialism or objecting to it. For what reasons was imperialism supported by some and opposed by others? Furthermore, classify the reasoning as political, economic, social, religious, or military.



Filipino troops outside of Manila, 1899. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippine%20%80%93American_War#/media/File:Filipino_soldiers_outside_Manila_1899.jpg

The Philippines in Revolt Of course, the greatest resistance to annexation of the Philippines came not from the anti-imperialists within the United States, but from the Filipinos who had fought incessantly against Spain for their own independence. Tensions began to mount between the rebels and the United States when it became clearer to Emilio Aguinaldo that the United States was not about to recognize Filipino independence. Aguinaldo’s revolutionary government found itself unrepresented at the Paris

Interactive 3.18 Declaration of Philippine Independence



Read the Declaration of Philippine Independence here

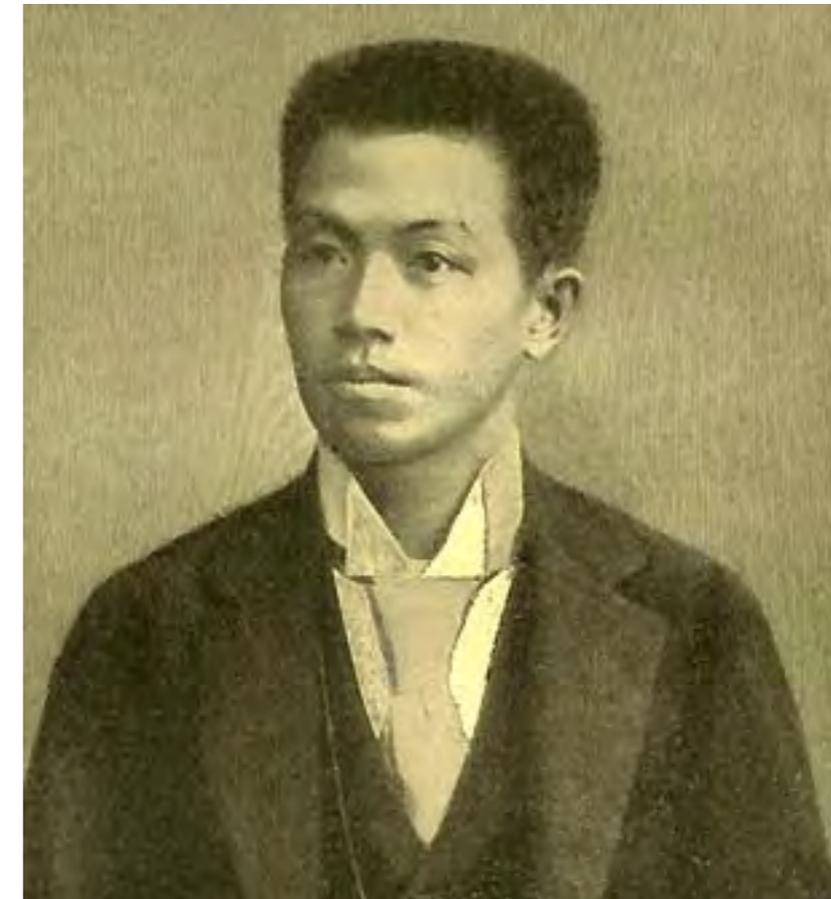
peace talks between Spain and the United States.

In December of 1898, while the United States secured the treaty conditions with Spain, the Philippine revolutionaries worked on implementing a new constitution. With the arrival of the New Year, Aguinaldo was declared president of the new Philippine Republic. The United States refused to recognize the new government. In February, when three Filipino soldiers were shot and killed by U.S. troops, tensions between the two sides exploded into full scale war. The ensuing Philippine-American War, also known as the Philippine Insurrection, was a brutal guerilla conflict that lasted three long years before United States troops captured Aguinaldo and asserted control over the island.

The violent struggle saw multiple atrocities committed on both sides. Many of the same military tactics that had incited outrage among the American public in Cuba were used to pacify the Filipinos: the burning of villages, the use of reconcentration, brutality towards civilians, and the utilization of torture against prisoners of war. McKinley's rationale for adding the Philippines to the U.S. map was to "uplift and civilize and Christianize" the Filipinos. All told, the United States ended up committing 125,000 troops to the pacification of the Philippines, a number four times higher than the number of troops who fought against the Spanish in the Caribbean. The death toll was horrendous:

The tragedy led Carnegie to comment to a friend in McKinley's cabinet: "You seem to have finished your work of civilizing the Filipinos; it is thought that about 8,000 of them have been

completely civilized and sent to Heaven." When the gunfire subsided, the number of American soldiers killed numbered 4,200, while the Filipinos suffered the loss of 16,000 troops in the struggle for their independence. Tragically, upwards of 200,000 civilians on the islands died from war-related famine, disease, and violence. The uprising ended when five American officers, disguised as prisoners, managed to capture Aguinaldo in his hiding place in 1901. After urging his people to give up the fight, he pledged his loyalty to the United States. Despite sporadic guerrilla fighting that lasted another year, American troops secured the Philippines.



Emilo Aquinaldo, c. 1898

To learn more about the Philippine-American War, [look here](#)

To read letters from American soldiers who fought in the war, [click here](#)

Governing an Empire

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Boxer Rebellion

Foraker Act

Incorporated Territory

Insular Cases

Monroe Doctrine

Open Door Policy

Platt Amendment

Sphere of Influence

Entanglements of Empire

In the popular Marvel comic book series and movie, Spider-Man, the superhero's is reminded that "With great power comes great responsibility." With the dawning of the twentieth century, for the first time America found itself controlling the destinies of lands outside its own hemisphere. Throughout this time, the question could legitimately be applied to the world's newest emerging power: Would it live up to its great responsibilities?

During America's own war for independence a hundred and twenty years earlier, Thomas Jefferson had envisioned an "empire of liberty" on the North American continent that would bring the virtue of freedom and self-government to other nations, thereby "converting dangerous enemies into valuable friends." The imperialists of Roosevelt's generation further promoted the idea as justifications for acquiring territory overseas. Opponents argued against it, reminding the American public that empires like the old Roman Empire were synonymous with tyranny and oppression, not liberty. With the dawning of an American empire in the Pacific and the Caribbean, events overseas seemed to bring to mind past history lessons regarding how difficult empires were to maintain. The Philippine Insurrection was one such reminder that all empires come with a cost, both in terms of the rulers and the ones being ruled. The acquisition of empire had important ramifications for America deep into the twentieth century. First, America found its own foreign

policy moving away from a previously isolationist foreign policy to one that took a more active role in the affairs of other countries, particularly those essential to U.S. economic well-being. That active role frequently involved sending troops to foreign shores at the slightest appearance of potential problems to U.S. interests, raising questions about whether an “empire of liberty” could truly maintain liberty while attempting to preserve its own interests.

Second, the appearance of empire raised important constitutional questions regarding whether or not the Constitution “followed the flag.” Prior to the Spanish-American War, people in territories acquired by treaty (the Louisiana Purchase, Mexican Cession) had been given the opportunity for full citizenship as American citizens with the potential for qualifying for statehood in the future. The Founding Fathers had made Constitutional provision for this. However, the Constitution lacked a provision for handling previously-settled, overseas lands that were not candidates for statehood. Would the Constitution still be applicable in those lands, guaranteeing Constitutional rights for its inhabitants?

“The acquisition of the Louisiana territory, Florida, Texas and other tracts which have been secured from time to time enlarged the republic and the constitution followed the flag into the new territory. It is now proposed to seize upon distant territory already more densely populated than our own country and to force upon the people a government for which there is no warrant in our constitution or our laws.”

--William Jennings Bryan, Imperialism, August 8, 1900

The lands acquired by America during and after the Spanish-American War found themselves heading in very different directions.

The Pacific

Hawaii When it had become clear during the Spanish-American War that the Philippines were going to end up in American hands and, with it, a gateway to Chinese markets, Congress dropped its previous inhibitions against annexing Hawaii and, to the dismay of the Japanese, snatched it up for its strategic location between the Philippines and a future Central American canal. Like its predecessors of Louisiana, the Mexican Cession, and the Oregon Territory, Hawaii was put on the path to statehood when it was given traditional territorial status in 1900. Hawaiian residents were given full American citizenship and were authorized to elect a legislature. Hawaii, along with Alaska, received statehood in 1959. Guam and American Samoa were placed under the supervision of the United States Navy

The Philippines Once the revolutionaries surrendered in the Philippines, President McKinley promised the Philippines self-government when they were perceived to be ready for it, and he appointed **William Howard Taft**, a well-known judge from Ohio, to lead a civilian commission that would govern the islands and prepare them for democratic government. Politically, the Taft Commission helped construct local governments throughout the islands that took into account Filipino ruling traditions and

encouraged Filipino participation. Many positions in Taft's government were filled by Filipinos who had served in Aguinaldo's revolutionary government. In order to restore good will among the general population, U.S. soldiers were involved in food distribution, law enforcement duties, school construction, and the building and improvement of infrastructure such as railroads, telegraph lines, harbors, roads and bridges. Taft wanted the Filipino people to see the best of what "Anglo-Saxon liberty" could be. Some soldiers even taught classes to Filipinos.

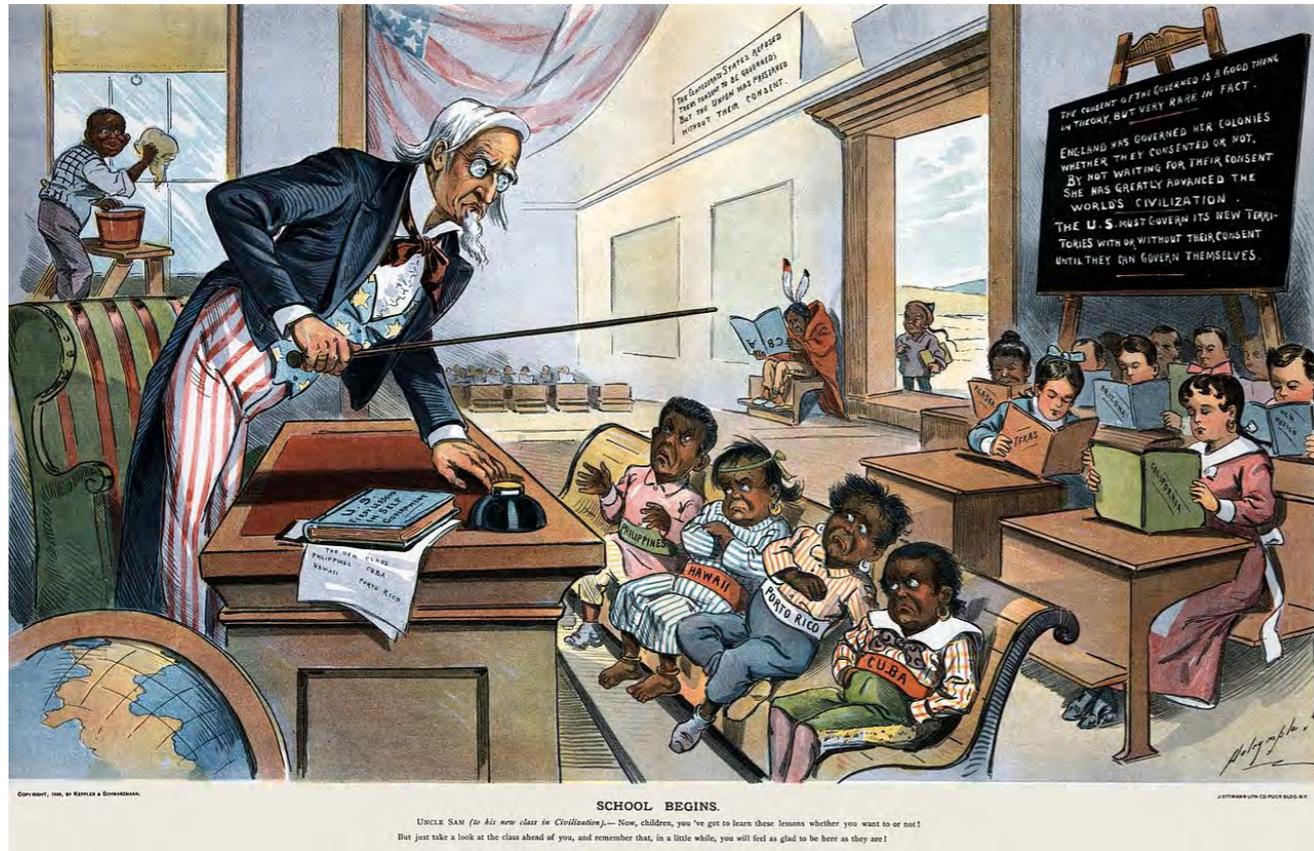
Significant improvements were made to public health. Hospitals were built, vaccinations were introduced, and sanitation was improved. Educationally, the schools built under the Taft Commission provided Filipinos with an education in English, courses in industrial arts, and introductions to American democratic values. Agriculture was also modernized, although not without problems that ran contrary to cultural considerations.

Despite these gains, many Filipinos were disillusioned by the vast discrepancies they observed between America's talk and its walk.

Many thought their independence from Spain had been clearly earned, only to see their homeland fall into the hands of another imperial power. In schools, American values of life and liberty, freedom and self-government were spoken of highly, but on the battlefield America's own struggle with racism manifested itself with a vengeance, and in the eyes of many it showed up in how American soldiers responded to the pressures of the battlefield and the conduct of brutal guerilla warfare against the natives. For many Filipinos, the American "empire of liberty" was one full of

contradictions, and it would take almost fifty years of American rule and two world wars before the Philippines would become a fully independent nation on July 4, 1946.

Analyzing Political Cartoons



Cartoon Analysis

1. What is the subject of the political cartoon?
2. What is the occasion of the cartoon?
3. Who is the intended audience of the cartoon?
4. What is the purpose of the cartoon?
5. Compare the various nationalities portrayed in the cartoon. What impressions might such portrayals leave with the audience?

“SCHOOL BEGINS”

Uncle Sam (to his new class in Civilization):

Now, children, you've got to learn these lessons whether you want to or not! But just take a look at the class ahead of you, and remember that, in a little while, you will feel as glad to be here as they are!”

China With the acquisition of the Philippines, a gateway to China became fully realized. However, by 1899, the European powers and a newly-modernized Japan were in the process of dividing up a weakened China into spheres of influence, where each power had been given special privileges that allowed them to dominate trade in specific ports. To counter the possibility that the powers would ultimately colonize and divide China, leaving the United States locked out of highly profitable Chinese markets and ports, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay wrote identical letters to Japan, England, Germany, France, and Russia, influential powers that maintained a significant presence in China. Known as the “Open Door Notes,” Hay laid out his expectations that all nations in China would have their trading rights and privileges respected, regardless of whose sphere of influence they were in. In order to ensure China’s territorial integrity, the Chinese government would continue to collect

tariffs (a nod to the Chinese government’s continued independence), and the European countries would not favor their own interests by charging higher port fees or railroad rates to foreign nations than they would their own nation. While responses to the Open Door notes varied (with

Interactive 3.19 The Open Door Policy



To learn more about the Open Door Policy, click here



Image Source: <https://edu.hstry.co/timeline/century-of-humiliation>

an outright rejection from Russia), Secretary of State Hay nevertheless declared in May of 1900 that all countries had accepted it, and that the United States would expect the **Open Door policy** to be the law of the land in governing trade relations among the powers in China.

For many Chinese nationalists, however, it was too much watching their homeland get carved up by “foreign devils”. Three months after the Open Door policy was announced by Hay, the **Boxer Rebellion** broke out in the Chinese capital of Beijing in June of 1900. Encouraged by the Chinese empress and led by a

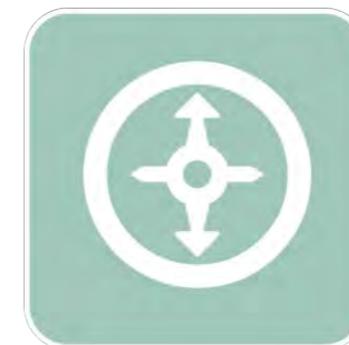
secret society of Chinese nationalists known as the Society of Righteous and Harmonious Fists (or Boxers, for their practice of martial arts), the rebellion's goal was elimination of foreign influences from China. Shouting "Kill, Kill! Death to the foreigners!", the rebels murdered Christian missionaries, slaughtered thousands of Chinese civilians who converted to Christianity, targeted foreign businessmen and railroad workers, and destroyed property associated with the West. The rebellion, which began in Beijing (China's capital) and spread like wildfire across eastern China, was ultimately put down when a coalition of 20,000 troops from Europe, Japan and the United States was sent into Beijing to rescue the foreign diplomats, who were besieged for two months by the rebels. Constrained by time, President McKinley established a new precedent by ordering over 2,000 troops to China without a congressional declaration of war, in order to assist in the rescue of the diplomats and to secure peace in China. The European countries responded to the uprising by demanding further concessions against the Chinese. To prevent China from being further divided up by the imperial powers seeking compensation for losses from the Boxer Rebellion, Hay released a second set of Open Door notes, declaring the importance of preserving Chinese territory and independence. The European nations instead settled for cash compensation from the Chinese government. With U.S. access to Chinese ports preserved, the Open Door became the prevailing



US Marines Fight the Boxers Outside of Peking - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marines_fight_rebellious_Boxers_outside_Peking_Legation,_1900._Copy_of_painting_by_Sergeant_John_Clymer.,_1927_-_1981_-_NARA_-_532578.tif

foreign policy of the United States in East Asia and established the precedent for United States intervention in the affairs of Asia.

Interactive 3.20 The Boxer Rebellion



For more on the Boxer Rebellion, click here

Governing The Caribbean

No region on the globe saw greater American influence in its affairs than the Caribbean. In the hemisphere that was fully considered off-limits to any other foreign power by the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the United States asserted its newly acquired power politically, physically and economically throughout the early twentieth century. Following America's acquisition of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the debate as to whether the Constitution followed the flag raged fully.

Cuba How well did America live up to those ideals of an “empire of liberty” in the Caribbean while projecting its power? The strategically-important islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico found themselves moving in very different directions than did Hawaii and the Philippines. Unlike the Philippines, Cuba resigned itself to American occupation following the Treaty of Paris with Spain, and most U.S. troops were withdrawn from the island by 1899.

While some Cubans believed, much like the Filipinos, that they had been deprived of independence by American intervention in their war for independence, there was no question that the prolonged civil war between Cuba and Spain had taken a serious toll on the island's inhabitants, its social order and stability, and its economy. And, unlike the situation in the Philippines, the

Teller Amendment had provided a certain measure of comfort and security to Cuba that the U.S. was not going to keep it as a war prize. A small contingent of U.S. forces remained on the

island while a constitutional convention was held, a census taken, local governments put in place, and the social order stabilized. During this time, the United States also oversaw the reconstruction of the island's infrastructure, which had been damaged during the civil war. Roads and schools were built, ports modernized, sanitation measures implemented, and Yellow Fever eradicated. As a requirement for the last U.S. troops to depart from Cuban soil, however, the new constitution (which had been modeled after the U.S. Constitution) was required by the United States to contain a series of political, economic, and military guarantees that would define the future of US-Cuban relations, protect American business interests, and reinforce America's commitment to the Monroe Doctrine. First, because of Cuba's proximity to the United States, its location at the mouth of the Caribbean, and its strategic location near a potential Central American canal, the Cuban government was prohibited from ever entering into a treaty with a foreign power that would put its independence in jeopardy, or to allow any foreign power access to Cuban soil for military or naval purposes. Second, because foreign debt was the gateway to foreign intervention, Cuba was prohibited from undertaking any

Interactive 3.21 The Platt Amendment



To view the Platt Amendment, look here

debts it could not pay. Third, the Cuban government had to grant the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs to “preserve Cuban independence” and to maintain “protection of life, property and individual liberty.” These provisions, including one that gave the United States a naval base at Guantánamo Bay, became known as the **Platt Amendment**. Once added to the Cuban constitution, Cuba gained the independence it had sought, although its future was clearly intertwined with its vast neighbor to the North.

Puerto Rico Puerto Rico, like Cuba and the Philippines, had dreams and aspirations of self-rule within the Spanish empire.

When the United States invaded Puerto Rico and drove the Spanish out, the future of the country remained up in the air.

After the signing of the Treaty of Paris with the Spanish, Puerto Rico’s civilian government was structured under the **Foraker Act** of 1900, which ended military rule and established the organization of the Puerto Rican government and court system.

The lower of the two-house legislature would be composed of 35 delegates that were democratically elected, while the President of the U.S. would appoint a governor and the eleven members of the upper house. However, the Foraker Act labeled the island as an insular area a designation from the Latin word for “island” that clearly distinguished it and its inhabitants from incorporated territories like Hawaii and the Mexican Cession, which granted its inhabitants the full rights of U.S. citizenship and a path to statehood. Instead, the inhabitants of Puerto Rico were

considered citizens of Puerto Rico only, despite residing in a U.S. territory. In a series of Supreme Court decisions collectively known as the Insular Cases (1901), the Supreme Court ruled that full American citizenship did not necessarily follow the United States flag, but it granted that Congress could extend U.S. citizenship rights to those in the newly acquired territories as it deemed necessary.

In 1917, Congress granted Puerto Rico U.S. citizenship, and today the island is classified as a U.S. commonwealth under the protection of the United States. While it cannot vote in U.S. presidential or congressional elections, it does elect its own government.

The Panama Canal

QUESTIONS TO GUIDE INQUIRY

1. Why were the 1890s a turning point in American foreign policy history?
2. To what degree was American expansion in the 1890s a continuation of manifest destiny? To what degree was expansion in the 1890s a change from previous expansion?
3. What were the causes and consequences of the Spanish-American War?
4. What challenges did America face in governing an empire?

TERMS, PLACES, PEOPLE

Big Stick Diplomacy

Dollar Diplomacy

George Washington Goethals

Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty

Moral Diplomacy

Roosevelt Corollary

William Gorgas



Image Source https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_imperialism#/media/

File:Victor_Gillam_A_Thing_Well_Begun_Is_Half_Done_1899_Cornell_CUL_PJM_1136_01.jpg

“The Path Between the Seas”

With the acquisition of Samoa, Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines in the Pacific, and Cuba and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, the United States now had increased

motivation to pursue a canal in Central America. With so much new real estate and trade routes to protect, the US Navy needed a faster way to move its fleet between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The two months it took the battleship U.S.S. Oregon to sail 15,000 miles around the tip of South America to reach Cuba during the Spanish-American War in 1898 only confirmed the great need for a shorter route in the interests of American security. When President McKinley was assassinated at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, in 1901, the man who had been most influenced by **Alfred Thayer Mahan's** naval recommendations, Theodore Roosevelt, now sat in the highest office of the land. Now, all of Mahan's naval recommendations for America as a world power were falling into place: a domestic economy that could prosper based on significant trade connections to foreign markets? Check. A large fleet of merchant ships engaged in international trade? Check. Colonies which could provide raw materials, coaling stations, and markets in both the Atlantic and the Pacific? Check. Defensive bases to guard entrances to a Central American canal? Check. All that was needed now was to construct a canal somewhere across the Isthmus of Central America in order to expand the mobility of a powerful, modern navy that could patrol the seas, project American strength, and protect American interests at home and abroad.

Epic Fail The French had tried to dig such a canal in the 1880s through the region of Panama, an isthmus belonging to Colombia. Despite being led by the well-recognized name of Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had just finished building the Suez Canal through the deserts of Egypt, and later another engineer named Gustave Eiffel, the French attempt ended in economic ruin and human tragedy. Tropical diseases such as yellow fever and malaria; relentless tropical rains, flooding and mudslides; and the deaths of over 20,000 workers doomed and ultimately bankrupted the project within eight years of the beginning of excavation. The Panama Affair in France became associated with scandal, ruin, and the ultimate “epic fail”.

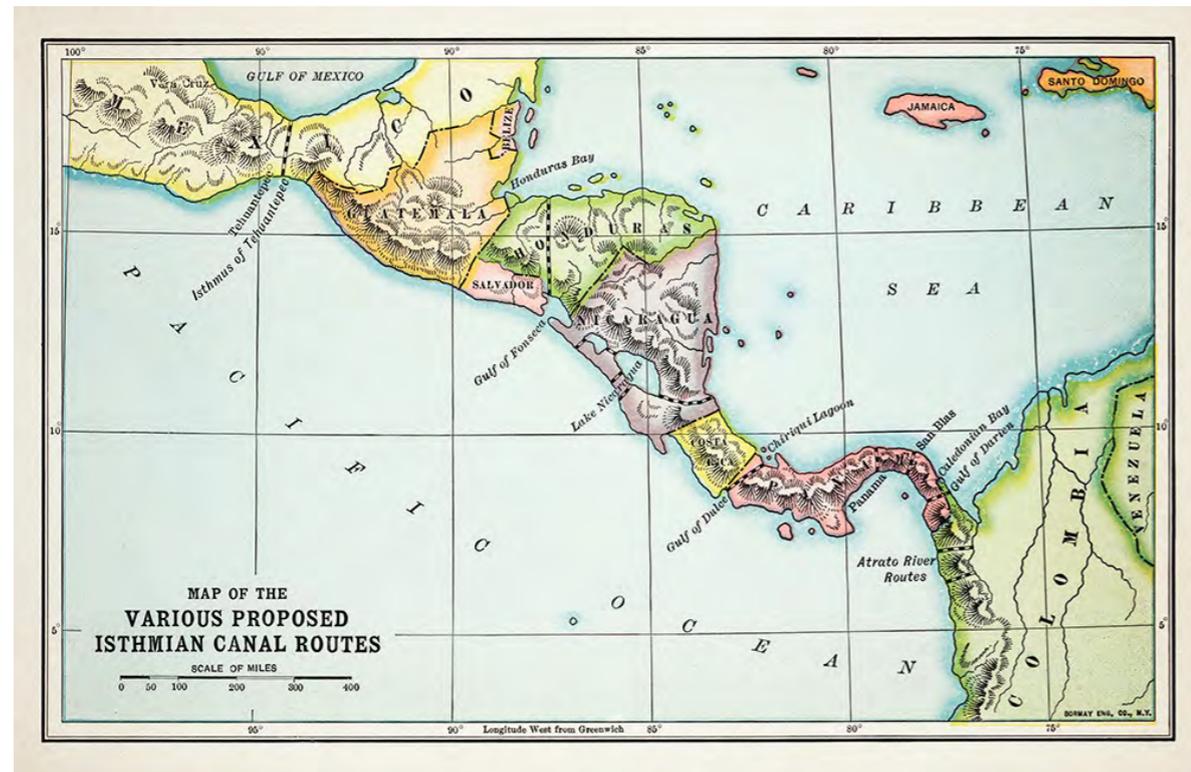
Interactive 3.22 The Panama Canal



Click here for a documentary on the challenges of building the Panama Canal

A Man, A Plan, A Canal, Panama Roosevelt was not about to let the “lamentable failure” of the French efforts stop him. After U.S. Secretary of State Hay successfully negotiated with Great Britain to allow the United States to build, maintain and protect a proposed canal open to all nations across the Central American isthmus, considerable debate took place as to the best geographical location for the canal. The decision was narrowed

down to the two most feasible routes: a shorter but more challenging route across Panama and a longer, but potentially easier, route across Nicaragua. The shorter route through Panama was chosen and negotiations with Colombia began.

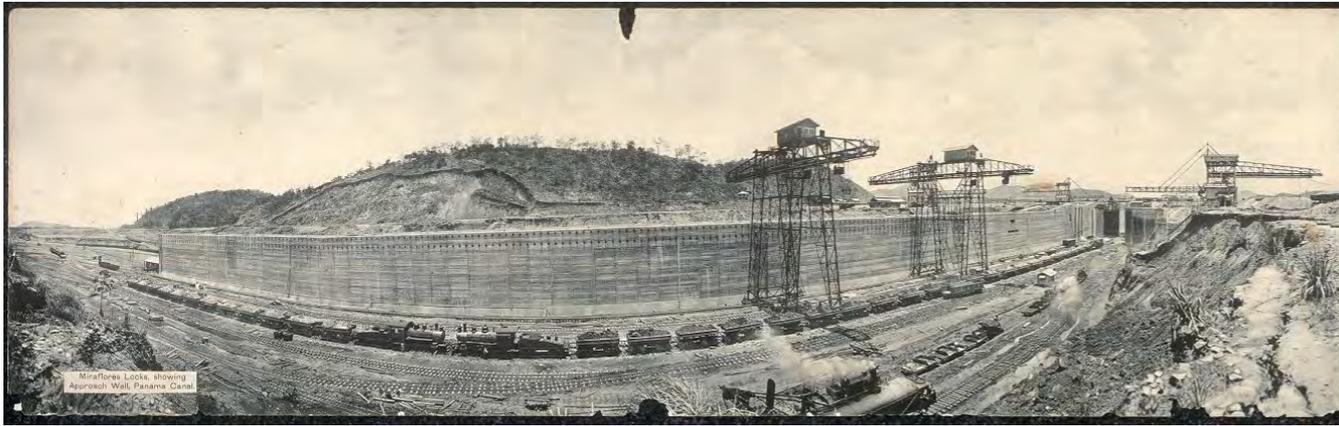


<http://panama.lindahall.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2014/08/panex0301e.jpg>

The United States negotiated a \$250,000 annual lease payment for a six mile-wide canal zone, plus an additional one-time payment of \$10 million. Under terms of the Hay-Herrán Treaty (1903), the agreement would be good for 99 years. However, the Colombian Congress refused to ratify the treaty, citing concerns over sovereignty of the land and requesting an additional \$10 million in cash. In Roosevelt's eyes, it appeared that the

Colombian government was going to delay another year until the French Panama Canal Company's rights expired and its assets were forfeited over to the Colombian government, meaning that the \$40 million paid by the United States Government to the company for the right to its holdings would fall back into the hands of the Colombian government, as well. Calling the actions of the Colombian government a "sham" and an example of "pure bandit morality," Roosevelt considered occupation of the isthmus for the purpose of building the canal, in addition to pursuing the longer canal route through Nicaragua. Personally, Roosevelt expressed his frustrations with the Colombians, calling them "jackrabbits". However, three months after the rejection of the treaty, the Panamanians, who supported the canal project for the economic boost it would potentially give their region and who had a long history of rebellion against Colombia, revolted. Roosevelt acted fast, sending troops from the U.S.S. Nashville to prevent Colombian troops from quelling the rebellion on the isthmus.

Within three days, the United States recognized the independence of Panama and immediately negotiated the **Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty** (1903). The treaty guaranteed Panama's independence, while also giving the United States the "use, occupation and control" of a 10 mile-wide canal zone "in perpetuity" for \$250,000 a year, with the same one-time \$10 million payment it had offered to Colombia.



<https://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/pan/6a24000/6a24100/6a24135r.jpg>

Work began on the U.S. phase of the canal in 1904. Ten years and \$375 million later, the first boat steamed through the canal just as the European powers were heading off to World War I.

The canal reduced travel time between the Pacific and the Atlantic from two months to less than three weeks, cutting more than 8,000 miles off the typical voyage. In addition to the 20,000 plus who died under the French phase of canal construction, another 5,600 lives would be lost before the canal would open, many of them black West Indians who provided the chief labor source for the project. Colonel **George Washington Goethals** would become known as the Army officer and chief engineer who finally conquered Panama's geography through courage, organization, and persistence. Dr. **William Gorgas**, known for his previous work eradicating disease in Cuba, conquered the tropical diseases in Panama that had taken so many lives under the French phase of the project. According to Roosevelt, Gorgas made Panama "as safe as a health resort." And while the canal was welcomed in Panama, the tactics used by Roosevelt to acquire the canal zone left a bitter taste in the mouth of Latin

America for decades to come. To help mend relations, President **Woodrow Wilson** ended up paying Colombia \$25 million.



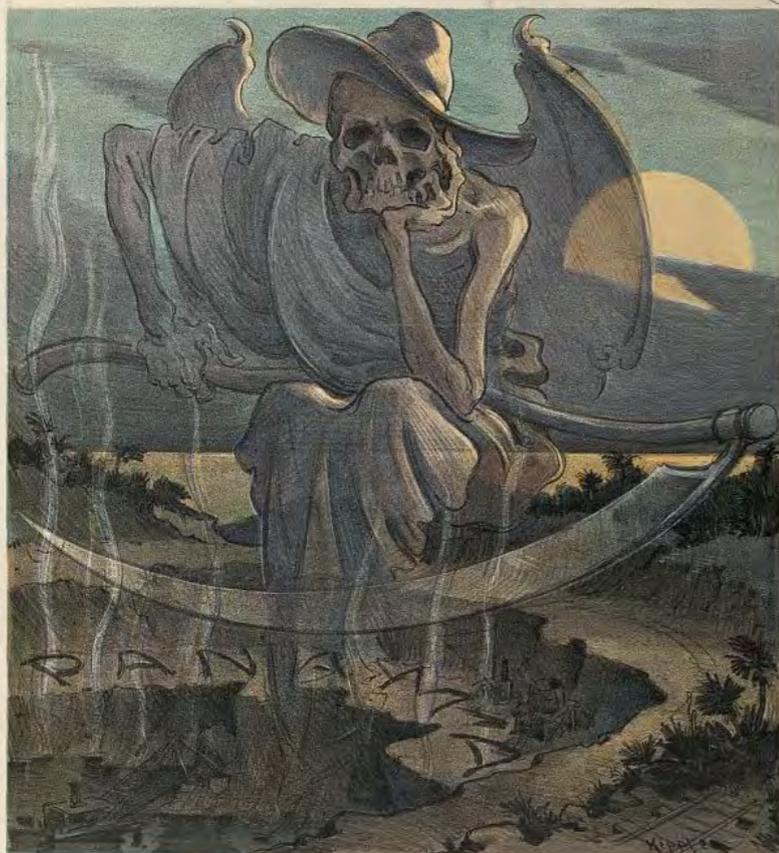
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roosevelt_and_the_Canal.JPG

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
Two Copies Received
JUN 21 1904
Copyright Entry
Dec 11 1894
CLASS B 300, No.
74,993
COPY 8

What fools these mortals be!

Puck

Entered at N. Y. P. O. as Second-class Mail Matter



WAITING.

Theodore Roosevelt, speech at the University of California, 1911

"The Panama Canal I naturally take special interest in because I started it.

There are plenty of other things I started merely because the time had come that whoever was in power would have started them.

But the Panama Canal would not have been started if I had not taken hold of it, because if I had followed the traditional or conservative method I should have submitted an admirable state paper occupying a couple of hundred pages detailing all of the facts to Congress and asking Congress' consideration of it.

In that case there would have been a number of excellent speeches made on the subject in Congress; the debate would be proceeding at this moment with great spirit and the beginning of work on the canal would be fifty years in the future.

Fortunately the crisis came at a period when I could act unhampered. Accordingly I took the Isthmus, started the canal and then left Congress not to debate the canal, but to debate me. And in portions of the public press the debate still goes on as to whether or not I acted properly in taking the canal. But while the debate goes on the canal does too..."

Jose Marroquin, President of Colombia The Rights of Colombia- A Protest and Appeal (November 28, 1903)

"The Government of the United States is treating Colombia in a manner that seems dishonorable to all the people of that country. American Secretary of State Hay has astonished the world by finding a right to exclude the troops of Colombia from the Isthmus of Panama.

The United States violated international law by recognizing the independence of Panama only days after the revolution and before the nation of Colombia had a chance to put down the insurrection. Colombia did not recognize the southern states which seceded during the American Civil War- why should the United States recognize the seceding states of Panama?

How are you to escape the condemnation of history? Never has any nation dealt with a weak one in a way that seemed dishonorable to any considerable part of its own people but that history has affirmed the judgment of the protesting minority."

"WAITING"--Death awaits the resuming of construction of the Panama Canal in 1904.

<https://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/25800/25859v.jpg>



Image Source https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roosevelt_Corollary#/media/File:Roosevelt_monroe_Doctrine_cartoon.jpg

Big Stick Diplomacy

As the dreams of constructing a canal across Central America were being realized, United States foreign policy within the region focused on ensuring the political and economic stability of the region, protection of the Canal Zone, and keeping foreign influences out of Latin America in accordance with the principles

of the **Monroe Doctrine**. Theodore Roosevelt often quoted an old African proverb, "speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far. The "big stick" turned out to be military intervention, and that approach backed his foreign policy in the Caribbean. In 1902, when the international bill collectors of Germany and Great Britain arrived in Venezuela and blockaded its ports to collect unpaid debts, it became clear to Roosevelt that excessive debt by Latin American nations would invite European powers to intervene, in violation of the Monroe Doctrine. In order to prevent similar issues in the future. Roosevelt extended the doctrine in a speech given to Congress in 1904. In that speech, Roosevelt asserted the right of America to intervene in Latin American nations as an "international police power" in order to collect debts and ensure that the United States would not have to deal with European involvement in its own hemisphere.

The **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine set the precedent for American foreign-policy for the next quarter century until it was reversed by Franklin Roosevelt's "Good Neighbor Policy" of the 1930s. Several times throughout the Caribbean, Presidents Taft and Wilson followed the footsteps of Roosevelt and sent troops to intervene in the affairs of Latin

Interactive 3.23 Roosevelt's Message to Congress

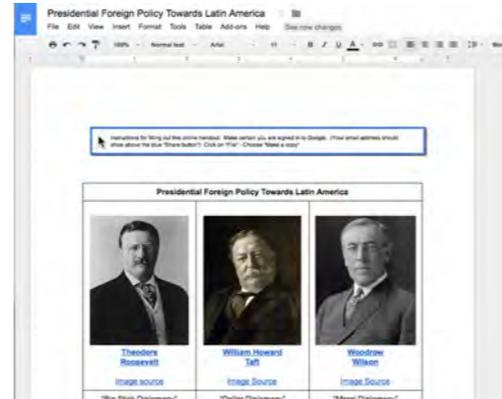


To read Roosevelt's Message to Congress where he asserts the Roosevelt Corollary, [click here](#)

American countries.

Unfortunately, with Americans nosing into the affairs of their neighbors, namely to protect any US markets that were perceived to be threatened, it established a legacy of bitterness, resentment and bullying that has lasted even to the present day.

Interactive 3.25 Presidential Policy Toward Latin America



Can you identify the policies?

Interactive 3.24 Crash Course Imperialism



For an overview and recap of Imperialism, view this video.