Becoming a World Power

(1) CHAPTER OUTLINE

As the United States Senate debates whether to annex the Philippine Islands, tension mounts near Manila as Filipinos and Americans confront each other across an uneasy neutral zone. While on patrol, Private William Grayson encounters some Filipino soldiers and kills them, and general hostilities break out. The result is a nasty three-year war of suppression, marking a crucial change in America's role in the world.

Steps Toward Empire
- America as a Model Society
- Early Expansionism
- American Expansion in Global Context

Expansionism in the 1890s
- Profits: Searching for Overseas Markets
- Patriotism: Asserting National Power
- Piety: The Missionary Impulse
- Politics: Manipulating Public Opinion

War in Cuba and the Philippines
- The Road to War
- “A Splendid Little War”: Various Views
- The Philippines Debates and War
- Expansionism Triumphant

Theodore Roosevelt's Energetic Diplomacy
- Foreign Policy as Darwinian Struggle
- Taking the Panama Canal
- Policing of the Caribbean
- Opening Doors to China and Closing Doors to America
- Balancing Japan in the Pacific from California to Manchuria
- Preventing War in Europe

Conclusion: The Responsibilities of Power
1. The opening anecdote highlights the American annexation of the Philippines by the Senate and the three-year war suppressing the revolt that followed. This episode reflects the major motivations, policies, and problems of American expansionism in the period from 1890 to 1912, the focus of this chapter.

2. The Philippine experience and the wider expressions of expansionism during this period reflect and reveal fundamental and enduring dilemmas of America's relationship with the rest of the world. These ripples start as far back as the Puritans and flow forward to familiar patterns of foreign affairs in our own time.

3. Historical analogies are dangerous, and one must be cautious in making them. Human situations and international relations are never exactly the same. Nevertheless, many are similar enough to be instructive. This chapter can be read, therefore, to understand not only the foreign policy events between 1890 and 1912, but also those in America's recent past and, indeed, those reported in today's newspapers.

4. Although some effort has been made to reflect the common soldier's war experiences, ordinary people play less of a role in this chapter than in others. At the center is an era in foreign affairs in which the United States became a world power. Leading the way was Theodore Roosevelt, a most uncommon person.

(3) LEARNING GOALS

**Familiarity with Basic Knowledge**

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Identify two or three major foreign policy pronouncements that influenced nineteenth-century American policies.

2. Explain each of the four major motivations for American expansionism in the 1890s.

3. Describe the series of events that led to the Spanish-American War and those that led to the annexation of and war with the Philippines.

4. State several arguments for and against the annexation of the Philippines.

5. Locate each of the following on a map and state why it is important.

   - Cuba
   - Panama Canal
   - Guam
   - Portsmouth, New Hampshire
   - Hawaiian Islands
   - Puerto Rico
   - Hong Kong
   - Philippine Islands
   - Manchuria
   - Samoan Islands
   - Manila
   - Santo Domingo (Hispaniola)
   - Morocco
   - Venezuela
6. Explain the principles of Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy and describe the role of the United States in Asia, Europe, and the Caribbean between 1890 and 1912.

Practice in Historical Thinking Skills

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Compare and contrast American involvement with the Cubans and Filipinos, and develop your own position either supporting or rejecting the annexation of the Philippines.

2. Assess the effectiveness of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

3. Evaluate the extent to which the United States continues to experience dilemmas in its international relationships.

(4) IMPORTANT DATES AND NAMES TO KNOW

1823 Monroe Doctrine
1857 Trade opens with Japan
1867 Alaska purchased from Russia
1870 Failure to annex Santo Domingo (Hispaniola)
1875 Sugar reciprocity treaty with Hawaii
1877 United States acquires naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii
1878 United States acquires naval station in Samoa
1882 Chinese Exclusion Act
1889 First Pan-American conference
1890 Alfred Mahan publishes *Influence of Sea Power upon History*
1893 Hawaiian coup by American sugar growers
1895 Cuban revolt against Spanish
Venezuelan boundary dispute
1896 Weyler's reconcentration policy in Cuba
McKinley-Bryan presidential campaign
1897 Theodore Roosevelt's speech to Naval War College
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Jan.</td>
<td>De Lôme letter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>Sinking of the battleship <em>Maine</em> in Havana Harbor, Cuba</td>
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<td>April</td>
<td>Spanish-American War begins; Teller Amendment</td>
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<td>May</td>
<td>Dewey takes Manila Bay, Philippines</td>
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<td></td>
<td>July</td>
<td>Annexation of Hawaiian Islands</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>Americans liberate Manila; war ends</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Treaty of Paris; annexation of Philippines</td>
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<td>1899</td>
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<td>Senate ratifies Treaty of Paris</td>
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<td>Filipino-American War begins</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Acquisition of American Samoa</td>
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<td>1899-1900</td>
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<td>John Hay’s Open Door notes</td>
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<td>1900</td>
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<td>Boxer Rebellion in China</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>McKinley reelected president</td>
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<td>1901</td>
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<td>Supreme Court insular cases</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president</td>
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<td>1902</td>
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<td>Filipino-American War ends</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>U.S. military occupation of Cuba ends</td>
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<td>Platt Amendment</td>
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<td>Venezuelan debt crisis</td>
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<td>1903</td>
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<td>Panamanian revolt and independence</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Hay - Bunau-Varilla Treaty</td>
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<td>1904</td>
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<td>Roosevelt Corollary</td>
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<td>1904-1905</td>
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<td>Russo-Japanese War ended by treaty signed in Portsmouth, NH</td>
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<td>1904-1906</td>
<td></td>
<td>United States intervenes in Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Cuba</td>
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<td>1905-1906</td>
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<td>Moroccan crisis</td>
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<td>1906</td>
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<td>Theodore Roosevelt receives Nobel Peace Prize</td>
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<td>1907</td>
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<td>Gentleman's agreement with Japan</td>
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<td>1908</td>
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<td>Root-Takahira Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. Navy (&quot;Great White Fleet&quot;) sails around the world</td>
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<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td></td>
<td>United States intervenes in Nicaragua</td>
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1914   Panama Canal opens  
       World War I begins  

1916   Partial home rule granted to the Philippines  

Other Names to Know  

Emilio Aguinaldo  John Hay  Richard Olney  
Philippe Bunau-Varilla  George F. Hoar  William Seward  
Ernest H. Crosby  Henry Cabot Lodge  Josiah Strong  
Alfred Thayer Mahan  Kaiser Wilhelm II  George Dewey  

(5) GLOSSARY OF IMPORTANT TERMS  

“white man's burden”: idea of the special responsibility of “civilized” nations like England and the United States to uplift and care for “uncivilized” nations, as popularized in a poem by Rudyard Kipling  

missionary diplomacy: the belief that American ideas and ideals, especially representative government and Protestantism, should be spread around the world  

anti-imperialists: people opposing American expansionism in 1898 and 1899  

Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine: established the primary right of the United States to intervene in Latin America to maintain stability and order  

dollar diplomacy: foreign policy featuring an increase in U.S. trade and investments in other countries, thus enabling the United States to influence affairs in those countries  

(6) ENRICHMENT IDEAS  

1. As suggested by “Recovering The Past,” find other political cartoons about Teddy Roosevelt and American foreign policy during this period (or about other subjects: Bryan, McKinley, and the election of 1900), and analyze how they make their editorial point.  

2. On a map of the continental United States, fill in the various parts of the expanding territory of the United States from 1783 to 1853, indicating how each new section was acquired. On a map of the world, locate and fill in all U.S. acquisitions (and interventions) around the world from the Civil War to World War I. What obvious conclusions do you draw?  

3. Consider the extent to which the United States still tries to do good in an imperfect world and seeks to be both powerful and loved. Is the United States today basically isolationist or internationalist? To what extent is America still a model for the rest of the world?
4. Historical analogies: The Greek historian Thucydides, writing 2,400 years ago, said that human nature being what it is, “events which happened in the past . . . will, at some time or other and in much the same ways, be repeated in the future.” Despite the wisdom of one of the earliest and greatest historians, historical analogies are dangerous, and one must be cautious in making them. Human situations and international relations, though similar, are never exactly the same.

Nevertheless, many Americans have drawn an analogy between the war against Aguinaldo's rebels following the annexation of the Philippines and the war in Vietnam in the 1960s and early 1970s. Many have continued the analogy to the U.S. relationship with and role in Central America in the 1980s and 1990s. What do you think of these historical analogies? Is it helpful to make them or not? Is American foreign policy well served by comparing the Central American situation to Vietnam or to the Philippines? What are the dangers of making historical analogies?

Consider other historical analogies and the extent to which they inform and enhance understanding or mislead and lead to dangerous decisions. Examples: Secretary of State Dean Rusk's frequent comparison of a weak policy toward North Vietnam in the mid-1960s with England's appeasement policy toward Nazi Germany in the 1930s, or the argument of people who oppose increased nuclear weapons because earlier arms races in history, like that between Germany and England before World War I, always led to war. During the Persian Gulf War, Saddam Hussein was compared to Hitler. What others can you think of?

(7) SAMPLE TEST AND EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

Multiple choice: Choose the best answer.

1. In the early summer of 1898, the Filipino rebels under Aguinaldo
   a. looked forward to American help in winning their independence from Spain
   b. were fighting minor skirmishes against both the Americans and the Spanish
   c. liberated Manila and declared their independence, with the warm support of American officials
   d. were languishing in Spanish jails waiting for Dewey's rescue

2. The war in the Philippines marked the first time
   a. Americans had fought a guerilla war
   b. draftees made up much of the army
   c. American soldiers fought outside North America
   d. American troops were under foreign command

3. Compared to the Spanish-American War, the battle casualties and costs of the American-Philippine War were
   a. about the same
   b. much lower
   c. much higher
   d. unknown because of so much disease
4. The “city on the hill” refers to
   a. America's mission as a model society for the world
   b. Sodom and Gomorrah as examples of the sinfulness of man
   c. San Francisco's image to Japanese immigrants
   d. Jerusalem and the Hebrew idea of a chosen people

5. The United States acquired all of the following prior to 1898 EXCEPT
   a. the Midway Islands
   b. Pearl Harbor
   c. Alaska
   d. the Panama Canal Zone

6. As a result of the Treaty of Paris, the United States acquired all of the following EXCEPT
   a. Guam
   b. Puerto Rico
   c. Cuba
   d. the Philippines

7. According to the missionary ideal,
   a. western political institutions were superior to any others
   b. Protestantism was better than Catholicism
   c. Western values should be spread all over the world
   d. all of the above

8. The battleship Maine was sunk by
   a. Cuban rebels
   b. Spanish sailors
   c. U.S. Navy Seals in disguise
   d. a still unknown cause, but probably an overheated boiler

9. The Spanish-American War began for all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   a. the persistence of the Cuban rebels
   b. the Spanish government's erratic, confusing policies
   c. McKinley's determination to liberate and uplift the Cuban people
   d. the influence of the sensationalist press on the American conscience

10. The anti-imperialists opposed the annexation of the Philippines
    a. exclusively for idealistic, humane reasons
    b. mainly for fear of assimilation with brown-skinned people
    c. for a mixture of idealistic, base, and practical reasons
    d. largely because higher taxes would result in big government and a loss of freedom
11. Theodore Roosevelt  
a. saw the world as one divided between uncivilized and civilized nations  
b. thought that the civilized nations would have to battle it out to see who would control the uncivilized world  
c. preferred starting wars to settling them  
d. spoke loudly and carried a big stick  

12. The Roosevelt Corollary  
a. justified the U.S. role as policeman of the Caribbean  
b. justified U.S. intervention in European affairs  
c. warned Russia to leave Manchuria  
d. all of the above  

13. Which of the following best describes American trade with China?  
a. Although slow to develop, after Hay's Open Door notes, trade skyrocketed.  
b. Trade jumped from one percent of all U.S. trade in 1870 to more than 20 percent by 1910.  
c. Although there were increases, the China trade was less in reality than in promise.  
d. After reaching a peak of 20 percent in 1899, the China trade decreased as a result of the Boxer Rebellion.  

14. As President, Theodore Roosevelt  
a. had little respect for China  
b. had little respect for Japan  
c. initially wanted Japan to counterbalance the growing power of Russia  
d. wanted Russia, as a great power, to police the Far East  

15. American foreign policy under Theodore Roosevelt can be characterized by all of the following EXCEPT  
a. a desire to prevent European war  
b. friendship with Great Britain  
c. personal diplomacy  
d. indifference toward Germany  

Identify and show a relationship between each of the following pairs:  
Josiah Strong  and  Henry Cabot Lodge  
Portsmouth, New Hampshire  and  Algeciras, Spain  
Morocco  and  Manchuria  
Guantanamo  and  Pearl Harbor  
dollar diplomacy  and  missionary diplomacy  
New Panama Company  and  Clayton-Bulwer Treaty  
“Great White Fleet”  and  Chinese Exclusion
Essays

1. Discuss the relationship between and ironies involved in the Spanish-American and the Philippine-American Wars.

2. Discuss the extent to which United States foreign policy still faces a dilemma of doing good in an imperfect world, of being both powerful and loved. Analyze the roots, major manifestations, and enduring nature of this dilemma.

3. The United States learned about the costs of formal empire in the Philippines but did not give up its imperial ambitions, as its policy toward Latin America reveals. Discuss with specific evidence.

4. American foreign policy in this period was evidence of the agricultural and industrial transformation after the Civil War. Discuss. (You may need to review Chapters 17 and 18 before writing this essay.)

Identify and Interpret: Quotation

(that is, state who, what, where, when, and why significant)

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may lead the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.
Map Question

Locate the following on the accompanying map.

1. Philippine Islands          9. Manchuria
3. Hawaiian Islands       11. Samoan Islands
5. Panama Canal         13. Puerto Rico
7. Venezuela           15. Alaska