Imperialism in the late 19th Century

Phase One of the creation of an Overseas American Empire, 1890–1914
¿Está su teléfono de la célula encendido?

Emilio Aguinado Asks you to please, turn it off!
Themes and Topics

- **Empire**
  - Motives, reasons and causes of U.S. overseas empire
  - Diplomatic context of U.S. imperialism
  - Formal versus Informal Empire

- **Role of Government**
  - U.S. Naval Modernization, 1883–1909
  - U.S. Army Modernization, 1898–1916
  - Definitions of Citizenship and Subject Peoples

- **Private Enterprise and the Warfare State**
  - Beginnings of a Military Industrial Complex
  - Economic motives for empire

- **Multiculturalism**
  - The treatment of colonized peoples
Central Analytical Questions

- Linguistic analysis: what should we call it?
- What were the motives, reasons, and causes of overseas empire?
- Was overseas empire a break with traditional American expansionism, or a continuation of expansionism?
- Was overseas empire the result of a deliberate plan or was it an accident?
- Should we judge the value of empire by its “intent” or by its “consequences”?
Linguistic Analysis

• What term best describes events affecting foreign policy from 1877 to 1914?
  ▪ What does each term connote?
    ▪ Imperialism
    ▪ Colonialism
    ▪ Expansionism
    ▪ National Growth
Motives for Empire

- Economic factors
- Cultural factors
- Strategic interests
- Diplomatic Context
U.S. Naval Modernization

• **Pre-Modern Navy**
  - In 1881, the US navy was ranked 13th in the world, but it had only 25 operational ships
  - The ships were wooden hulled
  - The ships used sail power

• **Modern Navy**
  - Beginning in 1883, the US began naval modernization
  - Between 1883 and 1909, the US build 16 state of the art battleships
    - The ships were steel hulled
    - The ships used steam power, requiring coaling stations
    - The new battleships had ever larger cannons
Hawaiian Annexation

- Early colonization to Hawaii
- "The Bayonet Constitution" of 1887
- Pres. Harrison’s Covert Action of January 1893
- Pres. Cleveland’s reversal
- Under Pres. McKinley Hawaiian Annexation in June 1898

Queen Liliuokalani
Cuba, Spain, and the U.S.

- Cuba was Spain’s richest Caribbean colony since the time of Columbus
- Before the Civil War, the U.S. offered to purchase Cuba from Spain
- Cubans attempted their first revolt against Spain in 1868–1878
  - The revolt was crushed
- The Cubans began a second revolt in 1895 led by Jose Marti
  - U.S. investors owned most of the sugar mills
  - In 3 years, the revolt disrupted business, killed 400K Cubans and 80K Spanish, and generated a Cuban exile movement to the U.S.
Yellow Journalism Stirs the Pot

- Media played a key role in the development of a pro-interventionist public opinion
- The Cuban Revolution evoked surprising American support based on propaganda and atrocity stories told by Cuban refugees living in New York and publicized in the New York press
By 1896, both political parties in the US called for an independent Cuba.
As a warning to Spain, President McKinley sent a state of the art battleship to Havana.
It blew up in February 1898.
War, the Teller Amendment, and the Philippines

- U.S. government made issue of Cuban pacification a must
  - When Maine is blown up in Havana Harbor, it underlines Spanish weakness in Cuba
  - Spanish government did not exhibit a capacity to quell rebellion
  - In April, Spain agreed to all U.S. demands
  - But on April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress for a war resolution and received it on April 25, 1898

- Role of the President
  - McKinley was uninterested in war
  - McKinley was forced to intervene by Senate war hawks and public

- War did not begin as a colonial war, but it became one
  - Congress passed the Teller Amendment to give Cuba independence
  - Then the War Department ordered military operations in the Far East
    - Why?
Conspirators of Empire?

Captain Alfred T. Mahan
Ass. Sec. Of Navy
Theodore Roosevelt

Secretary of State
John Hay

GOP Senator
Henry C. Lodge
Assault on the Philippines

- Admiral Dewey received order to sail from Hong Kong to Manila Bay
- A one day naval engagement occurred in which the Spanish navy was destroyed
- Filipinos welcomed the Americans as liberators and helped them secure the islands while the navy awaited troops from the U.S. mainland
• War for Cuban liberation was swift
  - Actual fighting only lasted three days
  - Spanish navy blockaded, destroyed in one day battle
• Armistice signed August 12, 1898
• Spain recognized Cuban independence
Treaty of Paris, 1899

- Paris Peace Treaty of 1899 gave U.S. Puerto Rico and Guam and Philippines for $20M
- Anti-imperialist forces nearly defeated the Treaty of Paris in the Senate in 1899
- Passage of Treaty occurred as guerilla war in Philippines was began
  - Philippine insurrection lasted three years and produced 200,000 deaths
  - 5,000 American soldiers also died
  - The guerilla war required a dramatic expansion of the U.S. army’s size, which increased from 28K to 100K, then to 200K
- The taking of Philippines immediately opened possibility of access to China market
  - This quickly drew support from commercial interests
  - Hawaii was also annexed
  - The U.S. had created necessary “stepping stones” (naval bases) to Asia
Platt Amendment

- Attached to a military appropriations bill in 1901, set three conditions for the withdrawal of the US army from the Island of Cuba
  - Cuba could enter into no diplomatic agreements with other countries
  - U.S. retained the right of intervention with military forces in the event of a threat to U.S. lives or property
  - Cuba had to agree to allow the U.S. to have a naval base at Guantanamo Bay, in perpetuity
- The new Cuban government agreed to the conditions
Chinese (Boxer) Rebellion of 1900

- China was the object of foreign takeover since 1839
- In 1894, Japan began its conquest of Manchuria
- Germany, France, and the United States all sent missionaries and trade delegations
- Foreign penetration produced an anti-foreign revolt that killed several hundred foreign diplomats, missionaries, and Chinese Christian converts

“Chinese Cake” being carved up
The collective response of imperialist powers quickly defeated the Chinese rebels.

Fearing immediate dismemberment of the country by the Europeans and Japan, the U.S. issued two diplomatic notes, called the “Open Door Notes”.

### Forces of the Eight-Nation Alliance (1900 Boxer Rebellion)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Warships (units)</th>
<th>Marines (men)</th>
<th>Army (men)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>20,300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>750</td>
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<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>France</td>
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<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,750</strong></td>
<td><strong>49,255</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Open Door Policy

• The brain-child of John Hay, McKinley's second Secretary of State
  ▪ Reflected recent interest of American businessmen in the “fabulous China market”
  ▪ The Open Door Note of 1899
    • Called for “a fair field and no favor” in trading relations with China
  ▪ The Open Door Note of 1900
    • Called for respect for China’s territorial integrity
• Open Door Notes Or Informal Empire?
How effective were the Open Door Notes?
Theodore Roosevelt: An Authentic American Militarist

- No American president before TR so lustfully embraced militarism and imperialism as positive social goods
- TR worshipped power and saw military strength as the key to world order
- During his presidency, the U.S. briefly assumed the role as the third largest navy in the world behind Britain and Germany
Kaiser Wilhelm II: An Authentic German Militarist

- The Kaiser was a student of Capt Mahan’s writings
  - In 1898, he began a naval shipbuilding program designed to challenge Great Britain’s control of the seas
  - If he could construct a navy 2/3rd the size of Britain’s, he could defeat the British navy
  - He produced a naval arms race and an alliance system that tied Britain, France and Russia together against Germany
Panama Canal Intervention, 1903

- Roosevelt’s covert action
  - Detach the province of Panama from Colombia
  - Recognize the Panama Republic
  - Sign a treaty with Panama giving the U.S. the Panama Canal “in perpetuity”
Roosevelt Corollary

In 1904, the Dominican Republic faced possible invasion and possession by its European creditors.

Roosevelt announced his Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine:

- 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 force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

Why does “impotence” occur repeatedly in TR’s concerns?
The management of empire was sometimes complicated by U.S. domestic politics of nativism.

- In 1882, the U.S. Congress explicitly excluded Chinese laborers from immigration to the country because China was weak.
- After 1900, an anti-Asian movement also attempted to explicitly exclude Japanese from immigration, but Japan was a real threat to the U.S.
- President Roosevelt negotiated a secret agreement with the Japanese to prevent war.
Roosevelt’s Great White Fleet

- Before Roosevelt left office, he sent the entire 16 battleships of the US navy, called “The Great White Fleet” on a 14 month world tour
- The tour visited Long Beach
- At that moment, the US navy was third largest in the world behind Great Britain and Germany
- The naval modernization fostered an arms race between the three countries that helped trigger World War One
To foster markets within the empire, the government promoted U.S. currency as a key to stabilization.

In 1900, Congress passed a new gold standard act:
- Gold Standard applied to Puerto Rico and Philippines
- Also pushed on Mexico, China, Panama, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic

Under President Taft, U.S. investment bankers advanced loans to these foreign governments:
- Loans supported the new currencies of those governments
- What happen if a situation in a foreign country deteriorates? Answer: US would have to militarily intervene to protect the government holding the loan and the bankers who made them
Pattern of Interventionism, 1900-1914
Woodrow Wilson and the Rejection of Formal Empire

- Restored “rhetorical idealism” to U.S. foreign policy
- Promised that the U.S. would never seize foreign lands again
- Promised independence to Philippines
- Still practices informal empire

Pres. Woodrow Wilson
U.S. Pacific Interests

Dates indicate year of acquisition or occupation by U.S.
Is the United States an empire?

- If no, why not?
- If yes, what kind of empire?
  - Formal?
  - Informal?
  - Combination?
  - Something entirely new?
Conclusions

• By 1914, the U.S. had turned itself into a world power with a clear sphere of influence in both the Caribbean and the Pacific Rim

• Phase 1 of the creation of an American Empire was complete

• But, the Pacific empire faced a real threat from a rising Japanese Empire over the next 25 years