CHAPTER 22
The Quest for Empire, 1865–1914

Learning Objectives

After you have studied Chapter 22 in your textbook and worked through this study guide chapter, you should be able to:

1. Examine the late-nineteenth-century sources of American expansionism and imperialism.
2. Discuss the role of ideology and culture in American expansionism and imperialism during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
3. Describe the expansionist vision of William H. Seward, and indicate the extent to which this vision was realized by the late 1880s.
4. Examine and evaluate relations between the United States and the following nations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:
   a. Great Britain
   b. Canada
5. Discuss the modernization of the United States Navy in the late nineteenth century.
6. Discuss the causes and consequences of the Hawaiian and Venezuelan crises.
7. Examine the causes (both underlying and immediate) and discuss the conduct of the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War, and indicate the provisions of the Treaty of Paris.
8. Outline the arguments presented by both the anti-imperialists and the imperialists in the debate over acquisition of an empire, and explain why the imperialists prevailed.
9. Examine and evaluate late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century American policy toward Asia in general and toward China, the Philippines, and Japan, specifically.
10. Examine and evaluate United States policy toward the countries of Latin America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Thematic Guide

The expansionist and eventually imperialistic orientation of United States foreign policy after 1865 stemmed from the country’s domestic situation. Those who led the internal expansion of the United States after the Civil War were also the architects of the nation’s foreign policy. These national leaders, known collectively as the foreign policy elite, believed that extending American influence abroad would foster American prosperity, and they sought to use American foreign policy to open and safeguard foreign markets.
Many Americans harbored fears of the wider world, but the foreign policy elite realized that those fears could be alleviated if the world could be remade in the American image. Therefore, after the Civil War, these leaders advocated a nationalism based on the idea that Americans were a special people favored by God. Race-based arguments, gender-based arguments, and Social Darwinism were used to support the idea of American superiority and further the idea of expansion, and American missionaries went forth to convert the “heathen.” Furthermore, a combination of political, economic, and cultural factors in the 1890s prompted the foreign policy elite to move beyond support of mere economic expansion toward advocacy of an imperialistic course for the United States—an imperialism characterized by a belief in the rightness of American society and American solutions.

The analysis of American expansionism serves as a backdrop for scrutiny of the American empire from the end of the Civil War to 1914. William H. Seward, as secretary of state from 1861 to 1869 and as a member of the foreign policy elite, was one of the chief architects of this empire. In examining Seward’s expansionist vision and the extent to which it was realized by the late 1880s, we again see the relationship between domestic and foreign policy.

Acquisition of territories and markets abroad led the United States to heed the urgings of Captain Alfred T. Mahan and to embark on the building of the New Navy. The fleet gave the nation the means to protect America’s international interests and to become more assertive, as in the Hawaiian, Venezuelan, and Cuban crises of the 1890s. The varied motives that led the United States into the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War offer another striking example of the complex links between domestic and foreign policy. In these crises of the 1890s, the American frame of reference toward peoples of other nations became more noticeable in the shaping of foreign policy. In the Cuban crisis, as in the Venezuelan crisis, Americans insisted that the United States would establish the rules for nations in the Western Hemisphere.

The Treaty of Paris, which ended the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War, sparked a debate between imperialists and anti-imperialists over the course of American foreign policy. We examine the arguments of the two groups and the reasons for the defeat of the anti-imperialists.

In the last two sections of the chapter, we turn to the American empire in Asia and Latin America. The American frame of reference with regard to other ethnic groups, along with American political, economic, and social interests, shaped the Open Door policy as well as relations with Japan and led to U.S. oppression of the Filipinos. The same factors determined American relations with Latin America. But in Latin America the United States used its power to impose its will and, through the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, assumed the role of “an international police power.”

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**Building Vocabulary**

Listed below are important words and terms that you need to know to get the most out of Chapter 22. They are listed in the order in which they occur in the chapter. After carefully looking through the list, refer to a dictionary and jot down the definition of words that you do not know or of which you are unsure.

- proselytize
- gape
indigenous

unabashed

usurp

disparage

cosmopolitan

derogatory

infuse

ethnocentric

obviate

cohort

critique

undergird

hypocritical

fruition

lampoon
Identification and Significance

After studying Chapter 22 of *A People and a Nation*, you should be able to identify fully and explain the historical significance of each item listed below.
1. Identify each item in the space provided. Give an explanation or description of the item. Answer the questions who, what, where, and when.

2. Explain the historical significance of each item in the space provided. Establish the historical context in which the item exists. Establish the item as the result of or as the cause of other factors existing in the society under study. Answer this question: What were the political, social, economic, and/or cultural consequences of this item?

Lottie Moon

Identification

Significance

expansionism versus imperialism

Identification

Significance

the foreign policy elite

Identification

Significance
the idea of a racial hierarchy

Identification

Significance

Our Country

Identification

Significance

male ethos and imperialism

Identification

Significance

William H. Seward

Identification

Significance

the purchase of Alaska

Identification

Significance
the transatlantic cable

Identification

Significance

Hamilton Fish

Identification

Significance

the Washington Treaty

Identification

Significance

the Burlingame Treaty

Identification

Significance

the Pan-American Conference of 1889

Identification

Significance
navalism

Identification

Significance

Captain Alfred T. Mahan

Identification

Significance

the New Navy

Identification

Significance

Turner’s frontier thesis

Identification

Significance

the Hawaiian-annexation question

Identification

Significance
the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian government

Identification

Significance

the Venezuelan crisis of 1895

Identification

Significance

the Cuban revolution

Identification

Significance

José Martí

Identification

Significance

the Wilson-Gorman Tariff

Identification

Significance
General Valeriano Weyler

Identification

Significance

the Maine

Identification

Significance

the de Lôme letter

Identification

Significance

McKinley’s war message

Identification

Significance

the Teller Amendment

Identification

Significance
the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War

Identification

Significance

Commodore George Dewey

Identification

Significance

the Treaty of Paris, December 1898

Identification

Significance

anti-imperialist arguments

Identification

Significance

imperialist arguments

Identification

Significance
the Boxer Rebellion

Identification

Significance

the Open Door policy

Identification

Significance

Emilio Aguinaldo

Identification

Significance

the Philippine Insurrection

Identification

Significance

the Moros

Identification

Significance
the Jones Act

Identification

Significance

the Portsmouth Conference

Identification

Significance

the Taft-Katsura Agreement

Identification

Significance

the Root-Takahira Agreement

Identification

Significance

the Great White Fleet

Identification

Significance
“dollar diplomacy”

Identification

Significance

the San Francisco School Board’s segregation order

Identification

Significance

the Platt Amendment

Identification

Significance

the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901

Identification

Significance

the Panamanian revolution

Identification

Significance
the Panama Canal

Identification

Significance

the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

Identification

Significance

American investments in Mexico

Identification

Significance

Anglo-American rapprochement

Identification

Significance
Scores of the events involving Americans and their attitudes about peoples of other regions of the world discussed in Chapter 22 can be seen both as promise and warning of the explosion in American power and influence in the twentieth century. These events and attitudes introduced in Chapter 22 are going to turn out to be patterns for behaviors and attitudes dominating American relations with other countries and peoples throughout the twentieth century.

For that reason, it makes sense to begin tracing the development of American foreign relations throughout the twentieth century, adding more information, more examples with each new chapter in the textbook. Completing the chart “The United States and Latin America” is your starting point for that. Completing the chart “American Use of Its Power Abroad, 1865-1914” will help you understand the goals and strategies of the real flurry of American imperialistic activity discussed in Chapter 22 itself.

Plan to return to the chart headed “The United States and Latin America” as you proceed through the rest of the chapters in your textbook.
### THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cuba</th>
<th>Guatemala</th>
<th>Honduras</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
<td><strong>Year</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Involvement</strong></td>
<td><strong>Involvement</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Nature of U.S.</td>
<td>Nature of U.S.</td>
<td>Nature of U.S.</td>
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</table>

- **1898** Spanish-American War. U.S. troops remain until 1902.
- **1903**
- **1899**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Panama</th>
<th>El Salvador</th>
<th>Nicaragua</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Nature of U.S.</strong></td>
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**AMERICAN-STYLE IMPERIALISM**

The first column of the chart “American Use of Its Power Abroad, 1865-1914” lists some basic goals of American foreign policy and the imperialist elite from 1865 to 1914. In the remaining columns you are to list instances of the use of specific imperialistic methods to accomplish these goals and their effects. (In some cases the same example may illustrate more than one method.) Make each entry specific, but enter only enough information to serve as reminders that can be expanded when you write out the working draft of your essay and that can be used in reviewing the material.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose or Consequence of the Use of Power or of Influence Derived from Power</th>
<th>Methods of Influencing Asian and American Countries</th>
<th>Effect On or Response of Other Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To protect the property of citizens living in other countries or of companies doing business in other countries</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>To take over territory of or to change the boundaries of countries for the purpose of controlling assets or facilities of military or economic value</td>
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<tr>
<td>To install leaders who would support American interests or to remove leaders who would oppose American interests</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Diplomatic Pressure</th>
<th>Military Actions or Threats</th>
<th>Economic Action or Pressure</th>
<th>Covert Action, Conspiracies</th>
<th>Other (altruism, etc.)</th>
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<tr>
<td>To establish trade and tariff policies designed to protect domestic business interests without regard to the consequences in other nations or to influence the policies of other nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>To control the forms of government, constitutions or legal institutions, or the trade agreements or treaties of other countries or territories</td>
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<tr>
<td>To control the outcome of civil wars or insurrections in other countries or the attempts of provinces within other countries to secede</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### American Use of Its Power Abroad, 1865-1914 (concluded)

| Purpose or Consequence of the Use of Power or of Influence Derived from Power | Methods of Influencing Asian and American Countries |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Diplomatic Pressure | Military Actions or Threats | Economic Action or Pressure | Covert Action, Conspiracies | Other (altruism, etc.) | Effect On or Response of Other Countries |
| To affect the class structure, relative power of social and economic classes, or the racial and religious divisions within another country | | | | | | |
| To influence the cultural development (language, dress, education, etc.) or to alter the religious makeup or the value system of another country | | | | | | |

### Interpreting Information

Using as your guide information about American imperialism you collected from Chapter 22 and your class notes and entered in the Organizing Information chart “American Use of Its Power Abroad, 1865-1914,” plan and compose the working draft of an essay answering this question:

What in Americans’ attempts to extend the country’s influence and control overseas between 1865 and 1914 explains why many people overseas call the United States imperialistic and fear what it might do next?
Ideas and Details

Objective 1

1. Foreign policy decisions in the late nineteenth century were shaped largely by
   a. the opinions of the American people.
   b. the business community.
   c. the foreign policy elite.
   d. generals and admirals.

Objective 1

2. One of the sources of the expansionist sentiment of the late nineteenth century was the
   a. desire of American farmers to learn new agricultural techniques from foreign
      agricultural specialists.
   b. belief that foreign economic expansion would relieve the problem of overproduction
      at home.
   c. belief that more immigrants would solve domestic labor problems.
   d. desire of Latin American countries for the United States to exert political control over
      them.

Objectives 1 and 2

3. *Our Country* by Josiah Strong provides evidence that
   a. most American religious leaders in the late nineteenth century were critical of
      American foreign policy in general and of American imperialism in particular.
   b. belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxons was used in the late nineteenth century to
      justify American expansion.
   c. late nineteenth-century American foreign policy was based on the principle that all
      nations in the world should be allowed to determine their own form of government
      and economic system.
   d. the unprofessional nature of the American diplomatic corps in the late nineteenth
      century was a constant embarrassment to the United States.

Objective 3

4. William H. Seward’s vision of an American empire
   a. was confined to the Americas.
   b. included the building of a Central American canal.
   c. involved acquisition of territory by military conquest.
   d. took a giant step forward with the purchase of the Danish West Indies in 1867.

Objective 5

5. The person largely responsible for popularizing the New Navy was
   a. Andrew Carnegie.
   b. Ulysses Grant.
   c. Hamilton Fish.
   d. Alfred T. Mahan.
Objective 6

6. President Grover Cleveland opposed the annexation of Hawaii because he
   a. saw no economic advantages to it.
   b. wanted no close ties with people of another race.
   c. learned that a majority of Hawaiians opposed annexation.
   d. was afraid it would lead to war.

Objective 6

7. In the settlement of the Venezuelan crisis of 1895,
   a. the United States showed a disregard for the rights of Venezuela.
   b. the United States insisted that Venezuela adopt a democratic form of government.
   c. Great Britain was able to bully the United States into submission.
   d. the United States Navy showed its inability to operate in a crisis.

Objectives 7 and 10

8. The Teller Amendment
   a. announced that the United States would annex Cuba.
   b. led to the declaration of war against Spain.
   c. expanded the theater of war to the South Pacific.
   d. renounced any American intentions to annex Cuba.

Objective 7

9. In the final analysis, the United States went to war with Spain because
   a. of a humanitarian desire to help the Cuban people.
   b. of a desire to carry the Christian message to other people.
   c. of the multifaceted spirit of expansionism, which had been building for some time.
   d. war offered an opportunity to fulfill the “large policy.”

Objective 7

10. Most American casualties in the Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War were incurred
    a. through diseases contracted during the war.
    b. in the Santiago campaign.
    c. in Admiral Dewey’s battle with the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.
    d. by the Rough Riders in the charge up San Juan Hill.

Objective 8

11. The anti-imperialist campaign against the Treaty of Paris was
    a. based on purely constitutional arguments.
    b. hindered by the inconsistency of the anti-imperialist arguments.
    c. successful because of the influence of people like Mark Twain and Andrew Carnegie.
    d. successful because of Bryan’s decision to support the treaty.
Objective 9

12. Which of the following best expresses the ideology behind the Open Door policy?
   a. The self-determination of other nations must be preserved.
   b. The closing of any area to American trade is a threat to the survival of the United States.
   c. Freedom of the seas will lead to the economic expansion of the world community of nations.
   d. All nations of the world should be considered equals.

Objective 9

13. In the Philippines, the United States
   a. fought to suppress an insurrection against American rule.
   b. quickly lived up to its promise to give the country its independence.
   c. held a referendum to determine the wishes of the Filipino people.
   d. established a democratic government that guaranteed the same basic rights enjoyed by Americans.

Objective 9

14. Relations between the United States and Japan were negatively affected by
   a. the extension of American aid to French colonies in Indochina.
   b. American refusal to recognize Japanese hegemony in Korea.
   c. President Roosevelt’s extension of military aid to Russia during the Russo-Japanese war.
   d. the involvement of American bankers in an international consortium to build a Chinese railway.

Objective 10

15. Which of the following best explains the rationale behind the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine?
   a. The United States believed it had the duty to help Latin Americans find the political system best suited to their culture.
   b. The United States believed it had to assume the role of international policeman in order to protect its own interests and dominance in Latin America.
   c. The United States believed it should share its wealth and resources with the people of Latin America.
   d. The United States believed that it had the right to colonize Latin America to exploit the resources of the region.

Essay Questions

Objectives 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 and 10

1. Defend or refute the following statement in the context of American policy toward Central America and the Caribbean in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: “The persistent American belief that other people cannot solve their own problems and that only the American
model of government will work produced what historian William Appleman Williams has called ‘the tragedy of American diplomacy.’”

Objective 1

2. Explain the relationship between domestic affairs and foreign affairs. How did domestic affairs during the late nineteenth century lead to an expansionist foreign policy?

Objective 8

3. Discuss the debate between the imperialists and the anti-imperialists, and explain why the former prevailed.

Objective 9

4. Explain American foreign policy toward China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.