

## **HISTORICAL ANALYSIS – Comparing / Contrasting ...Imperialists & Anti-Imperialists**

### **From the 2015 Revised Framework:**

#### **COMPARE & CONTRAST...**

1. Compare diverse perspectives represented in primary and secondary sources in order to draw conclusions about one or more historical events.
2. Compare different historical individuals, events, developments, and/ or processes, analyzing both similarities and differences in order to draw historically valid conclusions. Comparisons can be made across different time periods, across different geographical locations, and between different historical events or developments within the same time period and/ or geographical location.

### **From the 2015 Revised Content Outline**

#### **Key Concept 7.3:**

**Participation in a series of global conflicts propelled the United States into a position of international power while renewing domestic debates over the nation’s proper role in the world.**

- I. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, new **U.S. territorial ambitions** and **acquisitions in the Western Hemisphere and the Pacific** accompanied heightened **public debates over America’s role in the world**.
  - A) **Imperialists** cited **economic opportunities, racial theories, competition with European empires, and the perception in the 1890s that the Western frontier was “closed”** to argue that Americans were *destined* to expand their culture and institutions to peoples around the globe.
  - B) **Anti-imperialists** cited principles of **self-determination** and invoked both **racial theories** and the **U.S. foreign policy tradition of isolationism** to argue that the U.S. should not extend its territory overseas.
  - C) The American victory in the **Spanish–American War** led to the U.S. **acquisition of island territories** in the **Caribbean and the Pacific**, an increase in involvement in **Asia**, and the suppression of a nationalist movement in the **Philippines**.

#### **Thematic Learning Objectives:**

**NAT-3.0:** Analyze how ideas about national identity changed in response to U.S. involvement in international conflicts and the growth of the United States.

**WOR-2.0:** Analyze the reasons for, and results of, U.S. diplomatic, economic, and military initiatives in North America and overseas.

## American Imperialism Varying Viewpoints... some additional insight...

Review the outline, highlight the best facts/evidence/main ideas.

### Arguments for Imperialism

#### A. Economic Motivations

1. The rapid, and unchecked, growth of American industry in the North created a market glut
  - a) The supply of raw materials, ranging from coal, steel, oil, textiles and finished goods (the U.S. was the largest creator of market products) exceeded the domestic demand for goods
  - b) Testified by the creation of department stores, mail order, and chain stores
  - c) Supply up, demand down
2. The growth of labor unions and social demands for greater economic equity.
  - a) The AFL and Knights of Labor (along with the growth of other labor unions) forced business owners to pay higher wages, expect fewer hours, and submit to federal oversight
  - b) Labor unrest, evident with the Anthracite Coal Strike, the Haymarket Riot, and the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory galvanized the American polity to reform
  - c) More stringent federal enforcement of existing regulation required new markets
3. Sound economic policy: The growth of export would balance trade and economy
4. Recent Recessions: The Panic of 1893 proved that the market could not bear unchecked growth

#### B. Ideological Motivations

1. Manifest Destiny: International expansion must replace the geographic barriers of the North American continent
  - a) White Man's Burden: U.S. must spread democracy and Christian principles throughout the world—advocated by Josiah Strong and the American missionary movement
2. American Nationalism
  - a) Articulated throughout the 1896, 1900, 1904, (and ever after?) elections
  - b) America was the destined to be the most powerful protector of all things good—money to spend, food to eat, human rights, culture, entertainment, industry, inventions
  - c) America must compete with the imperial drive of European counterparts, notably German, Austria-Hungarian, British, French, and Russian (the World Powers up to WWI)
  - d) America is/was responsible to share the principles of democracy, provide instruction in self-government, protect self-determination, and ensure human rights
3. Social Darwinism...Prevailing ideology throughout the modern age, stating that those cultures/states which could most adapt to current issues would survive

#### C. Political / Strategic Motivations:

- a) America required a developed and well supported military— including Army and Navy
- b) Based on Alfred T. Mahan's Power of the Seas, a fully modern navy ensured domestic tranquility, global economic control, and world peace
- c) Intervention in the Caribbean and Latin America would reinforce the Monroe Doctrine, supporting US's control of the Western Hemisphere

- d) Intervention in the Pacific would support Open Door Policy with China and check Japan's rising power
- e) Control/support of the Pacific islands would provide naval stations throughout the Pacific Ocean

(1) Refueling stations (2) Protection (3) Open locations for raw materials

- f) International arms race, militarization, and mobilization—Germans, French, Austria-Hungarians, Russians, Japanese, and British were all expanding empires

### Arguments Against Imperialism

#### A. Economic Motivations

1. The expense of expanding/participating in an imperialist foreign policy is prohibitive
  - a) Cost derived from building and maintaining a well developed army and navy is expensive (payroll, munitions, coal, oil, steel must be purchased, or requiring federal contracts and competitive bidding)
  - b) Cost of foreign campaigns (to quell revolts, to suppress insurrections, to "build nations") very expensive
2. Federal government does not have the capital to invest in campaigns
3. Money must be made available through contracts with industry (creating alliances between industry and government), or by piggybacking on the infrastructure of existing industrial programs
4. Too much labor unrest, urban poverty, agricultural depression, and unemployment which were not treated

#### B. Ideological Motivations

1. Anti-Democratic
  - a) Subjecting people "for their own good" is inherently hypocritical to democracy/self-determination
  - b) Manifest Destiny is an excuse to dominate for selfish gain=greed
2. Racism
  - a) White Man's Burden is patronizing and inherently racist—there is no fundamental, psychological difference between races
  - b) Only difference between cultures is socialization and history
3. Social consideration—the federal government thus far failed to ensure democracy to the African-American population, the immigrant population, and the urban and agricultural poor

(outline notes captured from <http://mrfarshtey.net>)

## American Imperialism Varying Viewpoints... some additional insight...

Review the opposing views, highlight major goals and actions for each side.

### Should the United States become an imperialist power by keeping the Philippine Islands?

<p><b>For:</b> The “pro-imperialists”—led by expansionists like Theodore Roosevelt, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Albert Beveridge; some business publications like the <i>Review of Reviews</i> and business spokespersons like Mark Hanna; and some religious leaders like the Rev. J. H. Barrows and the Rev. Josiah Strong.</p>	<p><b>Against:</b> The “anti-imperialists”—led by writers like William James and Mark Twain; some business spokespersons like Andrew Carnegie; some labor leaders like Samuel Gompers; and some clergymen like the Rev. Charles Ames and the Rev. Henry Van Dyke.</p>
--	---

### Manifest Destiny Varying Viewpoints... Is overseas expansion, and therefore control of the Philippines, part of the inevitable manifest destiny of the United States?

<p><b>For:</b> Pro-imperialist Theodore Roosevelt: “Our whole national history has been one of expansion. Under Washington and Adams we expanded westward to the Mississippi. Under Jefferson we expanded across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia....The same will be true of the Philippines. Nations that expand and nations that do not expand may ultimately go down, but the one leaves heirs and a glorious memory, and the other leaves neither.”</p>	<p><b>Against:</b> Anti-imperialist Carl Schurz: “Whenever there is a project on foot to annex a foreign territory to this republic the cry of ‘manifest destiny’ is raised to produce the impression that all opposition to such a project is a struggle against fate. The fate of the American people is in their own wisdom and will. If they devote their energies to the development of what they possess within their present limits...their ‘manifest destiny’ will be the preservation of the exceptional and invaluable advantages they now enjoy....”</p>
--	---

### Democracy Varying Viewpoints... Would ruling another nation be compatible with basic American ideals of democracy and self-government?

<p><b>For:</b> Pro-imperialist <i>New York Tribune</i>: “Cannibals govern themselves. The half-ape creatures of the Australian bush govern themselves. The Eskimo governs himself, and so do the wildest tribes of darkest Africa. But what kind of a government is it?”</p>	<p><b>Against:</b> Anti-imperialist Rev. Henry Van Dyke: “How can we pass by the solemn and majestic claim of our Declaration of Independence, that ‘government derives its powers from the consent of the governed’? How can we face the world as a union of free states holding vassal states in subjection, a mighty mongrel nation in which a republic is tied to an empire, and democracy bears children not to be distinguished from the off-spring of absolutism?”</p>
--	---

### Economic benefit Varying Viewpoints... Is acquiring the Philippines essential for America’s economic health and future trade with Asia?

<p><b>For:</b> Pro-imperialist <i>American Wool and Cotton Exporter</i>: “Annexation is important because the contingencies of our China trade bid fair to be such as to make the Philippines exceedingly valuable to us as a basis for operations in the continent of China.”</p>	<p><b>Against:</b> Anti-imperialist Carl Schurz: “I agree that we cannot have too many foreign markets. But can such markets be opened only by annexing to the United States the countries in which they are situated?”</p>
--	---

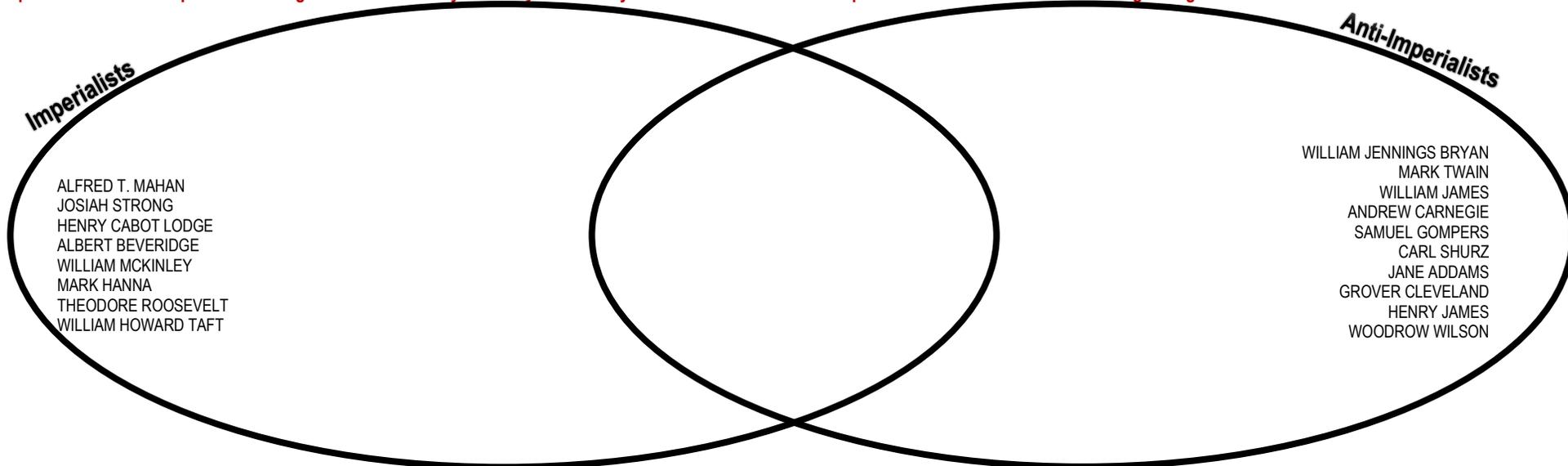
### Race Varying Viewpoints... Should the dark-skinned Filipinos be brought under the rule of white-skinned Americans?

<p><b>For:</b> Pro-imperialist <i>The Textile Record</i>: “Supremacy in the world appears to be the destiny of the race to which we belong, the most competent governor of inferior races....The clear path of duty for us appears to be to bring to the people of the Spanish islands in the Pacific and the Atlantic an opportunity to rise from misery and hopelessness to a promise of just government and commercial success.”</p>	<p><b>Against:</b> Anti-imperialist Henry Labouchère: [A parody of Rudyard Kipling’s “The White Man’s Burden.” See text]  “Pile on the brown man’s burden, Nor do not deem it hard, If you should earn the rancor, Of those ye yearn to guard.  The screaming of your eagle, Will drown the victim’s sob, Go on through fire and slaughter, There’s dollars on the job.  Pile on the brown man’s burden, And through the world proclaim, That ye are freedom’s agent—There’s no more paying game! And should your own past history, Straight in your teeth be thrown, Retort that Independence, Is good for whites alone.”</p> <p><b>Against:</b> “There is something curious about this -- curious and unaccountable. There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive’s new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land.” – Mark Twain, 1901, from his speech titled “To the Person Sitting in Darkness”</p>
---	---

(Varying Viewpoints REFERENCES: E. Berkeley Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate, 1890–1920* (1970); Richard Welch, ed., *Imperialists vs. Anti-Imperialists* (1972).

## Imperialists & Anti-Imperialists

Complete the Venn diagram by adding at least three items as similarities (center part of Venn) and adding notes elaborating on at least three pieces of evidence in each of the outer sections (differences). Feel free to add additional information, as well. Your purpose is to gather evidence to support your answer to the following prompt: Compare and contrast the ideologies, goals, and actions of American Imperialists and Anti-Imperialists during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. To what extent were the imperialists more successful in reaching their goals?



After you have ample evidence for ideologies, goals, and actions, discuss the following questions with your group: Are there more similarities or differences? *To what extent* were the ideologies, goals, and actions different? To what extent were the imperialists *more* successful? *How* will you organize your essay? (themes/categories)

Write your Thesis:

---



---



---



---



---



---



---



---

**From the 2015 Revised Framework:****ANALYZE EVIDENCE...**

1. Explain the relevance of the author's point of view, author's purpose, audience, format or medium, and/or historical context as well as the interaction among these features, to demonstrate understanding of the significance of a primary source.
2. Evaluate the usefulness, reliability, and/ or limitations of a primary source in answering particular historical questions.

**INTERPRET DOCUMENTS...**

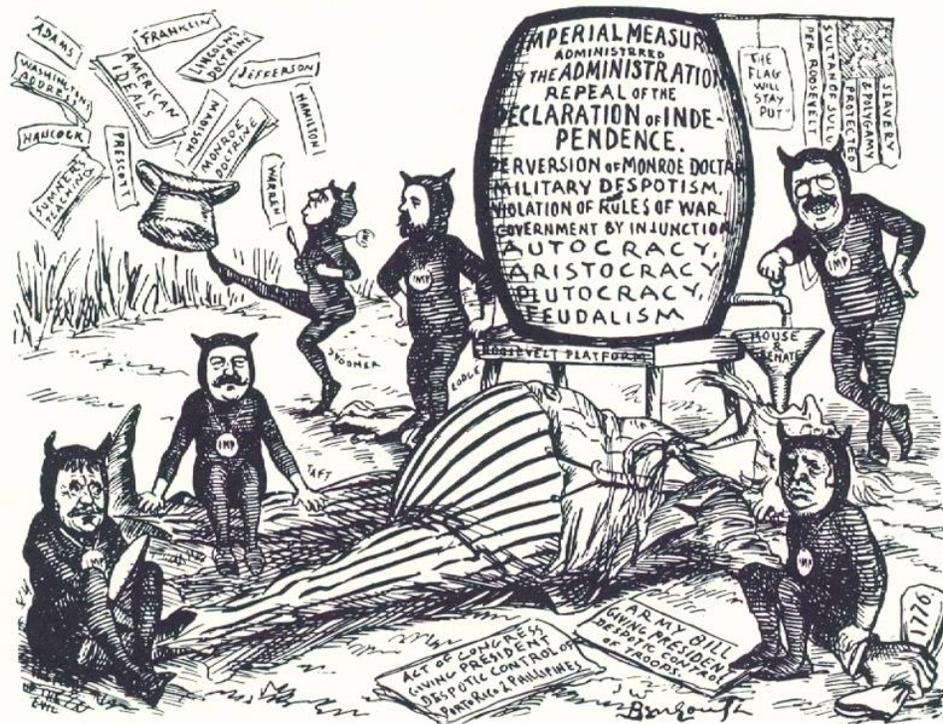
1. Analyze a historian's argument, explain how the argument has been supported through the analysis of relevant historical evidence, and evaluate the argument's effectiveness.
2. Analyze diverse historical interpretations.

**American Imperialism Varying Viewpoints... some additional insight... Study the cartoon and discuss with your group the most useful information for your essay, as well as discussing author's point of view.** Source-The Public (January 31, 1902), Chicago, edited by Louis Freeland Post.

**Description**

In the Spanish-American War of 1898 the U.S. defeated Spain and acquired the **Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam**. This policy was opposed by members of the **Anti-Imperialist League** and by liberals such as Post on the grounds that it violated the principles of **Jefferson** (The **Declaration of Independence**), **Washington** (his **Farewell Address**), and **Lincoln**. Post was trained as a lawyer and had become interested in the free trade and single tax ideas of **Henry George** which he promoted in the magazines he edited and the books he published. The **Anti-Imperialist League** began in June 1898 in opposition to the war against Spain and included an impressive list of establishment politicians, academics, and authors such as Charles Francis Adams, Jr., **Jane Addams**, Edward Atkinson, Ambrose Bierce, Andrew Carnegie, **Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain)**, **Grover Cleveland**, John Dewey, Edwin Lawrence Godkin, **Samuel Gompers**, William Dean Howells, **Henry James**, William James, David Starr Jordan, Carl Schurz, William Graham Sumner, and Oswald Garrison Villard.

The cartoon shows the figure of Uncle Sam who has been pinned to the ground by members of **Theodore Roosevelt's administration** who are dressed like little devils (some are named: **Taft**, Spooner, **Lodge**) who have around their necks a medallion which says "IMP". They are using the Filipino "water torture" to force Uncle Sam (the House & the Senate) to confess that an Empire is better than a Republic. **Theodore Roosevelt** is the figure standing by the spigot administering the water torture to Uncle Sam. Above his head is a version of the American flag on which is written "Slavery & Polygamy Protected. Sultan of Sulu per Roosevelt" which is a reference to the Islamic Sultanate of Sulu which was a number of islands in the Sulu Sea in the southern part of the Philippines which also came under American control. Uncle Sam can be seen clutching a copy of the **Declaration of Independence** and one of the devils is kicking his hat which spills out papers which have the names of some of the key intellectuals who provided the League with its ideas on opposing Empire: Adams, Washington, Hancock, (William Graham) Sumner, Franklin, Lincoln, Madison, etc. The water barrel is called "Roosevelt's Platform" and has written on it "Imperial Measure administered by the Administration: Repeal of the Declaration of Independence. Perversion of Monroe Doctrine. Military Despotism. Violation of Rules of War. Government by Injunction. AUTOCRACY, ARISTOCRACY, PLUTOCRACY, FEUDALISM." In the foreground at the foot of one of the devils is a document which says "Act of Congress giving President despotic control of Puerto Rico & Philippines" and another which says "Army Bill giving President despotic control of troops." The title of the cartoon is "Expansion" which refers to both the territorial expansion of the U.S. after 1898 and the expansion of Uncle Sam's belly as large quantities of water are forced into his stomach as part of the "water cure" he is forced to endure. (CARTOON AND ANALYSIS CAPTURED FROM [oil.libertyfund.org](http://oil.libertyfund.org))

**“ EXPANSION.”**

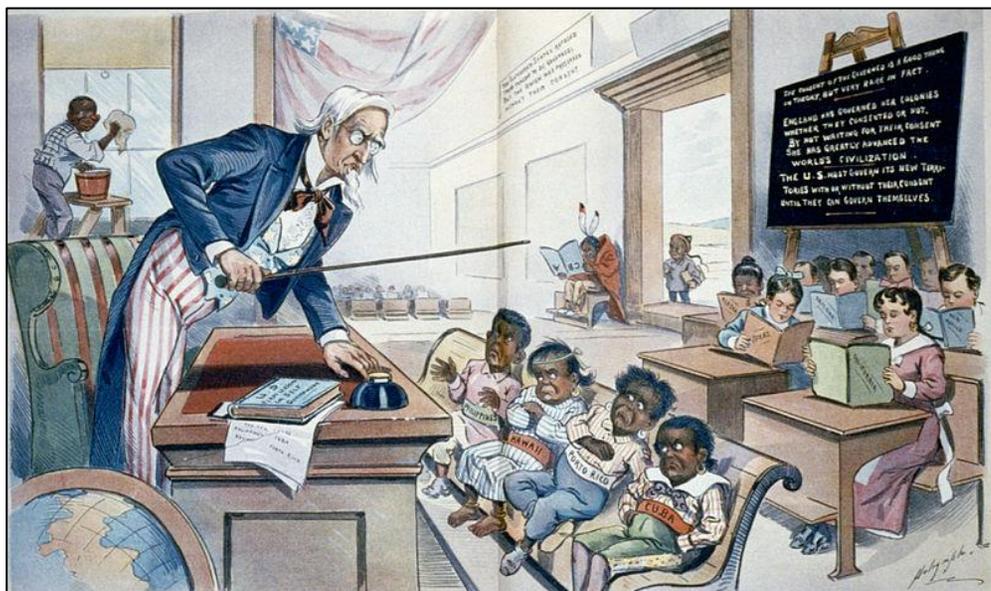
The water-cure method of extorting from Uncle Sam the confession that an Empire is better than a Republic.

## American Imperialism Varying Viewpoints... some additional insight...

Review each source and discuss with your group the Author's purpose in each.

One reaction to the war against Spain by a leading member of the **Anti-Imperialist League** was the lecture given by the sociologist **William Graham Sumner** "The Conquest of the United States by Spain" in 1898. Sumner is one of the names mentioned in the cartoon on the previous page ("Sumner's Teachings") as providing the intellectual basis for the League's opposition to imperialism. Here are some key passages from that lecture:

During the last year the public has been familiarized with descriptions of Spain and of Spanish methods of doing things until the name of Spain has become a symbol for a certain well-defined set of notions and policies. On the other hand, the name of the United States has always been, for all of us, a symbol for a state of things, a set of ideas and traditions, a group of views about social and political affairs. **Spain was the first, for a long time the greatest, of the modern imperialistic states. The United States, by its historical origin, its traditions, and its principles, is the chief representative of the revolt and reaction against that kind of a state.** I intend to show that, by the line of action now proposed to us, which we call expansion and imperialism, we are throwing away some of the most important elements of the American symbol and are adopting some of the most important elements of the Spanish symbol. **We have beaten Spain in a military conflict, but we are submitting to be conquered by her on the field of ideas and policies.** Expansionism and imperialism are nothing but the old philosophies of national prosperity which have brought Spain to where she now is. Those philosophies appeal to national vanity and national cupidity. They are seductive, especially upon the first view and the most superficial judgment, and therefore it cannot be denied that they are very strong for popular effect. They are delusions, and they will lead us to ruin unless we are hard-headed enough to resist them. **In any case the year 1898 is a great landmark in the history of the United States.** ... The laws of nature and of human nature are just as valid for Americans as for anybody else, and if we commit acts we shall have to take consequences, just like other people. Therefore prudence demands that we look ahead to see what we are about to do, and that we gauge the means at our disposal, if we do not want to bring calamity on ourselves and our children. **We see that the peculiarities of our system of government set limitations on us. We cannot do things which a great centralized monarchy could do. The very blessings and special advantages which we enjoy, as compared with others, bring disabilities with them.** That is the great fundamental cause of what I have tried to show throughout this lecture, that we cannot govern dependencies consistently with our political system, and that, **if we try it, the State which our fathers founded will suffer a reaction which will transform it into another empire just after the fashion of all the old ones. That is what imperialism means. That is what it will be; and the democratic republic, which has been, will stand in history, like the colonial organization of earlier days, as a mere transition form.** (speech captured from oll.libertyfund.org, emphasis mine)



Political cartoon- "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!"

This is a caricature showing Uncle Sam lecturing four children labelled 'Philippines' 'Hawaii,' 'Puerto Rico,' and 'Cuba' in front of children holding books labelled with various U.S. states. In the background, there is an American Indian holding a book upside down, a Chinese boy at the door, and a black boy cleaning a window. The other elements in the cartoon include: The blackboard: "The consent of the governed is a good thing in theory, but very rare in fact. — England has governed her colonies whether they consented or not. By not waiting for their consent she has greatly advanced the world's civilization. — The U.S. must govern its new territories with or without their consent until they can govern themselves." Poster: "The Confederated States refused their consent to be governed, but the Union was preserved without their consent." Book: "U.S. — First Lessons in Self Government" Note: (on table) "The new class — Philippines Cuba Hawaii Puerto Rico" (cartoon and description captured from Boundless.com)

Food For Thought:

**The Anti-Imperialist League was formed by former abolitionists. Explain the significance of this connection between two causes.**

## American Anti-Imperialist League Platform 1899

Read the platform, Make sure you understand the meaning and significance of bolded terms, and Highlight key phrases that summarize the ideology and goals of the organization.

*Formed in 1898, the American Anti-Imperialist League opposed U.S. imperialism during a time when the United States was negotiating for control of Hawaii, fighting the Spanish-American War to drive the centuries-old Spanish colonial power from the Western Hemisphere, and suppressing a rebellion for independence in the Philippines. Instead, the Anti-Imperialist League advocated free trade without aggression or conquest of foreign territory. The organization's illustrious membership included Mark Twain, Charles Francis Adams, and E. L. Godkin, among others. Despite the group's unifying cause and the publication of this national platform stating their goals the year after it formed, the **Anti-Imperialist League disintegrated in 1900** over which candidate to support in that year's presidential election. [The election of 1900 was called a "referendum on imperialism." McKinley won... imperialism won...the Anti-imperialist League disintegrated... but the debate continued.]*

We hold that the policy known as **imperialism** is hostile to **liberty** and tends toward **militarism**, an evil from which it has been our glory to be free.

We regret that it has become necessary in the land of **Washington** and **Lincoln** to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to **life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness**.

We maintain that governments derive their just powers from **the consent of the governed**.

We insist that the subjugation of any people is "criminal aggression" and open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our Government.

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the **spirit of 1776** in those islands.

We deplore the sacrifice of our soldiers and sailors, whose bravery deserves admiration even in an unjust war.

We denounce the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror.

We protest against the extension of American sovereignty by Spanish methods.

We demand the immediate cessation of the war against liberty, begun by Spain and continued by us.

We urge that Congress be promptly convened to announce to the Filipinos our purpose to concede to them the independence for which they have so long fought and which of right is theirs. The United States have always protested against the doctrine of international law which permits the subjugation of the weak by the strong. A self-governing state cannot accept sovereignty over an unwilling people. The United States cannot act upon the ancient heresy that might makes right. Imperialists assume that with the destruction of self-government in the Philippines by American hands, all opposition here will cease. This is a grievous error. Much as we abhor the war of "criminal aggression" in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. **The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals.** Whether the ruthless slaughter of the Filipinos shall end next month or next year is but an incident in a contest that must go on until the Declaration of Independence and the **Constitution of the United States** are rescued from the hands of their betrayers. Those who dispute about standards of value while the foundation of the **Republic** is undermined will be listened to as little as those who would wrangle about the small economies of the household while the house is on fire. The training of a great people for a century, the aspiration for liberty of a vast immigration are forces that will hurl aside those who in the delirium of conquest seek to destroy the character of our institutions. We deny that the obligation of all citizens to support their Government in times of grave National peril applies to the present situation. If an Administration may with impunity ignore the issues upon which it was chosen, deliberately create a condition of war anywhere on the face of the globe, debauch the civil service for spoils to promote the adventure, suppressing censorship and demand of all citizens a suspension of judgment and their unanimous support while it chooses to continue the fighting, representative government itself is imperiled.

We propose to contribute to the defeat of any person or party that stands for the forcible subjugation of any people.

We shall oppose for reelection all who in the White House or in Congress betray American liberty in pursuit of un-American ends.

We still hope that both of our great political parties will support and defend the **Declaration of Independence** in the closing campaign of the century.

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."** "Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands. **Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.**"

We cordially invite the cooperation of all men and women who remain loyal to the **Declaration of Independence** and the **Constitution of the United States**.

(Platform captured from LibraryofCongress.org, emphasis mine)

## Foreign Policy Review – Optional Review Notes

## AMERICAN IMPERIALISM: 1890-1913

Overview: Unlike previous Manifest Destiny where expansion was on the North American continent and congruous with existing territory, the **new Manifest Destiny** would extend to islands that were heavily populated, far from the U.S., and not seen as suitable by the U.S. to become territories, and later states, but only as colonies. After the frontier was closed in 1890, many believed the US needed to expand or else explode. The economy boomed which demanded more resources and markets. Overseas markets were seen as a new safety valve, a role the frontier once played. European imperialism also spurred this new expansion. Between 1870 and 1900 European powers had taken over 20% of the globe and 10% of the world population. Of these imperialists, Germany became America's greatest foe.

- o New imperial influence of U.S. (1898-1917): New territories gained in Spanish American War: Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, Philippines
- o Panama Canal Zone (1903)
- o Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine: U.S. became policeman of the Western Hemisphere and justified numerous invasions of Latin American countries.
- o Dollar Diplomacy under Taft: Government protected with force American investments abroad.
- o Wilson: Initially an anti-imperialist in rhetoric but invaded more countries than any other president

## Samoan crisis @ Pago Pago

1. U.S. and German navies nearly engaged each other in 1889 over Samoan Islands.
  - Germany did not wish to provoke U.S. and agreed to settlement
2. Issue resolved in 1900 treaty with Germany and Britain
  - a. U.S. gained 76 square miles -- American Samoa including Pago Pago.
  - b. Germany received the two largest islands.
  - c. Britain was compensated with other territories in the Pacific.

## Venezuela Boundary Dispute, 1895-1896

- A. Boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela in dispute for over half a century.
  - Issue became moot when gold was discovered in the border region.
- B. President Cleveland warned Britain not to take Venezuelan territory
  1. Violated Monroe Doctrine; U.S. stated it now called shots in Western Hemisphere.
  2. London should submit the dispute to arbitration.
- C. Britain denied legality of Monroe doctrine and refused arbitration.
- D. Cleveland urged appropriation from Congress for commission of experts who would create an equitable border between Venezuela and Br. Guiana. -- If Britain refused to accept it, U.S. would go to war.
- E. Britain had no real urge to fight (despite naval superiority of 32-5 in battleship class warships)
  1. Biggest reason for British concern: Boer War in South Africa
  2. Canada still vulnerable
  3. British merchant marine vulnerable to American commerce raiders.
  4. British preoccupied with German naval threat and Russian & French unfriendliness.
- F. London consented to arbitration.
- G. Results
  1. Prestige- Monroe Doctrine enhanced
  2. Latin American republics pleased by U.S. determination to protect them.
  3. Britain courted U.S. for friendship in the face of the continental threat.

-- Left U.S. able to pursue aggressive foreign policy w/o British reprisals.

## Hawaii

- A. Since early 19th century, America gradually came to regard Hawaiian Islands as an extension of the Pacific Coast.
- B. 1890, McKinley Tariff raised barriers against Hawaiian sugar.
  - American sugar planters sought annexation as it would eliminate tariffs.
- C. Queen Liliuokalani, a nationalist, insisted Hawaiians should control Hawaii
  - White planters, mostly Americans, alarmed at Queen's policies and American tariff.
- D. Tiny minority of white planters led by Sanford B. Dole organized successful revolt in 1893.
  1. Openly assisted by American troops who landed under unauthorized orders of U.S. minister in Honolulu, John C. Stevens.
  2. Stevens: The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the U.S. to pluck it.
  3. Treaty for annexation rushed to Washington
- E. Before treaty could be passed through Senate, Cleveland assumed office and refused to sign any annexation bill and sent special investigator to Hawaii.
  1. Findings indicated majority of Hawaiians did not favor annexation:
  2. Provisional govt had been established by force
  3. Cleveland ordered troops to be removed
- F. Results
  1. Cleveland unsuccessful in reinstating the queen.
    - a. U.S. public opinion would not have tolerated force to unseat white planters.
    - b. Revolutionaries proclaimed a Hawaiian Republic on July 4, 1894 with Dole as president.
  2. Annexation abandoned until 1898; Dole served as territorial governor from 1900-03
  3. First full-fledged imperialistic debate in U.S. history.
    - a. Cleveland savagely criticized for trying to stem the new Manifest Destiny.
    - b. Cleveland's motives honorable in the face of international imperialism.

## Cuba

- A. Atrocities in Cuba sensationalized (and even made up) by yellow press
    - 1. Spanish misrule as well as the devastating Wilson-Gorman Tariff of 1894 damaged Cuba's sugar-based economy (many plantations owned by Americans) -- A new Cuban rebellion in the 1890s resulted in American property losses as well as Cuban and Spanish
    - 2. Reconcentration -- Spanish military concentrated masses of Cuban civilians in areas under their control. -- About 100,000 died between 1896 and 1898.
      - Spain's leader in Cuba, Valeriano Weyler, portrayed in U.S. as Butcher Weyler
  - 3. President Cleveland refused to intervene and issued neutrality proclamation.
    - U.S. mediation was offered in the conflict but Spain refused.
  - 4. Pulitzer and Hearst attempted to out do each other; lesser competitors also involved
    - a. Hearst sent artist Frederic Remington to Cuba to draw sketches.
    - b. When Remington reported conditions not bad enough to warrant hostilities, Randolph allegedly replied, You furnish the pictures & I'll furnish the war.
    - c. Remington depicted Spanish customs officials as brutally disrobing and searching an American woman. (In reality, female attendants did the duty)
  - 5. McKinley's ascension to presidency began stronger rhetoric toward Spain.
    - a. In autumn of 1897, McKinley came close to delivering an ultimatum to Spain that would have resulted in war.
    - b. Spain ended reconcentration in 1897, removed Weyler, & gave some autonomy to Cubans
    - c. It appeared war might be avoided.
- B. Cuban Revolt
    - 1. Spanish in Cuba rioted to protest Spain's talk of granting Cuba type of self-govt.
    - 2. U.S. sent Battleship Maine to Cuba in 1898
      - a. Aimed to protect and evacuate Americans if danger occurred while also giving voice to popular distaste for Spain's reconcentration policies.
      - b. Sent ostensibly as a friendly visit
    - 3. de Lome letter
      - a. Feb. 9, 1898, Hearst sensationally headlined a stolen private letter written by Spanish minister in Washington, Dupuy de Lome that portrayed McKinley as corrupt and indicated Spain lacked good faith in instituting reforms in Cuba.
      - b. U.S. uproar forced Dupuy de Lome to resign before U.S. called for his recall.
  - C. Explosion of Maine, Feb. 15, 1898 immediate cause of Spanish American War - 266 officers and men dead.
    - a. Spanish investigation announced explosion as internal, presumably accidental.
    - b. American version reported blast caused by a submarine mine. -- 1976 U.S. Navy report showed blast inside the ship was accidental.
    - c. Americans accepted the submarine mine view and leapt to conclusion that Spanish govt was responsible. Yellow press helped to fuel the public fire.
    - d. Americans now cried for war: Remember the Maine! To hell with Spain!

## Spanish-American War -- 1898

- A. Spain agreed to US demands: revocation of reconcentration & armistice with Cuban rebels.
- B. McKinley and Wall Street not eager for war but yellow press forced the issue
  - 1. McKinley did not want war but was savagely criticized by jingoists e.g. TR.
    - McKinley did not believe Cuban independence was in U.S. long-term interests.
  - 2. Mark Hanna and Wall Street did not want war: might interfere with trade in Cuba.
  - 3. Public, prodded by yellow press, demanded war to free the abused Cubans.
  - 4. Demands of preserving Republican party biggest factor in decision for war.
- C. McKinley sent war message to Congress on April 11, 1898.
  - 1. Urged armed intervention to free oppressed Cubans; Congress agreed
  - 2. Teller Amendment -- Proclaimed to the world that when the U.S. had overthrown Spanish misrule, it would give the Cubans their freedom. -- Europeans skeptical
- D. U.S. army small and weak compared to Spain; U.S. Navy slightly less powerful than Spain's
- E. Admiral Dewey victorious at Manila Bay
  - 1. While Secretary of War was away, Undersecretary of War Roosevelt cabled Commodore George Dewey to attack Spain's Philippines in the event of war. -- McKinley subsequently confirmed these instructions
  - 2. May, 1898, Dewey's 6 warships sailed into Manila Harbor and destroyed all 10 of Spain's ten warships; 400 Spaniards killed & wounded; 1 American death (heat stroke)
  - 3. Germans arrived with 5 warships; more powerful than Dewey and he threatened German commander with war as soon as you like -- they backed down [False story emerged that British prevented Germans from destroying U.S. fleet.]
  - 4. Three months later, American troops finally arrived and captured Manila in August.
    - Aided by Filipino insurgents commanded by their well-educated, part-Chinese leader, Emilio Aguinaldo (brought in from exile).
  - 5. After U.S. annexation of Philippines, Aguinaldo led an insurrection against the U.S.

## Annexation of Hawaii (July 1898)

- 1. U.S. used the pretense of needing Hawaii as a coaling and provisioning way station, in order to send supplies and reinforcements to Dewey in Manila Harbor.
- 2. White-dominated govt in Hawaii eager to be annexed (like Texas earlier)
- 3. Joint resolution of annexation rushed through Congress and approved by McKinley
  - Hawaiians granted U.S. citizenship and received full territorial status in 1900.

## U.S. invasion of Cuba and Puerto Rico

1. Spanish fleet eventually landed at bottle-shaped Santiago Harbor where they were promptly blockaded by the more powerful American fleet.
2. Invading American army took high ground near Santiago without serious opposition.
  - a. Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders part of the invading army.
  - b. Heavy fighting on at El Caney and San Juan Hill where Rough Riders charged up after the hill had been largely won.
    - i. Two black regiments provided heavy support (about 1/4 of invasion force)
    - ii. In actuality, the Rough Riders first took Kettle Hill; heavy casualties.
3. July 1, Spanish fleet completely destroyed
  - a. U.S.S. Oregon used more firepower than Spain's 4 armored cruisers combined. – About 500 Spaniards killed; only one American .
  - b. Santiago surrendered by Spain shortly thereafter.
4. U.S. casualties: about 379 dead in battle; over 5,000 dead due to disease

## U.S. Army invaded Puerto Rico

1. U.S. sought to take the island before the war with Spain ended.
2. Most of population regarded U.S. soldiers as liberating heroes.
3. Spain signed Armistice on August 12, 1898.

## Treaty of Paris, 1898

1. Cuba freed from Spain
2. U.S. received Pacific island of Guam which they had captured early in the war.
3. U.S. gained Puerto Rico, the last vestige of Spain's American empire.
4. Philippine issue a major dilemma in the negotiations.
  - a. U.S. took Manila the day after Spain sued for peace
    - i. Philippines thus not one of the spoils of war.
    - ii. U.S. agreed to pay Spain \$20 million.
  - b. McKinley's dilemma
    - i. Valuable Philippines larger than British Isles; population of 7 million.
    - ii. Did not feel U.S. should give islands back to Spain esp. after fighting a war to free Cuba.
    - iii. If left alone, Philippines might fall into anarchy
      - Perhaps Germany would then seize it creating a world war.
    - iv. Least of evils was to take Philippines and leave independence for later.

## Imperialism debate touched off by spoils of Spanish American War

Insular Cases: The Constitution did not follow the flag.

## The question of Cuban independence

1. U.S. military govt set up under General Leonard Wood (Rough Riders)
  - a. Major advances achieved in gov't, finance, education, agriculture, and public health.
  - b. Gains made on yellow fever epidemic by Dr. Walter Reed.
2. U.S. withdrew from Cuba in 1902 in honor of the Teller Amendment.
3. Platt Amendment
  - a. Mechanism to ensure that Cuba would not be vulnerable to foreign powers and to maintain U.S. influence in Cuban affairs.
  - b. Cubans forced to write Platt Amendment into their own Constitution of 1901
  - c. Provisions:
    - i. Cuba bound itself not to impair their independence by treaty or by contracting a debt beyond their resources.
      - U.S. govt had right to approve all Cuban treaties.
    - ii. U.S. might intervene with troops to restore order and to provide mutual protection.
    - iii. Cubans promised to sell or lease needed coaling or naval stations.
      - Guantanamo Bay Naval Base still controlled by U.S. today.

## Post-war nationalism after the Spanish American War (splendid little war--John Hay)

- A. Established America's first overseas empire, albeit modest compared to contemporary European standards.
- B. European powers accorded U.S. more respect; Monroe Doctrine given a significant boost.
  - Latin America deeply suspicious of U.S. motives
- C. Britain became an ally while Germany grew more frustrated.
- D. Philippines drew U.S. into Asian affairs; later proved a liability to defend (WWII vs. Japan)
- E. Mahan's view of necessity for larger navy prevailed; U.S. undertook a large naval buildup.
- F. Elihu Root improved War Department; later important when U.S. involved in WW I.
- G. War served to further heal the rift between North and South; soldiers fought side by side.
- H. Nationalism the result of an urban, mass-culture, industrial society.

## Insurrection in the Philippines

- A. Filipinos assumed they would be granted freedom after the war, like the Cubans.
    - 1. Senate narrowly refused to pass such a resolution; Philippines became protectorate
    - 2. Filipinos were thus tragically deceived.
  - B. Open rebellion began Feb. 1899; Emilio Aguinaldo declared Philippines independent.
    - 1. More savage fighting and resulted in more casualties than Spanish American War.
    - 2. Filipino armies fled to the jungle where they waged vicious guerrilla warfare. --
- Infuriated American troops responded with atrocities
- 3. 4,300 Americans and 57,00 Filipinos dead
- C. Anti-Imperialists redoubled their protests.
    - 1. U.S. fighting to free Cuba, was now waging a war 10,000 miles away and depriving the population of their liberty.
    - 2. Atrocity stories boosted their protests (like Butcher Weyler in Cuba)
  - D. Insurrection finally broken in 1901 when Aguinaldo was captured.
  - E. McKinley appointed Philippine Commission to make appropriate recommendations in 1901.
    - 1. Led by William H. Taft who called Filipinos his little brown brothers
    - 2. U.S instituted education, sanitation, public health, and infrastructure reforms though Filipinos remained resentful..
    - 3. Philippines finally got their independence on July 4, 1946.

## Open Door Policy in China

- A. Foreign powers in China lured by huge Chinese market and missionary zeal.
  - 1. By late 19th c., Japan and western European powers had carved much of China into separate spheres of influence.
    - Within each sphere, on nation held economic dominance.
  - 2. Americans manufacturers feared Chinese markets would be monopolized by Europeans while American missionaries had a number of groups in China.
- B. Open Door Note (summer of 1899)
  - 1. Issued by Secretary of State John Hay (ex-Lincoln secretary)
    - U.S. at a disadvantage geographically compared to Russian and Japan and Americans feared they might get frozen out if they didn't act quickly.
  - 2. Urged all the Great Powers to announce that in their leaseholds or spheres of influence they would respect certain Chinese rights and ideal of fair competition. -- In effect, when any Great Power dealt with a foreign trader, it would observe Open Door.
  - 3. Open Door gained wide acceptance in the U.S.
  - 4. Policy did not gain international acceptance as it was weak and relatively short-lived.
- C. Boxer Rebellion (1900)
  - 1. Millions of Chinese enraged over Open Door Policy
  - 2. Superpatriotic group of Chinese Boxers killed over 200 missionaries & other whites. -- A number of foreign diplomats besieged in Beijing.
  - 3. Multinational force of about 18,000 arrived to put down the rebellion. -- Included Japan, Russia, Britain, France, Germany and U.S. troops (2.5K)
  - 4. Victorious allies assessed an indemnity of \$333 million (U.S. share \$24.5 mil)
    - a. When Washington found their sum excessive, remitted \$18 million.
    - b. Appreciative of U.S., Chinese govt set aside money to educate a select group of Chinese students in the U.S. as a gesture of goodwill. -- Students played significant role in westernizing the Orient.

- D. Hay announced in 1900 that henceforth the Open Door would embrace territorial integrity of China in addition to its commercial treaty.
  - 1. Sought to eliminate carving up of China with Boxer outrages as a pretext.
  - 2. Hay did not ask for formal acceptances.
  - 3. China thus spared partition during these years. -- Probably due more to distrust among great powers than Hay's policy.

## Election of 1900 and Theodore Roosevelt's ascendancy to the White House

- A. Election of 1900
  - 1. Republicans nominated McKinley
    - a. Had won the war, acquired territory, est. gold standard, and brought economic prosperity.
    - b. Platform endorsed prosperity, gold standard, and overseas expansion. -- Yet, between 60-88% of Americans were poor or very poor.
    - c. Theodore Roosevelt nominated as vice president.
  - 2. Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan -- Ill-conceived platform once again pushed for free silver
  - 3. Campaign similar to 1896
    - a. McKinley waged a front porch campaign
    - b. Bryan campaigned throughout the nation criticizing Republican imperialism and support of trusts; imperialism issue now passé.
    - c. Teddy Roosevelt out-campaigned Bryan and cut into his Midwest following. -- Claimed that Bryan would rock the boat of prosperity.
  - 4. McKinley d. Bryan 292-155 and by nearly 900,000 popular votes.
- B. McKinley assassinated in Sept. 1901 by deranged anarchist (Polish immigrant), Leon Czolgosz
  - 1. TR became the youngest president thus far in U.S. history at age 42.
  - 2. Roosevelt pledged he would carry out policies of his predecessor.
- C. Theodore Roosevelt
  - 1. 1st President to play a significant role in world affairs
  - 2. Imperialism in the Western Hemisphere: Speak softly but carry a big stick [and] you will go far
  - 3. Major proponent of military and naval preparedness.

## Panama Canal

- A. Spanish-American War emphasized need for a canal to connect Atlantic & Pacific
  - U.S. now had to protect Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines, & the U.S. merchant marine.
- B. Overcoming legal challenges
  - 1. Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 prohibited any country from securing exclusive control over an isthmian canal.
  - 2. Between 1878 & 1889 the builder of Suez Canal, Ferdinand de Lesseps, could not make a canal in Panama work. U.S. now eager to take over project.
  - 3. Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901)
    - a. Britain agreed to give U.S. right to build canal and right to fortify it as well.
    - b. Britain occupied with unfriendly Europe and South African Boer War.
  - 4. Colombian Senate rejected a treaty negotiated with the U.S. for a canal in Panama (which was part of Colombia); declared U.S. inadequate for such a valuable region.
- C. Creation of Panama -- gunboat diplomacy on part of U.S.
  - 1. French representative, Phillipe Bunau-Varilla, worked with Panama revolutionists to raise tiny patriot army and win independence from Colombia.
  - 2. Nov. 3, 1903, Panama revolution
    - a. U.S. naval forces did not allow Colombian troops across the isthmus.
    - b. Nov. 6, TR extended recognition of Panama.
  - 3. Hay--Bunau-Varilla Treaty (November, 1903)
    - a. Bunau-Varilla, now Panamanian minister despite his French citizenship, signed treaty in Washington with Sec. of State John Hay.
    - b. Provisions:
      - i. U.S. would pay Bunau-Varillas's New Panama Canal Co. \$40 million.
      - ii. Zone of canal widened from 6 miles to 10 miles.
- D. Roosevelt's role in Panama issue became controversial
  - 1. Although American public initially saw Roosevelt's role in Panama as politically legitimate, TR in 1911 claimed I took the canal, thus sparking a wave of controversy.
  - 2. U.S. suffered diplomatically as Europeans sneered at apparent U.S. hypocrisy.
  - 3. Latin American countries grew weary of the Colossus of the North in the face of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and now Panama.
- E. Canal completed in 1914 at initial cost of \$400 million
  - 1. Organization perfected under Colonel George Washington Goethals.
  - 2. Colonel William C. Gorgas, made canal zone safe by using sanitation methods he also used in Havana.

## Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

- A. Motivation: TR concerned German & British bill collection violated Monroe Doctrine.
  - 1. Specifically, both Venezuela and Dominican Republic owed much money
  - 2. Venezuela Crisis, 1902 -- Germany sank two Venezuelan gunboats trying to seek forced payment for heavy Venezuelan debt to Germany. -- Britain also owed by Venezuela
  - 3. TR devised policy of preventive intervention (Roosevelt Corollary)
- B. Policy: In future financial crises concerning Latin American debt, U.S. would intervene, take over customs houses, pay off the debts, and keep European powers out of the Western Hemisphere.
  - 1. U.S. had moral obligation because it would not allow European nations themselves to intervene in bankrupt banana republics.
  - 2. Thus, U.S. became "Policeman of the Caribbean."
    - Contrasted with Monroe Doctrine that had merely told Europeans to stay out.
  - 3. TR's policy radical departure but its association with Monroe Doctrine helped it to gain public acceptance.
  - 4. More than any other factor, policy promoted the Bad Neighbor policy toward Latin America during these years.
  - 5. Policy eventually used to justify wholesale interventions and repeated landings of U.S. marines
- C. In 1905, a Dominican treaty gave U.S. supervisory powers over Dominican tariff collections. -- In effect, Dominican Republic became a protectorate of the U.S.
- D. Cuba
  - 1. U.S. kept high tariffs against Cuban sugar at behest of U.S. sugar growers.
  - 2. Resulting recession in Cuba combined with discontent over Platt Amendment led to a Cuban revolution in 1906.
  - 3. TR sent in Marines in 1906 who remained until 1909.
  - 4. U.S. troops would reoccupy Cuba in 1917 during WWI and remain until 1922.

## Russo-Japanese War (1904) and Japanese-American relations

- A. Russia and Japan went to war over issue of ports in Manchuria & Korea.
  - 1. Japan destroyed much of Russian fleet
    - First defeat of a non-European power since the Turkish invasion of 1500s.
  - 2. As war dragged on, Japanese ran short of men and money.
  - 3. TR eager to prevent either side from gaining a monopoly in Asia but did not seek war.
    - a. Concerned about safety of newly acquired Philippines.
    - b. Japan secretly asked Roosevelt to help sponsor peace negotiations.
- B. Treaty of Portsmouth (1905)
  - 1. Both sides met at Portsmouth, NH, in 1905.
    - a. Japanese demanded huge indemnity and all of strategic Sakhalin island.
    - b. Russians refused to concede defeat.
  - 2. Agreement: Japanese gained southern half of Sakhalin but no indemnity. -- Secretly, TR agreed to accept future Japanese dominance of Korea.
  - 3. For his mediation, TR received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.
    - Also for his helping arrange intl conference at Algeciras, Spain in 1906 to mediate North African disputes.
  - 4. Negative results:
    - a. U.S. -- Russian relations soured that TR robbed them of military victory. -- Savage massacres of Russian Jews drew U.S. protest
    - b. Japan felt robbed of its indemnity and blamed U.S. -- Naval arms race bet. U.S. & Japan in Asia resulted as mutual distrust grew
- C. San Francisco Schoolboard Incident
  - 1. 1906, 70,000 Japanese immigrants poured into California as result of dislocations and tax burdens caused by Russo-Japanese War.
    - Californians feared being confronted with another yellow peril and feared mongrelization of the races; formed influential Asian Exclusion League.
  - 2. Local San Francisco school officials ruled Asian children should attend a special school.
    - School system hard pressed in face of devastating 1906 earthquake.
  - 3. People of Japan furious over discrimination, highly sensitive to race issues.
    - a. Irresponsible talk of war sizzled in the yellow press
    - b. TR concerned of California starting a war other states would have to fight.
  - 4. TR invited entire San Francisco Board of Education to the White House.
    - a. Coerced Californians to repeal the order and accept what came to be known as the Gentleman's Agreement
    - b. Provisions:
      - i. Japanese agreed to stop flow of laborers to U.S.
      - ii. Californians agreed not to ban Japanese from public schools.
- D. U.S. -- Japanese Relations to 1920
  - 1. Fearing Japanese perception of U.S. weakness, TR sent the Great White Fleet on a highly visible tour around the world in 1907 starting in VA.
  - 2. Root-Takahira Agreement (1908)
    - a. U.S. and Japan pledged to respect each other's territorial possessions in the Pacific and to uphold the Open Door in China.
    - b. TR regarded the voyage of his fleet as his most important contribution to peace.
  - 3. Lansing-Ishii Agreement (1917)
    - a. U.S. acknowledged Japan's special interests in China through reiteration of its Open Door policy.
    - b. Aimed partially to reduce German influence in & around China in WWI.

## "Dollar Diplomacy" under President Taft (1909-1913)

- A. Two aspects:
  - 1. Using foreign policy to protect Wall Street dollars invested abroad (esp. Far East)
  - 2. Using Wall Street dollars to uphold foreign policy.
    - a. Sought to reduce rival powers e.g. Germany, from taking advantage of financial chaos in the Caribbean.
    - b. Thus, U.S. bankers would strengthen U.S. defenses and foreign policies while bringing prosperity to the U.S.
  - 3. Thus, Dollar Diplomacy supplanted the Big Stick
- B. China -- Manchurian Railroad Scheme
  - 1. Taft saw the Manchurian railway monopoly by Russia and Japan as a threat to the Open Door.
  - 2. 1909, Taft proposed that a group of U.S. and foreign bankers buy the railroads and turn them over to China under a self-liquidating arrangement.
    - a. Plan ill-conceived as Japan and Russia refused to give up important railroads.
    - b. Taft showered in ridicule.
- C. Caribbean
  - 1. Washington urged Wall Street bankers to pump money into Honduras and Haiti to keep out foreign funds.
  - 2. Ultimately, U.S. sent forces to Cuba, Honduras, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua to restore order.

## Imperialism under Wilson -- aimed to reinforce Western Hemisphere in the face of WWI.

- A. Although Wilson hated imperialism he eventually invaded more countries in Latin America than any other president in U.S. history (to protect U.S. lives and property in those countries)
  - 1. Kept marines in Nicaragua making that country, in effect, a U.S. protectorate.
  - 2. U.S. forces sent to Haiti in 1914-15 when Haitian president torn to pieces.
  - 3. 1916, U.S. marines sent to Dominican Republic when riots & civil war broke out. -- Debt-cursed country became a protectorate of U.S.
  - 4. 1917, U.S. purchased Virgin Islands from Denmark -- Caribbean sea increasingly now dominated by U.S. (along with Panama route)
- B. U.S. invaded Mexico in attempt to capture Pancho Villa.

(source for review outline unknown)

**American Imperialism Varying Viewpoints... some additional insight...**

Study the cartoons and discuss with your group how they compare to the first two cartoons, as well as discussing author's point of view.



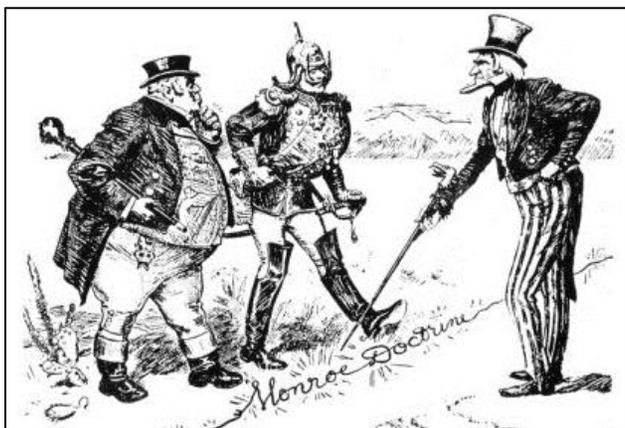
“Civilization Begins At Home” Liberty says to McKinley as he gazes at a map of the Philippines. A lynched African American hangs outside along with several corpses strewn about the ground. Liberty holds justice scale in hand.



Uncle Sam hands a naked boy (hat says Puerto Rico) new clothes which are essentially identical to Uncle Sam. Uncle Sam looks suspicious (eyebrow) and child looks curious



Barefoot, desperate children (labeled Puerto Rico, Haiti, and Dominican Republic) knock on the door of the U.S. Uncle Sam looks kind, but the eagle looks sinister.



Uncle Sam draws a line in the sand which reads “Monroe Doctrine,” Great Britain and German face off against him.



“Liberty’s Easter Bonnet” is a hat resembling a ship, titled “World Power” and the feather/smoke is titled “expansion.”



Three children representing Hawaii, Cuba, and Philippines celebrate the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, cartoon titled “Hooray for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July...”

Images captured from LibraryofCongress.org and Kidsworldhistory.com