

# Section 1

## The Imperialist Vision

### Guide to Reading

#### Big Ideas

**Economics and Society** In the late 1800s, many Americans wanted the United States to expand its military and economic power overseas.

#### Content Vocabulary

- imperialism (p. 262)
- protectorate (p. 262)

#### Academic Vocabulary

- expansion (p. 263)
- conference (p. 267)

#### People and Events to Identify

- Anglo-Saxonism (p. 264)
- Matthew C. Perry (p. 265)
- Queen Liliuokalani (p. 266)
- Pan-Americanism (p. 267)

#### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the development of the United States as a world power, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Imperialist Vision  
I. Building Support for Imperialism  
A.  
B.  
C.  
II.  
A.  
B.

#### TENNESSEE STANDARDS United States History

##### Performance Indicators State:

**7.1** Identify causes of American imperialism (i.e., raw materials, nationalism, missionaries, militarism, Monroe Doctrine).

**7.2** Identify consequences of American imperialism (i.e. Spanish American War, expanding trade, extractive economies, Panama Canal, the idea of a superior Anglo-Saxon culture, yellow journalism, military occupation).

During the late 1800s, the desire to find new markets, increase trade, and build a powerful navy caused the United States to become more involved in international affairs.

### Building Support for Imperialism

**MAIN Idea** A desire for world markets and belief in the superiority of Anglo-Saxon culture led the United States to assert itself as a world power.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you remember what role George Washington thought the United States should play in world affairs? Read to learn why Americans' opinions changed in the 1880s.

In the years immediately following the Civil War, most Americans showed little interest in expanding their nation's territory outside the United States or increasing its international influence. Instead, they focused on reconstructing the South, building up the nation's industries, and settling the West. Beginning in the 1880s, however, economic and military competition from other nations, as well as a growing feeling of cultural superiority, convinced many Americans that the United States should become a world power.

### A Desire for New Markets

Several European nations were already expanding overseas, a development known as the New Imperialism. **Imperialism** is the economic and political domination of a strong nation over weaker ones. Europeans expanded their power overseas for many reasons. Factories depended on raw materials from all over the world. No country had all of the resources its economy needed. In addition, by the late 1800s, most industrialized countries had placed high tariffs against each other. These tariffs were intended to protect a nation's industries from foreign competition. The tariffs reduced trade between industrialized countries, forcing companies to look for other markets overseas.

At the same time, the growth of investment opportunities in Western Europe had slowed. Most of the factories, railroads, and mines that Europe's economy needed had been built. Increasingly, Europeans began looking overseas for places to invest their capital. They started to invest in industries located in other countries, particularly in Africa and Asia.

To protect their investments, European nations began exerting control over those territories. Some areas became colonies. Many others became protectorates. In a **protectorate**, the imperial power

## Causes of American Imperialism

American imperialism had three main causes:

1. The belief in the superiority of American culture
2. The belief that the nation needed a large navy for security, with bases overseas
3. The belief that the economy needed overseas markets

### 1. ANGLO-SAXONISM

"The work which the English race began when it colonized North America is destined to go on until every land . . . that is not already the seat of an old civilization shall become English in its language, in its religion, in political habits and traditions, and to a predominant extent in the blood of its people."

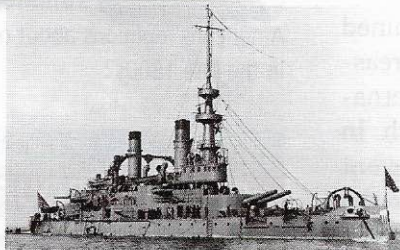
—John Fiske, quoted in *The Expansionists of 1898*



### 2. MILITARY BASES

"... [T]he ships of war of the United States, in war, will be like land birds, unable to fly far from their own shores. To provide resting-places for them, where they can coal and repair, would be one of the first duties of a government proposing to itself the development of the power of the nation at sea."

—Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*



allowed the local rulers to stay in control and protected them against rebellions and invasion. In exchange, the local rulers usually had to accept advice from the Europeans on how to govern their countries.

The United States noticed the **expansion** of European power overseas. As the United States industrialized, many Americans took an interest in the new imperialism. Until the late 1800s, the United States had expanded by settling more territory in North America. Now, with settlements finally filling up the western frontier, many Americans concluded that the nation

needed new overseas markets to keep its economy strong.

## A Feeling of Superiority

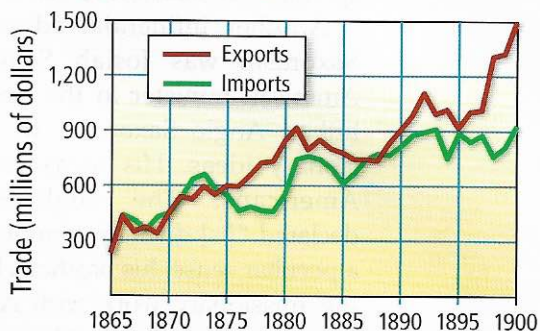
In addition to economic concerns, certain other key ideas convinced many Americans to encourage their nation's expansion overseas. Many supporters of Social Darwinism argued that nations competed with each other politically, economically, and militarily, and that only the strongest would survive. To them, this idea justified increasing American influence abroad.

### 3. OVERSEAS MARKETS

"[W]e are raising more than we can consume, . . . making more than we can use. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce..."

—Albert Beveridge, quoted in *The Meaning of the Times and Other Speeches*

#### Exports and Imports, 1865–1900



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

### DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Interpreting** Based on the quote above, how do you think Albert Beveridge would use the data shown in the graph to support his argument?
2. **Comparing** What is the difference between Fiske's support for expanding American power overseas and Mahan's support for establishing military bases overseas?

Many Americans, such as the well-known writer and historian John Fiske, took this idea even further. Fiske argued that English-speaking nations had superior character, ideas, and systems of government.

Fiske's ideas, known as **Anglo-Saxonism**, were popular in Britain and the United States. Many Americans linked it with the idea of Manifest Destiny. They believed the nation's destiny had been to expand westward to the Pacific Ocean. Now they believed the United States was destined to expand overseas and spread its civilization to other people.

Another influential advocate of Anglo-Saxonism was Josiah Strong, a popular American minister in the late 1800s. Strong linked Anglo-Saxonism to Christian missionary ideas. His ideas influenced many Americans. "The Anglo-Saxon," Strong declared, "[is] divinely commissioned to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother's keeper." By linking missionary work with Anglo-Saxonism, Strong convinced many Americans to support an expansion of American power overseas.

## Building a Modern Navy

As imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism gained support, the United States became increasingly assertive in foreign affairs. Three international crises illustrated this new approach. In 1888 the country risked war to prevent Germany from taking control of Samoa in the South Pacific. Three years later, when a mob in Chile attacked American sailors in the port of Valparaíso, the United States threatened to go to war unless Chile paid reparations. Then, in 1895, the United States backed Venezuela against Great Britain in a border dispute with British Guiana. After Britain rejected an American ultimatum, many newspapers and members of Congress called for war. All three crises were eventually resolved peacefully.


As Americans became increasingly willing to risk war to defend American interests overseas, support for building a large modern navy began to grow. Supporters argued that if the United States did not build up its navy and acquire bases overseas, European nations would shut it out of foreign markets.

Captain Alfred T. Mahan, an officer in the U.S. Navy who taught at the Naval War College, best expressed this argument. In 1890 Mahan published his lectures in a book called *The*

*Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*. In this book Mahan pointed out that many prosperous peoples in the past, such as the British and Dutch, had built large fleets of merchant ships to trade with the world. He then suggested that a nation also needed a large navy to protect its merchant ships and to defend its right to trade with other countries.

Mahan's book became a best-seller, helping to build public support for a big navy. Two powerful senators, Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert J. Beveridge, pushed for constructing a new navy. In the executive branch, Benjamin Tracy, secretary of the navy under President Harrison, and John D. Long, secretary of the navy under President McKinley, strongly supported Mahan's ideas.

By the 1890s, several different ideas had come together in the United States. Business leaders wanted new markets overseas. Anglo-Saxonism had convinced many Americans of their destiny to dominate the world. Growing European imperialism threatened America's security. Combined with Mahan's theories, these ideas convinced Congress to authorize the construction of a large, modern navy.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did Americans' opinions about overseas expansion change in the late 1800s?

### PRIMARY SOURCE

#### Perry Arrives in Japan

In 1853 Japan was a closed society. Its rulers had deliberately ended contact with the outside world, permitting only a small amount of trade with the Dutch and the Chinese. They were largely unaware of the changes the industrial revolution had brought to Europe and the United States. Perry's black steamships, belching smoke, and moving without any visible sails, were something the Japanese had never seen before.

The Japanese had cannons and guns, but Perry's ships carried 65 large cannons—a staggering number that represented immense power—and a direct threat to Japan's many coastal castles and towns. Perry's arrival carried different meanings for people living in the two countries, as shown in the two images to the right—one from Japan and the other from the United States.

# American Expansion in the Pacific

**MAIN Idea** The desire for new markets led to trade with Japan and the annexation of Hawaii.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What products do you use that are made in Japan? Read how the United States and Japan first became trading partners.

From the earliest days of the Republic, Americans had expanded their nation by moving westward. When Americans began looking overseas for new markets in the 1800s, therefore, they naturally tended to look toward the Pacific. Even before imperialist ideas became popular, American businesses had begun sending ships to trade in East Asia.

## Perry Opens Japan

Many American business leaders believed that the United States would benefit from trade with Japan, as well as with China. Japan's rulers, however, who believed that excessive contact with the West would destroy their culture, allowed only the Chinese and Dutch to trade with their nation. In 1852, after receiving

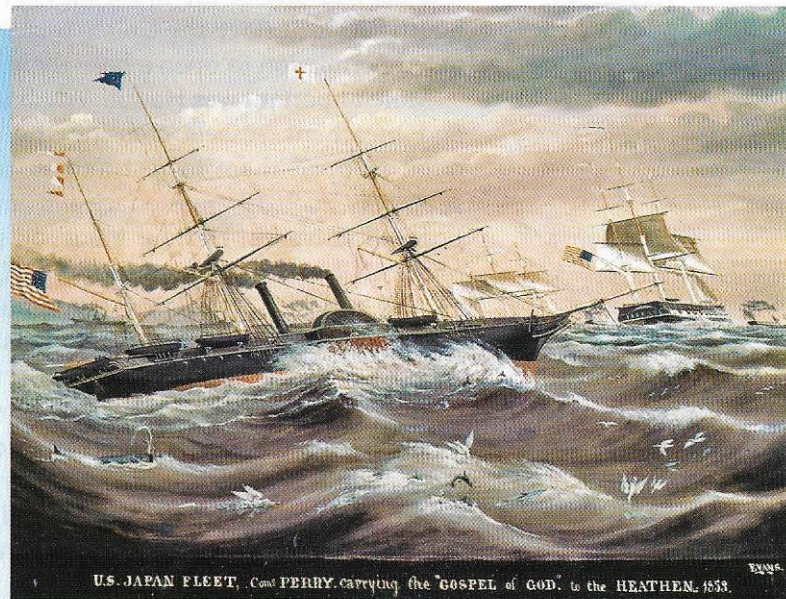
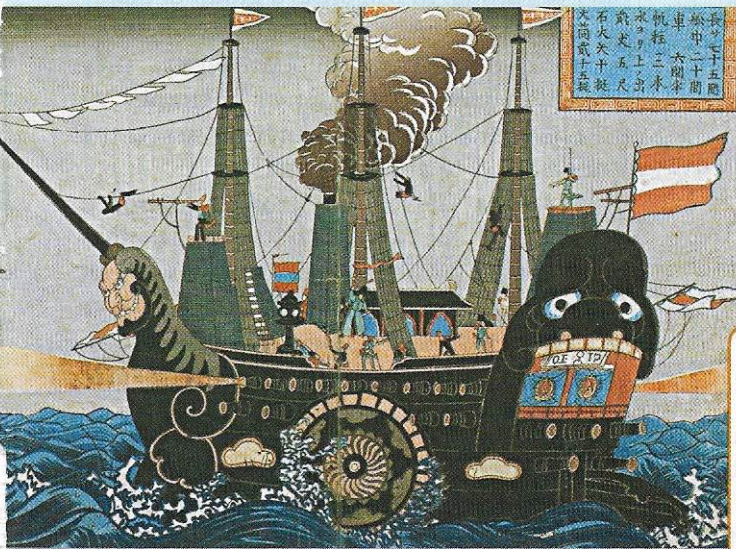
several petitions from Congress, President Millard Fillmore decided to force Japan to trade with the United States. He ordered Commodore **Matthew C. Perry** to take a naval expedition to Japan to negotiate a trade treaty.

On July 8, 1853, four American warships under Perry's command entered Edo Bay (today known as Tokyo Bay). The display of American technology and firepower impressed the Japanese, who had never before seen steamships. Realizing that they could not resist modern Western technology and weapons, the Japanese agreed to sign the Treaty of Kanagawa. In addition to granting the United States permission to trade at two ports in Japan, the treaty called for peace between the two countries; promised help for any American ships and sailors shipwrecked off the Japanese coast; and gave American ships permission to buy supplies such as wood, water, food, and coal in the Japanese ports.

The American decision forcing Japan to open trade played an important role in Japanese history. Japanese leaders concluded that it was time to remake their society. They adopted Western technology and launched their own industrial revolution. By the 1890s, the Japanese had a powerful navy and had begun building their own empire in Asia.

► American painter James Evans entitled his work "Commodore Perry Carrying the Gospel of God to the Heathen, 1853."

▼ This Japanese color print depicts one artist's perspective of Perry's "black ships" that arrived in Japan in 1853.



### Analyzing VISUALS

- 1. Comparing** What elements did both the American and Japanese artists depict the same way? Which were different?
- 2. Making Inferences** What impression of the Americans does the Japanese image convey? What is the American painting communicating about Perry's mission?

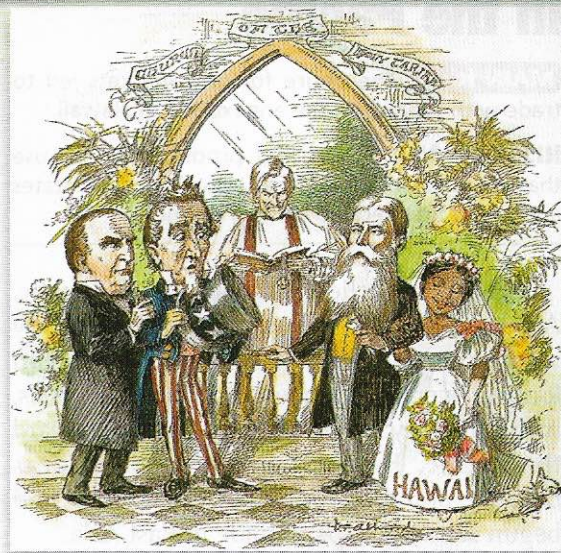
## Queen Liliuokalani

1838–1917

Queen Liliuokalani was the last ruling monarch of the Hawaiian Islands. A group of white sugar planters had forced her predecessor to accept a new constitution that minimized the power of the monarchy, gave voting rights to Americans and Europeans, and denied voting rights to most Hawaiians and all Asians.

As queen, Liliuokalani was determined to regain royal power and reduce the power of foreigners. On January 14, 1893, she issued a new constitution, which restored the power of the monarchy and the rights of the Hawaiian people. In response, a group of planters led by Sanford B. Dole launched a revolt. Under protest, Liliuokalani surrendered her throne on January 17. After supporters led a revolt in an attempt to restore her to power in 1895, Liliuokalani was placed under house arrest for several months. After her release, she lived out her days in Washington Palace in Honolulu.

**Why did sugar planters lead a revolt against Queen Liliuokalani?**



▲ Sanford B. Dole gives Hawaii, represented as the bride, to Uncle Sam.

For an example of American views on annexing Hawaii read “President Harrison on Hawaiian Annexation” on page R51 in **Documents in American History.**

## Annexing Hawaii

As trade with Asia grew during the 1800s, Americans began seeking ports where they could refuel and resupply while crossing the Pacific Ocean. Pago Pago, in the Samoan Islands, had one of the finest harbors in the South Pacific. In 1878 the United States negotiated permission to open a base there.

More important was Hawaii. Whaling ships and merchant vessels crossing the Pacific often stopped there to rest and to take on supplies. In 1819 missionaries from New England arrived in Hawaii. American settlers found that sugarcane grew well in Hawaii’s climate and soil. By the mid-1800s, businessmen had established many plantations on the islands.

A severe recession struck Hawaii in 1872. Three years later, worried that the economic crisis might force the Hawaiians to turn to the British or French for help, the United States signed a treaty exempting Hawaiian sugar from tariffs. When the treaty came up for renewal several years later, the Senate insisted that Hawaii grant the United States exclusive rights to a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

The treaty led to a boom in the Hawaiian sugar industry and wealth for the planters. In 1887 prominent planters pressured the Hawaiian king into accepting a constitution

that limited the king’s authority. As tensions mounted between the planters and Hawaiians, Congress passed a new tariff in 1890 that gave subsidies to sugar producers in the United States. The subsidies made Hawaiian sugar more expensive than American sugar. Unable to sell much sugar, planters concluded that the only way to increase sales was to have Hawaii become part of the United States.

In 1891 **Queen Liliuokalani** ascended the Hawaiian throne. Liliuokalani disliked the influence that American settlers had gained in Hawaii. In January 1893 she tried to impose a new constitution reasserting her authority as ruler of Hawaii. In response, a group of planters tried to overthrow the monarchy. Supported by the marines from the *USS Boston*, they forced the queen to step down. Then they set up a provisional government and asked the United States to annex Hawaii.

President Cleveland strongly opposed imperialism. He withdrew the annexation treaty from the Senate and tried to return Liliuokalani to power. Hawaii’s new leaders refused to restore the queen and decided to wait until Cleveland left office. Five years later, the United States annexed Hawaii.

**Reading Check Explaining** How did the search for new markets push the United States to become a world power?

# Diplomacy in Latin America

**MAIN Idea** The United States worked to increase trade with Latin America.

**HISTORY AND YOU** What products have you used that come from Latin America? Read to learn how the United States tried to expand its trade relations with Latin America.

The Pacific was not the only region where the United States sought to increase its influence in the 1800s. It also focused on Latin America. Although the United States bought raw materials from this region, Latin Americans bought most of their manufactured goods from Europe. American business leaders and government officials wanted to increase the sale of American products to the region. They also wanted the Europeans to understand that the United States was the dominant power in the region.

James G. Blaine, who served as secretary of state in three administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts to expand American influence in Latin America. "What we want," Blaine explained, "are the markets of these neighbors of ours that lie to the south of us. . . . With these markets secured new life would be given to our manufacturers, the product of the western farmer would be in demand, the reasons for and inducements to strikers, with all their attendant evils, would cease." Blaine proposed that the United States invite the Latin American nations to a **conference** in Washington, D.C. The conference would discuss ways in which the American nations could work together to support peace and to increase trade. The idea that the United States and Latin America should work together came to be called **Pan-Americanism**.

On October 2, 1889, Washington, D.C., hosted the first modern Pan-American conference, which all Latin American nations except the Dominican Republic attended. Blaine had two goals for the conference. First, he wanted to create a customs union between Latin America and the United States. He also wanted to create a system for American nations to work out their disputes peacefully.

A customs union would require all of the American nations to reduce their tariffs against each other and to treat each other equally in trade. Blaine hoped that a customs union would turn the Latin Americans away from European products and toward American products. He also hoped that a common system for settling disputes would keep the Europeans from meddling in American affairs.

Although the warm reception they received in the United States impressed the Latin American delegates to the conference, they rejected both of Blaine's ideas. They did agree, however, to create the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics, an organization that worked to promote cooperation among the nations of the Western Hemisphere. In 1920 the name was changed to the International Bureau of the American Republics. This organization was later known as the Pan-American Union and is today called the Organization of American States (OAS).

**Reading Check** **Summarizing** How did Secretary of State Blaine attempt to increase American influence in Latin America?

## Section 1 REVIEW

### Vocabulary

- 1. Explain** the significance of: imperialism, protectorate, Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism.

### Main Ideas

- 2. Listing** Use a graphic organizer to list the factors that led the United States to adopt an imperialist policy in the 1890s.



- 3. Describing** Why and how did the Americans force the Japanese to trade with the United States?
- 4. Explaining** Why did Secretary of State James G. Blaine convene the Pan-American conference in 1889?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Big Ideas** Do you think the United States should have supported the planters in their attempt to overthrow Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii? Why or why not?
- 6. Evaluating** How did trade with the United States change Japanese society?
- 7. Analyzing Visuals** Study the two images of Perry's ship on page 265. How do the artists' perspectives vary? Do you think the artists show any bias in their representations? Why or why not?

### Writing About History

- 8. Persuasive Writing** Imagine that you are living in the United States in the 1890s. Write a letter to the president persuading him to support or oppose an imperialist policy for the United States.

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