

# The Imperialist Vision

## Guide to Reading

### Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned how politics hindered reform efforts and how African Americans faced growing discrimination. In this section, you will discover how Americans began to shift attention from domestic issues to foreign policy and trade.

### Main Idea

- A desire for world markets and belief in the superiority of white culture led the United States to assert itself as a world power. (p. 295)
- The desire for new markets led to trade with Japan and the annexation of Hawaii. (p. 296)
- The United States worked to increase trade with Latin America. (p. 298)

- The United States began constructing a large navy to protect its international interests. (p. 299)

**Content Vocabulary**  
imperialism, protectorate

**Academic Vocabulary**  
technology, publish

**People and Terms to Identify**  
Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism, Alfred T. Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge

### Reading Objectives

- **Analyze** how a desire for more trade and markets led to political change between 1877 and 1898.

- **Cite** the motivations for and methods of American expansion in the Pacific.

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the development of the United States as a world power during the late 1800s, 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.
- II.
  - A.
  - B.

### Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

**11.2.7** Analyze the similarities and differences between the ideologies of Social Darwinism and Social Gospel (e.g., using biographies of William Graham Sumner, Billy Sunday, Dwight L. Moody).

**11.3.2** Analyze the great religious revivals and the leaders involved, including the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening, the Civil War revivals, the Social Gospel Movement, the rise of Christian liberal theology in the 19th century, the impact of the Second Vatican Council, and the rise of Christian fundamentalism in current times.

**11.4.2** Describe the Spanish-American War and U.S. expansion in the South Pacific.

## The Big Idea

**International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation.** As the pace of westward expansion slowed, many Americans looked overseas for new opportunities. Some viewed this as a chance to spread American culture and to help those they considered “less civilized.” Others believed foreign markets would help the economy. These feelings eventually led to the annexation of Hawaii and to the opening of Japan to trade. The United States also bought many raw materials from Latin America and hoped to increase the sale of manufactured goods to that region. As the United States increased its influence in overseas markets, it developed the need for a strong, modern navy to protect its international interests. By the 1890s, the United States was becoming one of the top naval powers in the world.

## Building Support for Imperialism

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

**Reading Connection** Do you remember what role President George Washington thought the United States should play in world affairs? Read on to find out how 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 and international influence. Instead, they focused on reconstructing the South, building up the nation's industries, and settling the West. Beginning in the 1880's, however, American opinion began to shift. More and more Americans began to favor expanding American power.

### ★ An American Story ★

On January 16, 1893, 162 United States Marines marched off the warship Boston and onto the shores of Oahu, one of the Hawaiian Islands. John L. Stevens, the American minister to Hawaii, had ordered the troops ashore. He claimed Hawaii's ruler, Queen Liliuokalani, had created widespread turmoil and endangered American lives and property. Stevens had other motives as well. He wanted to make Hawaii, with its profitable sugarcane plantations, part of the United States.

Stevens ordered the American troops to take up positions near Queen Liliuokalani's palace. Although the marines took no action against the Hawaiian government, their presence intimidated the queen's supporters. Within hours, the American settlers in Hawaii abolished the monarchy and set up a provisional—or temporary—government. On February 1, 1893, at the request of the provisional government, Stevens announced that Hawaii was now under American protection, and he hoisted the American flag over Hawaii's government buildings. Several weeks later, Stevens made his support for annexing Hawaii perfectly clear: "The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe," he wrote, "and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it."

—adapted from *A History of the American People*

John Stevens was not alone in his views. Many Americans cheered the events in Hawaii and favored expanding American power. Economic and military competition from other nations, as well as a growing feeling of cultural superiority, led to this shift in opinion.

**A Desire for New Markets** While the United States focused inward, several European nations were expanding their power overseas. This expansion became known as the New Imperialism. **Imperialism** is the economic and political domination of a strong nation over other weaker nations.

Europeans embarked upon a policy of expansion and imperialism for many reasons. By the late 1800s, high tariffs enacted to protect against foreign competition had reduced trade between industrial countries. Companies had to look overseas for places to sell their products. At the same time, the growth of investment opportunities in western Europe had slowed. Europeans began looking overseas for places to invest their capital.

To protect their investments, the European nations began exerting control over those territories where they invested their capital and sold their products. Some areas became colonies. Many others became protectorates. In a **protectorate**, the imperial power allowed the local rulers to stay in control and protected them against rebellions and invasion. In exchange for this protection, the local rulers usually had to accept advice from the Europeans on how to govern their countries.

As the United States industrialized, many Americans took interest in the new imperialism. With settlers now filling up the western frontier, many Americans concluded that the nation had to develop new overseas markets to keep its economy strong.

*"The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe . . ."*

—John L. Stevens



**A Feeling of Superiority** In addition to economic concerns, other key ideas convinced many Americans to encourage expansion overseas. Many supporters of Social Darwinism argued that nations competed with each other politically, economically, and militarily, and that only the strongest would ultimately survive. They used this idea to justify expanding the power of the United States 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, and were destined to dominate the planet:

“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.”

—quoted in *Expansionists of 1898*

This idea, known as **Anglo-Saxonism**, was popular in Britain and the United States. Many Americans saw it as part of the idea of Manifest Destiny. They believed that after reaching the Pacific Ocean it was the nation’s destiny 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 to Anglo-Saxonism, Strong convinced many Americans to support imperialism and an expansion of American power overseas.

**Reading Check Summarizing** How did Americans’ opinions on overseas expansion begin to change in the 1800s?

## Expansion in the Pacific

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

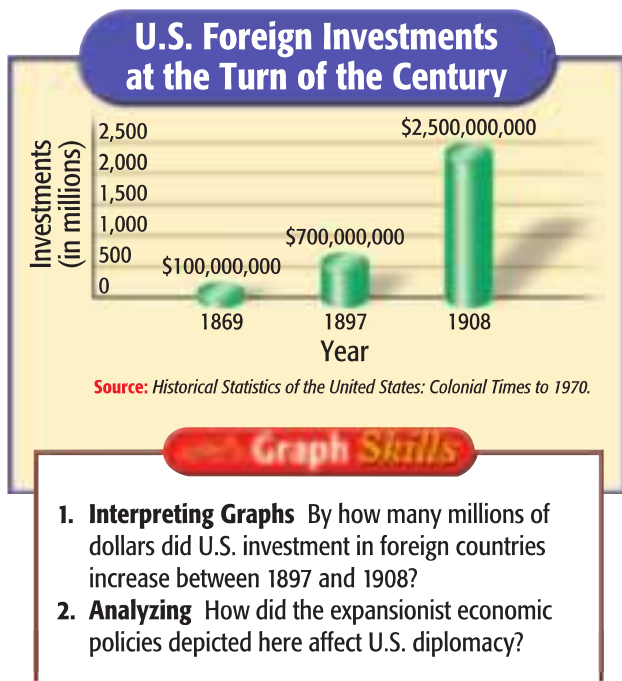
**Reading Connection** What products do you use that have been manufactured in Japan? Read on to learn how the United States and Japan became trade partners.

From the earliest days of the Republic, Americans had expanded their nation by moving west. When Americans began looking overseas for new markets in the 1800s, therefore, they naturally tended to look westward. Even before imperialist ideas became popular, Americans had begun expanding across the Pacific Ocean toward East Asia. By the early 1800s, dozens of ships were making the long trip to China every year.

**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, believed that excessive contact with the West would destroy their culture and only allowed the Chinese and Dutch to trade with their nation.

In 1852, after receiving several petitions from Congress, President Millard Fillmore attempted to persuade 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 Yedo Bay (today known as Tokyo Bay). The Japanese had never seen steamships before and were impressed by the display of American **technology** and firepower. Perry’s arrival in Japan forced the Japanese to make changes internally. Realizing that they could not compete against modern Western technology and weapons, the Japanese signed a treaty opening the ports of Simoda and Hakodadi to American trade on March 31, 1854.



The American decision to force Japan to open trade played an important role in Japanese history. Many Japanese leaders concluded that the time had come to remake their society. In 1868, after a long internal power struggle, Japanese leaders began to Westernize their country. They adopted Western technology and launched their own industrial revolution. By the 1890s, the Japanese had built a powerful modern navy, and they set out to build their own empire in Asia.

**Annexing Hawaii** As trade with China and Japan grew in the 1800s, many Americans became interested in Hawaii. Ships traveling between China and the United States regularly stopped in Hawaii to allow their crews to rest and to take on supplies. In 1820 a group of missionaries from New England settled in Hawaii. At about the same time, American whaling ships operating in the North Pacific began using Hawaii as a base.

The American settlers in Hawaii quickly discovered that the climate and soil of the islands were suitable for growing sugarcane. By the mid-1800s, many sugarcane plantations had been established in the islands. In 1872 a severe recession struck Hawaii's economy. Worried that the economic crisis might force the Hawaiians to turn to the British or French for help, the United States Senate ratified a trade treaty in 1875 that exempted Hawaiian sugar from tariffs. Several years later, when the treaty came up for renewal, the Senate insisted that the Hawaiians grant the United States exclusive rights to a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

The trade treaty led to a boom in the Hawaiian sugar industry and wealth for the planters. In 1887 prominent planters pressured Hawaiian King Kalakaua into accepting a new constitution that limited the king's authority and increased the planters' power. These developments angered the Hawaiian people, who feared they were losing control of the country.

Tensions between the planters and the Hawaiians mounted. Congress passed the McKinley Tariff in 1890. Although the tariff eliminated all duties on sugar, it also gave subsidies to sugar producers in the United States. Hawaiian sugar was now more expen-


### Picturing History

**American Imperialism** To open Japan to American trade, Commodore Matthew Perry led the U.S. Navy into what is now Tokyo Bay on July 8, 1853. This lithograph shows Perry's forces arriving in Yokohama in March 1854. [How did Perry's action affect Japan?](#)



sive than American sugar, despite the lack of tariffs. As sales of Hawaiian sugar declined, the islands' economy went into a tailspin.

In 1891 **Queen Liliuokalani** ascended the Hawaiian throne. Liliuokalani disliked the influence that American settlers had gained in Hawaii. In January 1893, she unsuccessfully attempted to impose a new constitution that would have reasserted her authority as ruler of the Hawaiian people.

Faced with the economic crisis and the queen's actions, the planters backed an attempt to overthrow the monarchy. Supported by the marines from the USS *Boston*, a group of planters forced the queen to give up power and set up a provisional government. They then requested that the United States annex Hawaii. President Cleveland strongly opposed imperialism. He withdrew the annexation treaty from the Senate and tried to restore Liliuokalani to power. Hawaii's new leaders refused to restore Liliuokalani, and they decided to wait until a new president took office who favored annexation. Five years later, the United States annexed Hawaii.  (See page 997 for more text on Hawaiian annexation.)

 **Reading Check** **Explaining** How did the desire to expand into new markets help push the United States to extend its influence into the Pacific?

## Relations With Latin America

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

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

Although the United States bought raw materials from Latin America, 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 recognize the United States as the dominant power in the region.

James G. Blaine, who served as secretary of state in two administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts to expand American influence in Latin America. Blaine proposed that the United States invite the Latin American nations to a conference. 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**. Blaine's idea became reality in 1889 when the Pan-American conference was held in Washington, D.C. Seventeen Latin American nations attended.

Blaine had two goals for the conference. He wanted to create a customs union between Latin America and the United States. A customs union would require American nations to reduce their tariffs and to treat each other equally in trade. Blaine hoped that a customs union would turn Latin Americans away from European products and toward American products. Blaine 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 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. This organization was later known as the Pan-American Union and today is called the Organization of American States (OAS).

**Reading Check Summarizing** How did James Blaine try to increase American influence in Latin America?

## TECHNOLOGY & History

### Modern Battleships

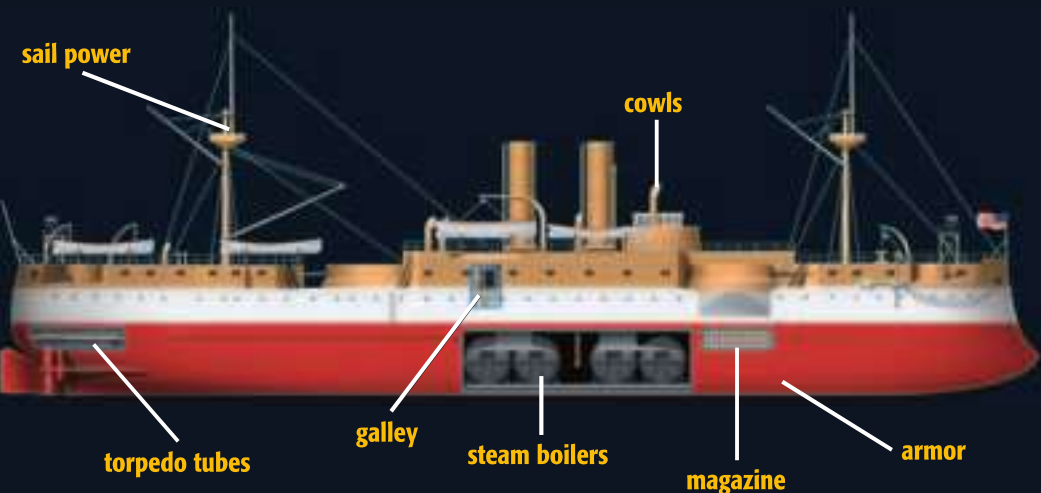
In the 1880s, the United States Navy modernized its fleet of warships. Moving away from wooden ships powered solely by the wind, the new navy constructed steel-hulled ships with steam-powered engines as well as sails. Probably the most famous ship of this era was the *USS Maine*, one of the U.S. Navy's first armored battleships (depicted at right). It was one of the first U.S. naval vessels with electrical lighting. It had a top speed of 17 knots and a crew of 392 officers and enlisted men.

**Which U.S. naval officer argued for the necessity of a modern navy?**

**1** The *Maine* was designed for **sail power** as well as steam, but the sails were never fitted on the ship.

**2** It had a maximum **armor** thickness of 12 inches.

**3** Eight **steam boilers** powered two engines.



**4** **Cowls** provided fresh air below decks.

**5** Food was prepared in the **galley**.

**6** Munitions were stored in the **magazine**.

## Building a Modern Navy

**Main Idea** The United States began constructing a large navy to protect its international interests.

**Reading Connection** Under what circumstances do you think the United States should go to war? Read on to learn about three instances when the nation nearly went to war.

As imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism gained support in the late 1800s, the United States became increasingly assertive in foreign affairs. In 1888, for example, the country was willing to go to war with Germany over control of the Samoa Islands. Three years later, the United States threatened Chile when a mob attacked American sailors in the port of Valparaíso. All crises eventually ended peacefully.

As both the American people and their government became more willing to risk war in defense of 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, it would be shut out of foreign markets by the Europeans.

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 had built large fleets of merchant ships in order to trade with the world. He then suggested that a nation also needed a large navy to protect its merchant ships.

Mahan observed that building a modern navy meant that the United States had to acquire territory for naval bases overseas. In the 1890s, navy warships burned coal to power their engines. To operate a navy far from home, a country needed bases and coaling stations in distant regions to refuel ships.

Mahan's book helped to build public support for a big navy. In Congress two powerful senators, **Henry Cabot Lodge** and Albert J. Beveridge, pushed for the construction of a new navy.

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 that they had a destiny to dominate the world. Growing European imperialism seemed to threaten America's security. Combined with Mahan's influence, these ideas convinced Congress to authorize the construction of a modern American navy.

By the late 1890s, the United States was well on its way to becoming one of the top naval powers in the world. Although it was not yet an imperial power, it had the power to become one if the opportunity arose. In the spring of 1898 the opportunity came when war erupted between Spain and the United States.

**Reading Check Explaining** Why did Alfred T. Mahan and Henry Cabot Lodge call for the building of a strong navy?

### HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to [tav.mt.glencoe.com](http://tav.mt.glencoe.com) and click on **Study Central**.

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: imperialism, protectorate, technology, publish.
- People and Terms** Identify: Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism, Alfred T. Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge.
- Explain** why Secretary of State James G. Blaine convened the Pan-American conference in 1889.

### Reviewing Big Ideas

- Identifying** What events in the world convinced Americans to support a large navy?

### Critical Thinking

- Evaluating** Imagine Hawaii was never annexed and the new Constitution was implemented in 1893. Explain how Hawaii may differ politically, economically, and culturally from what it is today.  
**CA HI.4**
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the factors that led to an imperialist policy in the United States in the 1800s.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Art** Study the picture on page 297. How is the U.S. Navy portrayed in relation to the Japanese residents of Yokohama? Do you think the artist shows any bias? Why or why not?

### Writing About History

- 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. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.

**CA 11W.1.3**