

Contents

Preface xvii

CHAPTER 1 *Explaining American Foreign Relations* Page 1

ESSAYS

Bradford Perkins • The Unique American Prism	2
William Appleman Williams • The Open Door Policy: Economic Expansion and the Remaking of Societies	7
Norman A. Graebner • The Pursuit of Interests and a Balance of Power	12
Andrew Rotter • Gender, Expansionism, and Imperialism	16
Michael L. Krenn • The Adaptable Power of Racism	21
Walter L. Hixson • Culture, National Identity, and the “Myth of America”	24
<u>FURTHER READING</u>	27

CHAPTER 2 *The Origins of American Foreign Policy in the Revolutionary Era* Page 30

DOCUMENTS

1. Governor John Winthrop Envisions a City Upon a Hill, 1630	31
2. John Adams of Massachusetts Explains French Interest in American Independence and Cautions Against Alliance, 1775	32
3. The Patriot Thomas Paine Demands Severance from the British Empire, 1776	33
4. The Declaration of Independence, 1776	35
5. Treaties with France Enlist an Ally, 1778	38
6. Treaty of Peace Secures American Independence, 1783	40
7. Federalist No. 4: In Union There is Strength, 1787	42
8. Foreign Policy Powers in the Constitution, 1789	44

E S S A Y S

Lawrence S. Kaplan • The Treaty of Alliance with France and American Isolationism 46

Robert Kagan • Revolutionary Internationalists Engage a Harsh World 53

F U R T H E R R E A D I N G 59

C H A P T E R 3

*The Great Debate of the 1790s**Page 61*D O C U M E N T S

1. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson Defends the Treaty with France, 1793 62
2. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton Urges Voiding the Treaty with France, 1793 64
3. Jay's Treaty, 1794 65
4. Virginia Senator James Madison Proposes Commercial Restrictions Against Britain, 1795 68
5. A Democratic-Republican Society Blasts Jay's Treaty, 1795 69
6. Hamilton Defends Jay's Treaty, 1795 71
7. President George Washington Cautions Against Factionalism and Permanent Alliances in His Farewell Address, 1796 73

E S S A Y S

John Lamberton Harper • Hamilton and Jay's Treaty: Triumph of Prudence and Logic 76

Peter S. Onuf and *Leonard J. Sadosky* • Jefferson's Blend of Realism and Idealism 84

F U R T H E R R E A D I N G 88

C H A P T E R 4

*The Louisiana Purchase**Page 90*D O C U M E N T S

1. Haitian General Toussaint L'Ouverture Bristles at U.S. Racism, 1801 91
2. President Thomas Jefferson Assesses the French Threat in New Orleans, 1802 92
3. Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, Explains the Need to Sell Louisiana to the United States, 1803 93
4. Robert R. Livingston, American Minister to France, Recounts the Paris Negotiations, 1803 96
5. Hamilton Debunks Jefferson's Diplomacy, 1803 98
6. Jefferson Instructs Captain Meriwether Lewis on Exploration, 1803 99

ESSAYS

Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson • Jefferson's Risky Diplomacy
of Watching and Waiting 101

Joseph J. Ellis • Patience, Deft Diplomacy, and Continental Empire 110

FURTHER READING 118

CHAPTER 5

The War of 1812

Page 119

DOCUMENTS

1. Secretary of State Madison Protests British Impressment of Americans
from the *Chesapeake*, 1807 120
2. The Embargo Act Forbids U.S. Exports, 1807 121
3. Massachusetts Federalist Josiah Quincy Denounces Calls
for War, 1809 122
4. The Non-Intercourse Act Replaces the Embargo Act, 1809 123
5. Shawnee Chief Tecumseh Condemns U.S. Land Grabs and Plays
the British Card, 1810 123
6. Kentucky Republican Henry Clay Articulates U.S. Grievances Against
Britain, 1811 124
7. President Madison Urges Congress to Declare War on
Great Britain, 1812 126
8. Former President Jefferson Predicts the Easy Conquest
of Canada, 1812 128

ESSAYS

Garry Wills • Economic Coercion and the Conquest of Canada: Madison's
Failed Diplomacy 129

Walter L. Hixson • The Patriotic War 135

FURTHER READING 139

CHAPTER 6

The Monroe Doctrine

Page 140

DOCUMENTS

1. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams Warns Against the Search
for "Monsters to Destroy," 1821 142
2. British Foreign Secretary George Canning Proposes a Joint
Declaration, 1823 143
3. Jefferson Advises President James Monroe to Cooperate with
Britain, 1823 144
4. Adams Argues Against a Joint Anglo-American Declaration in the
Cabinet Meeting of November 7, 1823 145

5. The Monroe Doctrine Declares the Western Hemisphere Closed to European Intervention, 1823 146
6. Colombia Requests an Explanation of U.S. Intentions, 1824 148
7. Representative William L. Brent Advocates Hemispheric Cooperation to Safeguard U.S. Slavery and Expansion, 1826 148
8. Juan Bautista Alberdi of Argentina Warns Against the Threat of "Monroism" to the Independence of Spanish America, n.d. 150

ESSAYS

- James E. Lewis Jr. • In Defense of the Nation and Hemispheric Republicanism 152
- Piero Gleijeses • Expansionist Ambition, Not Republican Ideals 159
- Ernest R. May • Domestic Politics and Personal Ambitions 165

FURTHER READING 172

CHAPTER 7 *Westward Expansion and Indian Removal* Page 173

DOCUMENTS

1. Representative Edward Everett Decries Removal and the Inhumane Treatment of Indians, 1830 176
2. The Indian Removal Act Authorizes Transfer of Eastern Tribes to the West, 1830 178
3. The Cherokee Nation Protests the Removal Policy, 1830 179
4. President Andrew Jackson Defends Removal, 1830 180
5. *Cherokee Nation v. the State of Georgia*: The Supreme Court Refuses Jurisdiction Over Indian Affairs, 1831 183
6. Cherokee Chief John Ross Denounces U.S. Removal Policy, 1836 185

ESSAYS

- Theda Perdue • The Origins of Removal and the Fate of the Southeastern Indians 186
- Stuart Banner • The Debate the Legality and Wisdom of Indian Removal 196

FURTHER READING 204

CHAPTER 8 *Manifest Destiny, Texas, and the War with Mexico* Page 206

DOCUMENTS

1. Commander Sam Houston Issues a Battle Cry for Texas Independence from Mexico, 1835 207

2. General Antonio López de Santa Anna Defends Mexican Sovereignty over Texas, 1837 **209**
3. Democratic Publicist John L. O'Sullivan Proclaims America's Manifest Destiny, 1839 **210**
4. President James K. Polk Lays Claim to Texas and Oregon, 1845 **212**
5. Polk Asks Congress to Declare War on Mexico, 1846 **214**
6. The Wilmot Proviso Raises the Issue of Slavery in the New Territories, 1846 **216**
7. Massachusetts Senator Daniel Webster Protests the War with Mexico and the Admission of New States to the Union, 1848 **216**
8. Mexican Patriots Condemn U.S. Aggression, 1850 **218**

E S S A Y S

- Anders Stephanson* • The Ideology and Spirit of Manifest Destiny **220**
Thomas R. Hietala • Empire By Design, Not Destiny **226**

F U R T H E R R E A D I N G **231**

C H A P T E R 9

Expansion to the Pacific and Asia

Page 233

D O C U M E N T S

1. American Merchants in Canton Plead for Protection During the Opium Crisis, 1839 **235**
2. Massachusetts Representative Caleb Cushing Bellows: "God Forbid Cooperating with the British," 1840 **237**
3. A Chinese Official Recommends Pitting American Barbarians Against British Barbarians, 1841 **239**
4. Secretary of State Daniel Webster Instructs Caleb Cushing on Negotiating with China, 1843 **240**
5. Webster Warns European Powers Away from Hawai'i, 1851 **241**
6. Instructions to Commodore Matthew C. Perry for His Expedition to Japan, 1852 **242**
7. Ii Naosuke, Feudal Lord of Hikone, Advocates Accommodation with the United States, 1853 **244**
8. Tokugawa Nariaki, Feudal Lord of Mito, Argues Against Peace, 1853 **246**

E S S A Y S

- Macabe Keliher* • Anglo-American Rivalry and the Origins of U.S. China Policy **248**

- Walter LaFeber* • The Origins of the U.S.-Japanese Clash **254**

F U R T H E R R E A D I N G **263**

CHAPTER 10
The Diplomacy of the Civil War
 Page 265

DOCUMENTS

1. South Carolina Senator James H. Hammond Thunders: "Cotton Is King," 1858 **267**
2. Secretary of State William H. Seward Presents "Some Thoughts for the President's Consideration," 1861 **269**
3. President Abraham Lincoln Proclaims a Blockade, 1861 **269**
4. Seward Warns the British, 1861 **270**
5. Senator Charles Sumner Taunts John Bull Over the *Trent* Affair, 1862 **272**
6. Seward Warns Europe Against Intervention in Mexico, 1862 **274**
7. Lincoln Redefines the Union's War Aims: The Emancipation Proclamation, 1862-1863 **275**
8. Ambassador Charles Francis Adams Protests the Iron Clads, 1863 **276**

ESSAYS

- James M. McPherson* • British Realpolitik Trumps "King Cotton" **277**
Howard Jones • British Intervention: A Very Close Call **286**

FURTHER READING **294**

CHAPTER 11
Becoming a World Power in the Late Nineteenth Century
 Page 295

DOCUMENTS

1. Future Secretary of State William H. Seward Dreams of Hemispheric Empire, 1860 **297**
2. President Ulysses S. Grant Urges Annexation of the Dominican Republic, 1870 **298**
3. Congress Calls for a Pan American Conference, 1888 **299**
4. Captain Alfred T. Mahan Advocates a Naval Buildup, 1890 **300**
5. Queen Lili'oukalani Protests U.S. Intervention in Hawai'i, 1893, 1897 **301**
6. Secretary of State Richard Olney Trumpets U.S. Hegemony During the Venezuela Crisis, 1895 **303**
7. Indiana Republican Albert J. Beveridge Campaigns for Office and Empire, 1898 **305**

ESSAYS

- Robert Kagan* • The Civil War and the Creed of Civilizational Progress **307**
Michael H. Hunt • Economic Primacy, Righteous Nationalism, and an Activist State **315**

<i>Fareed Zakaria • State-Centered Realism: How a Weak U.S. Government Inhibited America's Rise to World Power</i>	322
<u>FURTHER READING</u>	329

CHAPTER 12
The Spanish-American-Cuban-Filipino War
 Page 331

DOCUMENTS

1. Cuban Nationalist José Martí Cautions Against Annexation to the United States, 1895 **333**
2. Spanish Minister Enrique Dupuy de Lôme Criticizes President William McKinley, 1897 **334**
3. Senator Redfield Proctor Condemns Spain's *Reconcentrado* Policy, 1898 **335**
4. "Peace—But Quit That": Uncle Sam Defends Cuba's Feminine Virtue, 1898 **337**
5. "Another Old Woman Tries to Sweep Back the Sea": Critics Lampoon McKinley as Indecisive and Unmanly, 1898 **338**
6. McKinley Asks Congress to Authorize War on Spain, 1898 **338**
7. The Teller Amendment Disavows the U.S. Annexation of Cuba, 1898 **340**
8. The Platt Amendment Restricts Cuba's Independence, 1903 **341**

ESSAYS

- Walter LaFeber • Preserving the American System* **342**
- Kristin L. Hoganson • Manhood, Chivalry, and McKinley's Reluctant Decision for War* **350**
- Louis A. Pérez, Jr. • Derailing Cuban Nationalism and Establishing U.S. Hegemony* **358**

<u>FURTHER READING</u>	363
-------------------------------	------------

CHAPTER 13
Empire and Ambition in Asia: China and the Philippines
 Page 364

DOCUMENTS

1. Emilio Aguinaldo Rallies the Philippine People to Arms, 1899 **367**
2. The Anti-Imperialist League Defends Democracy Against Militarism, 1899 **368**
3. President McKinley Preaches His Imperial Gospel, 1899 **369**
4. The Open Door Notes Call for Equal Trade Opportunity and China's Independence, 1899–1900 **370**
5. The Boxers Lash Out at Christian Missionaries and Converts, 1900 **372**

6. Corporal Daniel J. Evans Describes the "Water Cure," 1902 373
7. Major Cornelius Gardner Recalls the Horrors of War, 1902 374
8. Governor-General William Howard Taft Envisions Partial Democracy for the Philippines, 1902 375

ESSAYS

Michael H. Hunt • The Open Door Constituency's Pressure for U.S. Activism in China 377

Paul A. Kramer • America's Race War in the Philippines 387

FURTHER READING 393

CHAPTER 14

Theodore Roosevelt, the Big Stick, and U.S. Hegemony in the Caribbean

Page 395

DOCUMENTS

1. New York Governor Theodore Roosevelt Champions the Manly Virtues of Overseas Expansion, 1899 398
2. Argentina's Foreign Minister Luis Drago Condemns the Collection of Debts by Force, 1902 400
3. The Panama Canal Treaty Grants the United States a Zone of Occupation, 1903 402
4. President Rafael Reyes Enumerates Colombia's Grievances Against the United States, 1904 403
5. The Roosevelt Corollary Asserts U.S. Police Power over the Western Hemisphere, 1904 405
6. A Latin American Poet Fires Back: Ruben Dario's "To Roosevelt," 1905 406

ESSAYS

Mark T. Gilderhus • Bravado and Bluster: TR's Sphere of Influence in the Caribbean 408

Emily S. Rosenberg • TR's Civilizing Mission: Race, Gender, and Dollar Diplomacy 414

Richard H. Collin • TR's Measured Response to Political Instability and European Encroachment 419

FURTHER READING 425

CHAPTER 15

Woodrow Wilson, the First World War, and the League Fight

Page 427

DOCUMENTS

1. The First *Lusitania* Note Demands that Germany to Halt Submarine Warfare, 1915 429
2. President Woodrow Wilson Asks Congress to Declare War Against Germany, 1917 430

3. Senator Robert M. La Follette Voices His Dissent, 1917 **432**
4. Wilson Proclaims U.S. War Aims: The Fourteen Points, 1918 **433**
5. Articles 10 Through 16 of the League of Nations Covenant, 1919 **435**
6. Wilson Defends the Peace Treaty and League, 1919 **436**
7. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Proposes Reservations to the League
Covenant, 1919 **441**
8. The Chinese Reformer Tsi C. Wang Recalls the Shandong Question
and China's May Fourth Movement, 1927 **442**

E S S A Y S

Thomas J. Knock • From Peace to War: Progressive Internationalists Confront
the Forces of Reaction **444**

Robert W. Tucker • A Passionate Visionary Stumbles into War **453**

Erez Manela • Wilsonianism and Anticolonial Nationalism: A Dream
Deferred **460**

F U R T H E R R E A D I N G **466**