

The populists always wanted a broad political coalition, but they mainly appeal to farmers, & mainly small farmers with little economic security, minimally mechanized operations, & rely on one crop. In the Midwest, populists are usually farmers who have a hard time holding on to their land. In the south, there are few landowners, but many sharecroppers & tenant farmers. However, all Populists are engaged in farming that is becoming less viable. They also are culturally marginal, isolated, so Populism gives them a community. They are notable for groups they fail to attract, like the Knights of Labor, which cause the party to call for shorter hours, immigration restrictions, & no private detective agencies as strikebreakers. However, populists don't attract much labor support, with the exception of miners in the Rocky Mountain states, & only because they endorse free silver, or silver & gold as a money supply. There were colored alliances in the South, but most white Populists only accept blacks if the whites stay in control, so there's not much interracial commitment. Many populist leaders are the rural middle class, some women. They produce the southern demagogue, in which Tom Watson & Jeff Davis attract support by arousing resentment of poor whites against the planter aristocracy. The Ocala Demands of 1890 & the Omaha platform of 1892 spell out their reform program that consists of subtreasuries, a network of warehouses, the abolition of national banks, end of absentee ownership of land, direct election of senators, regulation & government ownership of railroads, telephones, telegraphs, & a gov operated postal saving bank, graduated income tax, inflation of currency, demonetization of silver, & devices to improve the power of people in politics. Some are anti-semitic, anti-intellectual, anti-eastern, & anti-urban. Some leaders give an air of personal failure, brilliant instability, & communion with mystic forces. Ignatius Donnelly wrote a book on the lost isle of Atlantis, another claiming Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays, & Caesar's Column, which presented a bloody revolution & a populist utopia. Tom Watson, one a champion of interracial harmony, ends his career baiting blacks & Jews. Overall, though, Populists are rejecting laissez-faire, & raise a challenge to the direction in which industrial capitalism is moving.

In the 1890s, there was agrarian protest, depression, labor unrest, & party failure to respond to distress. Grover Cleveland taking office as the economy collapsed meant that the fed gov wouldn't help with the crisis. This led to heated political battles, & a campaign of 1896 that the future seems to hang on. The Panic of 1893 is the most severe to that time. It started in March, with the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad declaring bankruptcy, then the National Cordage Company, which all led to bank failures, contracted credit, & more bankrupt businesses. This was also caused by the weak purchasing power of farmers, who were the largest group in the population, along with depression in Europe, & rapid industry expansion. This showed how connected the economy was. It spread with startling speed, causing agricultural prices to tumble further. The highest level of unemployment to that point. There were improvements in 1895, but prosperity did not fully return until 1901. This caused social unrest. Jacob Coxey, in 1894, advocated for a public works program that creates jobs & inflates the currency. He marches with Coxey's Army, only 500, to DC, & are then arrested. Congress takes no action. To the middle class, this labor turmoil shows instability, so there's a crisis amongst the public. This panic also weakened the monetary system, which President Cleveland believed to be the cause of the depression. So the money question is the basis for dramatic political conflicts at this time. At the heart of this question is the basis of the dollar, which is nowadays based on public confidence in the gov. At that time, however, people believed currency was worthless if not backed by species. For a time, gold & silver were the basis for the dollar, called bimetallism. In the 1870s it changed to 16 oz silver to 1 oz gold. The commercial value of silver was much higher than that, so silver stops being coined. Silver coins were discontinued by

Congress in 1873, & few immediately objected. Then the market value of silver starts to fall, & is attractive for coinage. This demonetization of silver became known as the crime of 1873. The silver-mine owners were eager for this to be undone, as are some farmers, who see this as raising the price of farm products & ergo easing their debt. Inflationists demand free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. But by 1893, Congress had not responded to demands. Gold reserves are dropping, which Cleveland believes to be caused by the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890, which forced the gov to purchase silver & pay for it in gold. The Sherman Act is repealed, which causes a split in the Democratic party, so the South & West are permanently against him & his eastern followers. Supporters of the gold standard see it as vital to honor & stability, while supporters of silver see the gold as tyranny. William Harvey's *Coin's Financial School*, published 1894, showed the popularity of silver.

Populists didn't immediately pay attention to silver, but because of funding, it became important. The election of 1896 sees Democrats not dealing with depression, so Republicans are confident of victory. They nominated William McKinley, who had authored the 1890 tariff act in congress. Republicans oppose free coinage of silver except by unlikely agreement from other commercial nations, & at the convention, some delegates join the Democrats. Their National Convention is full of unusual drama, & want to incorporate populist demands, nominate a pro-silver candidate. William Bryan's Cross of Gold speech defends free silver, & he is nominated for president, making himself the youngest ever nominated. He is hailed as the great commoner, a symbol of rural, protestants, & middle-class. Populists expected the parties to have conservative programs, but the Democrats have stolen their thunder. They support Bryan. The campaign of 1896 causes desperation, because business & finance are concerned about Bryan & must support McKinley lavishly. He conducts a 'classic' campaign, but Bryan just travels & tells people he wants to be president, which may have done more harm than good, but established modern campaigning. Bryan carried the South & West, but McKinley won. The populists have lost, & dissolve, so farmers will never again unite so militantly for economic reform. McKinley's presidency starts with relative calm, & he wants stability & to ease the economic crisis, undercutting those who want change. Him & allies commit themselves to higher tariffs, & has the Dingley Tariff, raising duties to the highest point in American history. They consider silver with Britain & France, but with no agreement. The Currency, or Gold Standard, Act of 1900 confirmed gold commitment that assigned a specific gold value to the dollar. Prosperity returned in 1898. Note that there was a dramatic increase in gold supply in the late 1890s, or else a greater financial disaster would have occurred. Currency supply has, however, inflated a lot. Now there is concern for imperialism.

By the 1890s, they wanted to continue Manifest Destiny. Part of this is because of experience with Indian tribes, so they want to consider dominating over less people. There's a concept of "closing of the frontier", heralded by Frederick Jackson Turner, that produces fear of nat resources dwindling & a need for alternatives. The depression caused many to look for markets overseas. Social protest led to politicians urging aggressive foreign policy as an outlet for frustrations. Foreign trade became important in the late 1800s, because exports had grown to 1.4 billion by 1900. Some consider acquiring more colonies to further expand markets. There is imperialist fever in Europe, & the states do not want to be left out. Senator Lodge of Massachusetts says the states must not fall out of the line or march. Darwinism, or nations dominating the weak. John Fiske predicts in *Harper's Magazine* in 1885 that English will eventually control land not part of established civilizations. Then John Burgess' study *Political Science* &

Comparative Law of 1890 says Anglo-Saxon & Teutonic nations have the highest political talents, & must uplift the unfortunate. Then Alfred Thayer Mahan, the most effective apostle of imperialism, wrote *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* 1890 that says countries with sea power are the great nations. Prerequisites for sea power include productive domestic economy, foreign commerce, merchant marine, navy to defend trade routes, & colonies for raw materials & naval bases. He calls for a canal to join the two oceans, & fears that the states cannot satisfy the role he imagines. James Blain, the sec state in the 1880s, organized the Pan-American Congress in 1889, a weak international organization. Cleveland has further interest in Latin America, such as how they supported Venezuela in a dispute with Britain in 1895, & ended up charging Britain for violating the Monroe doctrine, threatening war. Hawaii was important for China trade for a while, but in the 1880s, the US were looking at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu for a base. There are a growing number of Americans in Hawaii, so they want to get authority. Since 1500 BCE, Hawaii had a fairly self-sufficient society, with battles amongst ambitious chieftains. In 1810, King Kamehameha established dominance, welcoming Americans & helping develop trade. In 1830s, William Hooper from Boston established a sugar plantation. These imports become devastating to Hawaiian society because of diseases, continuously halving the population. Missionaries try to undermine native religion, & settlers introduce liquor, firearms, & commercial economy. By the 1840s, American planters are throughout the islands, & an American settler G. P. Judd had become prime minister of Hawaii, eventually agreeing to a constitutional monarchy. In 1887, the States gain access to a naval base at Pearl Harbor. Sugar had become the basis of the Hawaiian economy because it could enter the States without duties. This continued to displace native Hawaiians & build an Asian workforce, considered more docile than the natives. In 1891, Hawaiians elevate Queen Lilioukalani to throne, who wants to challenge American control, but is only in charge for two years. By 1890, the States had eliminated a chance for Hawaiian sugar in their trade, devastating the economy. In 1893, a revolution called on the States for protection, so the Queen yielded authority. There is a provisional government, & are finally annexed in 1898. The Samoan islands have also served as a station for American ships in Pacific trade. The Hayes admin, in 1878, extracts a treaty there for a naval station. Britain & Germany are also interested in these islands, & secure treaty rights, causing difficulty in power for a while, until a three way agreement that failed, ending with the States & Germany splitting the islands in 1899, compensating Britain with other Pacific territories.

There's a war with Spain, leaving America with a far-flung overseas empire. The Spanish-American war was a result of Cuba, which was all that remained of Spain's empire. Cuba had been resisting since 1868, but rebel again in 1895 by devastating the island & forcing Spain to leave. Concentration camps, which the American press called the general Butcher Weyer. This was all reported sensationally by the Americans, making it seem like only the Spanish were full of atrocities. This was opportune for newspapers. Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* & William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* were engaged in a ruthless circulation war, leading to yellow journalists generating American support for the revolution. Cleveland did not support intervention, but McKinley does. However, incidents mean no peaceful settlement in 1869. A Cuban agent found a letter by Dupuy de Lome, a Spanish minister, that described McKinley as weak, creating anger. Then the American battleship *Maine*, which was ordered to Cuba, blows up. It is assumed that Spain sunk the ship. McKinley wants to avoid conflict, & in March 1898 asks an armistice, peace, & end to concentration camps. Spain will stop fighting & concentration camps, but will not negotiate with rebels & will resume hostilities. So the States declare war on Spain.

Sec of State John Hay called the Spanish-American conflict a splendid little war, which all except those enlisted seem to share. Declared in April & ended in August, American intervention was a bit of a mopping-up exercise. More Americans die of disease than of battle. But the soldiers face supply problems. The army was small & had experience in Indian outbreaks, but not larger-scale warfare, so they rely on National Guard Units, like in the civil war. There are racial conflicts because most of the American invasion force is black, & as they travel through the South, they openly protest restrictions. The war shows black injustice. The assistant sec of navy during Cuba was Theodore Roosevelt, who was eager for imperialism, & is minor but wants power. Britain persuades him to attack the Philippines, which leads to Commodore George Dewey attacking Manila Harbor in 1898, & forces the Spanish gov to surrender with little warfare, making him the first American hero of the war. Few notice that the character of war has changed from freeing Cuba to strip Spain of its colonies, so there's the question of what to do with all of these new lands. The war in Cuba continued after the Philippines because Spain slips into Cuba. General William Shafter, American, moves to Santiago to defeat Spanish forces. Roosevelt commands the Rough Riders, commanded in name by Leonard Wood, & he wants to be in the war because he is ashamed of his father not involving in the Civil War. He emerged as a hero, partially because of his boldness in battle. Shafter's army is weakened, but the Spanish already evacuated Santiago, & were further destroyed by Americans. The war ends on August 12, in which Spain recognized Cuba as independent, ceded Puerto Rico & Guam to the States, & accepted American occupation of Manila. Annexing Puerto Rico produces little conflict. It was part of Spain since 1508, so natives were long gone due to disease, so society developed with a Spanish ruling class & African workforce for coffee & sugar plantations that dominated the economy. As society became distinctive, there were uprisings against Spain, such as the Lares Rebellion. Slavery is abolished in 1873. Some independence in 1898. American military in charge until 1900, with the Foraker Act establishing a colonial gov: American governor with two chamber legislature, upper by the states & lower by Puerto Ricans. States can amend or veto any legislation. In 1917, the Jones Act declared Puerto Rico as States territory & Puerto Ricans American citizens. Their sugar market flourished without the tariffs. Farmers become paid laborers, so there's a reduction in food growing, meaning more dependence on imported food. When sugar prices high, Puerto Rico does well, but when drop, destitution. Puerto Ricans want independence, but some want to be closer to the States. Annexing the Philippines means long debate because it is a densely populated territory many miles away, so it seems much more ominous than just Puerto Rico. McKinley is reluctant to support annexation, but sees no acceptable alternative. The Treaty of Paris, signed December 1898 ends the war by confirming armistice on Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. American negotiators offer 20 million for the Philippines, which Spain is fine with. The Senate has fierce resistance because of an anti-imperialist movement. They include Carnegie, Twain, Samuel Gompers, Senator John Sherman, with various motives, like thinking imperialism is immoral, polluting American population, more cheap laborers, the large standing army, and competition. The Anti-Imperialist League, by upper-class in late 1898, has a widespread following and is against the Philippines. A variety of people favored ratification. Some see it as keeping the nation alive, dominating trade, and getting more territory, for they already have the islands. Past experiences with the Indians have already set a precedent for behavior towards these new territories. Then William Bryan, anti-imperialist, backs ratification so it can be a subject in the 1900 election, but McKinley is re-elected because of imperialism, prosperity, the Theodore Roosevelt, the vice presidential candidate.

The American empire is small compared to Europe, but involves America in more international politics and a war in the Philippines. Three American dependencies, Hawaii, Alaska, and Puerto Rico have few problems, and receive territorial status quickly. Cuba is a problem. American forces had to stay there for a while to prepare the island for independence, and lay the basis for American economic domination of the island. Cuba's constitution did not first reference the States, so Congress passed the Platt Amendment in 1901 which barred Cuba from making treaties with other nations, giving the States the right to intervene to preserve independence, life, and property, and requiring Cuba to allow American naval station in its territory, leaving Cuba with nominal political independence. American economy dominates the island, called Yankee imperialism, which Cuba occasionally revolts against, causing American troops to reoccupy the island. The sugar economy is subject to boom and bust. The Philippines is the least remembered of American wars, and is one of the longest 1898 to 1902 and most vicious, killing ten times the number of the Spanish-American War. The Filipinos were rebelling against Spain for a while, and then the Americans. Led by Emilio Aguinaldo, they fend off Americans for a while. Early 1900, General Arthur MacArthur sees that the Filipinos are loyal to Aguinaldo, which means they must adapt more severe measures. There are executions, concentration camps, and destruction of everything. The American public has soured its opinion of the war. In 1901, Aguinaldo was captured, who urged his followers to stop fighting and declared his allegiance to the States. Fighting continues, war intermittently, but the Americans possess the Philippines. 1901, William Howard Taft becomes their first civilian governor, preparing islands for independence and giving them broad local autonomy. Their economy becomes linked with the States. Americans make few investments, but trade grows so that the islands are almost completely dependent on American markets. On 4 July 1946, the islands gained independence. So the Philippines led to greater interest in Asia. European powers had been carving up China, so Americans fear losing Chinese trade altogether. They want in a world without war, 1898, the states want access to China. 1899, Sec State John Hay wrote the Open Door notes to England, Germany, Russia, France, Japan, and Italy, asking them to approve each nation with a sphere of influence in China respecting the other nations; Chinese officials collecting tariffs; and no discrimination between nations. This allowed the states to trade freely with China without fearing interference. This also allows for an illusion of Chinese sovereignty. England and Japan are fine, the others kind of accept, and Russia says no. Then the Boxer Rebellion, a secret Chinese martial-arts society that is natinalistic revolts against foreigners in China and Christian missionaries. The States intervention is important for ending this, winning support for the Open Door approach and causing others to accept compensation for the Boxer Rebellion, giving Chinese territorial integrity in name, and the states have access to lucrative trade. War with Spain showed the problems with the military system. McKinley appointed Elihu Root, a corporate lawyer, as sec of war to supervise an overhaul of the armed forces. Between 1900 and 1903, these Root reforms enlarged the regular army, created federal army standards for the National guard, a system of officer training schools, and a general staff as military advisers to the sec of war - the Joint Chiefs are to supervise and coordinate the army. An Army and Navy board fosters interservice cooperation, so the States start the twentieth century with a modern military system.