Answer the following questions as you read the primary sources on French, German and American Imperialism and colonialism.

**On French Colonial Expansion, PM Jules Ferry**

1. On what three grounds does Ferry justify French colonial expansion?
2. Quote two sentences you feel best identify French economic interests in colonial expansion.
3. Who are the ‘higher races’ Ferry refers to? Who are the ‘lower races’?
4. What ‘duty’ do the higher races have? How well do they perform this duty?
5. What makes nations ‘great’?

**Program of the Pan-German League, 1890-1898**

1. What is the subject of the Newspaper Ad from June 24?
2. How does the Pan German League see relations with Britain?
3. According to the PGL what are German’s ready to do? What is the reward they seek?
4. How widespread do you think this feeling was across Germany in 1890?
5. Divide the polices into two categories: economic/political and transportation/communication. How would these policies advance the cause of German colonial expansion?

**Albert J. Beveridge, Address to the Senate**

1. Who was Albert Beveridge?
2. What is the ‘mission of our race’ Beveridge refers to?
3. Who are the ‘children’ he refers to?
4. What challenges does Beveridge outline in the fourth paragraph?
5. Quote two sentences you feel best describe how Beveridge sees the role of the ‘higher races’, the English speaking, Teutonic peoples.

**Alfred T. Mahan, The Interest of America in Sea Power, 1897**

1. What is the ‘carrying trade’ Mahan refers to?
2. Why is it so important to the United States? Cite two examples from the sources to support your answer.
Jules Ferry (1832-1893): On French Colonial Expansion

Ferry was prime minister of France, [1880-1881, 1883-1885]. He is remembered, among other achievements, for a vast expansion of the French colonial empire.

The policy of colonial expansion is a political and economic system ... that can be connected to three sets of ideas: economic ideas; the most far-reaching ideas of civilization; and ideas of a political and patriotic sort.

In the area of economics, I am placing before you, with the support of some statistics, the considerations that justify the policy of colonial expansion, as seen from the perspective of a need, felt more and more urgently by the industrialized population of Europe and especially the people of our rich and hardworking country of France: the need for outlets [for exports]. Is this a fantasy? Is this a concern [that can wait] for the future? Or is this not a pressing need, one may say a crying need, of our industrial population? I merely express in a general way what each one of you can see for himself in the various parts of France. ... what our major industries ... [need more often] are outlets. Why? Because next door Germany is setting up trade barriers; because across the ocean the United States of America have become protectionists, and extreme protectionists at that; because not only are these great markets ... shrinking, becoming more and more difficult to access, but these great states are beginning to pour into our own markets products not seen here before. ... Today, as you know, competition, the law of supply and demand, freedom of trade, the effects of speculation, all radiate in a circle that reaches to the ends of the earth .... That is a ... great economic difficulty ... It is so serious ... that the least informed people must already foresee, ... the time when the great South American market that has, ... belonged to us for [a long time] will be disputed and perhaps taken away from us by North American products. Nothing is more serious; there can be no graver social problem; and these matters are linked [very closely] to colonial policy.

Gentlemen, we must speak more loudly and more honestly! We must say openly that the superior races have a right because they have a duty. They have the duty to civilize the inferior races .... In the history of earlier centuries these duties, gentlemen, have often been misunderstood; and certainly when the Spanish soldiers and explorers introduced slavery into Central America, they did not fulfill their duty as men of a higher race ... But, in our time, I maintain that European nations acquit themselves with generosity, with grandeur, and with sincerity of this superior civilizing duty.

I say that the French policy of colonial expansion, was inspired by... the fact that a navy such as ours cannot do without safe harbors, defenses, supply centers on the high seas .... Are you unaware of this? Look at a map of the world.

Gentlemen, these are considerations that merit the full attention of patriots. The conditions of naval warfare have greatly changed .... At present, as you know, a warship, however perfect its design, cannot carry more than two weeks' supply of coal; and a vessel without coal is a wreck on the high seas, ... Hence the need to have places of supply, shelters, ports for defense and provisioning.... And that is why we needed Tunisia; that is why we needed Saigon and Indochina; that is why we need Madagascar... and why we shall never leave them! ... Gentlemen, in Europe such as it is today, in this competition of the many rivals we see rising up around us, some by military or naval improvements, others by the prodigious development of a constantly growing population; in a Europe... such as this, a policy of withdrawal or abstention is simply the high road to decadence! In our time nations are great only through the activity they deploy; it is not by spreading the peaceable light of their institutions ... that they are great, in the present day.

Spreading light without acting, without taking part in the affairs of the world, keeping out of all European alliances and seeing as a trap, an adventure, all expansion into Africa or the Orient-for a great nation to live this way, believe me, is to abdicate and, in less time than you may think, to sink from the first rank to the third and fourth.

Modern History Sourcebook
http://www.fordham.edu/Halsall/mod/1884ferry.asp
Program of the Pan-German League,
1890-1898

Germany Awake! (Newspaper Advertisement), June 24, 1890:
The diplomacy of the English works swiftly and secretly. What they created burst in the face of the astonished world on June 18th like a bomb—the German-English African Treaty. With one stroke of the pen—the hope of a great German colonial empire was ruined! Shall this treaty really be? No, no and again no! The German people must arise as one and declare that this treaty is unacceptable! . . .The treaty with England harms our interests and wounds our honor; this time it dares not become a reality! We are ready at the call of our Kaiser to step into the ranks and allow ourselves dumbly and obediently to be led against the enemy's shots, but we may also demand in exchange that the reward come to us which is worth the sacrifice, and this reward is: that we shall be a conquering people which takes its portion of the world itself! Deutschland wach auf!

Letter of Dr. Hugenberg, August 1, 1890
There are also still larger territories—one need only think of Central Sudan, the natural hinterland of the Cameroons, the fate of which has not as yet been settled by any treaty. He who seizes these territories quickest and holds fast the most tenaciously will possess them. Does not everything, and especially the slowness with which the German government moves to assert itself in colonial affairs, point to the fact that our fatherland, be it from one side or the other, will not be spared a new war if it wishes only to maintain the position which it won in 1870? The official memoir which has just appeared concerning the motives of the Anglo-German treaty, leaves no doubt but that a certain indifference to colonial expansion exists in official places. In a tone of contempt it has been said that "the period of hissing the flag and shooting at the treaty must now be ended!" Similar reverses can be prevented in the future only if foreign countries deal with a sensitive German nationalism!

Policies of the Pan-German League, 1898
1. Laying of a cable from Kiachow [China] to Port Arthur [Dairen, in Manchuria], with connection with the Russian-Siberian cable.


4. German coaling and cable stations in the Red Sea, the West Indies, and near Singapore.

5. Complete possession of Samoa.

6. More subsidized German steamship lines to Kiaochow and Korea.

7. Understanding with France, Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands about the laying of an independent cable from West Africa through the Congo to German East Africa, Madagascar, Batavia, and Tongkin to Kiaochow.

8. Development of harbor of Swakopmund [in German Southwest Africa] and railroads to Windhoek [the capital of the territory].

9. Securing of concessions for commerce and industry in Asia Minor. . .

22. Increase in the number of German consulates in the Levant, Far East, South Africa, Central & South America. . .
Albert J. Beveridge
Address to the Senate

Beveridge's speech to the Senate, given on January 9, 1900 in support of a resolution to retain control of the Philippine Islands, illustrates the viewpoint of a particularly important American imperialist.

The Philippines are ours forever," territory belonging to the United States," as the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. We will not repudiate our duty in the archipelago. We will not abandon our opportunity in the Orient. We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustee, under God, of the civilization of the world. And we will move forward to our work, not howling out regrets like slaves whipped to their burdens, but with gratitude for a task worthy of our strength, and thanksgiving to Almighty God that he has marked us as his chosen people, henceforth to lead in the regeneration of the world …

...The power that rules the Pacific … is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic...

... it would be better to abandon this combined garden and Gibraltar of the Pacific, and count our blood and treasure already spent a profitable loss, than to apply any academic arrangement of self-government to these children. They are not capable of self-government. How could they be? They are not of a self-governing race. They are Orientals, Malays, instructed by Spaniards in the latter's worst estate.

They know nothing of practical government except as they have witnessed the weak, corrupt, cruel, capricious rule of Spain. What magic will anyone employ to dissolve in their minds and characters those impressions of governors and governed which three centuries of misrule has created? What alchemy will change the oriental quality of their blood and set the self-governing currents of the American pouring through the Malay veins? How shall they, in the twinkling of an eye, be exalted to the heights of self-governing peoples which required a thousand years for us to reach, Anglo-Saxon though we are?...

Mr. President, this question is deeper than any question of party politics: deeper than any question of the isolated policy of our country even; deeper even than any question of constitutional power. It is elemental. It is racial. God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns. He has given us the spirit of progress to overwhelm the forces of reaction throughout the earth. He has made us adept in government that we may administer government among savage and senile peoples. Were it not for such a force as this the world would relapse into barbarism and night. And of all our race he has marked the American people as his chosen nation to finally be in the regeneration of the world. This is the divine mission of America, and it holds for us all the profit, all the glory, all the happiness possible to man. We are trustees of the world's progress, guardians of its righteous peace. The judgment of the Master is upon us: " Ye have been faithful over a few things; I will make you ruler over many things."
The interesting and significant feature of this changing attitude [increasing interest in overseas markets] is the turning of the eyes outward, instead of inward only, to seek the welfare of the country. To affirm the importance of distant markets, and the relation to them of our own immense powers of production, implies logically the recognition of the link that joins the products in the markets, – that is, the carrying trade; the three together constituting a chain of maritime power to which Great Britain owes her wealth and greatness. Further, is it too much to say that, as two of these links, the shipping and the markets, are exterior to our own borders, the acknowledgment of them carries with it a view of the relations of the United States to the world radically distinct from the simple idea of self sufficingness? We shall not follow far this line of thought before there will dawn the realization of America's unique position, facing the older worlds of the East and West, her shores washed by the oceans which touch the one or the other, but which are common to her alone…

There is no sound reason for believing that the world has passed into a period of assured peace outside the limits of Europe. Unsettled political conditions, such as exist in Haiti, Central America, and many of the Pacific Islands, especially in the Hawaiian group, when combined with great military or commercial importance as is the case with most of these positions, involve, now as always, dangerous germs of quarrel, against which it is prudent at least to be prepared. Undoubtedly, the general temper of nations is more averse from war than it was of old. If no less selfish and grasping than our predecessors, we feel more dislike to the discomforts and sufferings attendant upon a breach of peace; but to retain that highly valued repose in the undisturbed enjoyment of the returns of commerce, it is necessary to argue upon somewhat equal terms of strength with an adversary. It is the preparedness of the enemy, and not the acquiescence in the existing state of things, that now holds back the armies of Europe…

When the Isthmus of Panama is pierced, this isolation will pass away, and with it the indifference of foreign nations. From wheresoever they come in whithersoever they afterward go, all ships that use the canal will pass through the Caribbean. Whatever the effect produced on the prosperity of the adjacent continent and islands by the thousand wants attendant upon maritime activity, around such a focus of trade will center large commercial and political interests. To protect and develop its own, each nation will seek points of support and means of influence in a quarter where the United States always has been jealously sensitive to the intrusion of European powers. The precise value of the Monroe Doctrine is understood very loosely by most Americans, but the effect of the familiar phrase has been to develop a national sensitiveness, which is a more frequent cause of war than material interests; and over disputes caused by such feelings there will preside none of the calming influence due to the moral authority of international law, with its recognized principles, for the points in dispute will be of policy, of interest, not conceded right. Already France and Great Britain are giving to ports held by them a degree of artificial strength uncalled for by their present importance. They look to the near future. Among the islands and on the mainland there are many positions of great importance, held now by weak or unstable states. Is the United States willing to see them sold to a powerful rival? But what right will she invoke against the transfer? She can allege but one, – that of her reasonable policy supported by her might.