

UNIT

# 6 Imperialism and Progressivism

1890–1919

## Why It Matters

*As the United States entered the twentieth century, it grew to become a world power. While the nation was expanding its territory into other parts of the world, conditions at home gave rise to a widespread Progressive movement. This movement worked for various reforms in government, business, and society. While Americans focused on their own country, Europe slid into a devastating world war that eventually involved the United States as well. These crucial years of domestic change and foreign conflict provided important foundations for the world you live in today. The following resources offer more information about this period in American history.*

### Primary Sources Library

See pages 1052–1053 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 6.

 Use the **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** to find additional primary sources about imperialism and progressivism.



World War I pin

*American Troops Arriving in Paris July 14, 1918*  
by J.F. Boucher



*“It is hard to fail, but it is worse never to have tried to succeed.”*

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1899



CONTENTS

# Becoming a World Power

1872–1912

## Why It Matters

During this era, economic and military competition from world powers convinced the United States it must be a world power. The United States became an empire when it acquired the Philippines and territory in the Caribbean. American influence in Central and South America grew as the United States took a more active role in Latin American affairs.

## The Impact Today

Events of this time continue to influence American politics.

- The United States continues to use its navy to protect its overseas interests.
- The Panama Canal serves as a major route for international commerce.
- Puerto Rico remains tied to the United States as a commonwealth.



**The American Vision Video** The Chapter 17 video, “Teddy Roosevelt and Yellow Journalism,” chronicles the events leading to the United States becoming a world power.



**1872**  
• Victoria Claflin Woodhull becomes first female candidate for U.S. president



**1881**  
• President Garfield assassinated by Charles Guiteau

**1889**  
• First Pan-American conference



Grant  
1869–1877

Hayes  
1877–1881

Garfield  
1881

Arthur  
1881–1885

Cleveland  
1885–1889

1870

1880

1890



**1874**  
• Britain annexes Fiji Islands

**1876**  
• Nicholas Otto builds first practical gasoline engine

**1880**  
• John Milne develops the seismograph

**1889**  
• Gustave Eiffel completes tower for Paris World Exhibit



Theodore Roosevelt leads the charge up San Juan Hill.

**1893**

- Americans overthrow Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii



**B. Harrison**  
1889–1893



**Cleveland**  
1893–1897



**McKinley**  
1897–1901



**T. Roosevelt**  
1901–1909



**1898**

- U.S. declares war on Spain

**1899**

- Hay sends Open Door notes

**1901**

- President McKinley assassinated



**1904**

- Panama Canal construction begins
- Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine issued

**Taft**  
1909–1913



**1900**

**1910**

**1895**

- Louis and Auguste Lumière introduce motion pictures

**1899**

- Boer War begins between Great Britain and South African Republic

**1900**

- Boxer Rebellion begins in China

**1904**

- Russo-Japanese War begins



**HISTORY**  
*Online*

**Chapter Overview**

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 17** to preview chapter information.

**CLICK HERE**

**CONTENTS**

# SECTION 1 The Imperialist Vision

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

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

### Key Terms and Names

imperialism, protectorate, Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism, Alfred T. Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge

### 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.  
II.  
A.  
B.

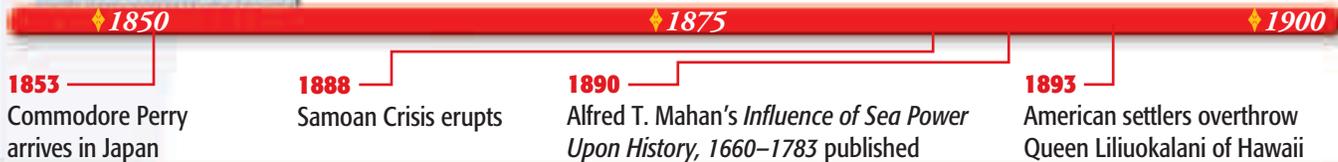
### Reading Objectives:

- **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.

### Section Theme

**Global Connections** America's growing trade with the world and rivalry with European nations led to a naval buildup and a search for territory overseas.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



John L. Stevens

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*

## Building Support for Imperialism

John Stevens was not alone in his views. Many Americans cheered the events in Hawaii and favored expanding American power elsewhere in the world as well. The American public's enthusiasm, however, was a relatively new phenomenon. 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 1880s, however, American opinion began to shift. More people wanted to make the United States a world power. Economic and military competition from other nations, as well as a growing feeling of cultural superiority, led to this shift in opinion.

## **ECONOMICS**

**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.

The Europeans embarked upon a policy of expansion and imperialism for many reasons. 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 industrial countries, forcing companies to look overseas for places to sell their products.

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 began investing in industries in other countries, particularly in Africa and Asia.

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.

The expansion of European power overseas did not go unnoticed in the United States. As the United States industrialized, many Americans took interest in the new imperialism. Until the late 1800s, the United States had always been able to expand by settling more territory in North America. Now, with settlers finally filling up the western frontier, many Americans concluded that the nation had to develop new overseas markets to keep its economy strong. "We are raising more than we can consume," declared Indiana senator Albert J. Beveridge. "We are

making more than we can use. Therefore, we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor."

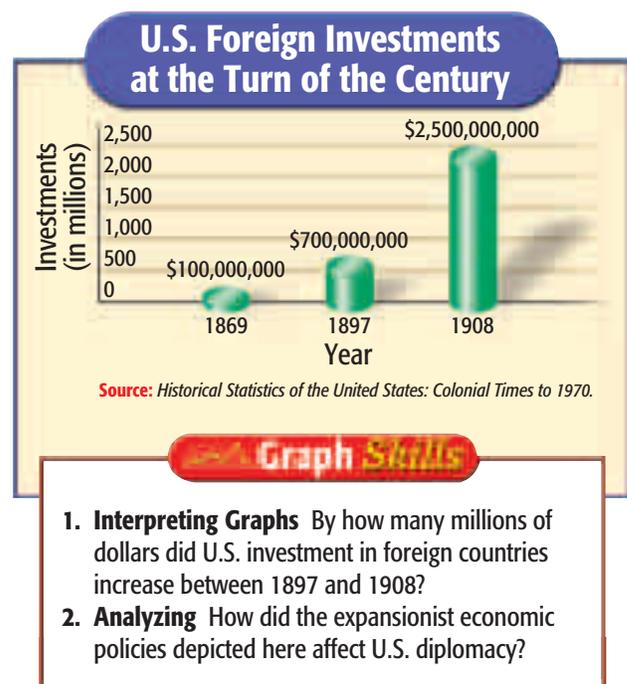
**A Feeling of Superiority** In addition to economic concerns, certain other key ideas convinced many Americans to encourage their nation's expansion overseas. Many supporters of Social Darwinism argued that nations competed with each other politically, economically, and militarily, and that only the strongest would 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 it had been the nation's destiny to expand west to the Pacific Ocean. Now they believed it was



## 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?



the destiny of the United States 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

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.

*Matthew C. Perry*

**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 Franklin Pierce 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 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 the Hawaiian king 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 expensive 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 *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 1073 for more text on *Hawaiian annexation*.)

**Reading Check Explaining** How did the desire to expand into new markets help push the United States to become a world power?

## Trade and Diplomacy in 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 two administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts

*Hawaiian Queen Liliuokalani*



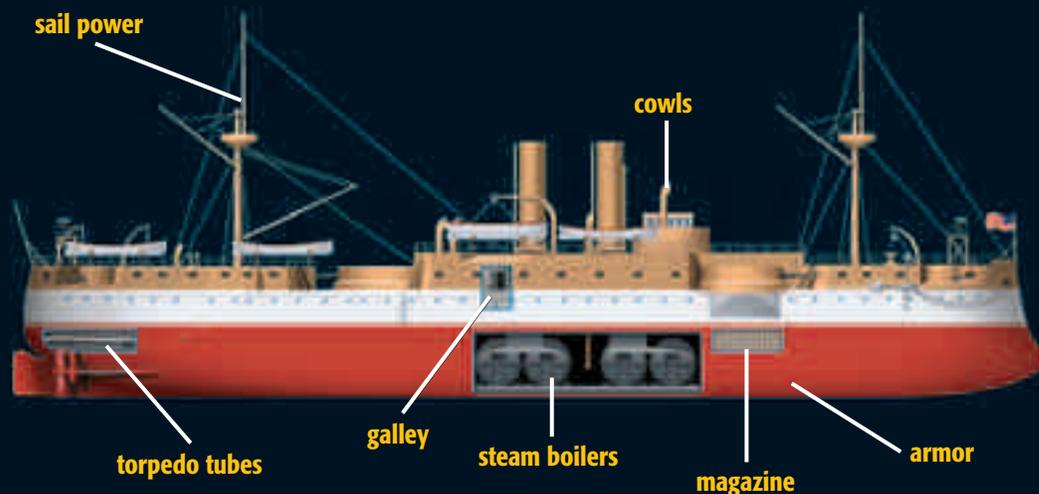
## Modern Battleships

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**.

to expand American influence in Latin America. 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**.

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, and 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. 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?

## Building a Modern Navy

As imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism gained support in the late 1800s, the United States became increasingly assertive in foreign affairs. Three international crises illustrated this new approach. In 1888 the country was willing to go to war to prevent Germany from taking control of the Samoa Islands 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 for the lives lost. Then, in 1895, the United States backed

Venezuela against Great Britain in a border dispute with the colony of British Guiana. After Britain rejected an American ultimatum to settle the dispute, many newspapers and members of Congress called for war. All three crises were eventually solved 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, such as the British and Dutch, 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 and to defend its right to trade with other countries.

After arguing that the United States needed a large navy, 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. This would allow the ships to be resupplied en route to their destination.

Mahan’s book became a best-seller, and it 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. 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—as did future president Theodore Roosevelt, who served as an assistant secretary of the navy in the late 1890s.

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 threatened 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. That opportunity was not long in coming. In the spring of 1898, 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 U.S. navy?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

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

### Reviewing Themes

- 4. Global Connections** What events in the world convinced Americans to support a large navy?

### Critical Thinking

- 5. Forming an Opinion** 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. Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the factors that led to an imperialist policy in the United States in the 1800s.



### Analyzing Visuals

- 7. Analyzing Art** Study the painting on page 522. How is the U.S. Navy portrayed in relation to the Japanese residents of Yokohama? Do you think the artist shows any bias in this representation? 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. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.

# Technology SKILLBUILDER

## Using an Electronic Spreadsheet

### Why Learn This Skill?

Electronic spreadsheets can help people manage numbers quickly and easily. Historians use spreadsheets to easily manipulate statistical data. You can use a spreadsheet any time a problem involves numbers that can be arranged in rows and columns.

### Learning the Skill

A spreadsheet is an electronic worksheet that follows a basic design of rows and columns. Each *column* (vertical) is assigned a letter or number. Each *row* (horizontal) is assigned a number. Each point where a column and row intersect is called a *cell*. The cell's position on the spreadsheet is labeled according to its column and row. Therefore, Column A, Row 1 is referred to as cell A1; Column B, Row 2 is B2, and so on.

Spreadsheets use standard formulas to calculate numbers. You create a simple mathematical equation that uses these standard formulas, and the computer does the calculations for you.



You can also create spreadsheets manually.

A1	B1	C1	D1	E1
A2	B2	C2	D2	E2
A3	B3	C3	D3	E3
A4	B4	C4	D4	E4
A5	B5	C5	D5	E5

### Practicing the Skill

Use these steps to create a spreadsheet that will provide the population densities (population per square mile) of the states in the United States in 1900.

- 1 In cell A1 type *State*; in cell B1 type *Population*; in cell C1 type *Land area (square miles)*; in cell D1 type *Population per square mile*.
- 2 In cells A2–A46, type each state's name. In cell A47, type the words *Total for the United States*.
- 3 In cells B2–B46, enter the population of each of the states listed in cells A2–A46.
- 4 In cells C2–C46, enter the land area (square miles) of each state shown in cells A2–A46.
- 5 In cell D2, create a formula to calculate the population per square mile. The formula tells what cells (B2 ÷ C2) to divide. Copy this formula into cells D3–D46.
- 6 Use the process in step 5 to create and copy a formula to calculate the nation's total population (B2 + B3 + B4 . . .) for cell B47.
- 7 Use the process in step 5 to create and copy a formula to calculate the nation's population per square mile (B47 ÷ C47) for cell D47.

### Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 543 and the Chapter 17 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

### Applying the Skill

**Using an Electronic Spreadsheet** Use a spreadsheet to enter your test scores and homework grades. Following the grading period, create an equation that allows the spreadsheet to calculate your average grade.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

# The Spanish-American War

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

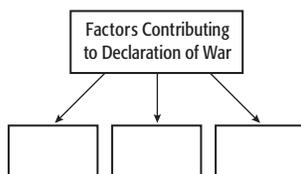
The United States defeated Spain in a war, acquired new overseas territories, and became an imperial power.

### Key Terms and Names

José Martí, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, yellow journalism, jingoism, Theodore Roosevelt, Platt Amendment

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the Spanish-American War, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the circumstances that contributed to war with Spain.



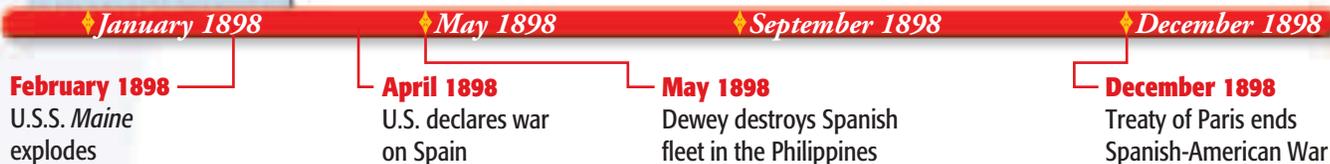
### Reading Objectives:

- **Describe** the circumstances that led to war between the United States and Spain in 1898.
- **Explain** how the war made the United States a world power.

### Section Theme

**Government and Democracy** The United States fought Spain to help Cubans gain their independence.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Clara Barton

Clara Barton, the founder and first president of the American National Red Cross, was working late in her villa overlooking the harbor in Havana, Cuba, on the evening of February 15, 1898. As she and an assistant reviewed some paperwork, an enormous blast lit up the sky. She later recalled:

“The deafening roar was such a burst of thunder as perhaps one never heard before. And off to the right, out over the bay, the air filled with a blaze of light, and this in turn filled with black specks like huge specters flying in all directions.”

Barton quickly learned what had happened. The U.S.S. *Maine*, anchored in the Havana harbor, had exploded. Barton rushed to a nearby hospital, where she took a firsthand look at the blast’s devastation. The sailors’ wounds, she wrote, “were all over them—heads and faces terribly cut, internal wounds, arms, legs, feet and hands burned to the live flesh.”

—adapted from *The Spanish War*

## The Coming of War

Of the 354 officers and sailors aboard the *Maine* that winter night, 266 died. No one is sure why the *Maine* exploded. The size of the explosion indicates that the ship’s ammunition supplies blew up. Some experts think that a fire accidentally ignited the ammunition. Others argue that a mine detonated near the ship set off the ammunition.



### History Through Art

**Cuban Rebellion** During the Cuban Revolution in 1895, Spanish general Valeriano Weyler forced much of the Cuban population into guarded camps near military installations. [Why were Americans supporting Cuba's fight against Spain?](#)

When the explosion happened, many Americans blamed it on Spain. Cuba was a Spanish colony at the time, but it was in the midst of a revolution. The Cuban people were fighting for independence from Spain. Many Americans regarded the Spanish as tyrants and supported the Cubans in their struggle. These Americans quickly jumped to the conclusion that Spain had blown up the *Maine*. Within a matter of weeks, Spain and the United States were at war. Although the fighting only lasted a few months, the outcome dramatically altered the position of the United States on the world stage.

**The Cuban Rebellion Begins** Cuba was one of Spain's oldest colonies in the Americas. Its sugarcane plantations generated considerable wealth for Spain and produced nearly one-third of the world's sugar in the mid-1800s. Until Spain abolished slavery in 1886, about one-third of the Cuban population was enslaved and forced to work for wealthy landowners on the plantations.

In 1868 Cuban rebels declared independence and launched a guerrilla war against Spanish authorities. Lacking internal support, the rebellion collapsed in 1878. Many Cuban rebels then fled to the United States, where they began planning a new revolution.

One of the exiled leaders was **José Martí**, a writer and poet who was passionately committed to the cause of Cuban independence. While living in New York City in the 1880s, Martí brought together different Cuban exile groups living in the United States. The groups raised funds from sympathetic Americans, purchased weapons, and trained their troops in preparation for an invasion of Cuba.

By the early 1890s, the United States and Cuba had become closely linked economically. Cuba exported much of its sugar to the United States, and Americans had invested approximately \$50 million in Cuba's mines, railroads, and sugar plantations. These economic ties created a crisis in 1894, when the United States imposed new tariffs—including a tariff on sugar—in an effort to protect its troubled economy from foreign competition. The new tariff wrecked the sale of Cuban sugar in the United States and devastated the island's economy.

With Cuba in an economic crisis, Martí's followers launched a new rebellion in February 1895. Although Martí died in battle shortly after returning to Cuba, the revolutionaries seized control of eastern Cuba, declared independence, and formally established the Republic of Cuba in September 1895.

**Americans Support the Cubans** When the uprising in Cuba began, President Grover Cleveland declared the United States neutral. Outside the White House, however, much of the public openly supported the rebels. Some citizens compared the Cubans' struggle to the American Revolution. A few sympathetic Americans even began smuggling guns from Florida to the Cuban rebels.

What led most Americans to support the rebels were the dramatic stories of Spanish atrocities reported in two of the nation's major newspapers, the *New York Journal* and the *New York World*. The *Journal*, owned by **William Randolph Hearst**, and the *World*, owned by **Joseph Pulitzer**, competed with each other to increase their circulation. The *Journal* reported outrageous stories of the Spanish feeding Cuban prisoners to sharks and dogs. Not to be outdone, the *World* described Cuba as a place with "blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood!" This kind of sensationalist reporting, in which writers often exaggerated or even made up stories to attract readers, became known as **yellow journalism**.

Although the press invented sensational stories to sell more papers, there is no doubt that the Cuban people indeed suffered horribly. The Spanish dispatched nearly 200,000 troops to the island to put down

the rebellion and appointed General Valeriano Weyler to serve as governor. Weyler's harsh policies quickly earned him the nickname *El Carnicero* ("The Butcher").

The Cuban rebels carried out a guerrilla war. They staged hit-and-run raids, burned plantations and sugar mills, tore up railroad tracks, and attacked supply depots. The rebels knew that many American businesses had invested in Cuba's railroads and plantations. They hoped that the destruction of American property would lead to American intervention in the war.

To prevent Cuban villagers from helping the rebels, Weyler herded hundreds of thousands of rural men, women, and children into "reconcentration camps," where tens of thousands died of starvation and disease. News reports of this brutal treatment of civilians enraged Americans and led to renewed calls for American intervention in the war.

**Calling Out for War** In 1897 Republican William McKinley became president of the United States. The new president did not want to intervene in the war, believing it would cost too many lives and hurt the economy. In September 1897, he asked the Spanish if the United States could help negotiate an end to the conflict. He made it clear that if the war did not end soon, the United States might have to intervene.

Pressed by McKinley, the Spanish government removed Weyler from power. Spain then offered the Cubans autonomy—the right to their own government—but only if Cuba remained part of the Spanish empire. The Cuban rebels refused to negotiate. They wanted full independence.

Spain's concessions to the rebels enraged many Spanish loyalists in Cuba. In January 1898, the loyalists rioted in Havana. Worried that American citizens in Cuba might be attacked, McKinley made the fateful decision to send the battleship *Maine* to Havana in case the Americans had to be evacuated.

In February 1898, the *New York Journal* printed a private letter written by **Enrique Dupuy de Lôme**, the Spanish ambassador to the United States. A Cuban agent had intercepted the letter and delivered it to the paper. It described McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." The nation erupted in fury over the insult.

Ambassador de Lôme resigned, but before the furor could die down, the *Maine* exploded in the Havana harbor. The press promptly blamed Spain. Rapidly responding to the hysterical anger of the American public, Congress unanimously authorized the president to spend \$50 million for war preparations. Shortly afterward, on March 28, 1898, a naval

court of inquiry concluded that a mine had destroyed the *Maine*. Throughout America, people began using the slogan "Remember the *Maine*!" as a rallying cry for war. By early April, President McKinley was under tremendous pressure to go to war. American mobs were demonstrating in the streets against Spain—and against McKinley for refusing to go to war.

Within the Republican Party, **jingoism**, or an attitude of aggressive nationalism, was very strong, especially among younger members of the party. These members were furious at McKinley for not declaring war. Assistant Secretary of the Navy **Theodore Roosevelt**, for one, raged that McKinley had "no more backbone than a chocolate éclair." Many Democrats were also demanding war, and Republicans feared that if McKinley did not go to war, the Democrats would win the presidency in 1900. Finally, on April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress to authorize the use of force to end the conflict in Cuba.

On April 19, Congress declared Cuba independent, demanded that Spain withdraw from the island, and authorized the president to use armed force if necessary. In response, on April 24, Spain declared war on the United States. For the first time in 50 years, the United States was at war with another nation.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What conditions led to the Cuban rebellion in 1895?

## A War on Two Fronts

The Spanish in Cuba were not prepared for war. Tropical diseases and months of hard fighting had weakened their soldiers. Their warships were old and their crews poorly trained. The United States had more battleships, and both sides knew that the war ultimately would be decided at sea. If the United States could defeat Spain's fleet, the Spanish would not be able to get supplies to its troops in Cuba. Eventually, they would have to surrender.

**The United States Takes the Philippines** The United States Navy was ready for war with Spain. The navy's North Atlantic Squadron blockaded Cuba, and the American fleet based in British Hong Kong was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines. The Philippines was a Spanish colony, and American naval planners were determined to prevent the fleet there from sailing east to attack the United States.



**Geography Skills**

- 1. Interpreting Maps** The main battles of the Spanish-American War occurred in which parts of the world?
- 2. Applying Geography Skills** How far is the Havana harbor from the port of Tampa, Florida?

A short time after midnight, on May 1, 1898, Commodore **George Dewey** led his squadron into Manila Bay in the Philippines. As dawn broke, Dewey's fleet opened fire and rapidly destroyed the severely outgunned Spanish warships.

Dewey's quick victory took McKinley and his advisers by surprise. The army was not yet ready to send troops to help Dewey capture the Philippines. Hastily, the army assembled 20,000 troops to sail from San Francisco to the Philippines. On the way to the Philippines, the American troops also seized the island of Guam, another Spanish possession in the Pacific.

While waiting for the American troops to arrive, Dewey contacted **Emilio Aguinaldo**, a Filipino revolutionary leader who had staged an unsuccessful uprising against the Spanish in 1896. Aguinaldo quickly launched a new guerrilla war.

At first, Aguinaldo believed the Americans were his allies, but when American troops arrived in the islands he became suspicious. The Americans quickly seized the Philippine capital of Manila from

the Spanish but refused to allow Aguinaldo's forces into the city. They also refused to recognize his rebel government. Hostility between the Filipinos and the Americans began to grow as both sides waited for the war with Spain to end.

**American Forces Battle in Cuba** Unlike the mobilization of the navy, which had been very efficient, the mobilization of the American army was very poorly conducted. Although volunteers flooded into army training camps, the army lacked the resources to train and equip them. In many camps, conditions were so unsanitary that epidemics broke out, and hundreds of Americans died. By the end of the war, far more Americans had died in training camps than in actual battle.

Finally, on June 14, 1898, a force of about 17,000 troops landed on the southern coast of Cuba, east of the city of Santiago. A Spanish fleet occupied Santiago Harbor, where it was well protected by powerful shore-based guns. American military planners wanted to capture those guns in order to

drive the Spanish fleet out of the harbor and into battle with the American fleet waiting nearby.

Among the American troops advancing toward Santiago was a volunteer cavalry unit from the American West. They were a flamboyant mix of cowboys, miners, and law officers known as the “**Rough Riders**.” The commander of the Rough Riders was Colonel **Leonard Wood**. Second in command was Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned from his post as assistant secretary of the navy to join the fight.

On July 1, American troops attacked the village of El Caney northeast of Santiago. Another force attacked the San Juan Heights, a series of hills overlooking the main road to Santiago. While one group of soldiers attacked San Juan Hill, the Rough Riders—who were on foot, not horseback—attacked Kettle Hill. After seizing Kettle Hill, Roosevelt and his men assisted in the capture of San Juan Hill.

The Rough Riders did not make their attack alone. Accompanying them up Kettle Hill were the all-black 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments. Many African Americans had responded to the call for volunteers, and roughly one-fourth of the American troops fighting in Cuba were African American.

Four African American soldiers received the Medal of Honor for their bravery during the war.

The Spanish commander in Santiago panicked after the American victories at El Caney and the San Juan Heights. He immediately ordered the Spanish fleet in the harbor to flee. As the Spanish ships raced out of the harbor on July 3, the American warships guarding the entrance attacked them. In the ensuing battle, the American squadron sank or beached every Spanish vessel.

Spanish resistance in Cuba ended with the surrender of Santiago two weeks later. Soon after, American troops occupied the nearby Spanish colony of Puerto Rico. On August 12, 1898, Spain and the United States agreed to a cease-fire.

 **Reading Check** **Describing** How prepared was the U.S. Army to fight a war against Spain?

## An American Empire is Born

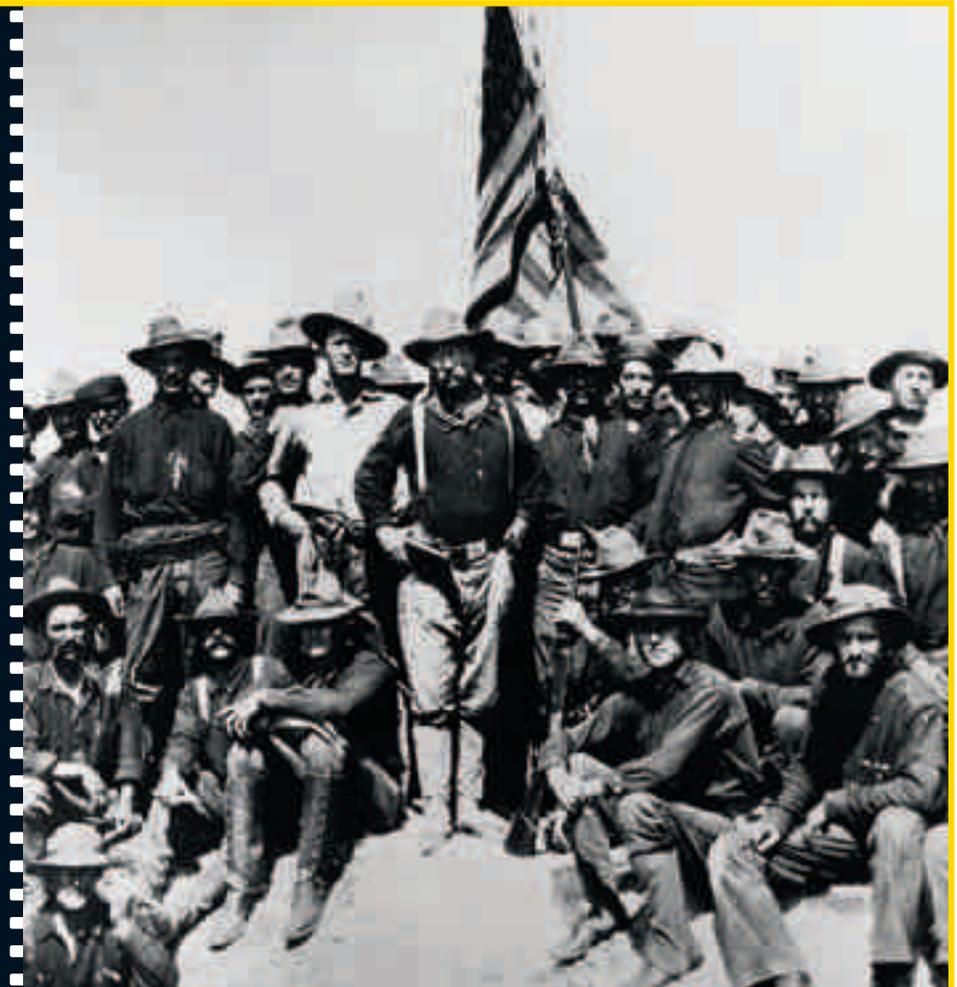
As American and Spanish leaders met to discuss the terms for a peace treaty, Americans debated what to do about their newly acquired lands. Cuba would

 NATIONAL  
GEOGRAPHIC

### MOMENT in HISTORY

#### FEISTY LEADER FOR A NEW CENTURY

Theodore Roosevelt (center) embodied the spirit of the United States at the turn of the century: full of vitality, brimming with confidence, and convinced that no job was impossible, no challenge insurmountable. Whether hunting big game in Africa, roping cattle from horseback on a Dakota ranch, or leading his “Rough Riders” cavalry (right) up San Juan Hill during the Spanish-American War, Roosevelt never did anything cautiously or quietly. As president, Roosevelt guided the country into its new, unaccustomed role as a world power.



 **CONTENTS** 

be given its freedom as promised, and Spain had agreed that the United States would annex Guam and Puerto Rico. The big question was what to do with the Philippines. The United States faced a difficult choice—remain true to its republican ideals or become an imperial power.

**The Debate Over Annexation** Many supporters of annexing the Philippines emphasized the economic and military benefits of taking the islands. They would provide the United States with a naval base in Asia, a stopover on the way to China, and a large market for American goods.

Other supporters believed America had a duty to teach “less civilized” peoples how to live properly. “Surely this Spanish war has not been a grab for empire,” commented a New England minister, “but a heroic effort [to] free the oppressed, and to teach the millions of ignorant, debased human beings thus freed how to live.”

Not all Americans supported annexation. Anti-imperialists included industrialist Andrew Carnegie, social worker Jane Addams, writer Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain), and the leader of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers. Carnegie argued that the cost of an empire far outweighed the economic benefits it provided. Gompers worried that competition from cheap Filipino labor would drive down American wages. Addams, Clemens, and others believed imperialism violated American principles.

President McKinley had to decide what to do with the Philippines. Ultimately, he decided to annex the islands. He later explained his reasoning to a group of ministers:

“And one night late it came to me this way . . . (1) that we could not give them back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable; (2) that we could not turn them over to France or Germany . . . that would be bad for business and discreditable; (3) that we could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government . . . and (4) that there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them.”

—quoted in *A Diplomatic History of the American People*

On December 10, 1898, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris. Under the treaty, Cuba became an independent country, and the United States acquired Puerto Rico and Guam and agreed to pay Spain \$20 million for the Philippines. After an intense



### **Picturing History**

**Building an Empire** Two Filipino women nervously converse with American troops in the Philippines. Filipino civilians suffered many hardships while Filipino guerrillas fought American troops. Thousands perished from sickness, starvation, and other indirect effects of war. [What American policy contributed to civilian hardships in the Philippines?](#)

debate, the Senate ratified the treaty in February 1899. The United States had become an imperial power.

**Rebellion in the Philippines** The United States quickly learned that controlling its new empire would not be easy. Emilio Aguinaldo called the American decision to annex his homeland a “violent and aggressive seizure.” He then ordered his troops to attack the American soldiers in the Philippines.

To fight the Filipino guerrillas, General Arthur MacArthur (the father of the future American general Douglas MacArthur) adopted many of the same policies that America had condemned Spain for using in Cuba. MacArthur set up reconcentration camps to separate guerrillas from civilians. The results were also similar to what had happened in Cuba. Thousands of Filipinos died from disease and starvation.

While MacArthur fought the guerrillas, the first U.S. civilian governor of the islands, William Howard Taft, tried to win over the Filipino people by reforming education, transportation, and health care. New railroads, bridges, and telegraph lines strengthened the economy. A public school system was set up, and new health care policies virtually eliminated severe diseases such as cholera and smallpox. These reforms slowly reduced Filipino hostility.



*Emilio Aguinaldo*

In March 1901, American troops captured Aguinaldo. The following month, Aguinaldo accepted American control of the islands and called on the guerrillas to surrender. By summer 1902, the United States had declared the war over. Eventually the United States allowed the Filipinos a greater role in governing their own country. By the mid-1930s, they were permitted to elect their own congress and president. Finally, in 1946, the United States granted independence to the Philippines.

## **GOVERNMENT**

**Governing Puerto Rico** Another pressing question facing the United States government was how to govern Puerto Rico. In 1900 Congress passed the **Foraker Act**, making Puerto Rico an unincorporated territory. This meant that Puerto Ricans were not U.S. citizens and had no constitutional rights. The act also stated that Congress could pass whatever laws it wanted for the island.

Congress gradually allowed the inhabitants of Puerto Rico a certain degree of self-government. In 1917 the United States made Puerto Ricans citizens of the United States. In 1947 the island was allowed to elect its own governor. At this time a debate began over whether to grant Puerto Rico statehood, allow it to become an independent country, or continue it as a commonwealth of the United States. This debate over Puerto Rico's status continues today.

**Cuba and the Platt Amendment** After the war, the United States established a military government in Cuba. Although the United States had promised to grant Cuba its independence, President McKinley

took steps to ensure that Cuba would remain tied to the United States. He allowed the Cubans to prepare a new constitution for their country, but he attached conditions. A special amendment that Senator Orville Platt attached to the 1901 army appropriations bill described those conditions.

The **Platt Amendment** specified the following: (1) Cuba could not make any treaty with another nation that would weaken its independence or allow another foreign power to gain territory in Cuba; (2) Cuba had to allow the United States to buy or lease naval stations in Cuba; (3) Cuba's debts had to be kept low to prevent foreign countries from landing troops to enforce payment; and (4) the United States would have the right to intervene to protect Cuban independence and keep order.

Although the Cubans rejected the Platt Amendment at first, they quickly realized that unless they accepted it, the United States would maintain its military government of the island. Reluctantly, they added the amendment to their constitution. The Platt Amendment governed relations between the United States and Cuba until its repeal in 1934. It effectively made Cuba an American protectorate.

**CLICK HERE**



**Student Web Activity** Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 17** for an activity on American imperialism.

**Reading Check Explaining** What were the arguments for and against establishing an American empire?

## **SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

### **Checking for Understanding**

- Define:** yellow journalism, jingoism.
- Identify:** José Martí, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, Theodore Roosevelt, Platt Amendment.
- Explain** why many Americans blamed Spain for the explosion of the U.S.S. *Maine*.

### **Reviewing Themes**

- Government and Democracy** Why did many Filipinos feel betrayed by the U.S. government after the Spanish-American War?

### **Critical Thinking**

- Interpreting** Do you think President McKinley could have taken a different course of action with Spain over Cuba? If so, what kind? If not, why not?
- Categorizing** Complete a graphic organizer by summarizing the effects of the United States annexing lands obtained after the Spanish-American War.

Lands Annexed	Effects

### **Analyzing Visuals**

- Analyzing Art** Examine the painting on page 519. Considering what you have learned about the Rough Riders and this battle, what is inaccurate about the painting? What kind of bias does this misrepresentation show?

### **Writing About History**

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are a Filipino living during the time of the U.S. annexation of the Philippine Islands. Write a journal entry in which you describe your feelings about U.S. control of the islands.

# You're *the* Historian

## Who Sank the *Maine*?



Captain Charles Sigsbee

During Cuba's revolt against Spain, the American battleship *Maine* dropped anchor in the Havana harbor to protect American interests in Cuba. On the night of February 15, 1898, the ship exploded and 266 Americans lost their lives. The United States sent a court of inquiry to Havana on February 21. Despite the lack of evidence concerning the source of the explosion, American newspapers and many public officials claimed that Spain was responsible. Pressured on all sides, President McKinley sent Spain an ultimatum that led to war. Who—or what—really sank the *Maine*?

Read the following excerpts from testimony and evidence. Then answer the questions and complete the activities that follow.

### From the commander and an early interview

Telegraph from the commander of the *Maine* to the secretary of the navy, February 15:

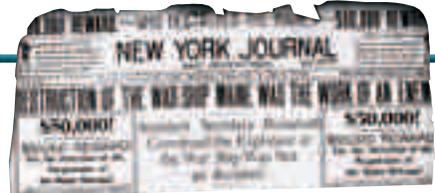
"Maine blown up in Havana harbor at nine forty to-night and destroyed. Many wounded and doubtless more killed or drowned. . . . Public opinion should be suspended until further report. . . . Many Spanish officers, including representatives of General Blanco, now with us to express sympathy."

—Captain Charles D. Sigsbee

The court of inquiry was interested in discovering whether the explosion had come from inside or outside the ship. If it came from inside, was it sabotage or an accident? If it came from outside, who or what caused it? Before the court met, the *Washington Evening Star* published a February 18 interview with the U.S. Navy's leading ordnance expert:

"We know of no instances where the explosion of a torpedo or mine under the ship's bottom has exploded the magazine [powder and explosives] within. It has simply torn a great hole in the side or bottom, through which water entered, and in consequence of which the ship sunk. Magazine explosions, on the contrary, produce effects exactly similar to the effects of the explosion on the *Maine*. When it

Newspaper headline



comes to seeking the cause of the explosion of the *Maine*'s magazine, we should naturally look not for the improbable or unusual causes. . . . The most common of these is through fires in the bunkers."

—Philip R. Alger

USS *Maine*





Engraving of the explosion

## From the inquiry and later reports

As the court of inquiry concluded its investigation, it considered reports of the divers who examined the *Maine* and evidence that suggested there had been two explosions. On March 11, 1898, Lieutenant Commander Adolph Marix, judge advocate of the court of inquiry, questioned Commander George A. Converse, who was brought in as a technical expert.

**Marix:** Looking at the plan of the *Maine's* forward 10-inch and 6-inch magazines, would it be possible for them to have exploded, torn out the ship's side on both sides, and leave that part of the ship forward of frame 18 so water borne as to raise the after portion of that part of the ship, drag it aft, and bring the vertical keel into the condition you see in the sketch?

**Converse:** It is difficult for me to realize that that effect could have been produced by an explosion of the kind supposed.

**Marix:** Do you think, then, necessarily, there must have been an underwater mine to produce these explosions?

**Converse:** Indications are that an underwater explosion produced the conditions there.

In 1911 the U.S. Navy raised the *Maine* from Havana's harbor. The navy's board of inspection

reexamined the ship, and its findings were similar to those of 1898. Then, in 1976, Admiral H.G. Rickover and other naval historians gathered a team of experts to examine the official court records of 1898 and 1911. This team's conclusions were very different.

### 1911 board conclusion:

The board finds that the injuries to the bottom of the *Maine* above described were caused by the explosion of a charge of a low form of explosive exterior to the ship between frames 28 and 31.

### H.G. Rickover team conclusion:

The general character of the overall wrecked structure of the *Maine*, with hull sides and whole deck structures peeled back, leaves no doubt that a large internal explosion occurred. . . .

The mines available in 1898 are believed to have been incapable of igniting the *Maine* magazine if they exploded on the harbor bottom or against the ship side. . . . It is most unlikely that the *Maine* explosion was indeed initiated by a mine. . . .

The available evidence is consistent with an internal explosion alone. . . . The most likely source was heat from a fire in the coal bunker adjacent to the 6-inch reserve magazine.



Mast of the Maine at Arlington National Cemetery

## Understanding the Issue

1. Why did the original investigation's conclusion that there was an underwater explosion lead to war with Spain?
2. If there had been an underwater explosion, was it logical to conclude that a Spanish person planted the mine? Why or why not? Is this an example of a biased opinion?
3. Why did the 1976 review conclude that the explosion came from inside the *Maine*?

## Activities

1. **Rewriting History** Suppose that the initial court of inquiry had concluded that an internal explosion sank the *Maine*. Write a paragraph describing an alternate course history could have taken in the following year.
2. **Oral Report** Read a biography of one of these key players in the decision of the United States to go to war: Hearst, Roosevelt, or McKinley. Write a short oral presentation on this person's perspective and influence on the war.

# New American Diplomacy

## Guide to Reading

### Main Idea

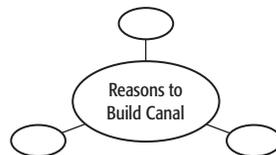
Under President Theodore Roosevelt, the United States increased its power on the world stage.

### Key Terms and Names

sphere of influence, Open Door policy, Boxer Rebellion, "Great White Fleet," Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, Roosevelt Corollary, dollar diplomacy

### Reading Strategy

**Organizing** As you read about the increasing presence of the United States in the world, complete a graphic organizer like the one below by listing the reasons President Roosevelt gave for wanting a canal in Central America.



### Reading Objectives:

- **Critique** Theodore Roosevelt's foreign policy as president.
- **Explain** the Open Door policy and its effects on relations between the United States and Asia.

### Section Theme

**Continuity and Change** The commercial interests of the United States spurred its involvement in distant parts of the world, such as China and Latin America.

### Preview of Events



## ★ An American Story ★



Dr. William Gorgas

Upon arriving in Panama in 1904, Dr. William Crawford Gorgas, a U.S. Army doctor and chief sanitary officer to the Panama Canal project, quickly realized that death awaited American workers. The United States was about to begin constructing the Panama Canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The task would be daunting because the dense jungles of Panama were home to swarms of mosquitoes that spread the deadly disease of yellow fever.

Gorgas set out to lessen the threat of disease by keeping mosquitoes from breeding. He and his crew drained swamps, gullies, and other sources of stagnant water, a main breeding ground for mosquitoes. On those areas of water they could not drain, they spread kerosene and oil, which killed the mosquito eggs before they hatched. They also fumigated nearly every home in the region and destroyed many buckets, pots, and other outdoor containers that local residents let fill up with rainwater. In two years Gorgas and his crew had wiped out yellow fever in the area.

—adapted from *The Strength to Move a Mountain*

## Theodore Roosevelt's Rise to Power

The construction of the Panama Canal might never have taken place had Theodore Roosevelt not become president. "Teddy," as the press called him, gained the presidency largely by accident. Roosevelt's exploits during the Spanish-American War had made

him famous and enabled him to win the election for governor of New York in November 1898. In 1900 President McKinley asked Roosevelt to run as his vice president. Less than a year later, a tragic turn of events thrust Roosevelt into the White House.

**The Election of 1900** The election of 1900 once again pitted President McKinley against William Jennings Bryan. Bryan, an anti-imperialist, attacked the Republicans for their support of imperialism in Asia. McKinley focused on the country's increased prosperity. Employing the slogan "Four Years More of the Full Dinner Pail," the Republicans promised good times ahead if McKinley was reelected. He did indeed win the election by a wide margin, and Theodore Roosevelt became vice president.

On September 6, 1901, as President McKinley greeted the public during an appearance in Buffalo, New York, a gunman stepped from the crowd. The man was Leon Czolgosz, an avowed anarchist, who opposed all forms of government. Czolgosz fired two shots and hit the president. A few days later, McKinley died from his wounds.

Theodore Roosevelt, just 42 years old at the time, became the youngest person ever to become president. Roosevelt had been chosen as McKinley's running mate because Republican leaders knew his powerful charisma and heroic war record would be a great asset. They also hoped the relatively powerless position of vice president would quiet his reform-minded spirit. Now they cringed at the thought of a headstrong Roosevelt in the White House. Republican senator Mark Hanna exclaimed, "Now look, that . . . cowboy is president of the United States!"

**Roosevelt Becomes President** Roosevelt brought to the presidency an energy and enthusiasm rarely seen before in the office. Such vigor stemmed in part from his childhood. Born into a wealthy New York family, Roosevelt was a sickly child who endured a host of ailments, including poor eyesight and asthma.

Roosevelt pushed himself to overcome his frailties. He mastered marksmanship and horseback riding and could row up to 20 miles a day. He took up boxing and wrestling in college and continued with both throughout his life, practicing the belief that competition and conflict keep one healthy.

Roosevelt became a strong proponent of increasing American power on the world stage. Just as he refused to sit around idly in life, the

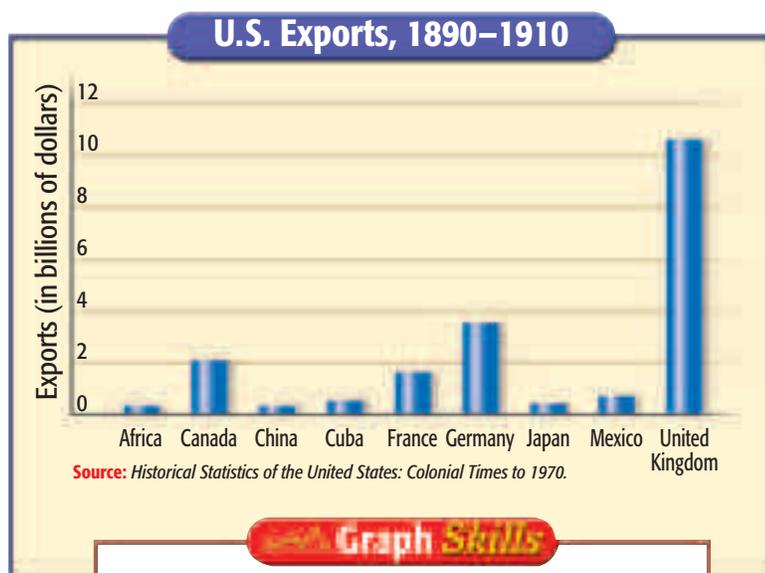
president warned Americans not to "sit huddled" and become "an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond." Roosevelt also accepted some of the ideas of Anglo-Saxonism. He believed that the United States had a duty to shape the "less civilized" corners of the earth. The new president intended to make the country a world power.

**Reading Check Summarizing** What was President Roosevelt's opinion on the role of the United States as a world power?

## American Diplomacy in Asia

In 1899 the United States was a major power in Asia, with naval bases all across the Pacific. Operating from those bases, the United States Navy—now the third largest in the world—was capable of exerting American power anywhere in East Asia.

The nation's primary interest in Asia, however, was not conquest but commerce. Between 1895 and 1900, American exports to China increased by four times. Although China bought only about two percent of all the goods exported by the United States, the vast Chinese markets excited American business leaders, especially those in the textile, oil, and steel industries.



### Graph Skills

- Interpreting Graphs** Which country ranked third in total U.S. exports from 1890 to 1910?
- Making Generalizations** Why do you think that the vast majority of U.S. exports were going to the United Kingdom?

# Why It Matters

## The Panama Canal

One of the most impressive feats of engineering in the world, the Panama Canal was built under a 1903 U.S. treaty with Panama. It took 10 years to build, required more than 40,000 laborers, and cost almost \$390 million. The canal stretches 50 miles (80 km) across the mountainous regions of Panama. In 1977 a new treaty took effect that gave Panama control of the canal as of December 31, 1999.

### A Cartoonist's View >

Many people criticized Roosevelt's role in building the Panama Canal. They believed that he was trying to dominate Latin America. The canal was also costly in terms of human life. Accidents and disease claimed the lives of 5,609 people, including about 4,500 Caribbean laborers.



### ▲ Trade

Nearly 13,000 oceangoing vessels pass through the canal annually. Roughly 60 percent of the cargo is coming from or going to U.S. ports. The canal's relative share of world cargo has declined somewhat, but its absolute volume has grown with the continued expansion of global trade.

**The Open Door Policy** In 1894 war erupted between China and Japan over Korea, which at that time was part of the Chinese empire. European and American leaders expected China, with its massive armed forces, to defeat Japan easily. These Western observers were astonished when Japan easily defeated China. In the peace treaty, China granted Korea independence. China also gave Japan territory in Manchuria that included the important city of Port Arthur. The war showed that Japan had successfully adopted Western technology and industry. It also demonstrated that China was far weaker than anyone had thought.

Japan's rising power greatly worried the Russians. They did not want Japan to acquire the territory in Manchuria, because it bordered Russia. Backed by France and Germany, Russia forced Japan to give the part of Manchuria it had acquired back to China. Then, in 1898, Russia demanded that China lease the territory to Russia instead.

Leasing a territory meant that it would still belong to China, even though a foreign government would maintain overall control. Germany and France demanded leaseholds in China, and Britain insisted on several as well. Each "leasehold"

became the center of a country's **sphere of influence**, an area where a foreign nation controlled economic development such as railroad construction and mining.

These events in northern China greatly worried the United States. President McKinley and Secretary of State John Hay both supported what they called an **Open Door policy**, in which all countries should be allowed to trade with China. In 1899 Hay sent notes to countries with leaseholds in China asking them not to discriminate against other nations that wanted to do business with the Chinese inside each leasehold. The Europeans and Japanese received the Open Door proposals coolly. Each power claimed to accept them in principle but refused to act on them unless all of the others agreed to do so as well. Hay refused to consider this a rebuff. Once he had received assurances from all of the great powers, he declared that the United States expected the other powers to abide by the plan.

**The Boxer Rebellion** While foreign countries debated who should control China, secret Chinese societies were organizing to get rid of foreign control. Westerners referred to one such group as the Boxers. In 1900 the group rose up to wipe out "foreign



**Military Impact**

Huge quantities of war materials and thousands of troops passed through the canal during World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. The strategic location of the canal makes its neutrality critical in times of war.

**How it works**

An average voyage takes 8 hours to cover the roughly 50 miles (80 km) through the canal channel. A series of locks that look like giant steps lift ships about 85 feet (26 m) from sea level to Gatun Lake. Small locomotives run on tracks on the two sides of the locks, helping to stabilize and guide the ships. The same method is used on the other side of the lake, where vessels descend through two more locks.

devils” and their Christian converts, whom they believed were corrupting Chinese society. In what became known as the **Boxer Rebellion**, group members besieged foreign embassies in Beijing, killing more than 200 foreigners and taking others prisoner. In August 1900, an international force that included U.S. troops stepped in and quashed the rebellion.

During the crisis, Secretary of State Hay and British leaders worked to persuade European nations not to use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to partition China. In a second set of Open Door notes, Hay convinced the participating powers to back away from a full-scale retaliation against China. He urged them instead to accept compensation from China for any damage that the rebellion caused. After some discussion, China was never broken up into colonies. As a result, the United States retained access to China’s lucrative trade in tea, spices, and silk and maintained an increasingly larger market for its own goods.

**Balancing Power in East Asia** As president, Theodore Roosevelt supported the Open Door policy in China and worked to prevent any single nation from monopolizing trade there. This concern prompted Roosevelt to step in to help negotiate peace

in a war between Japan and Russia in 1905. At a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Roosevelt convinced the Russians to recognize Japan’s territorial gains and persuaded the Japanese to stop fighting and to seek no further territory. For his efforts in ending the war, Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

In the years after the peace treaty, relations between the United States and Japan steadily grew worse. As the two nations vied for greater influence in Asia, they held each other in check through a series of agreements. They agreed to respect each other’s territorial possessions, to uphold the Open Door policy, and to support China’s independence.

In 1907 President Roosevelt sent 16 battleships of the new United States Navy, known as the “**Great White Fleet**,” on a voyage around the world to showcase the nation’s military might. The tour made a stop in Japan to demonstrate that the United States could and would uphold its interests in Asia. This visit did not help ease the growing tensions between the two countries throughout the early 1900s.

**Reading Check Explaining** What was the purpose of the Open Door policy?

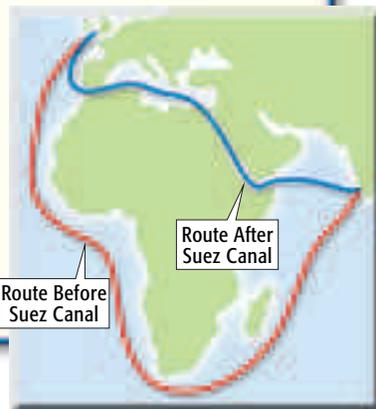




## The Suez Canal

Forty-five years before the Panama Canal was completed, another canal opened that dramatically changed world trade patterns. In 1869 a French company, led by Ferdinand de Lesseps, completed work on the Suez Canal after more than 10 years of construction.

The Suez Canal is located in Egypt. It connects the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea, creating a shortcut for ships traveling from Europe to the Indian Ocean. Before the canal's opening, ships had to travel around Africa to reach India and countries in East Asia. The canal greatly reduced travel times between Europe and Asia and rapidly became one of the world's major shipping lanes. **How did the canal change world trade patterns?**



## A Growing Presence in the Caribbean

Theodore Roosevelt believed in a strong global military presence. He insisted that displaying American power to the world would make nations think twice about fighting, thus promoting global peace. He often expressed this belief with a West African saying, "Speak softly and carry a big stick." Roosevelt's "big stick" policy was perhaps most evident in the Caribbean.

### GEOGRAPHY

**The Panama Canal** One of Roosevelt's most dramatic actions in the Caribbean was the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone in 1903. Roosevelt and others viewed the construction of a canal through Central America as vital to American power in the world. A canal would save time and money for both commercial and military shipping.

As early as 1850, the United States and Great Britain had signed a treaty in which each nation had agreed not to build a canal without the other's participation. Because of its strong interest in a canal, however, the United States negotiated a new treaty. In 1901, the United States and Great Britain signed the

**Hay-Pauncefote Treaty**, which gave the United States the exclusive right to build and control any proposed canal through Central America.

A French company had begun digging a canal through Panama in 1881. By 1889, however, it abandoned its efforts because of bankruptcy and terrible losses from disease among the workers. The company was reorganized in 1894, but its operations practically ceased and its only hope was to sell its rights to digging the canal.

The United States had long considered two possible canal sites, one through Nicaragua and one through Panama. The French company eased this choice by offering to sell its rights and property in Panama to the United States.

In 1903 Panama was still part of Colombia. Secretary of State Hay offered Colombia \$10 million and a yearly rent of \$250,000 for the right to construct the canal and to control a narrow strip of land on either side of it. Considering the price too low and afraid of losing control of Panama, the Colombian government refused the offer.

**Revolt in Panama** Some Panamanians feared losing the commercial benefits of the canal. Panama had opposed Colombian rule since the mid-1800s, and the canal issue added to the tensions. In addition, the French company was still concerned that the United States would build the canal in Nicaragua instead. The French company's agent, Philippe Bunau-Varilla, and Panamanian officials decided that the only way to ensure the canal would be built was to declare independence and make their own deal with the United States. Bunau-Varilla arranged for a small army to stage an uprising in Panama.

On November 3, 1903, Bunau-Varilla's forces revolted. Meanwhile, President Roosevelt sent ships to Panama to prevent Colombian interference. Within a few days, the United States recognized Panama's independence. Less than two weeks later, the two nations signed a treaty allowing the canal to be built.

Protesters in the United States and throughout Latin America condemned Roosevelt's actions as unjustifiable aggression. The president countered that he had advanced "the needs of collective civilization" by building a canal that shortened the distance between the Atlantic and the Pacific by about 8,000 nautical miles (14,816 km).

**The Roosevelt Corollary** The growing American involvement in foreign affairs caused Roosevelt to expand his "big stick" diplomacy. In an address to Congress in 1904, the president defined what came

to be known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. In it, he said that the United States would intervene in Latin American affairs when necessary to maintain economic and political stability in the Western Hemisphere:

“Chronic wrongdoing . . . may, in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.”

—quoted in *The Growth of the United States*

The United States first applied the Roosevelt Corollary in the Dominican Republic, which had fallen behind on its debt payments to European nations. In 1905 the United States assumed the responsibility of collecting customs tariffs in the Dominican Republic, using the United States Marine Corps as its agent.

Latin American nations resented the growing American influence in the region, but Roosevelt’s successor, William Howard Taft, continued Roosevelt’s policies. Taft placed much less emphasis on military force and more on helping Latin American industry. He believed that if American business leaders supported Latin American and Asian development, everyone would benefit. The United States would increase its trade, American businesses would increase their profits, and countries in Latin America and Asia would rise out of poverty and social disorder. Taft’s policy came to be called **dollar diplomacy**.



### Analyzing Political Cartoons

**American Imperialism** This cartoon displays Roosevelt’s belief that the United States should “speak softly and carry a big stick” in foreign affairs. In what part of the world did Roosevelt’s quote originate?

Although Taft described his brand of diplomacy as “substituting dollars for bullets,” in Nicaragua he used both. In 1911 American bankers began making loans to Nicaragua to support its shaky government. The following year, civil unrest forced the Nicaraguan president to appeal for greater assistance. American marines entered the country, replaced the collector of customs with an American agent, and formed a committee of two Americans and one Nicaraguan to control the customs commissions. American troops stayed to support both the government and customs until 1925.

**Reading Check** **Describing** What did the Roosevelt Corollary state?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

### Checking for Understanding

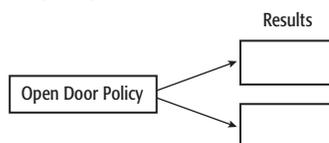
- Define:** sphere of influence, Open Door policy, dollar diplomacy.
- Identify:** Boxer Rebellion, “Great White Fleet,” Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, Roosevelt Corollary.

### Reviewing Themes

- Continuity and Change** Why do you think Latin American nations resented American influence in the region?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing** How did the Open Door policy and dollar diplomacy affect U.S. relations with other countries?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to summarize the results of the Open Door policy in China.



### Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Graphs** Examine the graph on page 537. Why do you think such a small number of U.S. exports went to China and Japan?

### Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Imagine you are Theodore Roosevelt, and write a speech justifying the actions that led to the building of the Panama Canal. Be specific in your reasons.

## Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

1. imperialism
2. protectorate
3. yellow journalism
4. jingoism
5. sphere of influence
6. Open Door policy
7. dollar diplomacy

## Reviewing Key Facts

8. **Identify:** Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Alfred T. Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge, José Martí, Theodore Roosevelt, "Great White Fleet," Roosevelt Corollary.
9. Why did the United States seek to become a world power in the 1890s?
10. How did yellow journalism contribute to American support of the Cuban revolution?
11. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1898?
12. Why did President Theodore Roosevelt help negotiate peace between Japan and Russia?
13. What was dollar diplomacy?

## Critical Thinking

14. **Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy** Why did American sugarcane planters in Hawaii revolt against Queen Liliuokalani?
15. **Explaining** What was the significance of the year 1898 as a turning point for the United States?
16. **Evaluating** Do you think the Panama Canal was worth the cost in terms of money spent and lives lost? Analyze the effects of physical and human geographic factors on the building of the canal to determine your answer.

17. **Interpreting Primary Sources** After the Spanish-American War, Carl Schurz, the leader of the liberal wing of the Republican Party, opposed American expansion abroad. In the following excerpt, Schurz attacks the arguments for taking over the Philippine Islands.

“Taking a general view of the Philippines as a commercial market for us, I need not again argue against the barbarous notion that in order to have a profitable trade with a country we must own it. . . . It is equally needless to show to any well-informed person that the profits of the trade with the islands themselves can never amount to the cost of making and maintaining the conquest of the Philippines.

But there is another point of real importance. Many imperialists admit that our trade with the Philippines themselves will not nearly be worth its cost; but they say that we must have the Philippines as a foothold, a sort of power station, for the expansion of our trade on the Asiatic continent, especially in China. Admitting this, for argument’s sake, I ask what kind of a foothold we should really need. Coaling stations and docks for our fleet, and facilities for the establishment of commercial houses and depots. That is all. And now I ask further, whether we could not easily have had these things if we had, instead of making war upon the Filipinos, favored the independence of the islands. Everybody knows that we could. We might have those things now for the mere asking if we stopped the war and came to a friendly understanding with the Filipinos tomorrow. . . .”

—quoted in *The Policy of Imperialism*

## Chapter Summary

### U.S. Actions

#### In the Pacific

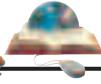
- Expanded Chinese and Japanese markets
- Annexed the Midway Islands as refueling depots for expanded navy
- Built coaling stations on Samoan Islands
- American business leaders led successful campaign for Hawaiian annexation
- Victory over Spain gave U.S. control over Guam and the Philippines

#### In Latin America

- At Pan-American Conference, invited Latin American countries to trade with U.S.
- Supported Cuba’s rebellion against Spain, leading to Spanish-American War; victory over Spain gave U.S. control over Cuba, Puerto Rico
- Built the Panama Canal
- Issued the Roosevelt Corollary stating that the U.S. would intervene in Latin America to maintain stability

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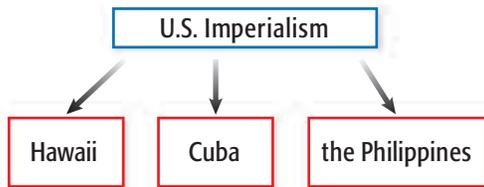
HISTORY  
Online



### Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at [tav.glencoe.com](http://tav.glencoe.com) and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 17** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

- a. How does Schurz counter the argument that annexation of the Philippines was necessary to make the nation a commercial market for the United States?
  - b. What action other than annexation does Schurz suggest the United States could have taken to obtain the coaling stations, docks, and depots it needed for trade with Asia?
18. **Organizing** Using a graphic organizer similar to the one below, list ways that American imperialism affected Hawaii, Cuba, and the Philippines.



### Practicing Skills

19. **Using an Electronic Spreadsheet** Enter in a spreadsheet the land area of the territories that came under U.S. control as a result of the Spanish-American War (Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines). Enter the current land area of the United States in the spreadsheet. Create an equation to calculate the percentage of land that each territory represents compared to the United States land area.

### Writing Activity

20. **Portfolio Writing** Imagine that you are Dr. William Gorgas. You have just arrived in Havana, where you have been assigned to address the problems of workers suffering from yellow fever. Write a letter home describing some of the conditions, problems, and needs facing you as you search for a cure. Place the letter in your portfolio.

### Chapter Activity

21. **Evaluating the Validity of a Source** Use the library or the internet to find writings by people in support of and against the Spanish-American War. Evaluate the authors' points based on the language and logic they use. Then evaluate the authors' backgrounds and experience to determine if they are reliable or objective sources.

### Geography and History

22. The map on this page shows the expansion of the United States in 1900. Study the map and answer the following questions.



- a. **Interpreting Maps** Approximately how far west is the island of Guam from the west coast of the United States?
- b. **Applying Geography Skills** Why did the United States acquire so much island territory in the Pacific?



### Standardized Test Practice

**Directions:** Choose the best answer to the following question.

The Platt Amendment specified all of the following conditions EXCEPT:

- A Cuba could not allow another foreign power to gain territory within its borders.
- B Cuba must allow the United States to buy or lease naval stations in the country.
- C Cuba would be guaranteed its independence by 1915.
- D The United States had the right to intervene to protect Cuban independence and to keep order.

**Test-Taking Tip:** Be careful—overlooking the words NOT or EXCEPT in a question is a common error. Read through all the answer choices and choose the one that does NOT fit. Also look for an answer that seems opposed to the other answers. Which of the answers above is the opposite of the rest?