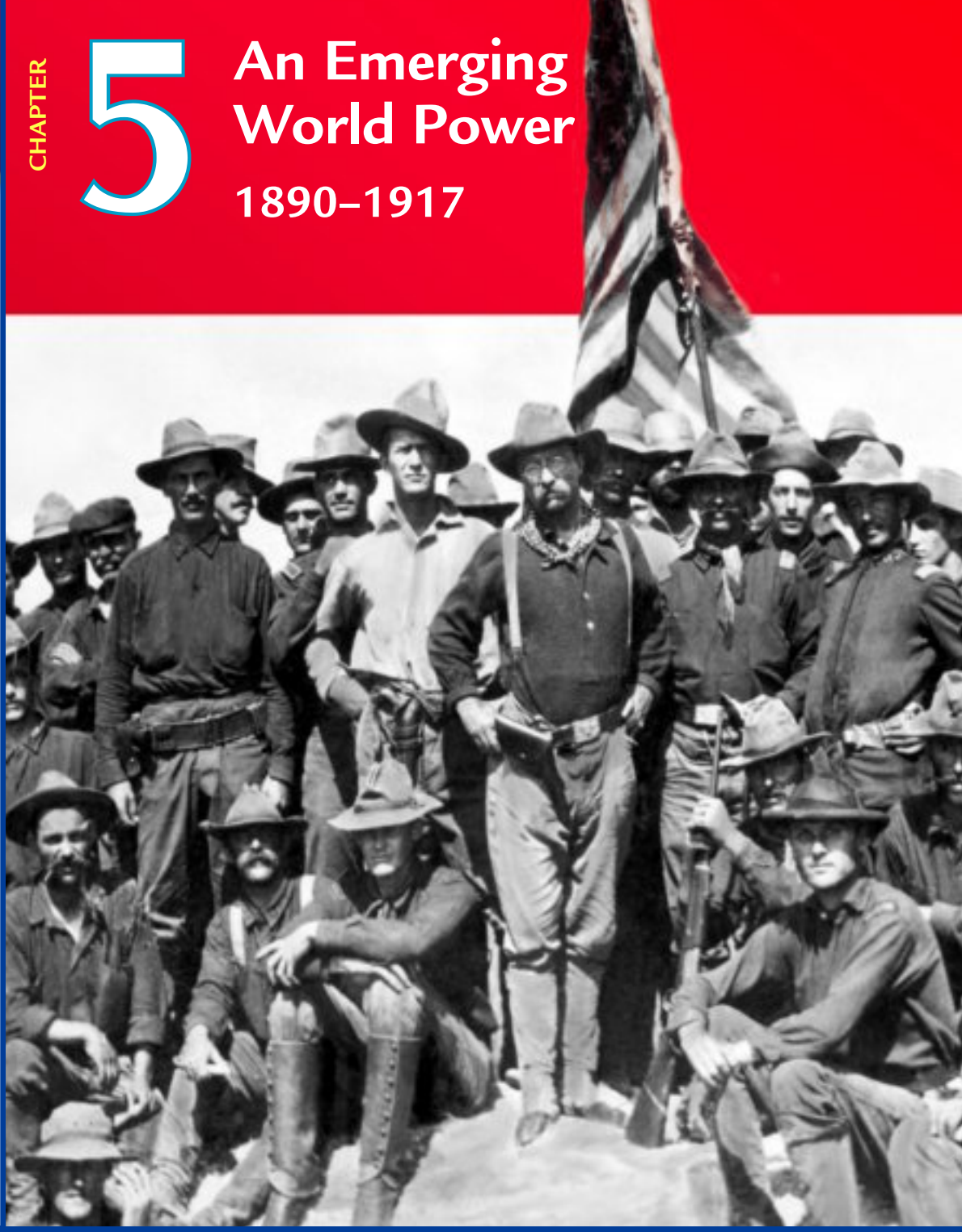


CHAPTER

5

An Emerging World Power

1890–1917



WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Americans Charge to Victory

When Theodore Roosevelt assumed command of the First U.S. Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, the press nicknamed his new unit “Roosevelt’s Rough Riders.” On July 1, 1898, the Rough Riders, together with other units—including African American troops from the U.S. Ninth and Tenth Cavalries—stormed into battle outside Santiago, Cuba. A junior officer who would later become a decorated general remembered the unity of his fellow soldiers as the Americans charged up Spanish-held San Juan Hill:

“White regiments, black regiments, regulars and Rough Riders, representing the young manhood of the North and South, fought shoulder to shoulder, unmindful of race or color . . . mindful only of their common duty as Americans.”

—Lieutenant John J. Pershing

Listen to the Witness History audio to hear more about America’s rise to global power.

- ◀ Future President Theodore Roosevelt poses with his victorious Rough Riders atop San Juan Hill.

Chapter Preview

Chapter Focus Question: How did the United States become a global power?

Section 1

The Roots of Imperialism

Section 2


The Spanish-American War

Section 3

The United States and East Asia

Section 4

The United States and Latin America

Use the  **Quick Study Timeline** at the end of this chapter to preview chapter events.



Carving of Commodore Matthew Perry on an animal tusk



Poster from the Spanish-American War



Medal won by African American soldier in Spanish-American War

Note Taking Study Guide Online

For: Note Taking and American Issues Connector
Web Code: nee-7801

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO**America Eyes Hawaii**

"The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." John Stevens, U.S. minister to Hawaii, was not talking about fruit when he sent this note to the Secretary of State in 1893. He was talking about the United States taking over the Hawaiian Islands—along with their rich fields of sugar cane and pineapples. And Stevens did more than just talk. He ordered the United States Marines to aid in a revolt against the queen of Hawaii.

Five years later, the Senate finally agreed to annex Hawaii. The "Hawaiian pear" became part of the United States.

◀ A Hawaiian plantation worker harvests pineapples.

The Roots of Imperialism

Objectives

- Identify the key factors that prodded America to expand.
- Explain how the United States took its first steps toward increased global power.
- Summarize the chain of events leading up to the U.S. annexation of Hawaii.

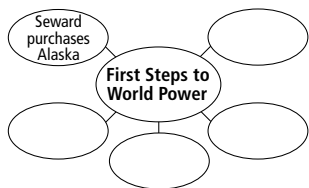
Terms and People

imperialism
extractive economy
Alfred T. Mahan
Social Darwinism

Frederick J. Turner
Matthew Perry
Queen Liliuokalani

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas As you read, fill in a concept web like the one below with the key events that marked America's first steps toward world power.



Why It Matters For most of its early history, America played a small role in world affairs. But in the late 1800s, this began to change. With leading spokesmen calling for the United States to join the ranks of the world's major powers, the United States began to acquire influence and territories outside its continental borders. The United States was abandoning isolationism and emerging as a new power on the global stage. **Section Focus Question: How and why did the United States take a more active role in world affairs?**

The Causes of Imperialism

During the Age of Imperialism, from the mid-1800s through the early 1900s, powerful nations engaged in a mad dash to extend their influence across much of the world. European nations added to colonies they had established during the Age of Exploration by acquiring new colonies in Africa and Asia. Following European success, Japan and the United States also began to consider the benefits of **imperialism**, the policy by which strong nations extend their political, military, and economic control over weaker territories.

Imperialists Seek Economic Benefits One reason for the rush to grab colonies was the desire for raw materials and natural resources. This was especially true for European nations and Japan. They sought colonies to provide tea, rubber, iron, petroleum, and other materials for their industries at home. These colonial economies were examples of **extractive economies**. The imperial country extracted, or removed, raw materials from the colony and

shipped them to the home country. Possession of colonies gave nations an edge in the competition for global resources. In contrast to other world powers, the resource-rich United States had fewer concerns about shortages of raw materials in the nineteenth century.

For Americans, the problem was not a shortage of materials, but a surplus of goods. The booming U.S. economy of the late 1800s was producing more goods than Americans could consume. Farmers complained that excess production resulted in declining crop prices and profits. Industrialists urged expanding trade into new overseas markets where American **commodities** could be sold. Otherwise, they warned, American factories would close and unemployment would rise. Senator Albert J. Beveridge, a Progressive and friend of Theodore Roosevelt, explained why the United States needed to become a world power:

Primary Source

“Today we are raising more [crops] than we can consume. Today 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.”

—Senator Albert J. Beveridge, “The March of the Flag,” 1898

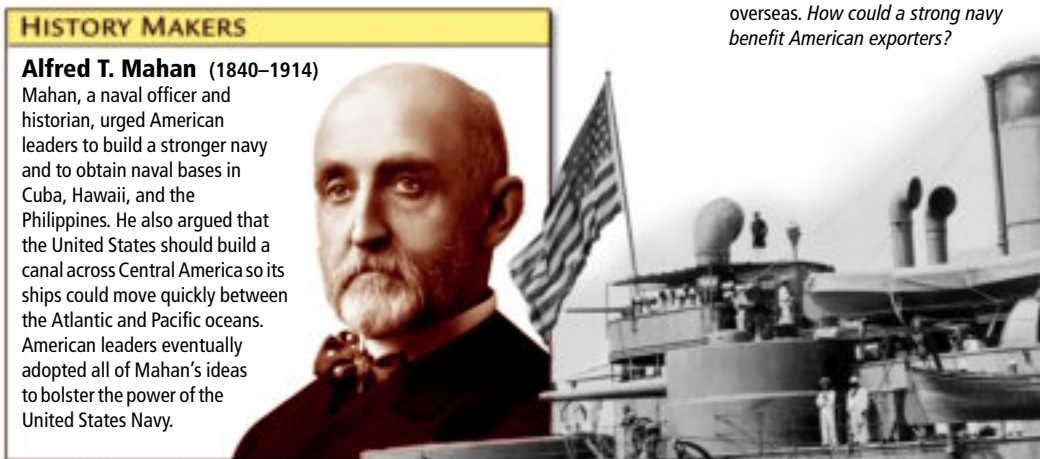
Imperialists Stress Military Strength To expand and protect their interests around the world, imperialist nations built up their military strength. **Alfred T. Mahan**, a military historian and an officer in the United States Navy, played a key role in transforming America into a naval power. In *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, Mahan asserted that since ancient times, many great nations had owed their greatness to powerful navies. He called upon America to build a modern fleet. Mahan also argued that the United States would need to acquire foreign bases where American ships could refuel and gather fresh supplies. Influenced by the ideas of Mahan and others, the United States expanded and modernized its navy by building new steel-plated, steam-powered battleships such as the USS *Maine*. By 1900, the United States had the third largest navy in the world.

Vocabulary Builder

commodity—(kuh MAHD uh tee)
n. anything bought or sold; any article of commerce

A Strong Navy

Prominent imperialists like Alfred T. Mahan called for a strong American navy to protect U.S. interests overseas. *How could a strong navy benefit American exporters?*



HISTORY MAKERS

Alfred T. Mahan (1840–1914)
Mahan, a naval officer and historian, urged American leaders to build a stronger navy and to obtain naval bases in Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines. He also argued that the United States should build a canal across Central America so its ships could move quickly between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. American leaders eventually adopted all of Mahan’s ideas to bolster the power of the United States Navy.

Imperialists Believe in National Superiority Imperialists around the world used ideas of racial, national, and cultural superiority to justify imperialism. One of these ideas was **Social Darwinism**, the belief that life consists of competitive struggles in which only the fittest survive. Social Darwinists felt that certain nations and races were superior to others and therefore were destined to rule over inferior peoples and cultures. Prominent Americans worried that if the United States remained isolated while European nations gobbled up the rest of the world, America would not survive.

One reason that these Americans embraced Social Darwinism was that they had long believed that God had granted them the right and responsibility to settle the frontier. They spoke of America’s “Manifest Destiny” to expand all the way to the Pacific Ocean. In a best-selling work titled *Our Country*, Josiah Strong picked up on this theme. A religious missionary, Strong argued that Americans had a responsibility to spread their Western values. “God is training the Anglo-Saxon race,” he asserted, “for its mission [to civilize] weaker races.” American missionaries who shared Strong’s belief journeyed to foreign lands to gain converts to Christianity.

In *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, historian **Frederick Jackson Turner** noted that the frontier had been closed by gradual settlement in the nineteenth century. Throughout American history, he continued, the frontier had traditionally supplied an arena where ambitious Americans could pursue their fortunes and secure a fresh start. It had thus served as a “safety valve,” siphoning off potential discontent. Now that America had spanned the continent, advocates of Turner’s thesis urged overseas expansion as a way to keep the “safety valve” open and avoid internal conflict.

Nationalism Fuels Pursuit of Empire

In the late nineteenth century, patriotic songs by composers such as John Philip Sousa reinforced Americans’ widespread belief in the national superiority of the United States. *How did nationalism contribute to the rise of American imperialism?*

 **Checkpoint** What factors influenced Americans to play a more active role in the world?

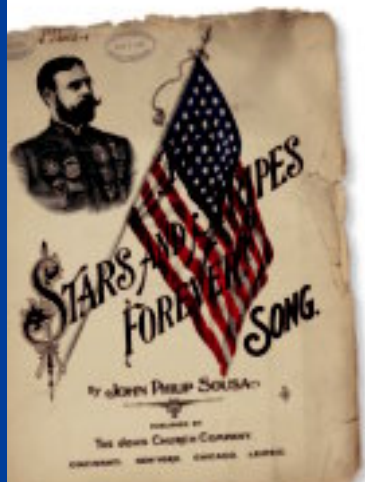
America’s First Steps Toward World Power

Beginning in the mid-1800s, with little fanfare, America focused more and more on expanding its trade and acquiring new territories. One of America’s first moves toward world power came before the Civil War.

U.S. Power Grows in the Pacific In 1853, Commodore **Matthew Perry** sailed a fleet of American warships into present-day Tokyo Bay, Japan. Prior to Perry’s arrival, Japan had denied the rest of the world access to its ports. In fact, because most Japanese people had never seen steamships before, they thought the ships in Perry’s fleet were “giant dragons puffing smoke.” Perry cleverly won the Japanese emperor’s favor by showering him with lavish gifts. Japanese leaders also realized that by closing off their nation to the outside world, they had fallen behind in military technology. Within a year, Perry negotiated a treaty that opened Japan to trade with America.

Perry’s journey set a precedent for further expansion across the Pacific Ocean. In 1867, the United States took possession of the Midway Islands. Treaties in 1875 and 1887 increased trade with the Hawaiian Islands and gave the United States the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

Seward Purchases Alaska In 1867, Secretary of State William Seward bought Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million. Journalists scoffed at the purchase and referred to Alaska as “Seward’s Folly” and “Seward’s Icebox.” They wondered why the United States would want a vast tundra of snow and ice 1,000 miles north



Causes of Imperialism

 **Quick Study**

Economic gain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Industrialists want raw materials for industries in their home countries. Entrepreneurs want to sell their goods and invest in new overseas markets.
Militarism	Colonial powers seek bases for naval forces that protect their global trade networks.
Nationalism and Social Darwinism	Imperialists feel a moral duty to spread their culture to peoples they consider inferior.

U.S. Acquisitions in the Pacific

Geography Interactive
For: Interactive map
Web Code: nep-0502



Map Skills Between 1853 and 1898, the United States opened Japan to American trade and gained valuable possessions across the Pacific Ocean.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Japan, (b) Alaska, (c) Hawaiian Islands
- 2. Place** Which islands lie about halfway between the United States and Japan?
- 3. Analyze** Why were the Hawaiian Islands important to U.S. naval and merchant ships?



Engraving of Matthew Perry on an animal tusk

of its border. But Seward's purchase almost doubled the country's size, and the "ice-box" turned out to be rich in timber, oil, and other natural resources. Alaska also greatly expanded America's reach across the Pacific. Scholars today see Seward's purchase as a key milestone on America's road to power.

U.S. Influence in Latin America Grows U.S. businessmen saw Latin America as a natural place to expand their trade and investments. Secretary of State James Blaine helped them by sponsoring the First International Pan-American Conference in 1889. Blaine preached the benefits of economic cooperation to delegates of 17 Latin American countries. The conference also paved the way for the construction of the Pan-American Highway system, which linked the United States to Central and South America.

In 1895, tensions rose between America and Great Britain because of a border dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela. Claiming that Britain was violating the Monroe Doctrine, President Cleveland threatened U.S. intervention. After some international saber-rattling, the British accepted a growing U.S. sphere of influence in Latin America. Relations between Britain and the United States soon improved.

✓ Checkpoint Why did journalists criticize Seward for his purchase of Alaska?

The United States Acquires Hawaii

The Hawaiian Islands had been economically linked to the United States for almost a century. Since the 1790s, American merchant ships had stopped at Hawaii on their way to East Asia. Missionaries had established Christian churches and schools on the islands. Americans had also established sugar cane

TRACK THE ISSUE



Should the United States expand its territory?

The United States has expanded its territory many times. It has done so through various means, including negotiation, treaty, annexation, and war. But territorial expansion has often aroused strong debate among Americans. Use the timeline below to explore this enduring issue.

1803 Louisiana Purchase

Jefferson buys Louisiana Territory despite doubts about constitutionality.

1845 Texas Annexation

Texas joins the Union despite opposition from Mexico and nonslave states.

1848 Mexican Cession

United States gains vast lands in the Southwest as a result of war with Mexico.

1867 Alaska Purchase

Critics say Alaska is an icebox and call the deal "Seward's Folly."

1893 Hawaiian Revolt

American planters overthrow Queen Liliuokalani and pave way to annexation in 1898.

1898 Spanish-American War

Victory over Spain puts Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam under U.S. control.



Queen Liliuokalani



Protesters want to restore the native sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands.

DEBATE THE ISSUE

Native Hawaiian Sovereignty In 1898, the United States annexed Hawaii without the consent of native Hawaiians. In recent years, some Hawaiians have called for the return of native sovereignty. One possible solution is the establishment of some form of self-rule for natives, much like the "nation within a nation" status of Native Americans.

"For the overwhelming majority of Hawaiians, justice means political status and federal recognition, the restoration of our inherent sovereignty and redress from the United States for the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii. . . . Although there are more Hawaiians than . . . any other native peoples in the United States, Hawaiians have remained without recognition of our right to self-govern."

—Clayton Hee, Office of Hawaiian Affairs

"Would the citizens of [a] Native Hawaiian government—like reservation Indians—be immune from state laws, regulations and taxes? . . . If Congress were to create a separate tribal government for Native Hawaiians, it would be imposing just such a system on the people of Hawaii. Persons of different races, who live together in the same society, would be subject to different legal codes. This . . . is a recipe for permanent racial conflict."

—John Kyl, senator from Arizona



TRANSFER Activities

- 1. Compare** How do the two speakers differ on the issue of self-rule for Hawaiians?
- 2. Analyze** If Native Hawaiians gain sovereignty, how would their lives change?
- 3. Transfer** Use the following Web site to see a video, try a WebQuest, and write in your journal. **Web Code:** neh-7802

plantations there. In 1887, American planters convinced King Kalakaua (kah LAH kah oo ah) to amend Hawaii's constitution so that voting rights were limited to only wealthy landowners, who were, of course, the white planters.

American Planters Increase Their Power In the early 1890s, American planters in Hawaii faced two crises. First, a new U.S. tariff law imposed duties on previously duty-free Hawaiian sugar. This made Hawaiian sugar more expensive than sugar produced in the United States. The sugar-growers in Hawaii therefore feared that they would suffer decreasing sales and profits.

The other problem was that in 1891, Kalakaua died and his sister Liliuokalani (lih lee oo oh kah LAH nee) was his successor. A determined Hawaiian nationalist, **Queen Liliuokalani** resented the increasing power of the white planters, who owned much of the Hawaiian land. She abolished the constitution that had given political power to the white minority.

With the backing of U.S. officials, the American planters responded quickly and forcefully. In 1893, they overthrew the queen. John Stevens, U.S. minister to Hawaii, ordered United States Marines to help the rebels seize power. The new government, led by wealthy planter Sanford B. Dole, asked President Benjamin Harrison to annex Hawaii into the United States.

The United States Annexes Hawaii President Harrison signed the treaty of annexation but could not get the required Senate approval before Grover Cleveland became President. Cleveland ordered a full investigation, which revealed that the majority of the Hawaiian people did not approve of the treaty. Cleveland refused to sign the agreement and apologized for the “flagrant wrong” done by the “reprehensible conduct of the American minister.”

However, American sentiment for annexation remained strong, especially on the West Coast, where California business interests had close ties with the planters in Hawaii. In 1897, a new President entered the White House. William McKinley's administration favored annexation, and in 1898, after the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, Congress proclaimed Hawaii an official U.S. territory.



Checkpoint How did American planters react to Queen Liliuokalani's actions when she gained power?

Vocabulary Builder

successor—(suhk SEHS uhr) *n.*
person or thing that succeeds, or follows, another

SECTION

1

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0504

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each person listed below, write a sentence explaining his or her significance to American imperialism.
 - Alfred T. Mahan
 - Frederick J. Turner
 - Matthew Perry
 - Queen Liliuokalani

- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Main Ideas** Use your concept web to answer the Section Focus Question: How and why did the United States take a more active role in world affairs?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Choose a Topic** To write a narrative essay, start by choosing a topic. Suppose that you want to write a narrative from the perspective of the American imperialist Alfred T. Mahan. Make a list of topics that interest you, such as the construction of new battleships for the United States Navy or an account of a U.S. exploration for unclaimed territory in the Pacific Ocean. You may want to do research in books and on the Internet before you decide on a topic.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Evaluate Information** Which of the motives for American imperialism do you think was the most important? Why?
- 5. Compare Points of View** How did public opinion about the purchase of Alaska in 1867 differ from the view of historians today?
- 6. Make Decisions** If you had been President in 1894, would you have supported or opposed the annexation of Hawaii? Give reasons for your answer.

1898
recruiting
poster ▶



▲ Nameplate from the *Maine*'s wreckage

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

Remember the *Maine*!

On February 15, 1898, an explosion ripped through the hull of the USS *Maine* in Havana harbor, in the Spanish colony of Cuba. More than 250 American sailors died. The incident ignited a furor as Americans clamored for war with Spain. In newspapers, speeches, and songs, patriots implored their fellow citizens to remember the *Maine*:

“And shall our country let it pass, this deed of foul intent?
And shall our country dare believe it was an accident? . . .
Come arm, we all, and let us teach a lesson to bold Spain.
We will avenge, by more than speech the destruction of the
Maine!”

—H. W. Petrie, lyrics from “The Wreck of the *Maine*,” 1898

The Spanish-American War

Objectives

- Explain the causes of the Spanish-American War.
- Identify the major battles of the war.
- Describe the consequences of the war, including the debate over imperialism.

Terms and People

José Martí	George Dewey
William Randolph Hearst	Emilio Aguinaldo
Yellow Press	Rough Riders
jingoism	Treaty of Paris

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Identify Causes and Effects

Note the causes, key events, and effects of the Spanish-American War.

Cause	Spanish-American War	Effect
•	• Dewey destroys Spanish fleet	• U.S. acquires Philippines
•		•

Why It Matters American power and economic interests around the world were growing. Still, the United States remained reluctant to risk war with other powers to acquire colonies. That changed, however, in 1898, when America went to war against Spain. The United States acquired colonies and became a world power. **Section Focus Question:** What were the causes and effects of the Spanish-American War?

Causes of the War

At the end of the nineteenth century, Spain was an imperial nation in decline. Its formerly vast empire had dwindled to a small number of possessions, including the Philippine Islands in the Pacific and the Caribbean islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Cubans Rebel Against Spanish Rule By 1897, American entrepreneurs had invested \$50 million in sugar cane plantations and other ventures in Cuba, which lay just 90 miles off the Florida coast. These businessmen saw Cuba as a growing market for American products. However, the island was very unstable. Yearning for freedom, the Cubans repeatedly rebelled against Spanish rule.

In 1895, Cuban patriot **José Martí** launched a war for independence from Spain. With cries of “*Cuba Libre!*” (“Free Cuba!”), rebel fighters used guerrilla tactics of hit-and-run raids against Spanish forces. In response, Spanish General Valeriano Weyler devised a



Rebellion in Cuba

Spain sent 150,000 troops and one of its best generals, Valeriano Weyler, to smash the uprising. Here, rebel cavalry forces charge into battle. *What attitude do you think the artist had toward the rebels? How can you tell?*

plan to deprive the rebels of food and recruits. He herded the rural population into reconcentration camps, where tens of thousands died from disease and starvation. Meanwhile, the Cubans and Spanish destroyed American property.

Many Americans favored the Cubans, whose struggle for freedom and democracy reminded Americans of their own revolutionary heritage. The brutality of Spanish tactics intensified American affection and sympathy for the rebels. But other Americans, especially business people, were worried about U.S. economic interests in Cuba and hoped that Spain would quickly put down the rebellion.

The Yellow Press Inflames Opinion Rival newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and **William Randolph Hearst** heightened the public's dislike of the Spanish government. Their publications were called the **Yellow Press** because they featured a popular comic-strip character called The Yellow Kid. To boost readership, Pulitzer's *New York World*, Hearst's *New York Journal*, and similar newspapers pasted sensational headlines and pictures on their front pages. Their stories exaggerated Spanish atrocities and compared Cuban rebels to the patriots of the American Revolution.

President William McKinley warned the Spanish to quickly establish peace, or the United States would take whatever steps it "should deem necessary to procure this result." Spain recalled General Weyler and offered the Cuban rebels some reforms. But the rebels insisted on independence, which Spain refused to grant. McKinley ordered the battleship *Maine* to Havana harbor to protect American citizens in Cuba.

Then, in February 1898, the *Journal* published a private letter written by Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, Spain's ambassador to Washington, D.C. The letter, stolen by Cuban rebels and leaked to Hearst, called McKinley a weak and stupid politician. Hearst published the letter under the sensational headline, "Worst Insult to the United States in Its History." The letter fueled American **jingoism**, or aggressive nationalism, and inflamed relations with Spain.

The Maine Blows Up Soon after the *Journal* published de Lôme's letter, the *Maine* exploded in Havana harbor. Of the 350 officers and crew on board at the time, 266 died. The Yellow Press promptly accused Spain of blowing up the battleship. One *Journal* headline even declared: "War? Sure!"

But President McKinley did not ask Congress to declare war just yet. Instead, he ordered a special naval board of inquiry to investigate the cause of the explosion. On March 28, 1898, the board concluded that a mine had destroyed the battleship. Years later, follow-up investigations raised doubts about the naval board's findings, but, at the time, most people blamed Spain.

The Nation Goes to War War fever gripped the nation. In newspapers, speeches, and songs, patriotic Americans implored their fellow citizens to "Remember the *Maine*!" In response to American demands, Spain agreed to abolish the reconcentration camps and make other concessions, but it was too little too late. On April 11, 1898, McKinley asked Congress for the authority to use force against Spain to end the fighting in Cuba "in the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests."

Eight days later, Congress enacted four resolutions that amounted to a declaration of war on Spain. The fourth resolution—the Teller Amendment—stipulated that the United States had no intention of annexing Cuba. The navy quickly blockaded Cuban ports, and McKinley called for more than 100,000 volunteers to join the army. In response, Spain declared war on the United States.

✔ **Checkpoint** Why did Americans object to Spanish actions in Cuba?

Vocabulary Builder

stipulate—(STIHHP yuh layt) *v.* to include specifically in the terms of an agreement

Spanish misrule of Cuba and the sinking of the USS *Maine* moved the nation toward war with Spain. ▼



● INFOGRAPHIC

To War!

THE COMING OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

Three circumstances came together to sweep the United States into war in 1898: Two New York newspapers, *The New York World* and the *New York Journal*, were competing for bigger readership. Cubans were rebelling against Spain, and the United States was immersed in the spirit of imperialism.

When Cuban rebels burned plantations and blew up trains, Spain responded with brutal measures. The *Journal* and the *World* inflamed American public opinion—and increased their sales—by printing tabloid headlines about Spanish atrocities. Then, shortly after the U.S. government dispatched the USS *Maine* to Cuba to protect American interests, the ship exploded in Havana harbor. Americans clamored for war.

American Troops Battle the Spanish

Americans responded enthusiastically to the war. About 200,000 men enlisted in the army, up from the 25,000 that enlisted at the beginning of 1898. In early May, as the United States Army prepared to attack, Americans heard news of a great naval victory over Spain. But, surprisingly, the victory was not in Cuba. Rather, it was in the Pacific Ocean, on the opposite side of the world.

Dewey Takes the Philippines On May 1, 1898, Commodore **George Dewey** steamed his squadron of vessels into Manila Bay, in the Spanish-held Philippines. The Americans completely surprised the Spanish fleet that was stationed in the bay. Upon issuing the order to “fire when ready,” Dewey watched his ships quickly destroy the Spanish force. While no American died during the naval battle, nearly 400 Spanish sailors lost their lives. Americans gleefully received news of the victory and proclaimed Dewey a hero.

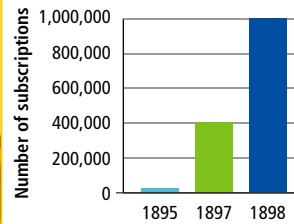
While Dewey was winning an astounding victory over the Spanish navy, Filipino nationalists led by **Emilio Aguinaldo** (ahg ee NAHL doh) were defeating the Spanish army. Like the Cubans, the Filipinos were fighting for freedom from Spain. In August, after some 15,000 U.S. soldiers had landed on the islands, Spanish troops surrendered to the United States.

U.S. Forces Win in Cuba Meanwhile, American troops landed in Cuba in June 1898. U.S. Marines captured Guantánamo Bay, and a force of 17,000 soldiers under U.S. Army General William Shafter stormed ashore east of Santiago.

In spite of their excitement for the war, the troops faced deplorable conditions. They were poorly trained and supplied. As they assembled for duty around

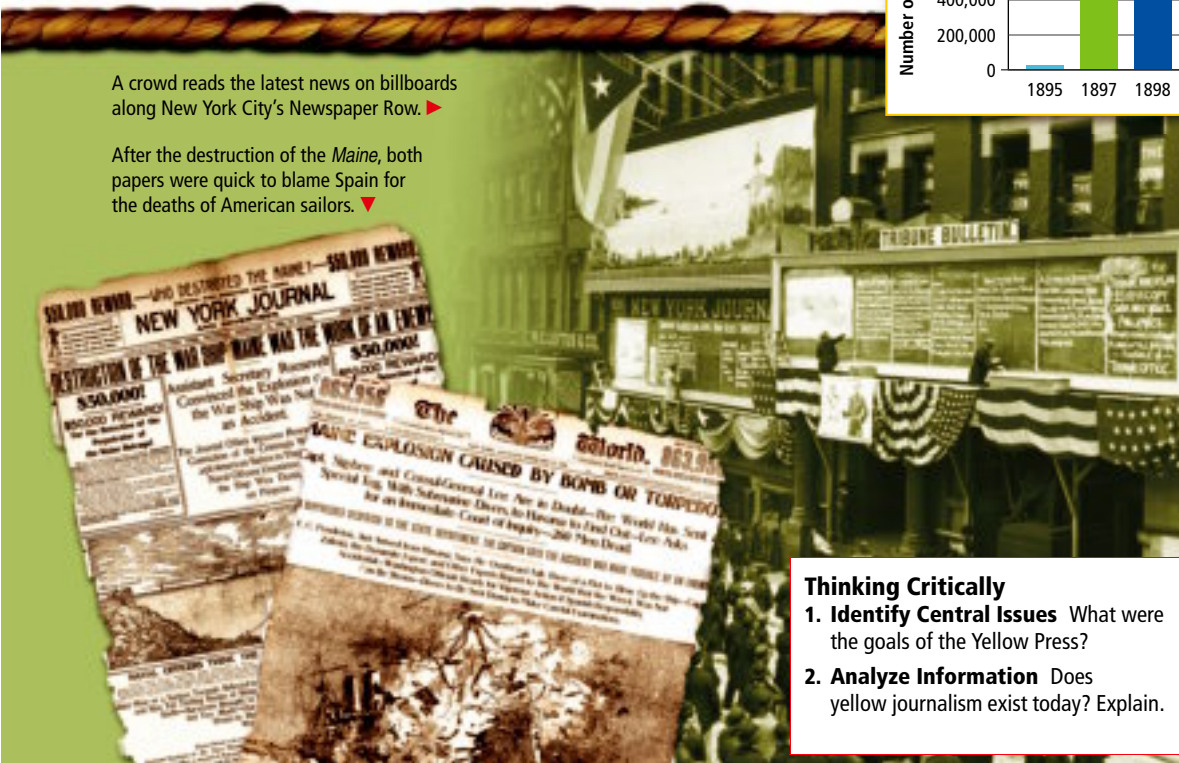
With each new headline, the Yellow Press sold more papers to Americans angry with Spain. ▼

New York Journal Sales



A crowd reads the latest news on billboards along New York City's Newspaper Row. ▶

After the destruction of the *Maine*, both papers were quick to blame Spain for the deaths of American sailors. ▼



Thinking Critically

- Identify Central Issues** What were the goals of the Yellow Press?
- Analyze Information** Does yellow journalism exist today? Explain.

Vocabulary Builder

obsolete—(ahb suh LEET) *adj.* no longer in use or practice; out of date

Tampa, Florida, the soldiers were issued **obsolete** weapons and heavy wool uniforms that were unsuitable for Cuba's tropical climate. Corrupt and inefficient officials provided the men with rotting and contaminated food.

General Shafter's army consisted of state National Guard units and regular army units, including the African American Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments from the western frontier. Another cavalry unit was organized and commanded by the future President Theodore Roosevelt. His **Rough Riders** consisted of rugged westerners and upper-class easterners who relished what Roosevelt called the "strenuous life."

The Rough Riders and Roosevelt gained fame for the role they played in the battles for Kettle and San Juan hills outside Santiago, Cuba. Joined by African American soldiers from the Ninth and Tenth Cavalries, the Riders stormed up those hills to secure high ground surrounding Santiago. One war correspondent described a charge of the African American soldiers:

Primary Source

"[T]hey followed their leader up the terrible hill from whose crest the desperate Spaniards poured down a deadly fire of shell and musketry. They never faltered. . . . [T]heir aim was splendid, their coolness was superb. . . . The war had not shown greater heroism."

—War correspondent, 1898

Two days after the battle of San Juan Hill, the Spanish navy made a desperate attempt to escape from Santiago's harbor. U.S. forces, which had blockaded the harbor, destroyed the Spanish fleet as it tried to break out. Surrounded, outnumbered, and dispirited, Spanish forces in Santiago surrendered. Although a few battles followed when U.S. forces occupied the island of Puerto Rico, another Spanish

- ▼ Regimental flag carried by African American soldiers

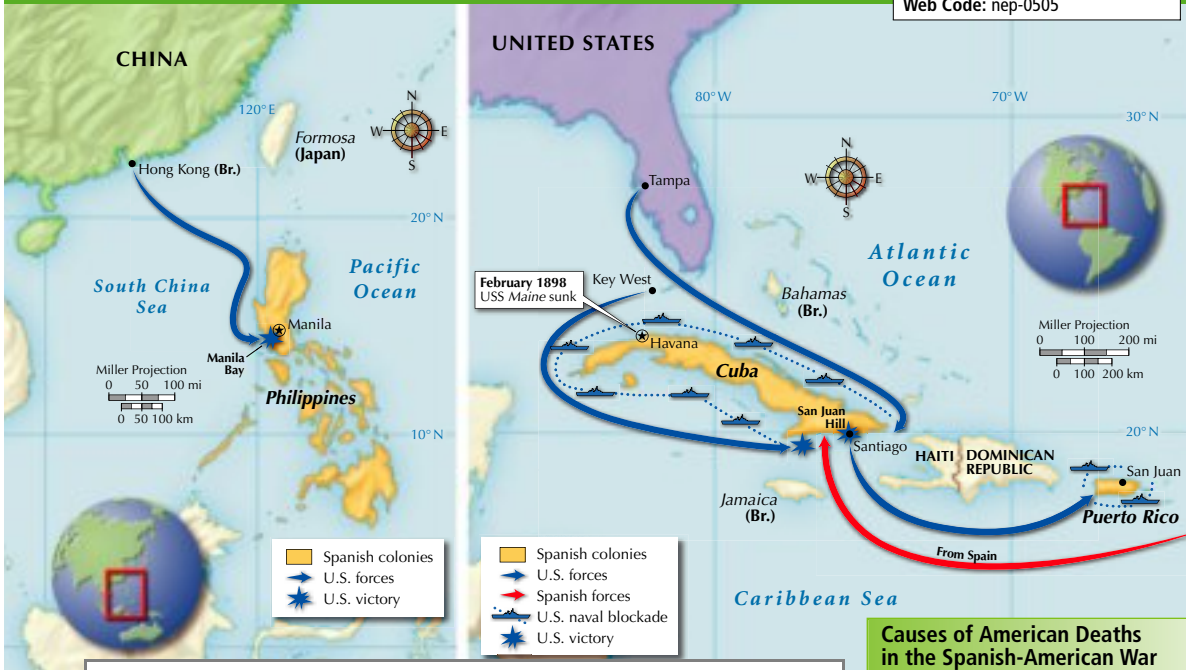


African Americans Serve Their Country

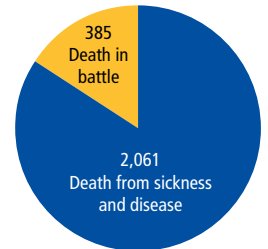
African American soldiers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments stand at attention after fighting the Spanish in Cuba. The medals above were won by Augustus L. Reed, an African American officer in the United States Navy.



The Spanish-American War, 1898



Causes of American Deaths in the Spanish-American War



SOURCE: Historical Statistics of the United States

possession, the fighting had come to an end. Although almost 3,000 Americans died during the war, only around 380 died in combat. Disease, especially malaria and yellow fever, caused most of the deaths.

✓ Checkpoint How did the Rough Riders and African American cavalry units contribute to the war effort?

Effects of the War

Secretary of State John Hay referred to the conflict with Spain as a “splendid little war” because of the ease and thoroughness of America’s victory. Although the war may have been “splendid,” it created a new dilemma for Americans: What should the United States do with Spain’s former possessions?

The Treaty of Paris Signed by Spain and the United States in December 1898, the **Treaty of Paris** officially ended the war. Spain gave up control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Pacific island of Guam. It also sold the Philippines to the United States for \$20 million.

The Teller Amendment, passed by Congress when it declared war on Spain, prevented the United States from taking possession of Cuba. The amendment did not, however, apply to the Philippines. Americans disagreed over whether to grant the Philippines independence or take full control of the Pacific nation.


Americans Debate Imperialism In an 1899 interview, President McKinley explained, “We could not give [the Philippines] back to Spain—that would be cowardly and dishonorable.” He believed that America had no choice but to “take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize . . . them.” McKinley’s imperialist supporters presented similar reasons for maintaining control of the Philippines. They argued that the United States had a responsibility to govern the Filipinos. They reasoned that the islands represented a valuable stepping stone to trade in China. They warned that if the United States gave up the Philippines, other nations would take control of them.

Anti-imperialists, including William Jennings Bryan and Mark Twain, rejected these arguments. In 1899, a large group of anti-imperialists formed the American Anti-Imperialist League. The league condemned imperialism as a crime and attacked it as “open disloyalty to the distinctive principles of our government.”

The debate between imperialists and anti-imperialists reached its climax in the U.S. Senate, where senators had to consider ratifying the Treaty of Paris. In February 1899, the Senate voted 57 to 27 in favor of the treaty. By a single “yes” ballot, the vote met the two-thirds majority necessary to ratify the treaty.

America Assumes a New Role in the World In 1900, William Jennings Bryan ran against William McKinley for the presidency. To bolster his chances of winning reelection, the Republican McKinley named Theodore Roosevelt, the “hero of San Juan Hill,” as his vice-presidential running mate. Emphasizing the overwhelming U.S. victory over Spain, McKinley soundly defeated Bryan. The President’s reelection signaled America’s continuing faith in his imperialist policies.

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States had an empire and a new stature in world affairs. The war marked a turning point in the history of American foreign policy.

 **Checkpoint** Why did American leaders think it was important to keep the Philippines?

Progress Monitoring *Online*

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0506

Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** What do the following terms and people have in common?
 - José Martí
 - William Randolph Hearst
 - Yellow Press
 - jingoism
- 2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Causes and Effects** Use your cause-and-effect chart to answer the Section Focus Question: What were the causes and effects of the Spanish-American War?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Gather Details** When you write a narrative essay, you often need to gather details about your topic. Suppose that you want to write a narrative diary entry as a witness to the destruction of the USS *Maine*. Conduct research to find descriptions of the explosion and illustrations of the event from newspapers of the time. You may want to research particular newspapers such as the *New York World* and the *New York Journal*.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Draw Conclusions** Do you think the United States would have gone to war with Spain without the explosion of the *Maine*? Why or why not?
- 5. Identify Points of View** Who might agree with John Hay’s opinion that the Spanish-American War was a “splendid little war”? Who might disagree? Why?
- 6. Summarize** What were the principal issues dividing imperialists and anti-imperialists?



▲ An American soldier and two Filipino women

WITNESS HISTORY AUDIO

A Plea for Peace

Sixto Lopez, a leading Filipino spokesman, wrote to President McKinley to express his disapproval of America's decision to keep control of the Philippines. When he wrote the letter, many Filipinos had already taken up arms against the U.S. military.

“I only know that the Filipino people are asking for [what] the American people have enjoyed for more than a hundred years. . . . At this season of peace I plead for peace. I plead on behalf of the wife and mother whose cheeks are coursing the silent tears . . . on behalf of the sad little faces, too young to realize what has happened. . . .”

—Sixto Lopez, 1900

The United States and East Asia

Objectives

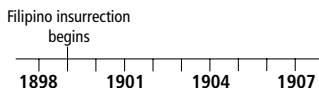
- Examine the causes and consequences of the Philippine insurrection.
- Analyze the effects of the Open Door Policy.
- Describe how the United States dealt with the rising power of Japan.

Terms and People

insurrection	Open Door Policy
guerrilla warfare	Russo-Japanese War
William Howard Taft	“Gentlemen’s Agreement”
sphere of influence	Great White Fleet
John Hay	
Boxer Rebellion	

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Recognize Sequence As you read, use a timeline to trace events and developments in East Asia that tested America’s new global power.



Why It Matters America’s decision to keep the Philippines reflected a desire to expand its influence, compete with European colonial powers, and gain new trade in Asia. American leaders devised policies to open China and other Asian markets to U.S. producers. They also wanted to extend the benefits of American culture to the people of the region. Imperialism in East Asia brought greater power and wealth to Americans, but it also increased international tensions in Asia. **Section Focus Question:** How did the United States extend its influence in Asia?

Filipinos Rebel Against U.S. Rule

The Filipino nationalist leader Emilio Aguinaldo had thought that the United States was an ally in the Filipino struggle for independence. His forces had fought side by side with the Americans against the Spanish. However, after the United States decided to maintain possession of the Philippines, Aguinaldo grew disillusioned with America. He helped organize an **insurrection**, or rebellion, against U.S. rule. The rebels believed they were fighting for the same principle of self-rule that had inspired America’s colonial patriots during the American Revolution.

Guerrilla War Erupts in the Philippines Outgunned by American troops, Filipino insurgents relied on **guerrilla warfare**, a form of non-traditional warfare generally involving small bands of fighters

War and Peace in the Philippines

War: In 1899, Filipino rebels launched an uprising to fight the U.S. occupation of the Philippines. The American response was swift and brutal. Villages were burned, crops were destroyed, and suspected *insurrectos* were lined up and shot. Guerrillas led by Emilio Aguinaldo retaliated against American soldiers with bullets and knives. Heavy fighting raged for two years.

Peace: The tone of the American campaign for order changed when William Howard Taft replaced the U.S. military commander as governor general in 1901. Although clashes continued in some locations for decades, Taft's civilian administrators and their Filipino supporters worked hard to rebuild the war-torn islands.

◀ American soldiers take cover in a trench outside Manila.

Emilio Aguinaldo poses on ▶ horseback in front of his army.

to attack behind American lines. In turn, the American military used extraordinary measures to crush the rebellion. Like the Spanish in Cuba, U.S. soldiers gathered civilians into overcrowded concentration camps. General Jacob Smith ordered his soldiers not to take prisoners. "I wish you to kill and burn, the more you kill and burn the better you will please me," he commented. A California newspaper defended such actions:

Primary Source "Let us all be frank. WE DO NOT WANT THE FILIPINOS. WE DO WANT THE PHILIPPINES. All of our troubles in this annexation matter have been caused by the presence in the Philippine Islands of the Filipinos. . . . The more of them killed the better. It seems harsh. But they must yield before the superior race."

—San Francisco *Argonaut*, 1902

In the spring of 1901, the Americans captured Aguinaldo. Although the fighting did not end immediately, his capture marked the beginning of the end of the insurrection. The war in the Philippines took more lives than the Spanish-American War. Nearly 5,000 Americans and 200,000 Filipinos died in the fighting. The U.S. government sent more than 100,000 troops to fight in the war and spent upwards of \$400 million to defeat the insurgency. The conflict highlighted the rigors of fighting against guerrilla insurgents.

Reforms Lead to Promise of Self-Rule In 1901, **William Howard Taft**—a future President of the United States—became governor of the Philippines. Taft had large ambitions for helping the islands recover from the rebellion. He censored the press and placed dissidents in jail to maintain order and to win the support of the Filipino people. At the same time, he extended limited self-rule and ordered the construction of schools, roads, and bridges.

Vocabulary Builder

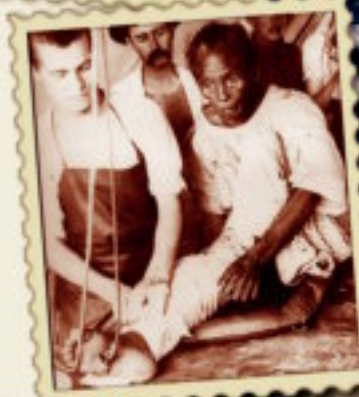
rigor—(RIHG uhr) *n.* extreme hardship or difficulty

- ▲ Filipino rebels often used bolo knives in addition to rifles to fight American soldiers.



The American presence in the Philippines provided several benefits for Filipinos:

- **Political reform:** After 1901, Taft's civilian government extended limited self-rule to Filipinos. The Philippine Assembly (shown above) convened in Manila in 1907.
- **Healthcare:** U.S. administrators established a public health system to care for Filipinos. At right, American doctors aid a Filipino woman wounded during the insurrection.
- **Education:** The American commission also built new schools for Filipino children and staffed them with teachers from the United States. (See photo at far right.)



In 1916, Congress passed the Jones Act, which pledged that the Philippines would ultimately gain their independence. Thirty years later, after U.S. forces liberated the islands from Japanese occupation at the end of World War II, the Philippines finally became an independent nation.

- ✔ **Checkpoint** Why did hostilities erupt in the Philippines after the Spanish-American War?

The United States Pursues Interests in China

By 1899, once-mighty China had fallen into political, economic, and military disarray. Its huge population, however, was a tempting target for other nations' imported goods. Rather than compete for Chinese trade, Britain, France, Germany, and Russia carved China into distinct **spheres of influence**. Within its zone, each power had privileged access to Chinese ports and markets. Japan also expanded its regional influence, grabbing territory in China and Korea. Since the United States did not have a zone, this system of "special privileges" threatened to limit American trade in China.

America Declares Equal Trade in China In order to overcome these barriers, U.S. Secretary of State **John Hay** issued the first of a series of notes to foreign diplomats in 1899. He notified the leaders of imperialist nations that the United States expected "perfect equality of treatment for commerce" in China. Hay's note had little immediate impact on the actions of European nations or Japan. However, it served as a guiding principle of American foreign policy in Asia for years to come.

Thinking Critically

1. Make Generalizations

How did the Filipino uprising present a new challenge to American soldiers?

2. **Explain Effects** What two things happened in 1901 that signaled a shift in the rebellion?

History Interactive

For: To discover more about the Filipino insurrection
Web Code: nep-0509

The U.S. Intervenes in the Boxer Rebellion In response to the growing influence of outsiders in their country, some Chinese joined secret societies. One such society, the Righteous and Harmonious Fists, won the nickname “Boxers” from Europeans because its members trained in martial arts. The secret societies celebrated traditional Chinese customs and criticized Western ways. They also condemned Chinese converts to Christianity. Over time, simmering anger exploded into an outright rebellion against the “foreign devils.”

In May 1900, the Boxers killed foreign missionaries and besieged the foreign diplomats’ district in Beijing. A multinational force of European, American, and Japanese troops was sent to the Chinese capital to quash the **Boxer Rebellion**. An initial force of 2,100 soldiers grew to more than 20,000, including 2,000 Americans. After putting down the rebellion, European powers compelled China’s imperial government to pay an indemnity, or money to repair damage caused by the rebellion. This poured more fuel onto the nationalist fire. Chinese nationalists would eventually revolt and overthrow the emperor in 1911.

Hay Reaffirms the Open Door Policy As the Boxer Rebellion engulfed China, Secretary of State Hay reasserted America’s **Open Door Policy**. In a second note to European powers, Hay stated that the United States wanted to “preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity.” In other words, America did not want colonies in China; it just wanted free trade there. As an act of goodwill, the United States used some of the indemnity money it received from China to fund scholarships for Chinese students to study in America.

 **Checkpoint** How did the United States protect its commercial interests in China?

Tensions Rise Between America and Japan

Like the United States, Japan wanted to expand its influence in China. Japan also disapproved of the European “carve-up” of the region. Furthermore, the Japanese took offense to the presence of Russian troops in Manchuria, a region of China that bordered Russia. In February 1904, without a declaration of war, Japan attacked and bottled up Russia’s Pacific fleet stationed at Port Arthur, China. The Japanese followed up on this victory with a series of major land engagements in Manchuria that caused more than 100,000 Russian casualties. However, Japan also suffered heavy losses in the fighting.

American Soldiers Rescue Diplomats in China

U.S. troops went into the Chinese capital of Beijing in 1900 to help put an end to the Boxer Rebellion. Below, the troops march through the Forbidden City in close ranks.




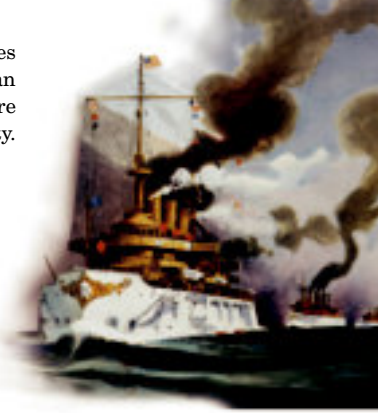
Roosevelt Settles the Russo-Japanese War In 1905, representatives from Russia and Japan met in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to negotiate an end to the **Russo-Japanese War**. When the talks stalled, President Theodore Roosevelt intervened and convinced the two sides to sign a peace treaty. (Roosevelt had become President when McKinley was assassinated in 1901.) For his efforts, Roosevelt won the Nobel Peace Prize. The President's intervention—and his receipt of the famous award—prominently displayed America's growing role in world affairs.

Anti-Asian Prejudice Troubles Relations Despite Roosevelt's achievement, America entered troubled waters in its relations with Japan. A root cause of this trouble was anti-Asian sentiment on the West Coast of the United States. In the fall of 1906, the San Francisco School Board banned Japanese, Chinese, and Korean children from attending public schools with white children. The incident drew Japan's immediate wrath. One Tokyo journal demanded that Japan retaliate. "Stand up Japanese nation! Our countrymen have been HUMILIATED on the other side of the Pacific," the newspaper cried out.

Roosevelt disapproved of the decision to segregate Asian children in the San Francisco schools. He understood Japan's anger with America. To calm tensions, he negotiated a "**Gentlemen's Agreement**" with Japan. According to the pact, the school board pledged to end its segregation policy. In return, Japan agreed to limit the emigration of its citizens to the United States.

The Great White Fleet Sets Sail While Roosevelt used diplomacy to ease tensions with Japan, he also promoted military preparedness to protect U.S. interests in Asia. Expressing rising concerns about Japan's territorial expansion at the expense of China, Korea, and Russia—the President won congressional support for a new force of navy ships, known as the **Great White Fleet**. In 1907, Roosevelt sent this armada of 16 white battleships on a "good will cruise" around the world. The voyage of the Great White Fleet demonstrated America's increased military power to the world.

 **Checkpoint** What were some of the difficulties America faced in maintaining good relations with Japan?



A Mighty American Fleet

After stopping at several Latin American ports, the Great White Fleet moved on to Asia and made a friendly visit to the Japanese port city of Yokohama. *How do you think the Japanese felt about the U.S. warships' visit?*

SECTION

3

Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0507

Comprehension

1. Terms and People For each item below, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- insurrection
- guerrilla warfare
- William Howard Taft
- Boxer Rebellion
- Open Door Policy

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Recognize Sequence Use your timeline to answer the Section Focus Question: How did the United States extend its influence in Asia?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write an Introduction A narrative essay needs an introduction that "hooks" a reader and draws him or her into your story. Suppose that you want to write a narrative from the perspective of an American sailor aboard a battleship in the Great White Fleet. Draft an introduction that captures the excitement and purpose of the fleet's departure from America.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Recognize Bias** Based on what you have read, what role do you think racial attitudes played in U.S. policy in the Philippines?
- 5. Analyze Information** Identify two threats to U.S. interests in China, and describe how the U.S. government responded to those threats.
- 6. Apply Information** How do President Roosevelt's actions toward Japan illustrate the use of diplomacy and compromise?

4



▲ William Howard Taft

◀ Newspaper announcing Taft's goal

WITNESS HISTORY  AUDIO**Dollars for Bullets**

Like President Roosevelt, President William Howard Taft stressed the need to assert American power around the world. Taft's "dollar diplomacy" aimed to expand American investments abroad:

“The diplomacy of the present administration . . . has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets. . . . It is [a policy] frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the axiomatic principle that the government of the United States shall extend all proper support to every legitimate and beneficial American enterprise abroad.”

—President William Howard Taft, 1912

The United States and Latin America

Objectives

- Examine what happened to Puerto Rico and Cuba after the Spanish-American War.
- Analyze the effects of Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy.
- Compare Wilson's "moral diplomacy" with the foreign policies of his predecessors.

Terms and People

Foraker Act	Roosevelt Corollary
Platt Amendment	"dollar diplomacy"
"big stick" diplomacy	"moral diplomacy"
Panama Canal	Francisco "Pancho" Villa

NoteTaking**Reading Skill: Identify Supporting**

Details Complete a table like the one below to note how the U.S. dealt with Puerto Rico and Cuba.

American Policy After Spanish-American War	
Puerto Rico	Cuba
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foraker Act establishes civil government in 1900 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • •

Why It Matters As the United States tentatively asserted its interests in East Asia, Americans called for a more aggressive role in Latin America. American entrepreneurs and government leaders viewed the region as the nation's backyard and as a sphere of influence from which other great powers should be excluded. American influence in Latin America brought obvious benefits to the United States, but it also contributed to anti-American hostility and instability in the region. **Section Focus Question: What actions did the United States take to achieve its goals in Latin America?**

U.S. Policy in Puerto Rico and Cuba

America's victory over Spain liberated the Puerto Rican and Cuban people from Spanish rule. But victory left the fates of these islands unresolved. Would Puerto Rico and Cuba become independent nations? Or would they become colonies of the United States? As questions lingered in the aftermath of war, the United States assumed control in Puerto Rico and Cuba.

Civil Government in Puerto Rico As the smoke from the Spanish-American War cleared, Puerto Rico remained under direct U.S. military rule. In 1900, Congress passed the **Foraker Act**, which established a civil government in Puerto Rico. The act authorized the President of the United States to appoint a governor and part of the Puerto Rican legislature. Puerto Ricans could fill the rest of the legislature in a general election.

Whether Puerto Ricans could enjoy citizenship rights in the United States, however, remained unclear. This unusual situation led to a series of court cases, known as Insular Cases, in which the Supreme Court determined the rights of Puerto Ricans. One case examined whether the U.S. government could assess taxes on Puerto Rican goods sold in the United States. The Supreme Court ruled the taxes legal and determined that Puerto Ricans did not enjoy the same rights as U.S. citizens.

In 1917, President Woodrow Wilson signed the Jones-Shafroth Act. It granted Puerto Ricans more citizenship rights and gave the islanders greater control over their own legislature. Still, many Puerto Ricans expressed their discontent because they did not enjoy all of the same rights as Americans.

United States Establishes Cuban Protectorate Although the Treaty of Paris granted Cuban independence, the United States Army did not withdraw from the island until 1902. But before the U.S. military left, Congress obliged Cuba to add to its constitution the **Platt Amendment**. The amendment restricted the rights of newly independent Cubans and effectively brought the island within the U.S. sphere. It prevented Cuba from signing a treaty with another nation without American approval. It also required Cuba to lease naval stations to the United States. Additionally, the Platt Amendment granted the United States the “right to intervene” to preserve order in Cuba.

Many Cubans strongly disliked the Platt Amendment but soon realized that America would not otherwise end its military government of the island. The United States, for its part, was unwilling to risk Cuba’s becoming a base for a potentially hostile great power. Cuba thus added the Platt Amendment to its constitution as part of a treaty with the United States. The treaty made Cuba a protectorate of the United States and governed their relationship for decades.

✓ **Checkpoint** Why did Cubans dislike the Platt Amendment?

Roosevelt Pursues “Big Stick” Diplomacy

Upon assuming the presidency after McKinley’s assassination, Theodore Roosevelt promoted a new kind of diplomacy based on America’s success in the Spanish-American War. Beyond determining what would happen to Puerto Rico and Cuba, Roosevelt developed a broader policy for U.S. action in Latin America. Historians have called this Roosevelt’s **“big stick” diplomacy** since it depended on a strong military to achieve America’s goals. “Big stick” stemmed from the President’s admiration for an old African saying, “Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.”

Roosevelt’s view that America needed to carry a big stick during the Age of Imperialism flowed from his adherence to balance-of-power principles and from his view of the United States as a special nation with a moral responsibility to “civilize,” or uplift, weaker nations. In this sense, the new President held beliefs similar to those of other imperial powers in Europe and Asia. Roosevelt also felt that America’s elite—its statesmen and captains of industry—had to accept the challenge of international leadership.

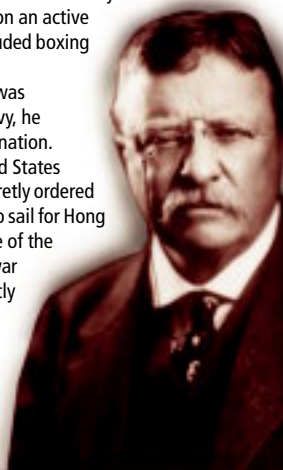
Vocabulary Builder
assess –(uh SEHS) *v.* to impose a fine, tax, or special payment on a person or property

HISTORY MAKERS

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919)

As a boy, Theodore Roosevelt suffered from asthma and poor eyesight. Determined not to be held back by physical limitations, he took on an active program of exercise that included boxing and horseback riding.

In 1898, when Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he again showcased his determination. Two months before the United States declared war on Spain, he secretly ordered Commodore George Dewey to sail for Hong Kong, within striking distance of the Philippines. Thus, when the war began, U.S. ships were instantly ready to attack the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Soon after Dewey’s victory, Roosevelt resigned from his post and organized the Rough Riders.



The Panama Canal

The construction of the Panama Canal was a monumental engineering feat. It fulfilled a vision of shortening the travel distance between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans that traced back to when the Spanish first began shipping gold and silver from the Americas in the 1500s. To complete the canal, workers built a series of locks to raise ships to the level of Gatún Lake, 85 feet above sea level, to cross the isthmus. (See the diagram below.) From 1904 to 1913, tens of thousands of laborers worked on the canal. In the end, the challenge of the landscape was overshadowed by the threat of the deadly mosquito, which spread yellow fever and malaria. "If we do not control malaria, our mortality is going to be heavy," warned Dr. William Gorgas, a United States Army surgeon. He convinced the chief engineer that fighting the mosquito was vital to keeping American steam shovels in action.



▲ In 1898, the U.S. battleship *Oregon* raced around South America to fight the Spanish in Cuba. Without a Central American canal to shorten its voyage to Florida, the *Oregon* spent more than two months at sea.

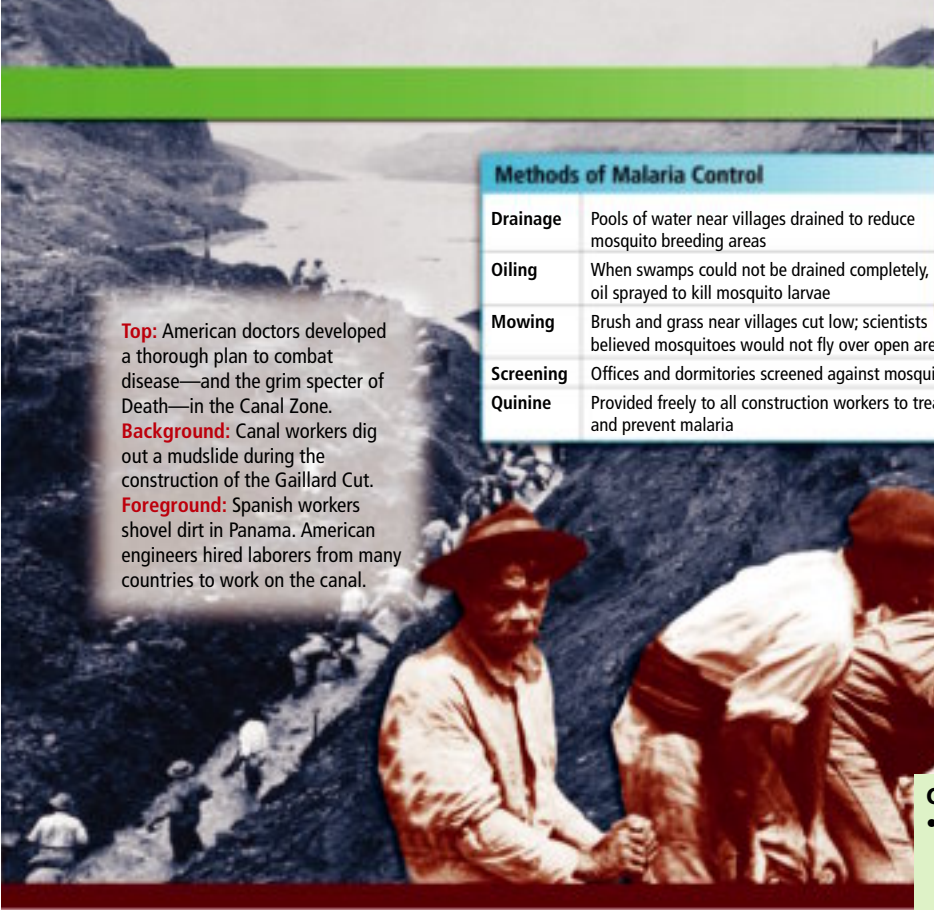


Vocabulary Builder
nevertheless—(nehv er thuh LEHS) *adv.* in spite of that; however

America Builds the Panama Canal Although the plan to dig a canal across Central America did not originate with Roosevelt, he nevertheless played a crucial role in its history. In the late 1800s, a French company had tried to link the Atlantic to the Pacific across the Isthmus of Panama but failed. Afterward, some suggested building a canal through Nicaragua. However, those plans came to nothing. Eventually, an agent from the French company that had abandoned its canal attempt convinced the United States to buy the company's claim. In 1903, the U.S. government bought the Panama route for \$40 million.

Before it could build a canal through Panama, however, the United States needed the consent of the Colombian government. At that time, Panama was part of independent Colombia. American efforts to negotiate a purchase of land across the isthmus stalled when Colombia demanded more than the United States was willing to provide.

So Roosevelt stepped in. The President dispatched U.S. warships to the waters off Panama to support a Panamanian rebellion against Colombia. The appearance of the United States Navy convinced the Colombians not to suppress the uprising. Panama soon declared its independence from Colombia. The new nation immediately granted America control over the "Canal Zone." To secure this land for its vital trade link, America agreed to pay Panama \$10 million and an annual rent of \$250,000.



Top: American doctors developed a thorough plan to combat disease—and the grim specter of Death—in the Canal Zone.

Background: Canal workers dig out a mudslide during the construction of the Gaillard Cut.

Foreground: Spanish workers shovel dirt in Panama. American engineers hired laborers from many countries to work on the canal.

Methods of Malaria Control

Drainage	Pools of water near villages drained to reduce mosquito breeding areas
Oiling	When swamps could not be drained completely, oil sprayed to kill mosquito larvae
Mowing	Brush and grass near villages cut low; scientists believed mosquitoes would not fly over open areas
Screening	Offices and dormitories screened against mosquitoes
Quinine	Provided freely to all construction workers to treat and prevent malaria

Geography and History

- By how much did the canal shorten the distance between San Francisco and Jupiter, Florida?
- Which methods of malaria control involved direct changes to the physical environment of the Canal Zone?

More than 35,000 workers helped dig the **Panama Canal**, often in very difficult conditions. Completion of the canal depended on scientific breakthroughs by doctors as they learned how to combat tropical diseases. Still, more than 5,000 canal workers died from disease or accidents while building the canal. When the finished waterway opened in 1914, it cut some 8,000 nautical miles off the trip from the west coast to the east coast of the United States.

Roosevelt Updates the Monroe Doctrine In the early 1900s, the inability of Latin American nations to pay their debts to foreign investors raised the possibility of European intervention. In 1903, for example, Germany and Britain blockaded Venezuelan ports to ensure that debts to European bankers were repaid. Roosevelt concluded: “If we intend to say hands off to the powers of Europe, then sooner or later we must keep order ourselves.” So in a 1904 message to Congress, he announced a new Latin American policy.

The President’s **Roosevelt Corollary** updated the Monroe Doctrine for an age of economic imperialism. In the case of “chronic wrongdoing” by a Latin American nation—the kind that Europeans might use to justify military intervention—the United States would assume the role of police power, restoring order and depriving other creditors of the excuse to intervene. This change, Roosevelt argued, merely reasserted America’s long-standing policy of keeping the Western Hemisphere free from European intervention.

U.S. Interventions in Latin America



Map Skills The United States repeatedly intervened in the affairs of its Latin American neighbors from the time of the Spanish-American War through the early 1900s.

- 1. Locate:** (a) Cuba, (b) Mexico, (c) Veracruz, (d) Nicaragua, (e) Panama Canal Zone
- 2. Place** Why was Panama an ideal place for the construction of a canal?
- 3. Analyze** Why was Cuba vital to U.S. operations in Central America and the Caribbean?


◀ Wielding the Big Stick

With his update to the Monroe Doctrine, Roosevelt wanted only “to see neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous.” But if those governments were to collapse, the United States stood ready to restore order and prevent European intervention.

Latin Americans React to the Roosevelt Corollary Many Latin Americans resented America's role as the hemisphere's police force. They disagreed with Roosevelt's belief that Latin Americans could not police themselves. Francisco García Calderón, a Peruvian diplomat, contended that the Monroe Doctrine had taken on an "aggressive form with Mr. Roosevelt." Like Calderón, Nicaraguan spokesman Augusto Sandino felt that the United States threatened the "sovereignty and liberty" of his people. Sandino eventually led an army of guerrillas against U.S. Marines in Nicaragua in the 1920s.

Taft Switches to Dollar Diplomacy Roosevelt handpicked William Howard Taft to succeed him as the Republican candidate for President in 1908. Taft shared Roosevelt's basic foreign policy objectives. After defeating William Jennings Bryan in the general election, Taft wanted to maintain the Open Door Policy in Asia and ensure ongoing stability in Latin America. The new President pursued both goals with the aim of expanding American trade.

Taft hoped to achieve these ends by relying less on the "big stick" and more on "dollar diplomacy." As Taft commented in 1912, he looked to substitute "dollars for bullets." The policy aimed to increase American investments in businesses and banks throughout Central America and the Caribbean. Americans busily invested in plantations, mines, oil wells, railways, and other ventures in those regions. Of course, "dollar diplomacy" sometimes required a return to the "big stick" and military intervention. Such was the case when President Taft dispatched troops to Nicaragua in 1909—and again in 1912—to protect the formation of a pro-American government there.

 **Checkpoint** What were Roosevelt's most important foreign-policy initiatives in Latin America?

Wilson Pursues Moral Diplomacy

During the 1912 presidential election campaign, Democratic candidate Woodrow Wilson criticized the foreign policies of his Republican predecessors Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft. After his election victory, Wilson appointed the anti-imperialist William Jennings Bryan as Secretary of State, which sent a strong message to the American people.

The U.S. Supports Honest Government in Latin America The new President intended to take U.S. foreign policy in a different direction. He promised that the United States would "never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest" but would instead work to promote "human rights, national integrity, and opportunity." Wilson spelled out his new "moral diplomacy" in a message to the American people:

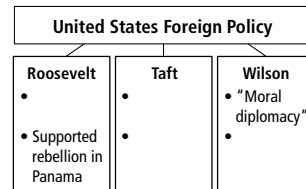
Primary Source "We must prove ourselves [Latin America's] friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor. . . . We must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our own interest or not. . . . Comprehension must be the soil in which shall grow all the fruits of friendship. . . . I mean the development of constitutional liberty in the world."

—Woodrow Wilson, October 27, 1913

In spite of his stated preference for "moral diplomacy" over "big stick" or "dollar diplomacy," Wilson used the military on a number of occasions to guide Latin Americans in the directions that he thought proper. In 1915, Wilson sent marines to Haiti to protect American investments and to guard against the potential of German or French aggression in the nation. Wilson prodded the government of Haiti to sign an agreement that essentially gave the United

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Compare As you read, compare Wilson's moral diplomacy with the foreign policies of Roosevelt and Taft by completing a flowchart like the one below.



INTERVENTION IN MEXICO: THE HUNT FOR PANCHO VILLA

On March 9, 1916, the Mexican rebel Francisco “Pancho” Villa and his gang of outlaws attacked Columbus, New Mexico, killing 18 Americans. An enraged President Wilson dispatched General John J. Pershing to hunt Villa down. Equipped for the first time with airplanes such as the Curtiss JN-3 to support its movements in the field, the U.S. Army pushed 400 miles into Mexico. The Americans chased Villa for 11 months in spite of protests from the Mexican government and occasional clashes with the Mexican army. Preoccupied more by the ongoing war in Europe than by the apprehension of Villa, Wilson ultimately withdrew Pershing’s army in early 1917.



▲ Painting of a Curtiss JN-3



▲ General Pershing leads American cavalry in Mexico in 1916.

◀ Pancho Villa was eventually killed by unknown assassins in 1923.

Thinking Critically

1. Analyze Information

Do you think Pershing’s expedition violated the ideals of “moral diplomacy”? Explain.

2. Draw Conclusions Why would American commanders be eager to test new military technology in the field against Villa?

States the right to control its financial and foreign affairs. The marines did not leave until 1934. Under Wilson, U.S. soldiers and sailors also intervened in the Dominican Republic and in Mexico.

Revolution Grips Mexico For decades, Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz had benefited his country’s small upper class of wealthy landowners, clerics, and military men. With Díaz’s encouragement, foreign investments in Mexico grew. As a result, American business people owned large portions of Mexico’s industries. While foreign investors and Mexico’s aristocracy grew rich, Mexico’s large population of farmers struggled in poverty.


In 1911, Francisco Madero led the Mexican Revolution that toppled Díaz. Madero was committed to reforms but was a weak administrator. In 1913, General Victoriano Huerta seized power and executed Madero. Under “dollar diplomacy,” Taft probably would have recognized Huerta as the leader of Mexico because Huerta pledged to protect American investments. But under “moral diplomacy,” Wilson refused to do so, declaring that he would not accept a “government of butchers.” Instead, Wilson favored Venustiano Carranza, another reformer, who had organized anti-Huerta forces.

Wilson Sends U.S. Troops Into Mexico In 1914, the President used the Mexican arrest of American sailors as an opportunity to help Carranza attain power. Wilson sent marines to occupy the Mexican port of Veracruz. The action caused Huerta’s government to collapse, and Carranza assumed the presidency.

Huerta’s fall from power cheered many Mexicans and appeared to validate Wilson’s “moral diplomacy.” However, Wilson soon discovered that he faced more trouble in Mexico. The new Carranza government was slow in bringing about reforms, and rebels again rose up, this time under the leadership of **Francisco “Pancho” Villa**. For a while, Wilson courted Villa. After American support disappeared in 1916, Villa’s forces crossed into New Mexico and raided the town of Columbus, leaving 18 Americans dead. President Wilson responded by sending General John J. Pershing and more than 10,000 troops on a “punitive expedition” to Mexico.

Pershing’s forces chased Villa for several months but failed to capture the rebel leader. Wilson eventually withdrew American troops from Mexico in 1917, mostly because of his concerns about World War I raging in Europe. Not long afterward, the United States declared war on Germany. Free from hunting Villa, Pershing took command of the American Expeditionary Force in France.

A generation earlier, few would have believed it possible that more than one million American troops would engage in a large-scale war in Europe. But the triumph over Spain and U.S. actions in Asia and Latin America demonstrated that America had emerged as a world power. Now, World War I would test that new global strength.

 **Checkpoint** What was “moral diplomacy”?

SECTION

4 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice

Web Code: nea-0510

Comprehension

1. Terms and People Define each term below. How are they similar? How are they different?

- “big stick” diplomacy
- “dollar diplomacy”
- “moral diplomacy”

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill: Identify Supporting Details Use your table to answer the Section Focus Question: What actions did the United States take to achieve its goals in Latin America?

Writing About History

3. Quick Write: Write a Conclusion

A narrative essay should include a conclusion that wraps up the events described in your story. Suppose that you want to write a narrative from the perspective of United States Army General John J. Pershing as he pursued “Pancho” Villa through northern Mexico. Write a conclusion to the story Pershing would tell of the pursuit.

Critical Thinking

4. Analyze Geography What impact did the building of the Panama Canal have on American trade?

5. Identify Assumptions How do the Platt Amendment and the Roosevelt Corollary reflect similar assumptions about the governments of Latin American nations?

6. Draw Conclusions Do you think Woodrow Wilson succeeded in carrying out the principle of “moral diplomacy” in Latin America? Explain.

Quick Study Guide

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
Web Code: nea-0511

■ Cause and Effect: American Imperialism ■ The Panama Canal

Causes

- Industrialized nations compete for raw materials and markets.
- Nations seek overseas bases to support naval and commercial interests.
- Imperialists believe in a superior American culture.

American Imperialism

Effects

- The United States purchases Alaska from Russia in 1867.
- American planters, supported by U.S. Marines, overthrow Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani in 1893; the United States annexes Hawaii in 1898.
- The United States wins the Spanish-American War and acquires colonies in the Caribbean Sea and in the Pacific.
- In 1899, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay establishes the Open Door Policy to protect American trading rights in China.
- Panama rebels against Colombian rule; President Roosevelt acquires land for the construction of the Panama Canal.
- President Wilson sends U.S. troops on a "punitive expedition" into Mexico to hunt and capture the rebel Pancho Villa.



■ U.S. Interventions in Latin America

Country	Type of Intervention	Year
Cuba	Occupation	1898–1902, 1906–1909, 1912, 1917–1922
Dominican Republic	Military intervention Occupation	1905–1907 1916–1924
Haiti	Occupation	1915–1934
Mexico	Military intervention	1914, 1916–1917
Nicaragua	Occupation	1912–1925, 1927–1933
Panama	Acquisition of Canal Zone	1904
Puerto Rico	Military invasion and territorial acquisition	1898

✓ Quick Study Timeline

1890
Mahan publishes
*The Influence of Sea
Power Upon History*



1898
United States
annexes Hawaii;
Spanish-
American War

In America

Presidential Terms

Benjamin Harrison 1889–1893

Grover Cleveland 1893–1897

William McKinley 1897–1901

1890

1895

1900

Around the World



1893
Americans overthrow
Queen Liliuokalani
in Hawaii

1899
Filipino
insurrection

1900
Boxer
Rebellion

American Issues

Connector

By connecting prior knowledge with what you have learned in this chapter, you can gradually build your understanding of enduring questions that still affect America today. Answer the questions below. Then, use your American Issues Connector study guide (or go online: www.PHSchool.com Web Code: neh-7803).

Issues You Learned About

● **Territorial Expansion of the United States** The United States has acquired land inside and outside of the continental United States.

1. Think about the events that led to the annexation of Hawaii. Write a paragraph explaining whether you think the United States had the right to take control of Hawaii. Consider the following:
 - the initial status of the Hawaiian Islands
 - changes made to the Hawaiian constitution by the monarchy
 - the role of American planters in Hawaii's government and society
 - the reasons that some Americans sought annexation
 - the Senate's initial response to the treaty of annexation

● **America and the World** At times, the United States chooses to get involved in the affairs of other countries.

2. Who proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine, and why?
3. How did the Roosevelt Corollary demonstrate Roosevelt's belief in "big stick" diplomacy?
4. What policies did Taft and Wilson develop for their involvement in Latin American affairs?

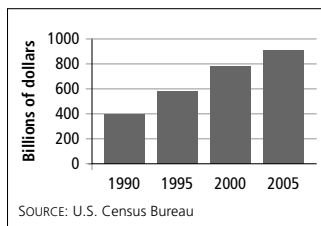
● **America Goes to War** The United States sometimes becomes involved in regional conflicts in other parts of the world.

5. Why did many Americans favor the Cuban revolutionaries in their struggle for freedom from Spain?
6. What event caused President McKinley and Congress to prepare for war with Spain?

Connect to Your World

Activity

U.S. Exports, 1990–2005



Global Interdependence The United States continues to conduct a great deal of trade with other nations. Go online or to your local library to research American exports. Create a table that shows the 10 countries that receive the most American goods, the types of those goods, and their total value over the past 10 years.



1907
Great White Fleet

1908
President Taft embraces "dollar diplomacy"



1916
Pershing hunts Pancho Villa in Mexico

Theodore Roosevelt 1901–1909

William H. Taft 1909–1913

Woodrow Wilson 1913–1921

1905

1904
U.S. gains control of Canal Zone in Panama

1910

1910
Mexican Revolution begins

1915

1914
World War I breaks out in Europe

1920

History Interactive

For: Interactive timeline
Web Code: nep-0513

Chapter Assessment

Terms and People

1. Define **Social Darwinism**. How did some imperialists make use of this concept?
2. Who was **Queen Liliuokalani**? What changes did she bring to her country?
3. What was the **Treaty of Paris**? What were its terms?
4. Define **guerrilla warfare**. Who relied on guerrilla warfare?
5. Define the **Foraker Act** and **Platt Amendment**. Did they settle the debate over U.S. policy in Puerto Rico and Cuba?

Focus Questions

The focus question for this chapter is **How did the United States become a global power?** Build an answer to this big question by answering the focus questions for Sections 1 through 4 and the Critical Thinking questions that follow.

Section 1

6. How and why did the United States take a more active role in world affairs?

Section 2

7. What were the causes and effects of the Spanish-American War?

Section 3

8. How did the United States extend its influence in Asia?

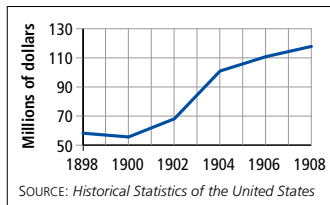
Section 4

9. What actions did the United States take to achieve its goals in Latin America?

Critical Thinking

10. **Recognize Ideologies** How did U.S. expansion in the late nineteenth century extend and change the principle of Manifest Destiny?
11. **Make Comparisons** Choose two of the following: Commodore Perry's mission to Japan; the revolt in Hawaii; the Open Door Policy; the building of the Panama Canal. Explain how the two were similar yet different in terms of U.S. goals and actions.
12. **Recognize Propaganda** How did the Yellow Press contribute to U.S. actions against Spain?
13. **Compare Points of View** Explain the different opinions held by imperialists and anti-imperialists in the debate over the Philippines.
14. **Analyze Line Graphs** How were growing tensions with Japan linked to the trend shown on the graph below?

U.S. Navy Yearly Federal Budget, 1898–1908



15. **Draw Conclusions** What was the goal of U.S. policy toward China? Why do you think Hay did not favor establishing colonies in China?
16. **Predict Consequences** If Wilson had been President when the United States was seeking to build the Panama Canal, do you think he would have supported Panama's rebellion against Colombia? Justify your answer.

Writing About History

Write a Narrative Essay Write a narrative essay telling a story about America's emergence as a global power in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Write your essay from the point of view of an imperialist or an anti-imperialist. Consult page SH11 of the Writing Handbook for additional help.

Prewriting

- Choose a chapter event that interests you most to write about.
- Choose a purpose for your essay. You might highlight a certain aspect of the event that you think deserves attention.
- Gather details related to your essay topic.

Drafting

- Identify the climax, or the most important part, of your story. Then, decide what will happen in the beginning, middle, and end of the essay.

- Write an introduction for the essay that will grab a reader's interest.
- Use many details to make the story vivid. When possible, include dialogue to convey the thoughts of the character.
- Write a conclusion that summarizes the significance of the experience to the character.

Revising

- Use the guidelines on page SH11 of the Writing Handbook to revise your essay.



Document-Based Assessment

American Imperialism

Should the United States annex territories in order to establish a global empire? Or should it honor American roots by granting self-rule to the native peoples of those lands? Use your knowledge of the debate over American imperialism and the following documents to answer questions 1 through 4.

Document A



Uncle Sam Wrestles With Filipino Insurgency

Document B

The taking of the Philippines does not violate the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but will spread them among a people who have never known liberty and who in a few years will be unwilling to leave the shelter of the American flag. . . . The form of government natural to the Asiatic has always been despotism. . . . [T]o abandon those islands is to leave them to anarchy, [and] to short-lived military dictatorships. . . .

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, March 1900

Document C

I wanted the American eagle to go screaming into the Pacific. It seemed tiresome and tame for it to content itself with the Rockies. Why not spread its wings over the Philippines, I asked myself? And I thought it would be a real good thing to do. . . . But I have thought some more, since then, and I have read carefully the treaty of Paris, and I have seen that we do not intend to free, but to subjugate the people of the Philippines. We have gone there to conquer, not to redeem. . . . And so I am an anti-imperialist. I am opposed to having the eagle put its talons on any other land.

Mark Twain, October 1900

Document D



- Which of the documents is a primary source that supports the maintenance of American control over the Philippines to ensure a stable government there?
 - Document A
 - Document B
 - Document C
 - Document D
- According to Document A, how did the cartoonist choose to portray the Filipino population?
 - Filipinos are resisting the American presence in the Philippines.
 - Filipinos are cooperating with American officials to maintain U.S. control.
 - Filipinos are fleeing their homes in fear of American soldiers.
 - Filipinos are celebrating their independence from Spain.
- Mark Twain most closely agrees with which of the other documents?
 - Documents A and D
 - Documents A and B
 - Document B
 - Document D
- Writing Task** How did the principles of the American Revolution influence the debate over American imperialism in the Philippines? Use your knowledge of the aftermath of the Spanish-American War and specific evidence from the primary sources above to support your opinion.