UNIT 2

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 974–975 for primary source readings to accompany Unit 2.

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

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
1872–1912

**Becoming a World Power**

**The Big Ideas**

**SECTION 1: The Imperialist Vision**
International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. In the late 1800s, the United States began to compete with European countries for overseas markets and power.

**SECTION 2: The Spanish-American War**
The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. After the explosion of the USS Maine, the United States defeated Spain in a war and acquired new territories, changing the fate of other nations.

**SECTION 3: New American Diplomacy**
America’s military and economic strength made it a world power. Under President Theodore Roosevelt, the United States increased its power and influence on the world stage.

**The American Vision: Modern Times Video** The Chapter 4 video, “Teddy Roosevelt and Yellow Journalism,” chronicles the events leading to the United States becoming a world power.

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

**1874**
- Britain annexes Fiji Islands

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

**1880**
- President Garfield assassinated by Charles Guiteau

**1881**
- First Pan-American conference

**1889**
- John Milne develops the seismograph

**1889**
- Gustave Eiffel completes tower for Paris World Exhibit
Cause and Effect

Authors structure text in different ways to explain information. These structures work like the frame of a house—they hold the information together in a way that helps you understand it. One such structure is cause and effect. Authors use this structure to explain an event or action and its results. Since the job of historians is to explain how and why events occurred, they often use cause and effect.

In some cases there is one reason, or cause, for an event, or effect. However, in real life few events are isolated. Sometimes several causes lead to a single effect, or one cause can have several different results. Often the result of one event can become the cause for another effect. You can recognize this kind of cause-and-effect pattern by asking a focus question based on the main idea of the passage. Then use the focus question to follow the causes and effects of a series of events.

Read the following paragraph and find the causes and effects that followed a U.S. foreign policy decision.

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. (page 297)

Focus question: What were the results in Japan of the U.S. decision to force open trade?

Effect #1: internal power struggle
Effect #2: decision to adopt Western technology to launch industrial revolution
Effect #3: building of modern navy

Culminating Effect: empire-building

As you read this chapter, look for passages that contain causes and effects. For each example, write down the focus question, the effects, and the culminating effect. The more you practice this skill, the easier it will be to recognize the relationship between causes and effects.
**Historical Analysis Skill**

**Evaluating Past Events**

**Chronological and Spatial Thinking** As you study history, you should understand that comparing the present with the past will help you understand both past and current events. You should also learn to evaluate past events. Consider events both within their own time and with regard to the consequences they had for today’s world. This will help you determine any lessons learned from past events.

Think back to your last year of middle school or junior high. Did you make a decision about extracurricular activities? Maybe you decided to play the trumpet or try out for a sports team. Alternatively, you may have decided to join the debate team, drama club, or start working. How have these actions from your past influenced your life today? Knowing what you know now, what advice would you give your 8th-grade self? In other words, how would you evaluate the decisions you made in 8th grade?

Historians understand that decisions made in the past were based on what people knew and believed at the time. They also realize that, as time goes by, we often change our views on events of the past. By looking at historical events and comparing them to current events, we sometimes can gain insight into our world today.

*Read this quote from the well-known writer and historian John Fiske about his views on the duty of English-speaking nations to spread their civilization to other countries. He shared this belief with many other Americans.*

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. (page 296)

How did you react to Mr. Fiske’s statement? Is this a view Americans share today? Does the issue of English as a superior language relate to arguments that people are making today? How have social norms changed or not changed in the past hundred years?

**Apply the Skill**

Select one of the countries discussed in this chapter into which the United States extended its influence. Review the events by asking questions similar to the ones above. As you consider the events, keep in mind the circumstances of the time. Then evaluate how the events of the past have shaped the countries involved today.
The Imperialist Vision

Connection
In the previous chapter, you learned how politics hindered reform efforts and how African Americans faced growing discrimination. In this section, you will discover how Americans began to shift attention from domestic issues to foreign policy and trade.

Main Idea
- A desire for world markets and belief in the superiority of white culture led the United States to assert itself as a world power. (p. 295)
- The desire for new markets led to trade with Japan and the annexation of Hawaii. (p. 296)
- The United States worked to increase trade with Latin America. (p. 298)

Guide to Reading
- The United States began constructing a large navy to protect its international interests. (p. 299)

Content Vocabulary
- imperialism, protectorate

Academic Vocabulary
- technology, publish

People and Terms to Identify
- Anglo-Saxonism, Matthew C. Perry, Queen Liliuokalani, Pan-Americanism, Alfred T. Mahan, Henry Cabot Lodge

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.

Reading Strategy
Organizing As you read about the development of the United States as a world power during the late 1800s, 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.

Preview of Events
- 1853 Commodore Perry arrives in Japan
- 1888 Samoan Crisis erupts
- 1890 Alfred T. Mahan’s Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783 published
- 1893 American settlers overthrow Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii

The Big Idea
International competition can lead to conflict and cooperation. As the pace of westward expansion slowed, many Americans looked overseas for new opportunities. Some viewed this as a chance to spread American culture and to help those they considered “less civilized.” Others believed foreign markets would help the economy. These feelings eventually led to the annexation of Hawaii and to the opening of Japan to trade. The United States also bought many raw materials from Latin America and hoped to increase the sale of manufactured goods to that region. As the United States increased its influence in overseas markets, it developed the need for a strong, modern navy to protect its international interests. By the 1890s, the United States was becoming one of the top naval powers in the world.

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section:

11.2.7 Analyze the similarities and differences between the ideologies of Social Darwinism and Social Gospel (e.g., using biographies of William Graham Sumner, Billy Sunday, Dwight L. Moody).

11.3.2 Analyze the great religious revivals and the leaders involved, including the First Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening, the Civil War revivals, the Social Gospel Movement, the rise of Christian liberal theology in the 19th century, the impact of the Second Vatican Council, and the rise of Christian fundamentalism in current times.

11.4.2 Describe the Spanish-American War and U.S. expansion in the South Pacific.
Building Support for Imperialism

Main Idea  A desire for world markets and belief in the superiority of white culture led the United States to assert itself as a world power.

Reading Connection  Do you remember what role President George Washington thought the United States should play in world affairs? Read on to find out how Americans’ opinions changed in the 1880s.

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 1880’s, however, American opinion began to shift. More and more Americans began to favor expanding American power.

An American Story

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

John Stevens was not alone in his views. Many Americans cheered the events in Hawaii and favored expanding American power. Economic and military competition from other nations, as well as a growing feeling of cultural superiority, led to this shift in opinion.

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.

Europeans embarked upon a policy of expansion and imperialism for many reasons. By the late 1800s, high tariffs enacted to protect against foreign competition had reduced trade between industrial countries. Companies had to look overseas for places to sell their products. At the same time, the growth of investment opportunities in western Europe had slowed. Europeans began looking overseas for places to invest their capital.

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.

As the United States industrialized, many Americans took interest in the new imperialism. With settlers now filling up the western frontier, many Americans concluded that the nation had to develop new overseas markets to keep its economy strong.

“The Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe...”

—John L. Stevens

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A Feeling of Superiority  In addition to economic concerns, other key ideas convinced many Americans to encourage 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 that after reaching the Pacific Ocean it was the nation’s destiny 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.

Expansion in the Pacific

The desire for new markets led to trade with Japan and the annexation of Hawaii.

Reading Connection What products do you use that have been manufactured in Japan? Read on to learn how the United States and Japan became trade partners.

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.

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 Millard Fillmore attempted to persuade 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 Shimoda and Hakodate 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 Hawaiian King Kalakaua 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 USS Boston, a group of planters forced the queen to step down, 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 997 for more text on Hawaiian annexation.]

**Reading Check** **Explaining** How did the desire to expand into new markets help push the United States to extend its influence into the Pacific?
Relations With Latin America

Main Idea  The United States worked to increase trade with Latin America.

Reading Connection  What products have you used that come from Latin America? Read on to learn how the United States tried to expand its trade relations with Latin America.

Although the United States bought raw materials from Latin America, 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 recognize the United States as the dominant power in the region.

James G. Blaine, who served as secretary of state in two administrations in the 1880s, led early efforts to expand American influence in Latin America. Blaine proposed that the United States invite the Latin American nations to a conference. 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. A customs union would require American nations to reduce their tariffs and to treat each other equally in trade. Blaine hoped that a customs union would turn Latin Americans away from European products and toward American products. Blaine 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 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 today is called the Organization of American States (OAS).

Reading Check  Summarizing  How did James Blaine try to increase American influence in Latin America?

TECHNOLOGY History

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.

sail power
cowls
torpedo tubes
galley
steam boilers
magazine
armor

4. Cowls provided fresh air below decks.

5. Food was prepared in the galley.

6. Munitions were stored in the magazine.
Building a Modern Navy

Main Idea: The United States began constructing a large navy to protect its international interests.

Reading Connection: Under what circumstances do you think the United States should go to war? Read on to learn about three instances when the nation nearly went to war.

As imperialism and Anglo-Saxonism gained support in the late 1800s, the United States became increasingly assertive in foreign affairs. In 1888, for example, the country was willing to go to war with Germany over control of the Samoa Islands. Three years later, the United States threatened Chile when a mob attacked American sailors in the port of Valparaíso. All crises eventually ended 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 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.

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 to refuel ships.


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 seemed to threaten 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. In the spring of 1898 the opportunity came when war erupted between Spain and the United States.

Reading Check: Why did Alfred T. Mahan and Henry Cabot Lodge call for the building of a strong navy?

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of American Vision: Modern Times go to taylor.glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Checking for Understanding

1. Vocabulary Define: imperialism, protectorate, technology, publish.

2. People and Terms 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 Big Ideas

4. Identifying What events in the world convinced Americans to support a large navy?

Critical Thinking

5. Evaluating Imagine Hawaii was never annexed and the new Constitution was implemented in 1893. Explain how Hawaii may differ politically, economically, and culturally from what it is today.

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 picture on page 297. How is the U.S. Navy portrayed in relation to the Japanese residents of Yokohama? Do you think the artist shows any bias? 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. Be sure to use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.
The Spanish-American War

Connection
In the previous section, you learned how the United States increased overseas trade and began developing a modern navy. In this section, you will discover how the United States went to war with Spain and how the war expanded American territory.

Main Idea
- In support of the Cuban rebellion and in retaliation for the loss of the USS Maine, the United States declared war on Spain. (p. 301)
- The United States fought Spain in both the Pacific and the Caribbean. (p. 303)
- Victory in the Spanish-American War allowed the United States to expand its holdings in the South Pacific and to control Puerto Rico and Cuba. (p. 305)

Content Vocabulary
yellow journalism, jingoism

Academic Vocabulary
resource, violate, virtual

People and Terms to Identify
José Martí, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, Theodore Roosevelt, Platt Amendment

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.

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.

Factors Contributing to Declaration of War

January 1898
February 1898
USS Maine explodes

April 1898
U.S. declares war on Spain

May 1898
Dewey destroys Spanish fleet in the Philippines

September 1898

December 1898
Treaty of Paris ends Spanish-American War

The Big Idea

The fate of nations is forever changed by monumental world events. Many Americans supported the Cuban revolt against Spain. Stories of horrible atrocities committed by the Spanish also fueled support for the Cubans. Fearful of attacks against American citizens, President McKinley sent the battleship USS Maine to Havana, Cuba, to prepare for the evacuation of U.S. citizens. For reasons still debated to this day, the Maine exploded, killing over half of the sailors and officers on board. Many were quick to blame the Spanish for the explosion. President McKinley, under increasing political pressure, declared war on Spain. The United States fought Spain in both the Philippines and the Caribbean. The larger and more modern U.S. Navy soon defeated the Spanish navy. Victory in the Spanish-American War gave the United States control of territory in the Pacific and the Caribbean.
The Coming of War

Main Idea In support of the Cuban rebellion and in retaliation for the loss of the USS Maine, the United States declared war on Spain.

Reading Connection Do you remember what led the American colonists to declare their independence? Read on to learn about another colony that rebelled.

In 1898 Cuba was a Spanish colony 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.

An American Story

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

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.

Americans who supported the Cubans in their revolt 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.

“[t]he air filled with a blaze of light...”

—Clara Barton
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 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

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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?
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.

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.

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 or captured 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.

A War on Two Fronts The United States fought Spain in both the Pacific and the Caribbean.

Reading Connection Have you ever had to work on two major tasks at the same time? Read on to learn about a time when the United States had to fight a war in two places.

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.
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?

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 in the waters off the Cuban coast.

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 against Spain.

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. 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**

**Main Idea** Victory in the Spanish-American War allowed the United States to expand its holdings in the South Pacific and to control Puerto Rico and Cuba.

**Reading Connection** Do you think that Puerto Rico should become the 51st state? Read on to learn about the beginning of that territory’s long association with the United States.

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 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.
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 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.

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.

(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 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*
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.

**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 given the right 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 as Puerto Rico is still a commonwealth 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 secure Cuban 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.

![Reading Check](https://www.example.com)

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

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**SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

**1. Vocabulary** Define: yellow journalism, jingoism, resources, violated, virtually.

**2. People and Terms** Identify: José Martí, William Randolph Hearst, Joseph Pulitzer, Theodore Roosevelt, Platt Amendment.

**3. Explain** why many Americans blamed Spain for the explosion of the USS Maine.

**4. Understanding** Why did many Filipinos feel betrayed by the U.S. government after the Spanish-American War?

**5. 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?

**6. Categorizing** Complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by summarizing the effects of the United States annexing lands obtained after the Spanish-American War.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lands Annexed</th>
<th>Effects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**7. Analyzing Visuals** Examine the painting on page 291. Considering what you have learned about the Rough Riders and this battle, what is inaccurate about the painting? What kind of artistic bias is evident in this painting?

**8. 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.

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**HISTORY Online**

**Student Web Activity** Visit the American Vision: Modern Times Web site at taw.mt.glencoe.com and click on Student Web Activities—Chapter 4 for an activity on American imperialism.
Who Sank the Maine?

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 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
From the inquiry and later reports

As the court of inquiry concluded its investigation, it considered reports of the divers who exam- ined 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.

Understanding the Issue

1. Why did the original investigation’s conclusion that there was an under- water 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

Connection
In the previous section, you learned how the United States expanded its territory by defeating Spain in the Spanish-American War. In this section, you will discover how President Theodore Roosevelt helped the United States increase its power and influence around the world.

Main Idea
• Theodore Roosevelt went from governor of New York to president in a few short years and supported the country’s rise to a world power. (p. 311)
• The United States pursued an Open Door policy in China to allow all nations access to China’s markets. (p. 312)

Guide to Reading
• Theodore Roosevelt pushed for construction of the Panama Canal and declared the intent of the United States to act as a police force in Latin American nations. (p. 313)

Content Vocabulary
sphere of influence, Open Door policy, dollar diplomacy

Academic Vocabulary
exploit, tension, intervene

Events to Identify
Boxer Rebellion, “Great White Fleet,” Hay-Paunceforte Treaty, Roosevelt Corollary

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.

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.

Reasons to Build Canal

The Big Idea
America’s military and economic strength made it a world power.
Following the death of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt became president. Roosevelt was an energetic and enthusiastic man who believed the United States should increase its power in the world. President Roosevelt established the Open Door policy with China to guarantee the United States would have the ability to trade with that nation. He also pushed for the construction of a canal through Central America and backed Panama in a revolt against Cuba. After Panama declared independence, the United States signed a treaty with Panama guaranteeing the construction of the canal. President Roosevelt declared that, if necessary, the United States would intervene in any Latin American country to ensure stability in the Western Hemisphere.
Theodore Roosevelt’s Rise to Power

Theodore Roosevelt went from governor of New York to president in a few short years and supported the country’s rise to a world power.

Reading Connection Whom do you consider a person likely to succeed in anything he or she does? Read on to find out about one such charismatic person.

Theodore Roosevelt’s exploits during the Spanish-American War 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 and international politics.

An American Story

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 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

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.

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. Czolgosz was executed on October 29, 1901.

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 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.

Dr. William Gorgas
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

**Main Idea** The United States pursued an Open Door policy in China to allow all nations access to China’s markets.

**Reading Connection** Why would the ability to sell goods to China be considered important? Read on to find out about trade with China in the late 1800s.

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.

**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, with a more modern army and a powerful navy, 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, mining, and other key industries.

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**Graph Skills**

1. **Interpreting Graphs** Which country ranked third in total U.S. exports from 1890 to 1910?

2. **Making Generalizations** Why do you think that the vast majority of U.S. exports were going to the United Kingdom?
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, because when translated their name meant “righteous, harmonious fists.” In 1900 the group rose up to wipe out “foreign 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.

**A Growing Presence in the Caribbean**

**Main Idea** Theodore Roosevelt pushed for construction of the Panama Canal and declared the intent of the United States to act as a police force in Latin American nations.

**Reading Connection** Have you ever tried to find a shortcut to save time when traveling from one place to another? Read on to learn about a canal that dramatically reduced travel and shipping time.

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.

**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. 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. 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 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. To prevent European nations from sending troops to the Caribbean or Central America, he announced that the United States would **intervene** in Latin American affairs when necessary to maintain 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 . . . 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, worried that the Europeans were getting ready to send troops, Roosevelt sent American marines to the Dominican Republic to collect customs tariffs to make the debt payments. Roosevelt feared that European troops would hinder American trade with the Dominican Republic.

Latin American nations resented the growing American influence in the region. Roosevelt’s successor, William Howard Taft, continued Roosevelt’s policies, however, with an emphasis on helping Latin American industry. He believed that if American business leaders supported Latin American development, everyone would benefit. The United States would increase its trade, American businesses would increase their profits, and countries in Latin America would rise out of poverty and social disorder, and European nations would have no reason to intervene in the region. Taft’s policy came to be called dollar diplomacy.

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.
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.

**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.

**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.

**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.
The Panama Canal, 1990s

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.

Laborers

More than 40,000 laborers were required to build the canal. The construction required the excavation of 240 million cu yd (184 million cu m) of soil.

Analyzing the Impact

Checking for Understanding

1. Recalling When did the United States build the Panama Canal?
2. Identifying What country currently controls the canal?

Critical Thinking

3. Explaining What is the importance of the Panama Canal to the world economy?
In the treaty ending the Spanish-American War, the United States received a number of former Spanish colonies. The United States quickly decided on the fate of Cuba, Guam, and Puerto Rico. One issue remained—what to do with the Philippines. Before the war, annexation had not been discussed. Now, however, the future of the Philippines led to heated debates over the merits of imperialism.

SOURCE 1:
William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate, opposed President William McKinley in the election of 1900. If elected, Bryan promised to grant immediate independence to the Philippines. In a speech he delivered in Chicago in 1899, Bryan attacked the major arguments of the imperialists.

The Imperialists do not desire to clothe the Filipinos with all the rights and privileges of American citizenship; they want to exercise sovereignty over an alien race and they expect to rule the new subjects upon a theory entirely at variance with constitutional government. Victoria is Queen of Great Britain and Empress of India; shall we change the title of our executive and call him the President of the United States and Emperor of the Philippines? . . .

We are told that the Filipinos are not capable of self-government; that has a familiar ring. . . . The Filipinos are not far enough advanced to share in the government of the people of the United States, but they are competent to govern themselves. It is not fair to compare them with our own citizens, because the American people have been educating themselves in the science of government for nearly three centuries. . . .

Give the Filipinos time and opportunity and while they never will catch up with us, unless we cease to improve, yet they may some day stand where we stand now. . . .

When the desire to steal become uncontrollable in an individual he is declared to be a kleptomaniac and is sent to an asylum; when the desire to grab land becomes uncontrollable we are told that the “currents of destiny are flowing through the hearts of men” and that the American people are entering upon “a manifest mission.”

Shame upon a logic which locks up the petty offender and enthrones grand larceny. . . .

SOURCE 2:
Theodore Roosevelt fought against the Spanish in Cuba during the Spanish-American War. His heroism had made him famous, and the Republicans chose him as President McKinley’s vice-presidential running mate in the election of 1900. In a speech delivered in Chicago in 1899, Roosevelt responded to Bryan’s earlier remarks.

In the . . . [Philippines] . . . we are confronted by most difficult problems. It is cowardly to shrink from solving them in the proper way; for solved they must be, if not by us, then by some stronger and more manful race; if we are too weak, too selfish, or too foolish to solve them some bolder and abler people must undertake the solution. . . .

*sovereignty*: control

*variance*: against

*kleptomaniac*: thief
Many of their people are utterly unfit for self-government and show no signs of becoming fit. Others may in time become fit, but at present can only take part in self-government under a wise supervision at once firm and beneficent. We have driven Spanish tyranny from the islands. If we now let it be replaced by savage anarchy, our work has been for harm and not for good. I have scant patience with those who fear to undertake the task of governing the Philippines. . . . I have even scanty patience with those who . . . rant about “liberty” and the “consent of the governed” in order to excuse themselves for their unwillingness to play the part of men. . . .

I preach to you, then, my countrymen, that our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations. . . . [I]f we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world.

**SOURCE 3:**

*After the Spanish-American War, the United States granted Cuba its independence, but President McKinley and others doubted that the Cubans had the ability to govern themselves. In 1901 Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut made a list of conditions that Cuba had to meet. These conditions were known as the Platt Amendment.*

4anarchy: no government

The President of the U.S. is hereby authorized to “leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people” so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which shall . . . define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

I. That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain . . . control over any portion of said island. . . .

III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty. . . .

V. That the government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein. . . .

VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations. . . .

**DBQ - Document-Based Questions**

**Source 1:** Why did Bryan believe that taking the Philippines was wrong?

**Source 2:** Why did Roosevelt believe the United States should hold on to the Philippines?

**Source 3:** What restrictions did the Platt Amendment impose on Cuba?

**Comparing and Contrasting Sources**

How did Bryan, Roosevelt, and Platt differ in their views about the role of the United States in international politics and about the competence of people in other countries to govern themselves?
Reviewing Content Vocabulary
*On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.*

1. imperialism
2. protectorate
3. Anglo-Saxonism
4. Pan-Americanism
5. yellow journalism
6. jingoism
7. sphere of influence
8. Open Door policy
9. dollar diplomacy

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary
*On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term’s meaning in the chapter.*

10. technology
11. publish
12. resource
13. violate
14. virtual
15. exploit
16. tension
17. intervene

Reviewing the Main Idea

**Section 1**
18. Why did the United States seek to become a world power?

**Section 2**
19. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1898?

**Section 3**
20. What was dollar diplomacy?

Critical Thinking
21. **Explaining** What was the significance of the year 1898 as a turning point for the United States?

22. **Civics** Explain how and why the United States acquired Hawaii. Include the reasons the acquisition of Hawaii was considered essential to U.S. national interests.

23. **Organizing** Using a graphic organizer similar to the one below, list ways that American imperialism affected Hawaii, Cuba, and the Philippines.

![U.S. Imperialism](image)
- Hawaii
- Cuba
- the Philippines

24. **Reading Skill** **Cause and Effect** Reread the information about the Panama Canal on page 314. Then create a cause-and-effect list similar to the one on page 292.

Writing About History
25. **Evaluating Past Events** Research the Panama Canal today. How did the canal change Panama? Did the construction of the canal benefit or hurt Panama? Cite evidence to support your decision.  

26. **Big Idea** Write a newspaper editorial supporting imperialism. Give specific examples of how the United States became an imperial power under the McKinley administration.

Chapter Summary

**In the Pacific**
- Expanded Chinese and Japanese markets
- Annexed the Midway Islands as fueling 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
27. **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*

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?  
**CA 11RC2.4; 11RC2.5**

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?  
**CA 11RC2.4; 11RC2.5**

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### Geography and History

28. 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** According to the map, what U.S.-acquired territory is farthest west?

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### Standards Practice

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

29. Which of the following statements about the Platt Amendment is true?

A. It guaranteed that Cuba would be independent by 1915.
B. It prevented the United States from intervening in Cuban foreign affairs.
C. It essentially made Cuba a U.S. protectorate.
D. It opened up territory in Cuba to a variety of foreign powers.

**Standard 11.4.2** Describe the Spanish-American War and U.S. expansion in the South Pacific.