CHAPTER 23

Becoming a World Power
1865–1916

1 A Pacific Empire
2 War With Spain
3 The United States in Latin America

Captain Alfred Mahan

Check (above) used to buy Alaska (upper left)

Secretary of State William Seward purchases Alaska from Russia. Many Americans laugh at “Seward’s Folly.”

The value of American foreign trade passes $1 billion a year.

1867

1870s

1890

Captain Alfred Mahan publishes *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*. He urges the United States to build up its navy.

Presidential Terms:
- Andrew Johnson: 1865–1869
- Ulysses S. Grant: 1869–1877
- Rutherford B. Hayes: 1877–1881
- Chester A. Arthur: 1881–1885
- Grover Cleveland: 1885–1889

1868

Japan begins rapid program to modernize.

1884

European powers agree to divide up most of Africa.

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World Imperialism

During the Age of Imperialism, industrialized nations gained political and economic control over much of the world.

During the Age of Imperialism, industrialized nations gained political and economic control over much of the world. The Dutch, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish expansion was particularly aggressive.

The Spanish-American War breaks out. American troops win quick victories in the Philippines and Cuba. President Theodore Roosevelt declares that the United States has the right to intervene in Latin America to preserve order. The Panama Canal opens.

- 1895: Cubans rebel against Spanish rule.
- 1900: The Boxer Rebellion breaks out in China.
- 1914: The Panama Canal opens.
At the end of the 1800s, the United States became a world power, acquiring new territories in the Pacific and the Caribbean.

Setting the Scene

A tiny fleet of American ships sailed slowly out of Key West, Florida. Most of the ships had been built years before. Some were made of wood. “Two modern vessels of war,” said a future admiral, “would have [destroyed us] in thirty minutes.”

In the mid-1870s, the United States Navy ranked twelfth in the world, behind Denmark and Chile. Then, the nation began to build up its navy. By 1896, there were more than 10,000 American sailors in uniform and the navy ranked fifth in the world, with steel-plated battleships powered by steam. The expansion of the navy was but one sign that the United States was becoming a world power.

Isolation and Expansion

In his Farewell Address, George Washington had advised the nation to have little to do with the political affairs of other nations. Later Presidents continued this policy of isolationism. Americans had no wish to be dragged into Europe’s frequent wars.

Early Expansion

Yet, from its earliest existence, the American republic had also followed a policy of expansionism, or extending its national boundaries. Americans were constantly pressing westward across the continent.

At the same time, Americans conducted a lively foreign trade. Merchant ships carried American goods to Europe, as well as to Asian nations such as China. The island nation of Japan, however, refused to open its doors to American trade.

The Opening of Japan

Fearing outsiders, Japanese rulers had cut themselves off from the world in the 1600s. They expelled all westerners. Only a few Dutch merchants were permitted to trade once a year at the port of Nagasaki. Any foreign sailors who were wrecked on the shores of Japan were not allowed to leave.
Americans wanted Japan to open its ports to trade, as well as to help shipwrecked sailors. To achieve these goals, President Millard Fillmore sent Commodore Matthew Perry to Japan. Perry entered Tokyo Bay with four warships in July 1853. The Japanese had never seen steam-powered ships.

Japanese rulers ordered the Americans to leave. Before departing, though, Perry presented Japanese officials with a letter from President Fillmore. It asked the Japanese to open trading relations with the United States. Perry said he would return the following year for an answer.

Perry returned in February 1854, this time with seven warships. Impressed by this show of strength, the Japanese emperor signed the Treaty of Kanagawa. In the treaty, Japan accepted demands to help shipwrecked sailors. It also opened two ports to American trade.

Perry’s visit launched trade between Japan and the West. It also made the Japanese aware of the power of the western industrial nations. Japan soon set out to become a modern industrial nation itself, with the United States as one of its models.

Seward Looks to the Pacific

American interest in Asia and the Pacific continued. In the 1860s, Secretary of State William Seward wanted the United States to dominate trade in the Pacific. In 1867, he persuaded Congress to annex, or take over, Midway Island, in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. The island became part of the United States. Seward also made a bold deal to buy the vast territory of Alaska from Russia.

The Land Deal of the Century  Seward saw Alaska as an important stepping stone for increasing United States trade in Asia and the Pacific. For their part, the Russians were eager to get rid of the territory, which was too far away to govern effectively.

One night in 1867, Seward was playing cards. Suddenly, he was interrupted by a message from the Russian ambassador. The czar, or emperor, of Russia was willing to sell Alaska to the United States for $7.2 million. Seward agreed to buy the land then and there.

“But your Department is closed,” said the ambassador.

“Never mind that,” Seward replied. “Before midnight you will find me at the Department, which will be open and ready for business.”

Next morning, Seward completed the deal. The cost came to 2 cents an acre. The purchase of Alaska increased the area of the United States by almost one fifth.

“Seward’s Folly”  At the time, the purchase seemed foolish. Most Americans thought of Alaska as a barren land of icy mountains and...
White Pass and Yukon Railroad

When the Alaska gold rush began, fortune seekers had to travel on foot. The journey became easier when the White Pass and Yukon Railroad opened. Construction began at Skagway, Alaska, in 1898. Today, you can ride a train along the same narrow trail that once carried gold seekers and supplies.

Virtual Field Trip For an interactive look at the White Pass and Yukon Railroad, visit The American Nation section of www.phschool.com.

Imperialism

The period between 1870 and 1914 has often been called the Age of Imperialism. Imperialism is the policy of powerful countries seeking to control the economic and political affairs of weaker countries or regions. Between 1870 and 1914, European nations, such as Britain, Germany, and France, seized control of almost the entire continent of Africa and much of southern Asia. During this period, the United States and Japan also became imperial powers.

Why Imperialism? There were several reasons for the growth of imperialism. First, the industrial nations of Europe needed raw materials and new markets. European factories used raw materials from Africa and Asia to manufacture goods. Some of these goods would then be sold in Africa and Asia.

A second factor that shaped imperialism was racism, or the belief that one race is superior to another. Many Europeans felt that...
they had a duty to spread their religion and culture to people whom they considered to be less civilized. British writer Rudyard Kipling called this responsibility “the white man’s burden.” Such thinking ignored the fact that Africans and Asians already had rich cultures of their own.

A third cause was competition. When a European country colonized an area, it often closed the markets of that area to other countries. A European nation might take over an area just to keep rival nations out.

**Americans Seek Empire** Americans could not ignore Europe’s race for colonies. By the 1890s, the United States was a world leader in both industry and agriculture. American factories turned out huge amounts of steel and other goods. American farms grew bumper crops of corn, wheat, and cotton. The nation was growing rapidly, and arguments in favor of expansion held great appeal.

Many people believed that the American economy would collapse unless the United States gained new foreign markets. Albert Beveridge of Indiana summed up the arguments for such commercial expansion:

“Today we are raising more than we can consume. Today we are making more than we can use. Today our industrial society is congested; there are more workers than there is work. . . . Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupations for our capital, new work for our labor.”

—Albert Beveridge, quoted in *Beveridge and the Progressive Era* (Bowers)

Expansionists also argued that Americans had a right and a duty to spread western culture. Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister, declared that Americans were “divinely commissioned” to bring democracy and Christianity “down upon Mexico, down upon Central and South America, out upon the islands of the sea.”

Other expansionists stressed the need to make up for the vanishing frontier. For 100 years, the economy had boomed, as Americans settled the West. The 1890 census said, however, that the frontier was gone. People in crowded eastern cities had no new land to settle. The solution, said some, was to take new land overseas.

**A New Navy** One leading supporter of American imperialism was naval captain Alfred Mahan. In an influential 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History*, Mahan argued that the prosperity of the United States depended on foreign trade. Furthermore, he said, a bigger navy was needed to protect American merchant ships. “When a question arises of control over distant regions,” Mahan wrote, “it must ultimately be decided by naval power.”

In Mahan’s view, the United States could not expand its navy unless it controlled naval bases throughout the world. Mahan was especially interested in acquiring harbors in the Caribbean and the Pacific as links to Latin America and Asia.
Even before Mahan’s appeal, Congress had begun to enlarge and modernize the navy. By 1900, a powerful American navy was ready for action. Its steam-powered ships were called the **Great White Fleet** because their steel hulls were all painted white.

**Rivalry Over Samoa**

As naval power grew, the United States showed increasing interest in Samoa, a chain of islands in the South Pacific. Samoa had a fine harbor that could serve as a naval base and commercial port.

Germany and Great Britain also realized the value of the harbor. As the three nations competed for control, a military clash seemed likely. In 1889, German ships fired upon Samoan villages that were friendly to the Americans. For months, German and American sailors eyed each other nervously from their warships. Then, with tensions at their highest, a powerful storm sank ships of both countries. The disaster helped ease the crisis.

Later, the three nations arranged a peaceful settlement. The United States and Germany divided Samoa, while Britain received territories elsewhere in the Pacific. The United States had demonstrated that it would assert its power in the Pacific Ocean.

**Taking Over Hawaii**

Another Pacific territory that had long interested the United States was Hawaii. Hawaii is a chain of eight large islands and more than 100 smaller islands. Hawaii’s rich soil, warm climate, and plentiful rainfall allow farmers to grow crops all year round.
Westerners first learned about Hawaii in 1778. A British sea captain, James Cook, dropped anchor in the islands on his way to China. In the early 1800s, American ships bound for China began stopping in Hawaii, and a few American sailors and traders settled there.

**Missionaries and Planters** In 1820, American missionaries began arriving in Hawaii. They were eager to convert the Hawaiians to Christianity. The missionaries and other Americans became valued advisers to the rulers of Hawaii. Americans helped write Hawaii’s first constitution in 1840.

By the mid-1800s, Americans had set up large sugar plantations in Hawaii. Needing cheap labor, the planters imported thousands of workers from China, Korea, the Philippines, and Japan. By 1900, one fourth of Hawaii’s population had been born in Japan.

As the sugar industry grew, so did the wealth and political power of American planters. In 1887, they forced the Hawaiian king, Kalakaua, to accept a new constitution. It reduced royal power and increased the planters’ influence.

**Planters Rebel** Kalakaua died in 1891. The new queen, Liliuokalani (lih lee oo oh kah LAH nee), cherished Hawaiian independence. Rejecting the new constitution, she sought to reduce the influence and privileges of planters and foreign merchants.

In 1893, the American planters rebelled against the queen’s attempt to limit their power. The American ambassador called for United States marines to land on Hawaii and protect American lives. In fact, the marines helped topple the queen. Faced with American guns, Liliuokalani gave up her throne:

“... I yield to the superior force of the United States of America. ... To avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I do this under protest, and impelled by said force, yield my authority.”

—Liliuokalani, letter to the United States government, 1893

**Annexing Hawaii** With Liliuokalani gone, the planters quickly set up a republic and asked the United States to annex Hawaii. A debate raged in Congress for months. President Grover Cleveland blocked moves to take over the islands. “Our interference in the Hawaiian Revolution of 1893 was disgraceful,” he later said.

Congress finally annexed Hawaii in 1898, after Cleveland left office. Two years later, Hawaii became a United States territory. In 1959, Hawaii became the fiftieth state.

**Protecting Trade With China**

Despite its new footholds in the Pacific, the United States was a latecomer to the race for Pacific and Asian territory. Britain, Germany, Japan, and other industrial nations were already competing for colonies in Asia. The rivalry was especially fierce in China.

Once the most advanced empire in the world, China had been weakened by years of civil war. In addition, China had refused to industrialize in the 1800s. It was unable to fight off industrial nations seeking profits from its vast resources and markets.
Use Prior Knowledge

Why was the United States at a disadvantage competing with the other powers?

The United States was eager to gain a share of the China trade. However, Secretary of State John Hay feared that the imperial powers would cut China off to American merchants. To prevent this, Hay sent a letter in 1899 to all the nations that had spheres of influence in China. He urged them to keep an “open door” in China permitting any nation to trade in the spheres of others. Reluctantly, the imperialist powers accepted the Open Door Policy.

The Open Door In the late 1800s, Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan carved spheres of influence in China. A sphere of influence was an area, usually around a seaport, where a nation had special trading privileges. Each nation made laws for its own citizens in its own sphere.

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The Boxers Rebel Many Chinese resented foreign influence. Some formed a secret society called the Righteous Fists of Harmony, or Boxers. In 1900, the Boxers attacked westerners, whom they called “foreign devils,” all over China. More than 200 foreigners were killed. Hundreds of others were trapped in Beijing, the Chinese capital.

Foreign governments quickly organized an international army that included 2,500 Americans. Armed with modern weapons, they fought their way into Beijing. They freed the trapped foreigners and crushed the uprising.

Several nations saw the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to seize more land in China. Secretary of State Hay sent another Open Door letter, urging all nations to respect China’s independence. Britain, France, and Germany officially accepted Hay’s letter. Fearing war, Japan and Russia quietly observed Hay’s policy. Hay’s Open Door letters showed that, to defend its interests, the United States was ready to take a larger role in world affairs.

Section 1 Assessment

Recall

1. Identify Explain the significance of (a) Matthew Perry, (b) Treaty of Kanagawa, (c) William Seward, (d) Alfred Mahan, (e) Great White Fleet, (f) Liliuokalani, (g) John Hay, (h) Open Door Policy, (i) Boxer Rebellion.

2. Define (a) isolationism, (b) expansionism, (c) annex, (d) imperialism, (e) racism, (f) sphere of influence.

Comprehension

3. How did the United States expand in the Pacific before 1870?

4. Why did the Age of Imperialism begin?

5. Why did American planters lead a rebellion in Hawaii?

6. (a) What was the goal of the Open Door Policy in China? (b) Did it succeed?

Critical Thinking and Writing

7. Exploring the Main Idea Review the Main Idea statement at the beginning of this section. Then, write two brief statements about American expansion from the viewpoints of William Seward and of Liliuokalani.

8. Linking Past and Present Do you think the United States could return to a policy of isolationism today? Write a paragraph giving reasons.
Identifying Historical Trends

As you know, historical events are not isolated occurrences but are linked to events that preceded and that followed them. By examining different forms of evidence, you can determine how past events fit into the larger picture. This can help you identify historical trends.

In this excerpt, Albert Beveridge speaks in favor of building an American empire:

“Distance and oceans are no arguments. The fact that all the territory our fathers bought and seized is [connected by land], is no argument. In 1819 Florida was farther from New York than Puerto Rico is from Chicago today; Texas, farther from Washington in 1845 than Hawaii is from Boston in 1898; California, more inaccessible in 1847 than the Philippines are now. The ocean does not separate us from lands of our duty and desire.”
—Albert Beveridge, “The March of the Flag”

**Learn the Skill** To learn to identify historical trends, use the following steps:

1. **Examine the evidence.** Study the materials and identify the key facts and issues.
2. **Look for connections among the different pieces of evidence.** What similarities can you find? How are they related?
3. **Identify historical trends.** What is the direction that these events are taking? What shifts in policy do they show?

**Practice the Skill** Use the excerpt, the table, and the graph above to answer the following questions:

1. (a) What kinds of events does the table show? (b) What is the main point Beveridge makes about overseas lands? (c) What change in the United States Navy does the graph show?
2. (a) Which events on the table are related to the subject of the graph? Explain. (b) How would Beveridge have reacted to the events on the table and the changes shown on the graph?
3. (a) What trend can you identify from these three pieces of evidence? (b) What other kinds of information might also reflect this trend?

**Apply the Skill** See the Chapter Review and Assessment.
Main Idea In 1898, the Spanish-American War launched an age of American imperialism in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

Setting the Scene President William McKinley could not sleep. Night after night, he lay awake in his bedroom in the White House. He even had to seek the help of a doctor.

The President was worried about a looming war over Cuba, a Spanish-ruled island just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. Cuban patriots were in revolt against Spanish rule. Many Americans demanded that the President take action to help the Cubans. Almost every day, American newspapers reported stories of the cruelty and brutality of Spanish rule. The reports were often exaggerated, sometimes even made up. Nonetheless, they stirred American anger.

At first, the President resisted calls for war. But at 4 A.M. on April 25, 1898, a weary McKinley, still in his dressing gown, signed a declaration of war against Spain. The brief war that followed would launch the United States on its own age of imperialism in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

Tension in Cuba

For many years, Americans had looked longingly at Cuba. As early as 1823, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams had compared Cuba to a ripe apple. A storm, he said, might tear that apple “from its native tree”—the Spanish empire—and drop it into the hands of the United States.

By the 1890s, Spain’s once-vast empire in the Western Hemisphere had shrunk to two islands in the Caribbean, Cuba and Puerto Rico. Then, Cuban rebels created the storm that Adams had hoped for.

"Cuba Libre!" In 1868, the Cuban people had rebelled against Spanish rule. The revolution was finally crushed after 10 years of fighting. Some of the revolutionaries fled to New York where they kept up the battle for freedom. Puerto Rican-born Lola Rodriguez de Tío wrote patriotic poems in support of Cuban independence. José Martí worked day and night raising funds and giving speeches
in support of Cuban independence. He told sympathetic Americans of the Cuban struggle for freedom in his newspaper, *Patria*.

In 1895, Martí returned to Cuba. With cries of *Cuba Libre*!—"Free Cuba!"—rebels launched a new fight against Spain. Martí was killed early in the fighting, but the rebels battled on. Before long, they won control of much of the island.

The rebels burned sugar cane fields and sugar mills all over Cuba. They hoped that this would make the island unprofitable for Spain and persuade the Spanish to leave. The rebels killed workers who opposed them. They even blew up some passenger trains.

In response, Spain sent a new governor to Cuba, General Valeriano Weyler (WAY ee lair). Weyler used brutal tactics to crush the revolt. In a policy known as *reconcentration*, his men moved about half a million Cubans into detention camps so that they could not aid the rebels. At least 100,000 Cubans in reconcentration camps died from starvation and disease.

**American Opinion Splits** In the United States, people watched the revolt in nearby Cuba with growing concern. The United States had vital economic links to the island. Americans had invested about $50 million in Cuban sugar and rice plantations, railroads, tobacco, and iron mines. American trade with Cuba was worth about $100 million a year.

Opinion split over whether the United States should intervene in Cuba. Many business leaders opposed American involvement. They thought that it might hurt foreign trade. Other Americans, however, sympathized with Cuban desires for freedom. They called on the government to take action. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts compared the Cuban rebels to the Patriots in the American Revolution:

> "They have risen against oppression, compared to which the oppression which led us to rebel against England is as dust in the balance; and they feel that for this reason, if no other, they should have the sympathy of the people of the United States."

—Henry Cabot Lodge, Record of the 54th Congress, 1896

**Americans Call for War**

The press whipped up American sympathies for the people of Cuba. Two New York newspapers—Joseph Pulitzer's *World* and William Randolph Hearst's *Journal*—competed to print the most grisly stories
When the Maine blew up in Havana harbor, American newspapers were quick to point the finger of blame at Spain. Sensational pictures and language inflamed readers—and sold papers.

**Analyzing Primary Sources** Why do you think the New York Journal included the words and phrases highlighted here?

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**Sensational Newspaper Stories** To attract readers, Hearst and Pulitzer used yellow journalism, or reporting that relied on sensational stories and headlines. Often, these reports were biased or untrue. According to one story, a photographer bound for Cuba told Hearst that there was no war. "You supply the pictures," Hearst supposedly replied. "I'll supply the war." News stories described events in Cuba in graphic and horrifying detail.

Despite growing pressure, President Cleveland wanted to avoid war with Spain. He called the war fever in the United States an "epidemic of insanity." Stories in the press, he grumbled, were nonsense. When William McKinley became President in 1897, he also tried to keep the country neutral.

"Remember the Maine!" In 1898, fighting broke out in Havana, the Cuban capital. Acting promptly, President McKinley sent the battleship Maine to Havana to protect American citizens and property there.

On the night of February 15, the Maine lay at anchor in Havana harbor. Just after the bugler played taps, a huge explosion ripped

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through the ship. The explosion killed at least 260 of the 350 American sailors and officers on board.


The real cause of the explosion remains a mystery. Most historians believe that a boiler blew up or there was an accident in the ship’s own ammunition hold. But Americans, urged on by Pulitzer and Hearst, clamored for war. “Remember the Maine!” they cried.

Still hoping to avoid war, McKinley tried to get Spain to talk with the Cuban rebels. In the end, however, he gave in to war fever. On April 25, 1898, Congress declared war on Spain.

The Spanish-American War

The Spanish-American War lasted only four months. The battlefront stretched from the nearby Caribbean to the distant Philippine Islands off the coast of Southeast Asia.

Victory in the Philippines Two months earlier, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt had begun making preparations for a possible war with Spain. Roosevelt quickly realized that a conflict with Spain would be fought not only in the Caribbean but wherever Spanish sea power lay. The Philippine Islands, a Spanish colony and Spain’s main naval base in the Pacific, would be a major military objective.

Roosevelt believed it was important to attack the Spanish in the Philippines as soon as war began. He wired secret orders to Commodore George Dewey, commander of the Pacific fleet:

"Secret and confidential. Order the squadron... to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish squadron does not leave the Asiatic coast, and then offensive operations in Philippine Islands."

—Theodore Roosevelt, Telegram, February 25, 1898

Dewey followed Roosevelt’s instructions. Immediately after war was declared, the Commodore sailed his fleet swiftly to Manila, the main city of the Philippines. On April 30, 1898, Dewey’s ships slipped into Manila harbor under cover of darkness. There, the Spanish fleet lay at anchor.

At dawn, Dewey told his flagship commander, Charles Gridley, "You may fire when you are ready, Gridley." Taking their cue, the Americans bombarded the surprised Spanish ships. By noon, the Spanish fleet had been destroyed.

By July, American ground troops had landed in the Philippines. As in Cuba, local people there had been fighting for independence from Spain for years. With the help of these Filipino rebels, led by Emilio Aguinaldo (ah gee NAHL doh), the American forces quickly captured Manila.
As war with Spain loomed, John Pershing was teaching military strategy at West Point. He immediately put in for active duty. "If I did not make every effort to obtain... field service," he wrote, "I should never forgive myself."

Throughout his 38-year career, Pershing was everywhere the army needed him, from the West to Cuba to France. But he also knew war's costs. Seeing a line of Cuban refugees, he said, "The suffering of the innocent is not the least of the horrors of war."

Why do you think Pershing was eager to serve in Cuba?

**An American Profile**

**John J. Pershing**

1860–1948

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**War in Cuba** Meanwhile, American troops had also landed in Cuba. The expedition was badly organized. Soldiers wore heavy woolen uniforms in the tropical heat, and they often had to eat spoiled food. Yet, most were eager for battle.

None was more eager than Theodore Roosevelt. When the war broke out, Roosevelt resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. He then organized the First Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, later called the **Rough Riders**. The Rough Riders were a mixed crew, ranging from cowboys to college students and adventurers.

The Rough Riders joined regular troops in the most notable land battle of the war. During the fight for the key Cuban city of Santiago, Americans had to gain control of the San Juan Heights overlooking the city. Under withering fire, charging American forces took two strategic hills. African American members of the 9th and 10th Cavalries, nicknamed **Buffalo Soldiers**, played a major role in the bloody victory. John J. Pershing, commander of the 10th Cavalry, later described how the troops united in what came to be called the Battle of 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 of their common duty as Americans."

—John J. Pershing, quoted in *The Life of General Pershing* (MacAdam)

Two days later, the Americans destroyed the Spanish fleet in Santiago Bay. The Spanish army in Cuba surrendered. American troops then landed on Puerto Rico and claimed the island.

**A Quick End** Spain was defeated. On August 12, Spain and the United States agreed to end the fighting. American losses in battle were fairly light—379 killed. However, more than 5,000 Americans died of other causes, such as yellow fever, typhoid, and malaria.

John Hay, who was soon to become Secretary of State, summed up American enthusiasm for the war. "It's been a splendid little war," he wrote. A malaria-ridden veteran of the war had a different view: "I was lucky—I survived."

**The Debate Over Empire**

In a peace treaty signed in Paris in December 1898, Spain agreed to grant Cuba its freedom. Spain also gave the United States two islands: Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and Guam in the Pacific. Finally, in return for $20 million, Spain handed over the Philippines to the United States.

Before the Senate approved the treaty, a great debate occurred. Many Americans objected to the treaty. They said it violated American principles of democracy by turning the United States into a colonial power.

Expansionists favored the treaty. They said that the navy needed bases in the Caribbean and the Pacific. They pointed out that the Philippines and Puerto Rico offered new territory for American businesses. Also, many Americans agreed with President McKinley, who said that the United States would “uplift and civilize and
Christianize [the Filipinos].” In fact, most Filipinos already were Christians.

Urged on by McKinley, the Senate narrowly approved the peace treaty in February 1899. At last, the United States had acquired a true overseas empire.

**Ruling an Empire**

Americans had to decide how to rule their new territories. When the war with Spain began, the United States pledged to “leave the government and control of [Cuba] to its people.” That promise, however, was not kept.

**Cuba** After the war, American soldiers remained in Cuba while the United States debated. Many in Congress believed that Cuba was not ready for independence. American business leaders feared that an independent Cuba might threaten their investments there.

In the end, the United States let the Cuban people write their own constitution. However, Cuba had to accept the **Platt Amendment**. The amendment allowed the United States to intervene in Cuba and gave the United States control of the naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

In effect, the amendment made Cuba an American **protectorate**, a nation whose independence is limited by the control of a more powerful country. The United States pulled its army out of Cuba in 1902. However, American soldiers would return to Cuba in 1906 and again in 1917.
Primary Source

A Voice Against Empire

While campaigning for President in 1900, William Jennings Bryan explained some of the reasons he opposed the acquisition of the Philippines:

“We cannot [reject] the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here. Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of [tyranny] at their own doors.”

— William Jennings Bryan, Official Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention, 1900

Analyzing Primary Sources

What does Bryan predict will happen if the United States rules over the Philippines?

Puerto Rico

In Puerto Rico, the United States set up a new government under the Foraker Act of 1900. The act gave Puerto Ricans only a limited say in their own affairs. In 1917, Puerto Ricans were made citizens of the United States. Americans set up schools, improved health care, and built roads on the island. Even so, many Puerto Ricans wanted to be free of foreign rule.

Revolt in the Philippines

Filipino nationalists had begun fighting for independence long before the Spanish-American War. When the United States took over their land after the war, Filipinos felt betrayed. Led by Emilio Aguinaldo, they now fought for freedom against a new imperial power: the United States.

Aguinaldo, who had fought beside the Americans against Spain, accused the United States of forgetting its beginnings. The United States, he said, was using military force to keep the Filipinos from attaining “the same rights that the American people proclaimed more than a century ago.”

The war in the Philippines was the first all-out Asian war in which the United States fought. It dragged on for years. At one point, about 60,000 American troops were fighting there. Finally, Aguinaldo was captured in 1901, and the war came to an end.

The war against Aguinaldo’s nationalists was longer and more costly than the Spanish-American War. More than 4,000 Americans died in the Philippines. Nearly 20,000 Filipino soldiers were killed. Another 200,000 civilians died from shelling, famine, and disease.

In 1902, the United States set up a government in the Philippines similar to the one in Puerto Rico. Filipinos, however, were not made American citizens because the United States planned to give them independence in the future. It was not until 1946, however, that the United States allowed Filipinos to govern themselves.

Section 2 Assessment

Recall

1. Identify Explain the significance of (a) Lola Rodríguez de Tíó, (b) José Martí, (c) Valeriano Weyler, (d) Spanish-American War, (e) George Dewey, (f) Emilio Aguinaldo, (g) Rough Riders, (h) Buffalo Soldiers, (i) Platt Amendment, (j) Foraker Act.

2. Define (a) reconcentration, (b) atrocity, (c) yellow journalism, (d) protectorate.

Comprehension

3. Why did many Americans want to intervene in Cuba?

4. Describe the American victories in the Philippines and Cuba.

5. (a) Why did Americans disagree about the issue of empire? (b) How did the United States get involved in a war in the Philippines?

Critical Thinking and Writing

6. Exploring the Main Idea

Review the Main Idea statement at the beginning of this section. Then, create a cause-and-effect chart for the Spanish-American War.

7. Identifying Points of View

As John Hay, write a note to President McKinley giving reasons why you called the conflict with Spain “a splendid little war.”

Activity

Drawing a Political Cartoon

Draw a political cartoon about the debate over acquiring an empire. Take the viewpoint of either an expansionist or an opponent of imperialism.
Increasing economic ties led the United States to intervene in Latin American affairs.

Setting the Scene William Seward had dreamed of an American empire stretching southward. Under his plan, the United States would hold islands of the Caribbean as bases to protect a new water route across Central America. Mexico would be a state and Mexico City the capital of the new empire.

Seward's vision never came to pass. But as a new century dawned, the United States did stretch its power and influence across Latin America.

A Canal Across Panama

When Theodore Roosevelt became President in 1901, he was determined to build a canal through the Isthmus of Panama. An isthmus is a narrow strip of land connecting two larger bodies of land. Panama was an ideal location for a canal. Only 50 miles of land separated the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.

Roosevelt's Plan Roosevelt knew that a canal through the isthmus would greatly benefit American commerce and military capability. By avoiding the long trip around South America, ships could shorten the journey from New York City to San Francisco by nearly 8,000 miles. Thus, a canal would reduce the cost of shipping goods. In addition, in the event of a war, the navy could quickly move ships back and forth between the Pacific Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean.

To build the canal, Roosevelt had to deal with Colombia, which owned the isthmus. Roosevelt asked Secretary of State John Hay to approach Colombia. Hay offered $10 million cash plus $250,000 a year to rent a strip of land across Panama.

Taking the Canal Zone When Colombia refused Roosevelt's offer, he was furious. "I do not think the [Colombian] lot of jack rabbits should be allowed permanently to bar one of the future highways of civilization," he exclaimed.
At times like this, Roosevelt was fond of quoting an African proverb: “Speak softly and carry a big stick, and you will go far.” He meant that words should be supported by strong action.

Roosevelt knew that some Panamanians wanted to break away from Colombia. He made it known that he would not help Colombia suppress the rebels. In fact, he might even support the rebellion.

On November 2, 1903, the American warship Nashville dropped anchor in the port of Colon, Panama. The next day, Panamanians rebelled against Colombia. American forces stopped Colombian troops from crushing the revolt. Panama then declared itself an independent republic. The United States recognized the new nation at once. Panama in turn agreed to let the United States build a canal on terms similar to those it had offered to Colombia.

Roosevelt’s action in Panama angered many Latin Americans. It also upset some members of Congress. The President, however, proudly stated, “I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate.”

**Building the Canal**

Roosevelt now had the right to build his canal. However, before work could begin, Americans had to conquer a deadly enemy: disease.

**Conquering Tropical Diseases** With its tropical heat, heavy rainfall, and plentiful swamps, Panama was a “mosquito paradise.” This presented serious difficulties for the canal builders. Mosquitoes carry two of the deadliest tropical diseases: malaria and yellow fever.
Dr. William Gorgas, an army physician, arrived in Panama in 1905 to help control the mosquitoes and the spread of disease. He ordered workers to locate all pools of water, where mosquitoes laid their eggs. Day after day, the workers drained swamps, sprayed tons of insecticide, and spread oil on stagnant water to kill mosquito eggs.

By 1906, Gorgas had won his battle. Yellow fever disappeared from Panama. Malaria cases dropped dramatically. Work on the Panama Canal could proceed.

The Big Dig Under the supervision of army engineer Colonel George Goethals, more than 40,000 workers struggled to dig the canal. Most were blacks from the West Indies. They blasted a path through mountains and carved out the largest artificial lake in the world up to that time. In all, they removed more than 200 million cubic yards of earth. Then, they built gigantic locks to raise and lower ships as they passed through the canal. Finally, in 1914, the first ocean-going steamship traveled through the Panama Canal.

The new waterway helped the trade of many nations. American merchants and manufacturers benefited most. They could now ship goods cheaply to South America and Asia. However, many Latin American nations remained bitter about the way in which the United States had gained control of the canal.

The \textbf{“Big Stick” in Latin America}

The Panama Canal involved the United States more than ever in Latin America. Gradually, President Roosevelt and succeeding Presidents established a policy of intervening in Latin America. The United States was especially concerned when disturbances threatened American lives, property, and interests.

\textbf{Roosevelt Extends the Monroe Doctrine} In 1902, several European countries sent warships to force Venezuela to repay its debts. The United States did not want Europeans to interfere in Latin America. President Roosevelt decided that the United States must step in to keep Europeans out. He declared:

"If we intend to say ‘Hands off’ to the powers of Europe, then sooner or later we must keep order ourselves."

—Theodore Roosevelt, quoted in \textit{T. R.: The Last Romantic} (Brands)
Teddy Roosevelt and the Caribbean

This 1904 cartoon shows President Roosevelt using the navy to keep order in the Caribbean.

1. **Comprehension** What is the meaning of the object in Roosevelt's right hand?

2. **Understanding Main Ideas** What point is the cartoonist making about the relationship between the United States and Caribbean countries?

3. **Critical Thinking** Identifying Points of View Do you think the cartoonist approved of the Roosevelt Corollary? Explain.

THE BIG STICK IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA

In 1904, Roosevelt announced an important corollary, or addition, to the Monroe Doctrine. He claimed that the United States had a right to intervene in Latin America to preserve law and order. By using what he called “international police power,” the United States could force Latin Americans to pay their debts to foreign nations. It would also keep those nations from meddling in Latin American affairs. For the next 20 years, Presidents used the **Roosevelt Corollary** to intervene in Latin America.

**Dollar Diplomacy** Roosevelt's successor, William Howard Taft, also favored a strong role in Latin America. However, he wanted to “substitute dollars for bullets.” He urged American bankers to invest in Latin America. Taft's policy of building strong economic ties to Latin America became known as **dollar diplomacy**.

American investors responded eagerly. They helped build roads, railroads, and harbors in Latin America. These improvements increased trade, benefiting both the United States and local governments. The new railroads, for example, brought minerals and other resources to Latin American ports. From there, they were shipped all over the world.

Dollar diplomacy created problems, too. American businesses, such as the United Fruit Company, often meddled in the political affairs of host countries. Sometimes, the United States used military force to keep order. In 1912, when a revolution erupted in Nicaragua, the United States sent in marines to protect American investments.

**Moral Diplomacy** The next President, Woodrow Wilson, condemned the heavy-handed foreign policy of his predecessors. “The
force of America," he said, "is the force of moral principle." The goals of Wilson's moral diplomacy were to condemn imperialism, spread democracy, and promote peace.

Nevertheless, Wilson ordered military intervention in Latin America more than any prior President. He sent marines to quell disturbances in Haiti in 1915 and in the Dominican Republic in 1916. American troops remained in Haiti until 1934.

The United States declared that its troops were restoring order and guarding American lives and property. Still, many Latin Americans denounced the United States for invading their countries and interfering in their internal affairs.

The United States and Mexico

Moral diplomacy faced its greatest test in Mexico. Porfirio Díaz, Mexico's president from 1884 to 1911, welcomed American investment. By 1912, Americans had invested about $1 billion to develop mines, oil wells, railroads, and ranches. Yet, most Mexicans remained poor. They worked the land of a few wealthy families, receiving very little for their labor.

Revolution in Mexico   Mexicans rebelled against Díaz in 1910. The new leader, Francisco Madero, promised democratic reform. Then, in 1913, Madero was himself overthrown and killed by General Victoriano Huerta (WEHR tuh). As civil war raged, Wilson refused to recognize what he called Huerta's "government of butchers."

Wilson tried to stay neutral. He hoped that Mexico would develop a democratic government without American interference. As Huerta's...
dictatorship grew more brutal, Wilson authorized the sale of arms to Huerta's rival, Venustiano Carranza.

Finally, a minor incident led to American intervention. In 1914, Huerta's troops arrested several American sailors. The sailors were quickly released and an apology issued. Still, Wilson ordered the United States Navy to occupy the Mexican port of Veracruz. Rallied by the American show of strength, Carranza's forces drove Huerta from power. The United States troops withdrew.

**Invading Mexico** Still, civil war continued in Mexico. Now, General Francisco "Pancho" Villa hoped to overthrow Carranza. The United States supported Carranza.

In January 1916, Villa's soldiers removed 17 American citizens from a train in Mexico and shot them. In March, Villa raided the town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing 18 Americans. He hoped that his actions would weaken relations between the United States and the Carranza government. But the plan backfired.

Wilson sent General John J. Pershing with an army of several thousand soldiers into Mexico to capture Villa. When Mexico demanded that the troops be withdrawn, Wilson refused. Still, both Wilson and Carranza resisted calls for war. After 11 months, Wilson ordered Pershing to withdraw without capturing Villa. The United States had again shown its willingness to use force to protect its interests. The incident strained relations with Mexico.

As United States troops headed home from Mexico, many Americans realized that their nation's role in world affairs had dramatically changed over the years. Now, the United States stationed troops and ships in both Asia and Latin America. American business interests spanned the globe. It would be difficult for the United States to ignore the war that had been raging in Europe since 1914.

**Section 3 Assessment**

**Recall**

1. **Identify** Explain the significance of (a) William Gorgas, (b) George Goethals, (c) Roosevelt Corollary, (d) Francisco "Pancho" Villa.
2. **Define** (a) isthmus, (b) corollary, (c) dollar diplomacy, (d) moral diplomacy.

**Comprehension**

3. (a) How did President Roosevelt acquire the right to build the Panama Canal? (b) What problems did the builders face?
4. How did Roosevelt justify increased involvement in Latin America?
5. Why did President Wilson send troops into Mexico?

**Critical Thinking and Writing**

6. **Exploring the Main Idea** Review the Main Idea statement at the beginning of this section. Then, list two arguments for and two arguments against increasing United States intervention in Latin America in the early 1900s.
7. **Identifying Alternatives** Instead of supporting the Panamanian rebels against Colombia, what other actions might Roosevelt have taken to get a canal built? Describe at least two alternatives.

**Activity**

**Take It to the NET**

**Creating a Timeline** Use the Internet to find out more about the building of the Panama Canal. Then, use this information to create a timeline of the building and opening of the canal. Include illustrations if you like. Visit The American Nation section of www.phschool.com for help in completing the activity.
Dr. William Gorgas declared all-out war on mosquitoes. He installed screens on windows and doors and enforced a ban on uncovered water. An army of workers, like this one, sprayed insecticide on mosquito breeding grounds.

When President Roosevelt announced plans to build a canal, many people predicted disaster. This 1904 cartoon shows the common view of Panama.

The French were the first to try building a canal across Panama. They began construction in 1881 but were defeated by disease. Mysterious illnesses were blamed on “swamp gas.” In all, 22,000 workers died before the French abandoned their work in 1889.

When American crews arrived in 1905, disease began its deadly work again. But this time, scientists knew who the enemy was: a tiny, deadly mosquito that carried yellow fever.

Dr. William Gorgas declared all-out war on mosquitoes. He installed screens on windows and doors and enforced a ban on uncovered water. An army of workers, like this one, sprayed insecticide on mosquito breeding grounds.

**Activity**

To win his war on the mosquito, Gorgas needed an army of workers. Create a newspaper advertisement asking workers to come to Panama. Explain what they will be doing and why it is worth the risk.

**Incidence of Yellow Fever in the Canal Zone, 1903–1914**

Source: Ian Cameron, *The Impossible Dream: The Building of the Panama Canal*

How successful was Gorgas? This graph shows the number of cases of yellow fever during the years the canal was being built.
CHAPTER 23 Review and Assessment

Creating a Chapter Summary

Copy the concept web below. Fill in the blank ovals with important facts and developments relating to the United States becoming a world power. Add as many ovals as you need to complete the web.

For additional review and enrichment activities, see the interactive version of The American Nation, available on the Web and on CD-ROM.

Building Vocabulary

Review the meaning of the chapter vocabulary words listed below. Then, write a sentence for each word in which you define the word and describe its relation to the growing involvement of the United States in world affairs.

1. isolationism 6. sphere of influence
2. expansionism 7. yellow journalism
3. annex 8. protectorate
4. imperialism 9. dollar diplomacy
5. racism 10. moral diplomacy

Critical Thinking and Writing

15. Linking Past and Present Captain Mahan insisted that the navy was the key to controlling events in distant regions. (a) List two supporting facts to show that his view was correct in 1890. (b) Do you think naval power is just as important today? Write a paragraph explaining your reasons.

16. Making Decisions If you had been President McKinley, would you have signed the declaration of war against Spain? List at least two reasons for and two reasons against. Then, write two or three sentences explaining your final decision.

17. Connecting to Geography: Movement Look at a map of the world. Write a description of the route that a merchant ship might take from New York to China in 1900. Then, write a description of the route the same ship could take in 1920.

18. Comparing Write a paragraph comparing the Latin American policies of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Describe how their goals and actions were similar or different.

Reviewing Key Facts

11. Why was the United States interested in Samoa and Hawaii? (Section 1)
12. Identify two results of the Spanish-American War. (Section 2)
13. What was the main idea of the Roosevelt Corollary? (Section 3)
14. How did Latin American nations react to United States intervention? (Section 3)
**Skills Assessment**

**Analyzing Primary Sources**

Examine this cartoon and answer the questions that follow:

19. (a) What does the large figure in the center represent? (b) What do the seven figures in front represent?

20. Describe what is taking place in this cartoon.

21. What policy does this cartoon illustrate?

22. Do you think the cartoonist approved of American policy in China? Explain.

**Activities**

**Connecting With... Geography**

**Creating a Master Map** With the class, create a master map titled "Becoming a World Power." Use the information found on the various maps in this chapter. Draw a large base map showing the world from Asia to North America. Use one color to show the United States as it existed in 1865. Use a second color to show territories acquired after the Civil War and a third color to show areas in which the United States became involved. Draw a line around the entire area that might be called an "American empire."

**Applying Your Skills**

**Identifying Historical Trends**

**Exports to Latin America, 1895–1915**

Use this graph and the cartoon on p. 678 to answer the following questions:

23. From this graph, you can conclude that
   A exports to Latin America increased as a result of the Spanish-American War
   B the Panama Canal made it easier to ship goods to Latin America
   C imports from Latin America increased
   D United States involvement in Latin America increased

24. How are the graph and the cartoon related to the same historical trend?

**Take It to the NET**

**Connecting to Today**

**Writing Headlines** To understand the techniques of yellow journalism, select a recent news story. Use the Internet to find at least two different accounts relating to that story. Note facts and opinions. Then, write two headlines about that story, one factual and the other using the style of yellow journalism. For help in starting this activity, visit The American Nation section of www.phschool.com.

**Finding Visual Evidence**

**Writing Captions** Use the Internet to find photographs of the Spanish-American War. Write captions for two of them. Use the captions in this book as a model. For help in starting this activity, visit The American Nation section of www.phschool.com.