

The Pressure to Expand

READING FOCUS

- What factors led to the growth of imperialism around the world?
- In what ways did the United States begin to expand its interests abroad in the late 1800s?
- What arguments were made in favor of United States expansion in the 1890s?

MAIN IDEA

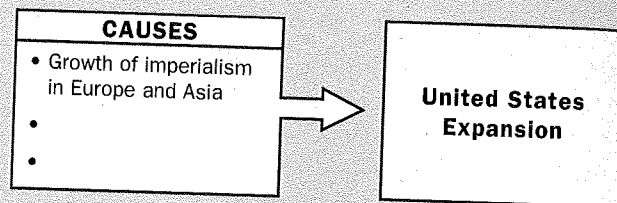
In the late 1800s, as European nations took over vast areas in Africa and Asia, American leaders looked to extend American influence abroad.

KEY TERMS

imperialism
nationalism
annex
banana republic

TAKING NOTES

As you read, complete the diagram below to show some of the causes that led the United States to adopt a policy of political and economic expansion overseas.



VIEWING HISTORY This 1902 photograph shows a man in a car overlooking the Grand Canyon.

Determining Relevance What does this photograph suggest about the new pressures facing the United States?

Setting the Scene By the dawn of the twentieth century, industrialization had forever changed the national landscape and the daily lives of all Americans. The rise of cities, the beginnings of mass culture, westward expansion, and new coast-to-coast networks of travel and communications all strengthened the country's national identity. Americans wondered what these changes meant for the future of the country.

The development of the United States into an industrial powerhouse not only revolutionized the lives of all Americans, it also forced them to strengthen their ties to other nations more than ever before. Many Americans began to believe that the country had to protect its economic, political, and social interests internationally. A surge in European conquests for new lands and resources reinforced this new way of thinking about America's role in the world. Some Americans, such as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, believed that the time was right for the United States to expand its interests abroad.

“Small States are of the past and have no future. The modern movement is all toward the concentration of people and territory into great nations and large dominions. The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defence all the waste places of the earth. . . . As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march.”

—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, speech to Congress, 1895

Growth of Imperialism

As the map on the previous page shows, Europe had reached new heights in its quest for territories to rule. The late 1800s marked the peak of European **imperialism**, with much of Africa and Asia under foreign domination. Under imperialism, stronger nations attempt to create

empires by dominating weaker nations—economically, politically, culturally, or militarily.

Why Imperialism Grew Several factors accounted for the burst of imperialistic activity in the late 1800s.

Economic factors The growth of industry in Europe created an increased need for natural resources, such as rubber and petroleum, which came from undeveloped areas of the world. Manufacturing nations also required new markets in which to sell their manufactured goods.

Nationalistic factors Competition among European nations for large empires was the result of a rise in **nationalism**, or devotion to one's nation. Nationalism usually suggests that a nation's people believe themselves, their ideals, and their goals to be superior to those of other nations. In the late 1800s, nationalist feelings grew stronger in many countries, causing several European nations to take strong actions to protect their interests. For example, when France acquired colonies in West Africa in the late 1800s, rival nations Great Britain and Germany seized lands nearby to stop French expansion.

Military factors Advances in military technology produced European armies and navies that were far superior to those in Africa and Asia. Also, Europe's growing navies required bases around the world for taking on fuel and supplies.

Humanitarian factors Humanitarian and religious goals spurred on imperialists. Colonial officials, doctors, and missionaries believed they had a duty to spread the blessings of Western civilization, including its law, medicine, and Christian religion.

Europe Leads the Way Improved transportation and communication made it easier for Great Britain, France, and Russia, all with long imperialist traditions, to extend their grip over far-flung lands. Great Britain, in particular, acquired so much new territory around the globe that people began to say “the sun never sets on the British Empire.” Competition for new territory grew even more intense when Germany, unified in 1871, seized colonies in Africa and Asia.

By 1890, the United States was eager to join the competition for new territories. Supporters of expansion denied that the United States sought to **annex** foreign lands. (To annex is to join a new territory to an existing country.) Yet annexation did take place.

Expanding U.S. Interests

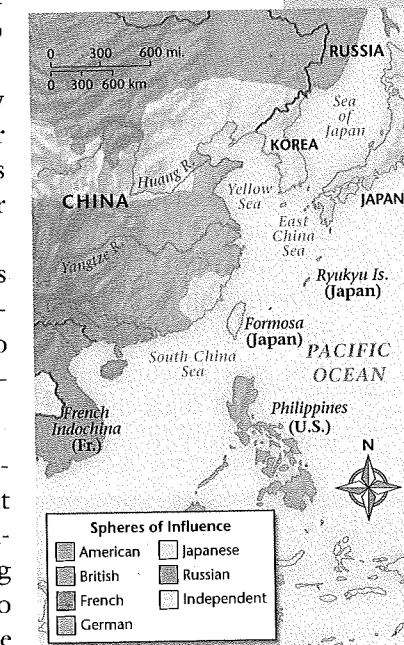
In his Farewell Address in 1796, President George Washington had advised Americans to “steer clear of permanent alliances” with other countries. For the next century, Americans generally followed Washington's advice. The nation's rapid economic growth along with the settlement of the West left the United States with little interest in foreign affairs.

As early as the 1820s, the Monroe Doctrine had been the main principle of foreign policy in the United States. Taking Washington's advice, under this doctrine, the United States had declared itself neutral in European wars and

Focus on WORLD EVENTS

The Sino-Japanese War After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan entered a period of reform and modernization in which it grew to be an imperial power. (See the map, below left.) The Japanese began using Western military techniques, developed an advanced industrial economy, and even Westernized their political system. As Japan expanded economically, socially, and militarily, it experienced a rise in nationalism. In August 1894, conflict between China and Japan over Korea erupted into the Sino-Japanese War.

Japan's more modern military easily defeated China's massive forces. As a result, China ceded Taiwan and other lands to Japan, signaling the status of Japan as a major world power.



READING CHECK

What was the role of the Monroe Doctrine in shaping U.S. foreign policy?

warned other nations not to interfere in the Western Hemisphere. There were instances, however, when Americans “looked outward.” Over time the Monroe Doctrine would be broadened to support American imperialism.

From the 1830s to 1850s, belief in the idea of Manifest Destiny helped the United States to justify its policies toward Mexico. The annexation of Texas and the acquisition of California and other southwestern lands were early steps toward claiming an American empire.

After the Civil War, American secretaries of state continued to apply the principles of the Monroe Doctrine. In 1866, for example, Secretary of State William H. Seward sent 50,000 troops to the Mexican border after France placed an emperor on the Mexican throne. In the face of this army, the French abandoned their colonial venture in Mexico. Then, in 1867, Seward bought Alaska from Russia. In addition to gaining more territory, Seward hoped that the presence of the United States on two sides of Canada would force the British out of that region. Most Americans ridiculed the undertaking. Seward, they said, was buying “walrus-covered icebergs” in a “barren, worthless, God-forsaken region.” Seward, however, waged a successful campaign to educate the nation about Alaska’s rich resources. In the end, the Senate ratified the purchase, and the United States took possession of what was then called “Seward’s Folly.”

Americans also showed their interest in the Pacific. In 1853, an American fleet led by Commodore Matthew C. Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay and convinced Japan to open trade relations with the United States. By the 1860s, the United States and several European countries had signed a series of treaties that allowed for expanded trade with China.

Now the U.S. government wanted control of some Pacific islands to use as refueling and repair stations for its naval vessels. To this end, Seward championed the annexation of the uninhabited Midway Islands in 1867. Eight years later the U.S. government signed a treaty with Hawaii. This agreement allowed Hawaiians to sell sugar in the United States duty-free, as long as they did not sell or lease territory to any foreign power.

COMPARING HISTORIANS' VIEWPOINTS

The Motivation Behind American Imperialism

Historians offer many different explanations for why the United States sought to expand its influence abroad.

Analyzing Viewpoints What factors do these historians describe as contributing to American expansionism?

Expansion to Solve Domestic Problems

“Spurred by a fantastic industrial revolution, which produced ever larger quantities of surplus goods, depressions, and violence, and warned by a growing radical literature that the system was not functioning properly, the United States prepared to solve its dilemmas with foreign expansion. Displaying a notable lack of absent-mindedness, Americans set out to solve their problems by creating an empire whose dynamic and characteristics marked a new departure in their history.”

—Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion 1860–1898*

Expansion to Restore a Sense of Security

“In a period of drastic social change, old maxims lost their sway over people who had good reason to take them for granted no longer; calm and thoughtful Americans, as well as frightened and anxious ones, felt compelled by events to reexamine the precepts of U.S. foreign policy. . . . Perhaps the United States could reaffirm its soundness by thrashing some country in a war or, more subtly, by demonstrating its ability to govern ‘inferior’ peoples in a colonial empire. Once indifferent to events outside their boundaries, Americans now searched abroad for means to internal salvation.”

—Robert L. Beisner, *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1865–1900*

Also of great concern to the United States were the Caribbean islands and Latin America. In 1870, President Ulysses S. Grant announced that in the future the Monroe Doctrine would protect all territories in these two regions from “transfer to a European power.” Not long after, the United States was playing an active role in several diplomatic and military conflicts in Latin America.

Arguments for U.S. Expansion

By the 1890s, Americans were debating what foreign policy would best serve the United States. Some argued that the country should continue to avoid foreign entanglements. Others offered a variety of reasons for increased American involvement in international affairs.

Promoting Economic Growth A chief argument in favor of expansion was economic. By the late 1800s, the industrialists, inventors, and workers of the United States had built a powerful industrial economy. Americans alone, however, could not consume everything their nation produced. The overproduction of food and goods led to financial panics and frequent economic depressions. Protesting their plight, workers and farmers helped to convince business and political leaders that the United States must secure new markets abroad.

Many business leaders agreed that the economic problems of the nation could be solved only by expanding its markets. For this reason, they threw their support behind expansionist policies. Some American businesses already dominated international markets. Firms such as Rockefeller’s Standard Oil and American Telephone and Telegraph had all become international businesses.

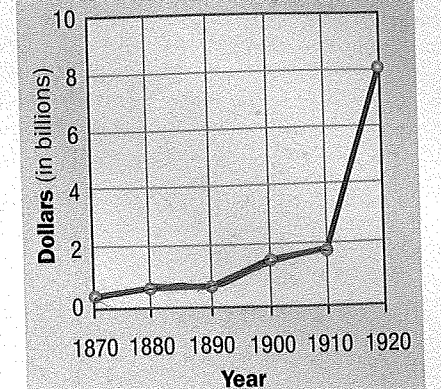
Other American business leaders had gone a step further and invested directly in the economies of other countries. In some cases their investments gave them political influence in those countries. In Central America, for example, an American named Minor C. Keith provided financial services to the Costa Rican government. In return, he won long-term leases for lands and railroad lines. By 1913, Keith’s United Fruit Company not only exported 50 million bunches of bananas a year to the United States, it also dominated the governments and economies of Costa Rica, Guatemala, and Honduras. As a result, some people began calling the Central American nations **banana republics**.

Protecting American Security Lobbyists who favored a strong United States Navy formed a second force pushing for expansion. By the 1880s, U.S. warships left over from the Civil War were rusting and rotting. Naval officers joined with business interests to convince Congress to build modern steam-powered, steel-hulled ships to protect overseas trade.

The most influential of these officers was Captain (later Admiral) Alfred T. Mahan. In his 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783*, Mahan argued that the nation’s economic future hinged on gaining new markets abroad. In his view, the United States needed a powerful navy to protect these markets from foreign rivals.

Influenced by supporters of an expanded navy, Congress established a Naval Advisory Board in 1881. The board pushed to increase the navy’s budget. Two years later, Congress authorized the building of three cruisers and two battleships, including the U.S.S. *Maine*. Finally, the Naval Act of 1890 called for the construction of more battleships, gunboats, torpedo boats, and

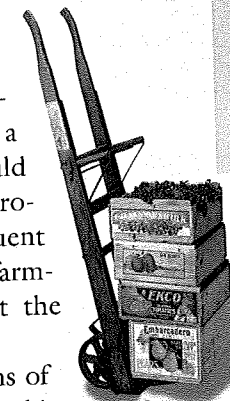
Value of United States Exports, 1870–1920

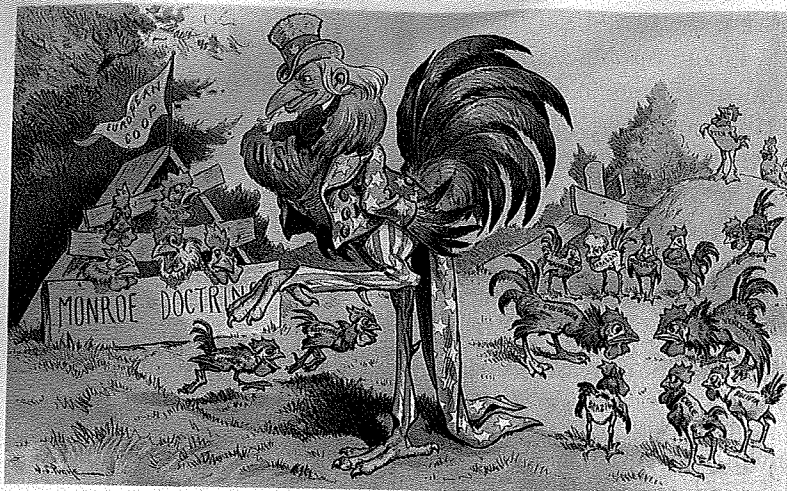


SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*

INTERPRETING GRAPHS

Businesses eagerly sought new markets abroad in the late 1800s and early 1900s. **Analyzing Information** By how much did U.S. exports increase between 1870 and 1920?





INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS As this 1901 political cartoon suggests, the United States relied on the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to block European involvement in Latin America. **Drawing Inferences** What is the cartoonist suggesting about the role of the United States in world affairs?

restore the country's pioneer spirit.

These and other leaders of the day drew on the doctrine of social Darwinism to justify the takeover of new territories, just as they had done earlier to defend the conquest of Native Americans. In the opinion of respected leaders such as Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong and Indiana senator Albert J. Beveridge, the civilizations produced by Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic (Germanic) peoples were superior to the societies they conquered. Social Darwinists believed that expansionism was not only this nation's destiny but also a noble pursuit, for it introduced Christianity and modern civilization to other "heathen" peoples around the world. This was an age when many intellectuals believed that certain racial and national groups were superior to others.

Americans Lean Toward Expansion Gradually public opinion warmed to the idea of expansionism. Although most Americans had accepted the conquest of Native Americans as right and inevitable, they did not see themselves as potential rulers of oppressed foreign peoples. Moreover, they did want new markets abroad and favorable trade relations. What they soon discovered was that political and military entanglements tended to follow. The United States would find itself in difficult, bloody, and painful foreign conflicts.

cruisers. By 1900, the United States had one of the most powerful navies in the world. The expanded fleet suggested that the United States was willing and able to confront an enemy on the open sea.

Preserving American Spirit A third force for expansion consisted of people who feared that the United States was losing its vitality. Among them were Massachusetts Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, historian Frederick Jackson Turner, and a young politician from New York named Theodore Roosevelt. Worried that the closing of the frontier would sap the nation's energy, they argued that a quest for an empire might

Section

2

The Spanish-American War

READING FOCUS

- How did the activities of the United States in Latin America set the stage for war with Spain?
- What were the events leading up to and following the Spanish-American War?
- What challenges did the United States face after the war?
- Why did the United States seek to gain influence in the Pacific?

KEY TERMS

- arbitration
- jingoism
- Platt Amendment
- sphere of influence
- Open Door Policy

TAKING NOTES

As you read, complete this chart listing the effects of United States foreign policies on other nations after the Spanish-American War.

Effects of United States Foreign Policy	
Nation	Policy and Effects
Philippines	Annexed by U.S. after Spanish-American War. U.S. soldiers remain there. Fighting between U.S. and Philippines occurs. U.S. occupation continues until 1946.
Cuba	
Puerto Rico	
Hawaii	
China	

MAIN IDEA

A swift victory in the Spanish-American War confirmed the status of the United States as a world power, but it left some people arguing over how to govern newly acquired territories.

Setting the Scene The United States was poised on the edge of becoming a world power. All that was needed was something to push the country in that direction. The cautious McKinley administration resisted the growing demands of those in Congress and throughout the country who hungered for expansion. The time was not yet right. As they waited for action, Americans woke up to this newspaper headline in October 1897:

“EVANGELINA CISNEROS RESCUED BY THE JOURNAL: AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ACCOMPLISHES AT A SINGLE STROKE WHAT THE RED TAPE OF DIPLOMACY FAILED UTTERLY TO BRING ABOUT IN MANY MONTHS.”

—Headline in the *New York Journal*, October 10, 1897



VIEWING HISTORY This illustration by Thure de Thulstrup depicts Cuban rebels charging into battle with the Spanish. **Analyzing Visual Information** What do the details in the illustration tell you about the artist's view of the Cuban rebellion?

Many would have been shocked to read in big, bold letters that a newspaper had acted outside the law to protect liberty and justice abroad. In this instance, the *Journal* staged the rescue of someone they described as a beautiful, young Cuban girl being held prisoner by the Spanish. Vivid headlines such as this attracted readers craving controversy and excitement. The sensational stories that followed increased newspaper circulations and resulted in huge profits for newspaper publishers.

Another year would pass before the United States fought a war that would forever change its role in world affairs. The newspapers did not cause the war, but they did help to reinforce and magnify a new set of assumptions among the American people regarding their place in the world. Americans began to feel that their nation was growing bigger and stronger. They were ready and willing to take action outside U.S. borders. In the process of expanding and becoming a world power, however, the United States increasingly found itself in conflict with other nations.

Section

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why did imperialism grow in Europe at the end of the 1800s?
2. How did the United States apply the Monroe Doctrine to its foreign policy throughout the 1800s?
3. Why did U.S. policymakers feel the need to secure new markets abroad?
4. Why did some believe that U.S. expansion was needed to preserve the "American spirit"?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Recognizing Cause and Effect** What effect did the growth of European imperialism have on United States attitudes toward foreign policy and expansion?
6. **Writing a List** Beginning with the Louisiana Purchase, write a chronological list tracing specific examples of American expansionism before 1880.

Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing a Letter If you were alive in 1867, would you have supported or opposed Seward's purchase of Alaska? Write a letter to the editor explaining your position. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.
www.phschool.com

Setting the Stage for War

American expansionists paid close attention to the political and economic actions of countries in the Western Hemisphere. In the 1890s, several incidents took place that allowed the United States to strengthen its role in Latin American affairs.

Displays of United States Power In 1891, an angry Chilean mob attacked a group of American sailors on shore leave in Valparaíso. They killed two Americans and injured seventeen others. The U.S. government reacted strongly, forcing Chile to pay \$75,000 to the families of the sailors who were killed or injured. Two years later, when a rebellion threatened the friendly republican government of Brazil, President Cleveland ordered naval units to Rio de Janeiro to protect United States shipping interests. This show of force broke the back of the rebellion.

In the third and most important incident of the era, the United States confronted the nation then considered the most powerful in the world, Great Britain. Since the 1840s, Britain and Venezuela had disputed ownership of a piece of territory located at the border between Venezuela and British Guiana. In the 1880s, the dispute intensified when rumors surfaced of mineral wealth in this border area. President Cleveland's Secretary of State, Richard Olney, demanded in July 1895 that Britain acknowledge the Monroe Doctrine and submit the boundary dispute to **arbitration**. (Arbitration is the settlement of a dispute by a person or panel chosen to listen to both sides and come to a decision.) The British government replied that the doctrine had no standing in international law.

Eventually Britain backed down and agreed to arbitration. Concerned about the rising power of Germany in Africa, the British government realized that it needed to stay on friendly terms with the increasingly powerful United States.

The Cuban Rebellion By the mid-1890s, the United States had not only reaffirmed the Monroe Doctrine, it had also forced the world's most powerful nation to bow to its will. Events in Cuba soon paved the way for a far more spectacular display of American power.

An island nation off the coast of Florida, Cuba first rebelled against Spain in 1868. After ten years of fighting the rebels, Spain finally put in place a few meager reforms to appease the Cuban people. In 1895, after the island's economy had collapsed, Cubans rebelled again. This time Spain sent 150,000 troops and its best general, Valeriano Weyler, to put down the rebellion. In a desperate attempt to prevent civilians from aiding the rebels, Weyler instituted a policy of "reconcentration." He forced hundreds of thousands of Cubans into guarded camps. The prisoners, including women, children, and the elderly, lived in miserable conditions with little food or sanitation. Over two years, disease and starvation killed an estimated 200,000 Cubans.

Cuban exiles living in the United States, led by the journalist José Martí, urged the United States to intervene. Both Presidents Cleveland and McKinley refused. They were unwilling to spend the money that intervention would require and feared the United States would be saddled with colonial responsibilities it could not handle. Frustrated, Cuban guerrillas turned to the one tactic they knew would attract the U.S. government's attention: the destruction of American sugar plantations and mills in Cuba. As a result, business owners increased their pressure on the government to act.

READING CHECK

How did the 1895 dispute between the United States and Great Britain reaffirm the validity of the Monroe Doctrine?

Focus on WORLD EVENTS

José Martí Fights for Cuban Independence

José Martí (1853–1895) dedicated his life to achieving Cuban independence. A patriot and a revolutionary, Martí had dreamed of *Cuba Libre* (a free Cuba) since the age of 15. A gifted writer, he wrote poems as a teenager and soon founded his own newspaper, *La patria libre* (*The Free Fatherland*).

Because of his revolutionary activity, Martí was forced to leave Cuba in 1871. He was deported to Spain, where he received a master's degree and a law degree. Martí finally settled in New York City in 1881, where he led the Cuban Revolutionary Party. In 1895, Martí left New York to stage attacks in Cuba with other revolutionaries. Later that year, he was killed in battle, just a few years before *Cuba Libre* became a reality.

Yellow Journalism Demands for United States intervention in Cuba also came in large part from American newspapers. In the 1890s, a fierce competition for readers broke out between two New York City newspapers, the *New York World* and the *New York Morning Journal*. Both newspapers reported exaggerated and sometimes false stories about the events in Cuba in order to increase circulation. The battle pitted the *World's* established publisher, Joseph Pulitzer, against a newcomer to the city, the *Journal's* William Randolph Hearst.

Hearst bought the *Journal* when it was struggling in 1895. By luring experienced journalists from other papers, including the *World*, he managed to turn it into a success. Hearst used a variety of other techniques to increase the *Journal's* circulation, including printing sensational crime stories, using illustrations and vivid headlines to draw in the reader, and lowering the price to one penny.

Both Hearst and Pulitzer took advantage of the horrifying stories coming from Cuba about the "Butcher" Weyler and his barbed-wire concentration camps. Their sensational headlines and stories, known as yellow journalism, whipped up American public opinion in favor of the rebels. The intense burst of national pride and the desire for an aggressive foreign policy that followed came to be known as **jingoism**. The name came from a line in a British song of the 1870s: "We don't want to fight, yet by Jingo! if we do, We've got the ships, we've got the men, and got the money too."

The Spanish-American War

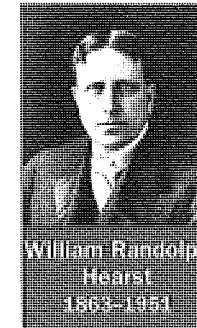
The stories printed in newspapers such as the *Journal* strengthened American sympathy for the Cuban rebels. Slowly the demand for U.S. intervention began to build.

Steps to War Early in 1898, riots erupted in Havana, the capital of Cuba. In response, President McKinley moved the battleship U.S.S. *Maine* into the city's harbor to protect American citizens and property. Several events followed that pushed the United States to war.

The de Lôme letter A few weeks later, in early February 1898, United States newspapers published a letter stolen from the Spanish ambassador to Washington, Dupuy de Lôme. The de Lôme letter, which described McKinley as "weak and a bidder for the admiration of the crowd," caused an outcry in the United States. The letter raised a commotion not just because it ridiculed McKinley, but mostly because of the sensationalism surrounding it. Because de Lôme was a Spaniard, the press now had a golden opportunity to intensify anti-Spanish sentiments.

The explosion of the U.S.S. Maine Then, on February 15, an explosion sank the *Maine*, killing more than 250 American sailors. The blast probably had been caused by a fire that set off ammunition, but the American public put the blame on Spain. (The exact cause of the explosion has never been determined.) The papers jumped on the chance to arouse more bitter feelings toward Spain. The *New York Morning Journal* asked, "How long shall the United States sit idle and indifferent within sound and hearing of rapine and murder? How long?" The Spanish were willing to enter into arbitration talks to determine more decisively if they were responsible, but that did not matter. An enraged American public called for war. Still, McKinley hesitated.

BIOGRAPHY



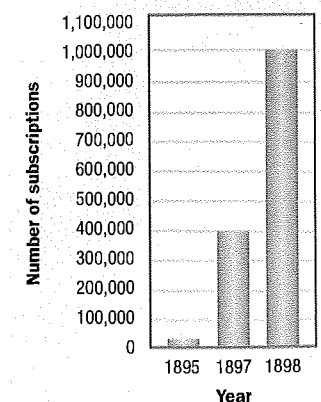
William Randolph Hearst's first venture into newspaper publishing came in 1887, when he took control of the *San Francisco Examiner*, a faltering paper owned by his father. Hearst used a combination of investigative reporting and sensationalistic stories to increase circulation.

After achieving success with the *New York Morning Journal* several years later, Hearst went on to serve briefly in the United States House of Representatives. He continued to expand his publishing empire, acquiring newspapers in cities throughout the country. By 1935, he owned 28 major newspapers, 18 magazines, and several radio stations and news services. Although the era of rabid yellow journalism declined following the turn of the century, the innovations of Hearst and his competitors continue to influence journalism today.

INTERPRETING TABLES

Sales of Hearst's *New York Morning Journal* soared in 1898. **Synthesizing Information** What factors led to the increased demand for papers such as the *Journal*?

Morning Journal Sales



Preparing in the Philippines On the other side of the world, the people of another of Spain's last remaining possessions, the Philippine Islands, also were rebelling. In the view of Theodore Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, the Philippines could become a key base from which the United States might protect its Asian trade. On February 25, while his boss, the Secretary of the Navy, was out of the office, Roosevelt cabled naval commanders in the Pacific to prepare for military action against Spain. When President McKinley discovered what Roosevelt had done, he ordered most of the cables withdrawn, but he made an exception in the case of the cable directed to Admiral George Dewey. Dewey was told to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines if war broke out with Spain.

McKinley's war message Late in March, in a final attempt at a peaceful solution, McKinley sent a list of demands to Spain. These included compensation for the *Maine*, an end to the reconcentration camps, a truce in Cuba, and Cuban independence. Eager to find a peaceful settlement to the crisis, Spain accepted all but the last. McKinley decided he could not resist the growing cries for war. On April 11, he sent a war message to Congress. A few days later, rallying to the cry of "Remember the *Maine*!" Congress recognized Cuban independence and authorized force against Spain.

"A Splendid Little War" The war's first action took place not in Cuba but in the Philippines, as shown on the map on this page. On May 1, 1898, Admiral Dewey launched a surprise attack on Spanish ships anchored in Manila Bay, destroying Spain's entire Pacific fleet in just seven hours. In Cuba, meanwhile, United States warships quickly bottled up Spain's Atlantic fleet in the harbor at Santiago.

American army troops gathered in Tampa, Florida, to prepare for an invasion of Cuba. The group that received the most publicity was the First Volunteer Cavalry, known as the Rough Riders. Its leader, Theodore Roosevelt, had resigned his position as Assistant Secretary of the Navy and recruited a diverse group of volunteers that included cowboys, miners, policemen, and college athletes. On July 1, 1898, Roosevelt led the Rough Riders in a charge up San Juan Hill. This charge became the most famous incident of the war.

The Spanish fleet made a desperate attempt to escape Santiago harbor on July 3. In the ensuing battle, the United States Navy sank every Spanish ship,

setting off wild Independence Day celebrations back in the United States.

It had all seemed quite simple. Although 2,500 Americans had died in the short war, fewer than 400 died in battle. The remainder died from food poisoning, yellow fever, malaria, and inadequate medical care. Future Secretary of State John Hay captured the public mood when he wrote his friend Teddy Roosevelt that it had been "a splendid little war."

The Treaty of Paris The United States signed the Treaty of Paris with Spain in December 1898. In the treaty, the Spanish government recognized Cuba's independence. In return for a payment of \$20 million, Spain also gave up the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Pacific island of Guam to the United States. These became "unincorporated" territories of the United States, which meant that these lands were not intended for eventual statehood.

The Senate ratified the treaty in February 1899, but not without great debate. A majority of senators supported the annexation of these territories, but many senators still remained passionately against such policies. Although the outnumbered anti-imperialists held their ground, the treaty narrowly passed by only one vote more than the two-thirds majority needed.

New Challenges After the War

With many in the United States divided over the issue of imperialism, developing a policy for dealing with the new territories proved to be difficult. How could the United States become a colonial power without violating the nation's most basic principle—that all people have the right to liberty?

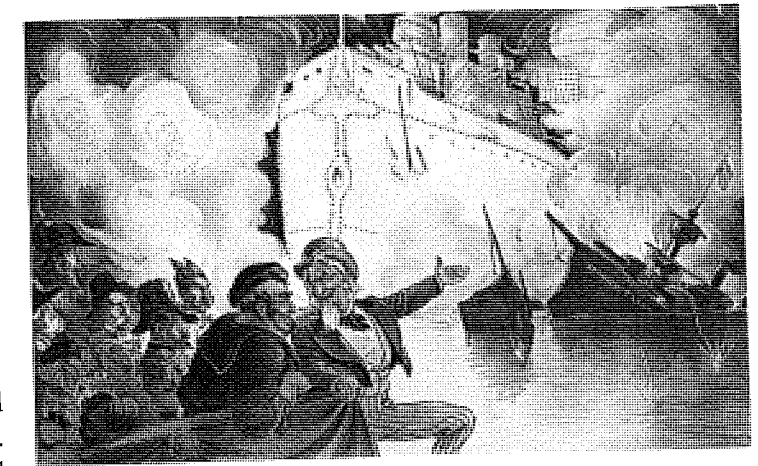
Dilemma in the Philippines President McKinley was forced to justify this seeming departure from American ideals with his policy toward the Philippines.

"We could not leave them to themselves—they were unfit for self-government, and they would soon have anarchy and misrule worse than Spain's was. . . . 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. . . ."

—President McKinley

Despite the fact that most Filipinos were already Christian, McKinley pressed on with his arguments for annexation. He made what was perhaps a more convincing argument when he warned that if the United States did not act first, European powers might try to seize the islands and new conflicts could result.

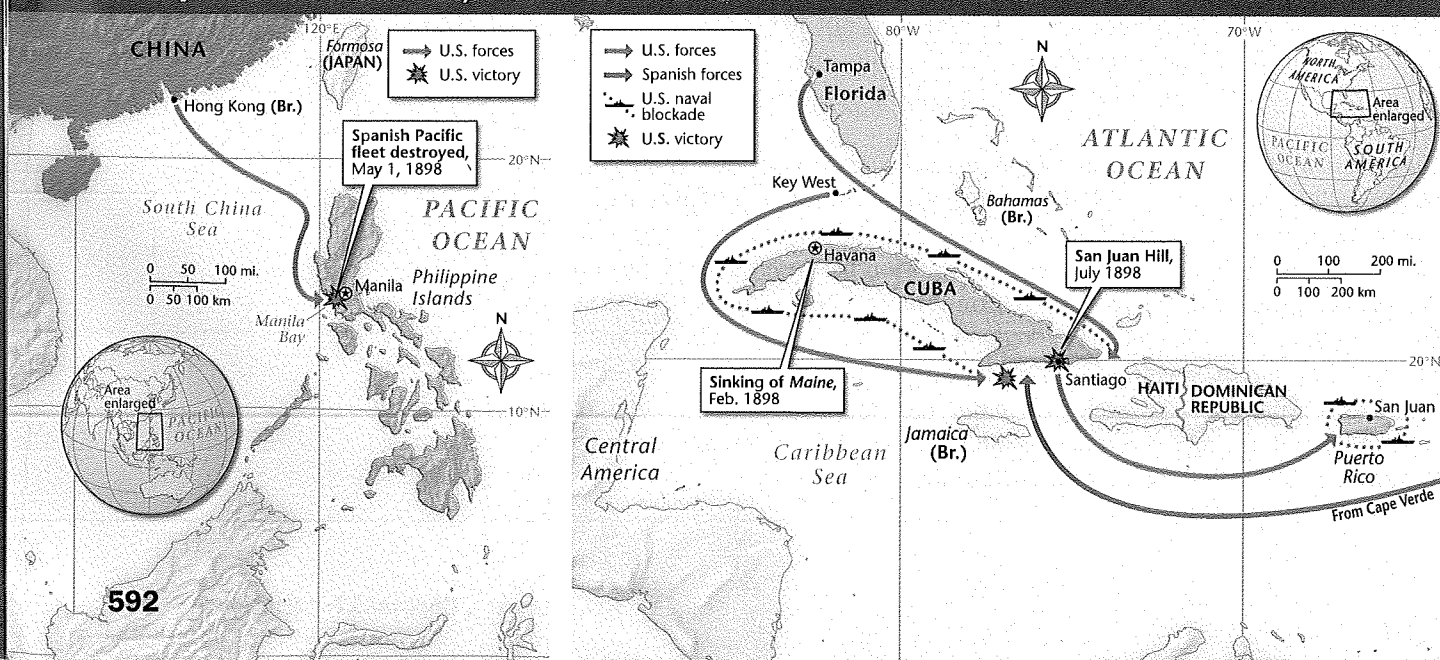
Filipino rebels had fought alongside American troops in the war against Spain with the expectation that victory would bring independence. But when rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo issued a proclamation in January 1899 declaring the Philippines a republic, the United States ignored him. Mounting tensions between the rebel forces and American soldiers finally erupted into war in February. In the bitter three-year war that followed, more than 4,000 Americans were killed and nearly 3,000 more wounded. Fighting without restraint—and sometimes with great brutality—American forces killed some 16,000 Filipino



INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS European powers and Uncle Sam look on as the United States Navy defeats the Spanish. **Drawing Inferences** Why do you think most of the European powers look upset by this turn of events?

MAP SKILLS Although the Spanish-American War was fought in two locations on opposite sides of the world, the United States defeated Spain in just nine weeks. **Location** At what specific sites were the major battles of the war fought?

The Spanish-American War, 1898



READING CHECK

What was the purpose of the Teller Amendment?

rebels and as many as 200,000 Filipino civilians. Occasional fighting continued for years. The Philippines did not gain complete independence until 1946.

The Fate of Cuba Supporters of Cuban independence had attached an amendment, called the Teller Amendment, to Congress's 1898 war resolution against Spain. The document promised that the United States would not annex Cuba. Yet American involvement in Cuba did not end with the victory over Spain in 1898. In order to protect American business interests in the chaotic environment that followed the war, President McKinley installed a military government in Cuba led by General Leonard Wood. The military government would remain in place for three years. This government organized a school system and restored economic stability. It also established a commission led by Major Walter Reed of the Army Medical Corps that discovered a cure for the deadly disease yellow fever.

Many Cubans felt that the United States had betrayed its goal of securing independence for Cuba. To some, it seemed that the United States had simply replaced Spain as Cuba's sovereign nation. In 1900, the U.S. military government authorized the Cubans to begin to draft a constitution. The new constitution was modeled on the United States Constitution and did not allow for continued American involvement in Cuba. The U.S. government, however, only agreed to remove its troops if the Cubans included provisions outlined in a document called the **Platt Amendment**. The Platt Amendment stipulated that the Cuban government could not enter any foreign agreements, must allow the United States to establish naval bases as needed on the island, and must give the United States the right to intervene whenever necessary. Cuba, which wanted an end to U.S. occupation, reluctantly agreed to the amendment. The

United States intervened militarily in Cuban affairs only twice while the Platt Amendment remained in force until 1934.

The United States and Puerto Rico

Unlike Cuba, Puerto Rico did not become independent. The United States maintained a military government in the territory until 1900. The military aided in the development of infrastructure and education, and also acted as a police force. With the passage of the Foraker Act in 1900, the United States removed its military control and established a civil government, still under U.S. control. Gradually, the United States ceded more freedom and control to the Puerto Rican people.

In an attempt to stem a growing independence movement, the United States government granted Puerto Ricans American citizenship with the passage of the Jones Act in 1917. However, because the Constitution did not apply to United States territories, this citizenship was based only on the act of Congress. In addition, although Puerto Ricans could now elect their local legislatures, the United States retained the power to appoint key officials, such as the governor.

Other Gains in the Pacific

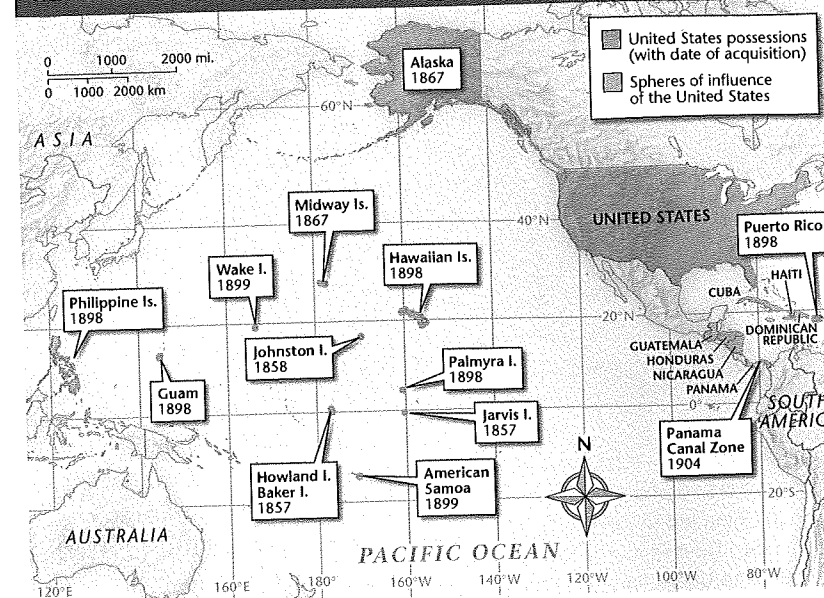
The United States government intervened in other parts of the Pacific at the same time that events played out in the Spanish-American War. This intervention eventually brought about changes in the relationships of the United States with Hawaii, Samoa, and China.

Annexation of Hawaii Hawaii had become increasingly important to U.S. business interests in the late 1800s. In 1887, Hawaii and the United States renewed a trade treaty that allowed Hawaiian sugar to be sold duty-free in the United States. Hawaii also leased Pearl Harbor to the United States as a fueling and repair station for naval vessels. That same year, white Hawaiian-born planters forced the Hawaiian king, Kalakaua, to accept a new constitution that, in effect, gave them control of the government.

When the king died in 1891, his sister Liliuokalani came to the throne. A strong nationalist, Queen Liliuokalani opposed U.S. control of the islands and sought to reduce the power of foreign merchants. In 1893, with the help of the United States Marines, pineapple planter Sanford B. Dole removed Queen Liliuokalani from power. He proclaimed Hawaii a republic and requested that it be annexed by the United States.

When William McKinley was elected President, he supported the annexation. "We need Hawaii just as much and a good deal more than we did California. It is Manifest Destiny," McKinley said in early 1898. After briefly considering whether the Hawaiian people wished to be annexed, Congress was swayed by arguments that the United States needed naval stations in Hawaii in order to protect its world trade. In 1898, Congress approved the annexation of Hawaii.

United States Acquisitions and Annexations, 1857-1904



MAP SKILLS Between 1857 and 1904, the United States acquired many new territorial possessions around the globe. **Regions** Why were so many of these new possessions located in the Pacific Ocean?

Fast Forward to Today

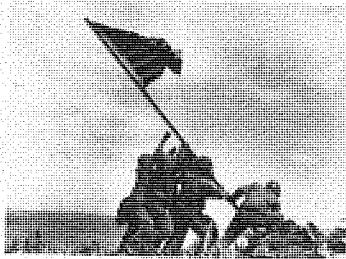
U.S. Foreign Intervention

Victory in the Spanish-American War touched off a new era in the United States. Its role in world affairs forever changed, the United States became involved in many foreign conflicts over the next century.



1898 The United States enters the Spanish-American War.

1917 After a time of neutrality, the United States enters World War I on the side of the Allies.



1941 After Japan bombs Pearl Harbor, the United States enters World War II.

1950 Following North Korea's invasion of South Korea, President Truman calls on American troops to defend South Korea.

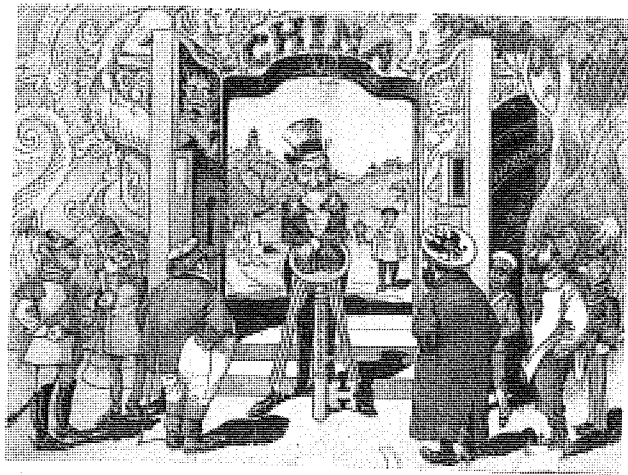


1964 Congress passes the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, authorizing the use of American military force in the war in Vietnam.

1991 The United States and its allies free Kuwait from Iraqi occupation in the Gulf War.

1999 After NATO launches airstrikes against Serbia, the United States commits troops to a NATO peace-keeping force in Kosovo.

? **Since the Spanish-American War, the United States has become involved in many foreign conflicts. What foreign conflicts does the United States play a part in today? What is its role in these conflicts?**



INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS Competition for trade in China led to Secretary Hay's Open Door Policy. This cartoon depicts Uncle Sam as holding the "key" to China's "open door." **Drawing Inferences** Is the cartoonist being sympathetic toward, or critical of, Hay's Open Door Policy?

Samoa The Polynesian islands of Samoa represented another possible stepping stone to the growing trade with Asia. Back in 1878, the United States had negotiated a treaty with Samoa offering protection in return for a lease on Samoa's fine harbor at Pago Pago. When Britain and Germany began competing for control of these islands in the 1880s, tension between these European powers and the United States almost led to war. Eventually the three nations arranged a three-way protectorate of Samoa in 1889. The withdrawal of Great Britain from Samoa in 1899 left Germany and the United States to divide up the islands. A year after the annexation of Hawaii, the United States had acquired the harbor at Pago Pago as well.

An Open Door to China China's huge population and its vast markets became increasingly important to American trade by the late 1800s. But the United States was not the only nation interested in China. Countries such as Russia, Germany, Britain, France, and Japan were seeking **spheres of influence**, or areas of economic and political control, in China. In 1899, John Hay, President McKinley's Secretary of State, wrote notes to the major European powers trying to persuade them to keep an "open door" to China. He wanted to ensure through his **Open Door Policy** that the United States would have equal access to China's millions of consumers. Hay's suggestions met with a cool response from the other countries.

Meanwhile, many Chinese resented foreign influence of any kind. A secret society called the Righteous and Harmonious Fists (the Western press called them "Boxers") started a rebellion in the spring of 1900 that led to the massacre of 300 foreigners and Christian Chinese. Although the European powers eventually defeated the Boxers, Secretary Hay feared that these imperialist nations would use the rebellion as an excuse to seize more Chinese territory. Thus, he issued a second series of Open Door notes. These notes reaffirmed the principle of open trade in China and made an even stronger statement about the intention of the United States to preserve it.

Section 2 Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

- How did yellow journalism and **jingoism** influence Americans' views of the Cuban rebellion?
- What did John Hay mean when he called America's war with Spain a "splendid little war"?
- How did U.S. policies, such as the **Platt Amendment**, secure control over its newly acquired territories?
- What methods did the United States use to gain land and influence in the Pacific region?

CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

- Making Comparisons** In what ways was the Spanish-American War similar to the war between the United States and Mexico in 1846?
- Writing a News Story** Using information from this section, write a brief newspaper story with a sensational headline in the same style that was used in William Randolph Hearst's newspapers around the turn of the century.



Take It to the NET

Activity: Writing a Letter

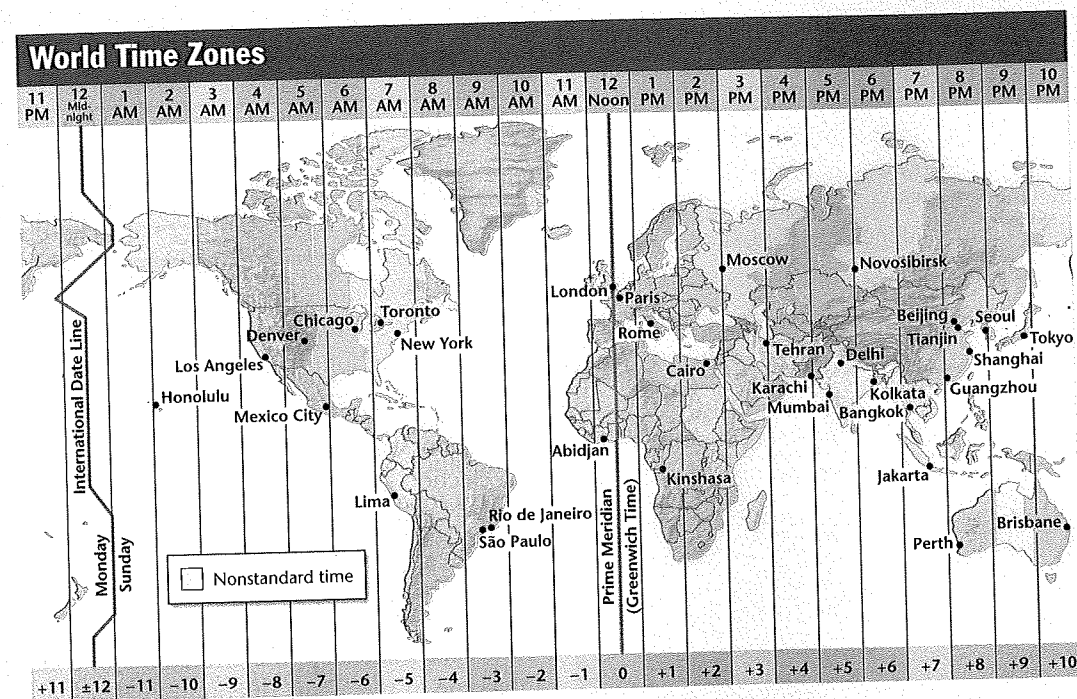
Research the history of the American annexation of Hawaii in 1898 and the apology offered by our government in 1993. Consider whether you think the apology was sufficient. Write a letter to your representative in Congress expressing your views on the subject. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.

www.phschool.com



Using a Time Zone Map

A system of worldwide standard time was devised in 1884. It divides the world into 24 time zones based on meridians of longitude. The time is the same throughout each zone. The Prime Meridian of 0°, which passes through Greenwich, England, is the starting point for calculating the time in each zone. The meridian of 180° longitude, halfway around the world, is the International Date Line. The calendar date to the east of this line is one day later than the date to the west.



LEARN THE SKILL

Use the following steps to read a time zone map:

- Study the information on the map.** Locate the Prime Meridian and the International Date Line. Study any keys, labels, and color-coding. On this map, the 24 time zones are shown by colored bands. The numbers at the bottom of the map indicate the number of hours each time zone differs from time at the Prime Meridian (Greenwich time). For example, +3 means that local time is three hours later than Greenwich time. The numbers at the top of the map provide examples of how this system works if it is 12:00 noon in Greenwich.
- Determine where the time zones and date change.** Notice how closely the time zones correspond to the meridians of longitude and where they vary from these lines. Compare time zones in different areas.
- Compare the time in your zone with other zones around the world.** Find your time zone on the map. Determine how it differs from Greenwich time.

APPLY THE SKILL

See the Chapter Review and Assessment for another opportunity to apply this skill.

PRACTICE THE SKILL

Answer the following questions:

- (a) How does the map indicate which line is the Prime Meridian? (b) What time is it at the International Date Line when it is noon in Greenwich? (c) How many different time zones does South America have?
- (a) If it is 12:00 noon, Greenwich time, what time is it in Moscow, Russia? In Denver, United States of America? (b) If it is 2 P.M. in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, what time is it in the zone labeled +7? In the zone labeled -4? (c) Why do you think some of the time zones follow geographical features and political boundaries rather than the meridians of longitude?
- (a) If it is 12:00 noon in Greenwich, what time is it in your time zone? (b) If it is 1 A.M. in your time zone, what time is it in Karachi, Pakistan? In Guangzhou, China? (c) If it is 12:00 noon in São Paulo, Brazil, what time is it where you live? (d) If it is 9 P.M. on Wednesday where you live, what are the day and time in Brisbane, Australia?

A New Foreign Policy

READING FOCUS

- Why did the United States want to build the Panama Canal?
- What were the goals of Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy?
- In what ways did the foreign policies of Presidents Taft and Wilson differ from those of President Roosevelt?

MAIN IDEA

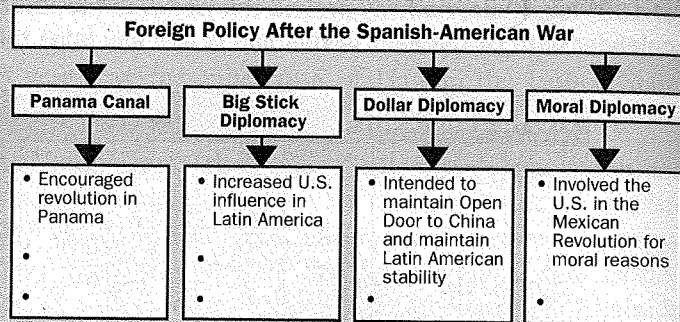
President Theodore Roosevelt conducted a vigorous foreign policy that suited the new status of the United States as a world power. Presidents Taft and Wilson took a different approach to influencing other nations.

KEY TERMS

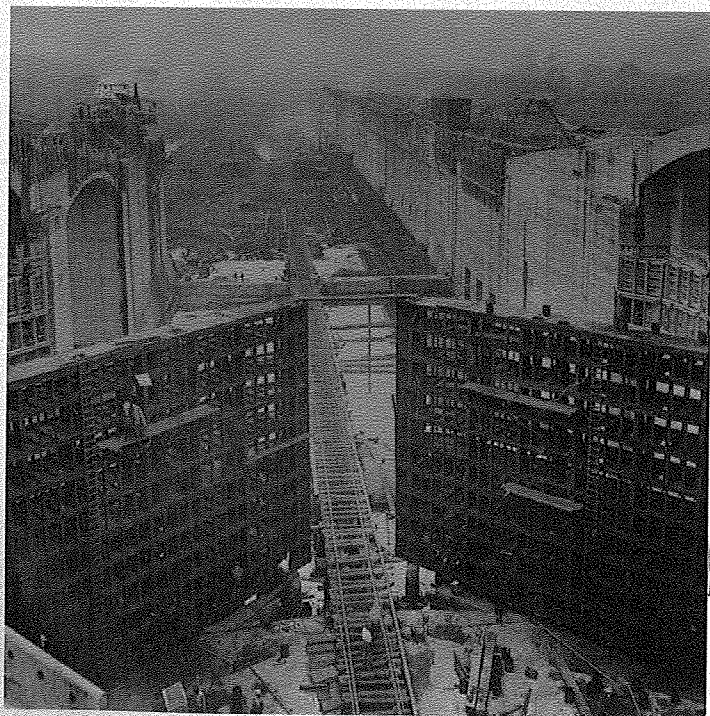
concession
Roosevelt Corollary
dollar diplomacy

TAKING NOTES

Copy the flowchart below. As you read, fill in the boxes with some of the major effects of the new United States foreign policy.



Setting the Scene By 1900, the United States had emerged as a genuine world power. It controlled several overseas territories and had a large and vigorous economy. These circumstances contributed to William McKinley's decisive victory in the presidential election of 1900. One year later McKinley was dead, cut down by an assassin's bullet. Theodore Roosevelt, McKinley's Vice President, was now President. The new President developed a foreign policy to support the nation's new role in the world. Under his leadership, the United States continued to intervene in the affairs of countries that were of economic and strategic interest to the nation.



Because of the uneven elevation in the canal zone, engineers had to design a series of locks to raise and lower the ships so that they could pass through the canal.

The Panama Canal

The Spanish-American War brought home to Americans the need for a shorter route between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. A canal built across Central America would link the two oceans, making global shipping much faster and cheaper. It would also allow the United States Navy to move quickly from one ocean to the other in time of war.

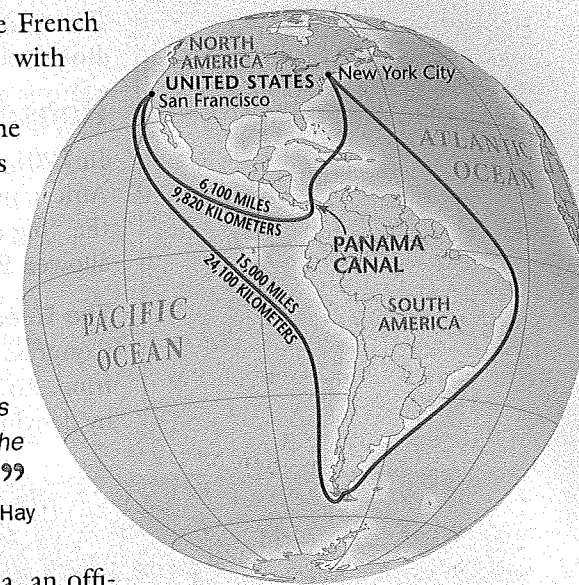
Building the Canal The Isthmus of Panama was an ideal location for such a route. At that time, Panama was a province of the South American nation of Colombia. In 1879, a French company headed by Ferdinand de Lesseps had bought a 25-year **concession** from Colombia to build a canal across Panama. (A concession is a grant for a piece of land in exchange for a promise to use the land for a specific purpose.) Defeated by yellow fever and severe mismanagement, the company abandoned the project ten years later. It offered its remaining rights to the United States for \$100 million. When the price fell to \$40 million, Congress

passed the Spooner Act in 1902 that authorized the purchase of the French assets. The act required that the United States work out a treaty with Colombia for a lease on the land.

Treaty negotiations went nowhere. Colombia was waiting for the French concession to expire in 1904 so that it could offer the isthmus at a higher price. Roosevelt was enraged by this attempt of Colombian "bandits" to "rob" the United States. Secretary of State John Hay sent a message to the American minister in Colombia in June 1903 essentially threatening Colombia if it did not reconsider.

"If Colombia should now reject the treaty or unduly delay its ratification, the friendly understanding between the two countries would be so seriously compromised that action might be taken by the Congress next winter which every friend of Colombia would regret."

—Secretary of State John Hay



MAP SKILLS Compare the sea route from New York City to San Francisco (above) with and without the canal. **Movement** By how many miles did the Panama Canal reduce the journey?

Meanwhile, Roosevelt secretly made it clear to Philippe Bunau-Varilla, an official with the French company, that the United States would not interfere if the company organized a Panamanian revolution against Colombia.

The revolt took place in November 1903 with U.S. warships waiting offshore to provide support for the rebels. The United States immediately recognized an independent Panama and became its protector. In return, Panama signed the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty in November 1903. The treaty gave the United States a permanent grant of a 10-mile-wide strip of land for a Canal Zone over which the United States would have complete sovereignty. In return, the Panamanians received a payment of \$10 million.

Construction of the canal began in 1904. To complete this mammoth task, workers were brought in from several countries. Many of them had no construction experience whatsoever. After receiving proper training, the workers surpassed all expectations. They finished the canal in 1914, six months ahead of schedule and \$23 million under budget.

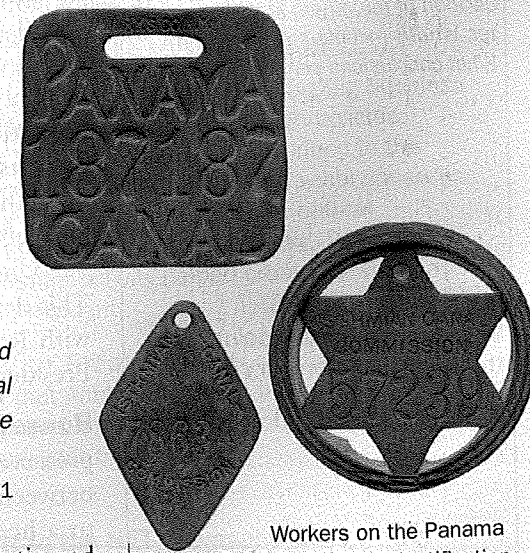
Reaction to the Canal Roosevelt's opponents did not appreciate the methods he had used to secure the Canal Zone. A newspaper published by William Hearst commented, "Besides being a rough-riding assault upon another republic over the shattered wreckage of international law . . . , it is a quite unexampled instance of foul play in American politics."

Most Americans, however, convinced that the canal was vital to national security and prosperity, approved of President Roosevelt's actions in Panama. Two years after leaving office, Roosevelt gave a speech at the University of California at Berkeley in which he justified his methods:

"If I had followed traditional, conservative methods I would have submitted a dignified State paper of probably 200 pages to Congress and the debates on it would have been going on yet; but I took the Canal Zone and let Congress debate; and while the debate goes on the canal does also."

—Theodore Roosevelt, 1911

Despite the success of the Panama Canal as a link between the Atlantic and Pacific, its acquisition left a legacy of ill will among Latin Americans toward the United States. In recognition of the illegal means used to acquire the Canal



Workers on the Panama Canal wore identification badges like the ones shown here.

Zone, Congress voted to pay \$25 million to Colombia in 1921, two years after Roosevelt had died.

Roosevelt's Big Stick Diplomacy

In 1901, Roosevelt reminded an audience at the Minnesota State Fair of an old African proverb: "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." In his view, the "big stick" was the United States Navy. Indeed, the threat of military force allowed Roosevelt to conduct an aggressive foreign policy.

The Roosevelt Corollary In December 1904, Roosevelt issued a message to Congress that became known as the **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt began this corollary, or extension of a previously accepted idea, by denying that the United States wanted any more territory.



INTERPRETING POLITICAL CARTOONS Published after the announcement of the Roosevelt Corollary, this cartoon depicts Roosevelt as the world's police officer, using his "big stick" to maintain order and stability in Latin America. **Making Comparisons** Compare this cartoon to the others in this chapter. What similarities can you find? What conclusions can you draw?

READING CHECK
What were the main points of the Roosevelt Corollary?

It must be understood that under no circumstances will the United States use the Monroe Doctrine as a cloak for territorial aggression. We desire peace with all the world, but perhaps most of all with the other peoples of the American continent. . . . It is always possible that wrong actions toward this nation . . . may result in our having to take action to protect our rights; but such action will not be taken with a view to territorial aggression."

—Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, Theodore Roosevelt, 1904

The United States wanted only "to see neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous," he said. But if the countries engaged in activities harmful to the interests of the United States or if their governments collapsed, inviting intervention from stronger nations, then the United States would be forced to exercise "an international police power." In other words, the U.S. government would intervene to prevent intervention from other powers. This was the central point of the Roosevelt Corollary.

The first test of the Roosevelt Corollary concerned the small Caribbean island republic of Santo Domingo (now the Dominican Republic). When the island went bankrupt, European nations threatened to intervene to collect their money. Roosevelt moved quickly to establish American supervision of customs collections. Bankers in the United States took over the country's finances and paid its European debt. Congress initially blocked Roosevelt's actions. However, the President was able to get around congressional opposition by creating an executive agreement with Santo Domingo's president.

Under Roosevelt, U.S. intervention in Latin America became common. This development angered many Latin Americans. Congress also was displeased with Roosevelt's single-handed foreign policies that seemed to strengthen the President's powers while weakening their own.

Roosevelt as Peacemaker In Asia, the President's chief concern was to preserve an open door to trade with China. However, growing conflicts between Japan and Russia posed a threat to Asian security. These conflicts came to a head in the Russo-Japanese War, which began in 1904. As the war progressed it was clear that Japan's military power outmatched Russia's. Finally, after a key naval victory for Japan, Russia requested peace talks.

Meanwhile, President Roosevelt had grown increasingly concerned over Japan's expanding military power. Japan had crushed China a decade earlier in the Sino-Japanese War and had been growing stronger ever since. He also saw potential problems resulting from certain policies then being proposed in California that would discriminate against and exclude Japanese immigrants. In a letter to his friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Roosevelt wrote:

"I hope that we can persuade our people on the one hand to act in a spirit of generous justice and genuine courtesy toward Japan, and on the other hand to keep the navy respectable in numbers and more than respectable in the efficiency of its units. If we act thus we need not fear the Japanese. But if, as Brooks Adams says, we show ourselves 'opulent, aggressive, and unarmed,' the Japanese may sometime work us an injury."

—President Theodore Roosevelt, June 1905

Two months later, in August 1905, Roosevelt mediated a peace agreement to the Russo-Japanese War. He invited delegates from the two nations to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he persuaded Japan to be satisfied with small grants of land and control over Korea instead of a huge payment of money. He also secured a promise from Russia to vacate Manchuria, which remained part of China. Roosevelt succeeded in keeping trade in China open to all nations. His role as mediator won him the Nobel peace prize.

NOTABLE PRESIDENTS

Theodore Roosevelt



26th President
1901-1909

"Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far."
—1901 speech at the Minnesota State Fair

Born into a wealthy New York family, Theodore ("Teddy") Roosevelt had asthma as a child, but at his father's insistence he overcame it with rigorous physical exercise. "TR" developed a stocky body, a fighter's toughness, and a love for strenuous living.

As a Republican politician in New York in the 1880s, TR called for a larger government role in the economy, a stand that made him a leader of the Progressives. TR believed in honest as well as active government. During a six-year term on the U.S. Civil Service Commission, he enforced the merit system. TR later attacked corruption as head of the New York City Police Board.

In 1897, TR was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy. There he built up a two-ocean fleet and urged a more aggressive American foreign policy. When the Spanish-American War was declared in 1898, TR, though nearly 40 and with poor eyesight, demanded to see combat. He organized the "Rough Riders" and led them on a famous charge up Cuba's San Juan Hill.

The war made TR a national hero. Returning to New York, he won the governorship in 1898. Two years later, President McKinley chose TR as his running mate. In 1901, McKinley was assassinated. Roosevelt became,

at age 42, the nation's youngest President up to that time.

TR saw the presidency as a "bully pulpit," or a wonderful stage from which to win public support for his brand of strong leadership. His economic policies included regulating big business and supporting labor unions. His foreign policies reflected the "big stick" approach described in the quotation above. Roosevelt was also a vocal conservationist, acting to preserve the nation's natural resources and wildlife. Most importantly, TR's boldness and constant activity helped create the modern image of the President.

Connecting to Today

Do you think that American foreign policy today should be guided by the principle "speak softly and carry a big stick"? Explain your answer.

Take It to the NET Biography More information about this President is provided at the following Web site: www.phschool.com

Debating America's New Role

READING FOCUS

- What were the main arguments raised by the anti-imperialists?
- Why did imperialism appeal to many Americans?
- How was American imperialism viewed from abroad?

MAIN IDEA

After the Spanish-American War, the debate intensified over whether the United States should build an empire.

KEY TERMS

racism
compulsory
Great White Fleet

TAKING NOTES

As you read, complete this chart listing all of the arguments for and against imperialism.

Pro-Imperialism	Anti-Imperialism
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offers new "frontier" for the American imagination and spirit • • 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rejects the foundation of American ideals and democracy • •

Setting the Scene Before the Spanish-American War, U.S. citizens were already debating the consequences of an expanded role in world affairs. Walter Gresham, President Cleveland's Secretary of State in 1894, cautioned against "the evils of interference in affairs that do not specially concern us." Until the annexation of the Philippines in 1898, however, most citizens supported overseas involvement. The U.S. occupation of the Philippines quickly raised the voices of those wary of imperialism.

"Much as we abhor the 'criminal aggression' in the Philippines, greatly as we regret that the blood of the Filipinos is on American hands, we more deeply resent the betrayal of American institutions at home. The real firing line is not in the suburbs of Manila. The foe is of our own household. The attempt of 1861 was to divide the country. That of 1899 is to destroy its fundamental principles and noblest ideals."

—From the platform of the Anti-Imperialist League

The Anti-Imperialists

In November 1898, opponents of U.S. policy in the Philippines established the Anti-Imperialist League. Most of its organizers were well-to-do professionals. They included editor E. L. Godkin, Democratic politician William Jennings Bryan, settlement house leader Jane Addams, and novelist Mark Twain.

Moral and Political Arguments To support their position, the anti-imperialists used a variety of arguments. The strongest of these were moral and political in nature. Expansionist behavior, the anti-imperialists asserted, was a rejection of the nation's foundation of "liberty for all." As one prominent Republican and former senator from Missouri explained in 1899:

INTERPRETING POLITICAL

CARTOONS This cartoon depicts the imperialist powers about to carve up a slain China. **Analyzing Visual Information** What is the cartoonist's attitude toward imperialism?



"We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to reaffirm that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

—Carl Schurz

Other anti-imperialists promoted the idea that "the Constitution must follow the flag," by which they meant that the American flag and laws went together. They argued that people in territories controlled by the United States should be entitled to the same guarantees in the Constitution as U.S. citizens. For example, labor leader Samuel Gompers objected to taking over countries in which U.S. labor laws did not apply. He pointed out that in Hawaii, half of the population consisted of "contract laborers, practically slaves," who did not benefit from the laws that protected American workers.

In response to such an argument, expansionists claimed that the people of the Caribbean and the Pacific were not ready for democracy and that the United States was preparing them for liberty. Major General Douglas MacArthur, military governor of the Philippines in 1900, said, "We are planting in those islands . . . the best traditions, the best characteristics of Americanism." Anti-imperialists, however, did not believe that any group of people should be forced to wait to enjoy liberty.

Finally, anti-imperialists noted that imperialism threatened the nation's democratic foundations. The large standing armies that were employed to bring other nations under American control could be used just as easily to crush dissent at home.

Racial Arguments Other anti-imperialists saw racism at work in imperialism. **Racism** is a belief that differences in character or intelligence are due to one's race. Many Americans of this period believed that people of Anglo-Saxon heritage were superior to other races. Many of the public officials who developed the country's policies shared these sentiments.

African Americans were at first torn about imperialistic issues. As U.S. citizens, they wanted to support their country. But they recognized the racism that underlay imperialism. A leader of the A.M.E. Zion Church had this to say in 1899:

"Had the Filipinos been white and fought as bravely as they have, the war would have been ended and their independence granted a long time ago."

—Bishop Alexander Walters

Although most southern Democrats also opposed imperialism, they did so for different reasons. Many southern politicians feared the effects of having to absorb more people of different races into the United States. Consequently, southern Democrats led the movement in the Senate against ratifying the treaty with Spain after the Spanish-American War. A number of anti-imperialists outside the South also feared that imperialist policies would encourage people

COMPARING PRIMARY SOURCES

Imperialism

The Spanish-American War heightened the debate between imperialist and anti-imperialist factions at home.

Analyzing Viewpoints Which of the viewpoints do you think most Americans supported?

Anti-Imperialist

"We assume that what we like and practice, and what we think better, must come as a welcome blessing to Spanish-Americans and Filipinos. This is grossly and obviously untrue. They hate our ways. They are hostile to our ideas. Our religion, language, institutions, and manners offend them."

—William G. Sumner,
Yale University professor, in an 1898 speech

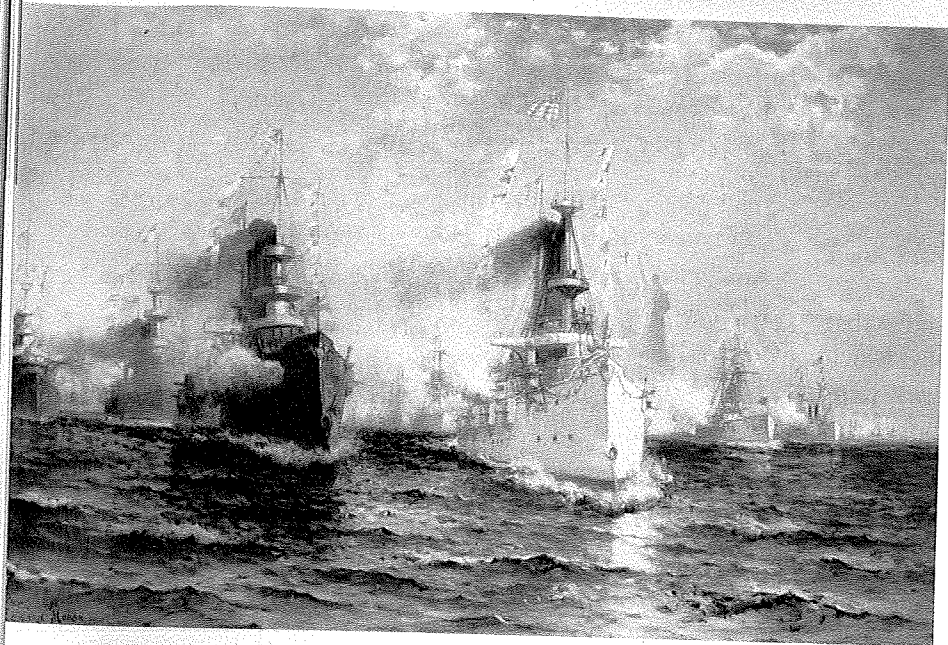
Pro-Imperialist

"Think of the tens of thousands of Americans who will invade mine and field and forest in the Philippines when a liberal government, protected and controlled by this republic, if not the government of the republic itself, shall establish order and equity there!"

—Albert J. Beveridge,
leading imperialist and
later United States
senator, in an 1898
speech

READING CHECK

Why did some anti-imperialists believe that "the Constitution must follow the flag"?



VIEWING FINE ART Edward Moran captured the triumph of the United States Navy in his 1899 painting *Return of the Conquerors*. **Identifying Central Issues** How does this painting both reinforce and reflect imperialism's appeal to many Americans?

of different racial backgrounds to move to the United States.

Economic Arguments Finally, anti-imperialists raised economic objections to expansionist policies. In their view, the time was not right for the United States to expand. First, expansion involved too many costs. Maintaining the necessary armed forces required more taxation, debt, and possibly even **compulsory**, or required, military service.

Samuel Gompers raised another concern. He argued that laborers coming to the United States from annexed territories would compete with American workers for jobs. Since these immigrants would work for lower wages, their pres-

ence would drive all wages down. The nation's industrialists raised yet another concern. They pointed out that goods produced cheaply in annexed countries could be imported to the United States without customs duties. This competition would hurt many American industries.

Imperialism's Appeal

Despite the strength of these arguments, imperialism maintained a powerful hold on the American imagination. Some people looked to a new frontier abroad to keep Americans from losing their competitive edge. The America of explorers and pioneers, who bravely chartered unknown territories and overcame great obstacles, was fast disappearing into the shadows of memory. In 1890, the director of the census had declared the frontier "closed." Imperialism offered a new kind of frontier for American expansion. Some proponents of expansionism believed that imperialism was a celebration of American tradition and creative spirit. In this editorial, Walter Hines Page dismissed the anti-imperialist notion that imperialism was a betrayal of American ideals:

"It is temperament that tells, and not schemes of national policy, whether laid down in Farewell Addresses or in Utopian books. No national character was ever shaped by formula or by philosophy; for greater forces than these lie behind it,—the forces of inheritance and of events. Are we, by virtue of our surroundings and institutions, become a different people from our ancestors, or are we yet the same race of Anglo-Saxons, whose restless energy in colonization, in conquest, in trade, in 'the spread of civilization,' has carried their speech into every part of the world, and planted their habits everywhere?"

—Walter Hines Page, editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1898

The growth and popularity of youth scouting programs during this period shows that many Americans shared a "frontier mentality." Sir Robert Baden-Powell, an army officer of the British Empire, had used scouting techniques (tracking, woodcraft, and wilderness survival) to great success in a battle in South Africa. A few years after he returned to Britain as a war hero, Baden-Powell founded the Boy Scout movement. Scouting appeared in the United States in 1910 and soon became immensely popular. Two years later, Juliette

Low, a close friend and admirer of Baden-Powell, founded the American Girl Scouts. Low hoped to use the program both to build moral character in girls and to teach them skills that would make them "hardy" and "handy."

Many people were swayed by the practical advantages of imperialism. They agreed with the economic arguments that emphasized the need to gain access to foreign markets. Others embraced the strategic military reasons for expansion.

In December 1907, Roosevelt sent part of the United States Navy on a cruise around the world. The trip was designed to demonstrate the nation's impressive naval power to other nations. The **Great White Fleet**, as the gleaming white ships were called, made a big impression everywhere it sailed. For American citizens, the fleet clearly showed the benefits of having a powerful navy.

Imperialism Viewed From Abroad

Having begun a pattern of international involvement, the United States discovered that these actions frequently took on a life of their own. In the Caribbean and Central America, for example, the United States often had to defend governments that were unpopular with local inhabitants. In Latin America, the cry "Yankee, Go Home!" began to be heard. Even before the Panama Canal was completed in 1914, Panamanians began to complain that they suffered from discrimination.

On the other hand, because the United States was quickly becoming so powerful, other countries—even those fearful about maintaining their independence—began to turn to the United States for help. Both welcomed and rejected, the United States would spend the rest of the century trying to decide the best way to reconcile its growing power and national interests with its relationships with other nations.

Section

4

Assessment

READING COMPREHENSION

1. Why did some people believe that **racism** was at work in imperialism?
2. What were three economic arguments raised by the anti-imperialists?
3. How did imperialism's appeal go beyond what many saw as its practical advantages?
4. What was significant about the tour of the **Great White Fleet**?

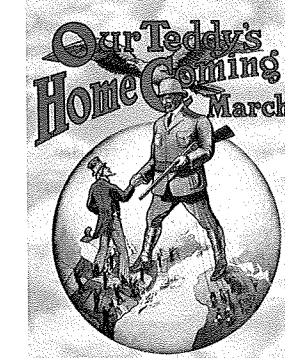
CRITICAL THINKING AND WRITING

5. **Identifying Assumptions** How did expansionists and anti-imperialists view imperialism in relation to the original principles of American democracy? What different assumptions did people on the two sides make about the roots and goals of the United States?
6. **Writing an Opinion** Based on the arguments they made against imperialism, what role do you think the anti-imperialists believed the United States should play in world affairs?

Focus on CULTURE

The Media and Imperialism In addition to the pro-imperialist yellow journalism of the time, much of the popular media glorified the accomplishments of imperialist frontier heroes. Theodore Roosevelt's book on his heroic charge, *The Rough Riders*, drew much praise. However, satirist Finley Peter Dunne's character, "Mr. Dooley," suggested the book should be called *Alone in Cuba* to emphasize Roosevelt's boastfulness.

Another book of this era, *Conquest of the Tropics* (1914), describes the history of the United Fruit Company, portraying railroad entrepreneur Minor Keith as one of "the hardy American type which listens and responds eagerly to the call of the wild."



Take It to the NET

Activity: Creating a Poster Research the itinerary, composition, and purpose of the Great White Fleet. Create a tour poster advertising "appearances" along the route. Keep in mind the political purpose of the tour. Use the links provided in the *America: Pathways to the Present* area of the following Web site for help in completing this activity.
www.phschool.com