Why It Matters
International power came to the United States with political strength and industrial growth. As its power increased, the United States moved beyond its territorial limits in search of new markets and colonies.

The Impact Today
The United States began to compete with other nations for more trade and more land. From this rivalry, the United States rose to take a major role in shaping world affairs.

The American Journey Video The chapter 22 video, “Bring Me the Pictures and I’ll Bring You the War,” discusses the rise of yellow journalism and its role in the Spanish-American War.

- 1867 • Alaska purchased from Russia
- 1875 • Suez Canal comes under British control
- 1883 • Vietnam becomes French protectorate
- 1885 • Pan-American Union established
- 1867 • Japan ends 675-year shogun rule
- 1889 • Pan-American Union established
San Juan Hill  Theodore Roosevelt, who later became the twenty-sixth president of the United States, leads the Rough Riders cavalry regiment during the Spanish-American War, July 1898.

1895  • José Martí leads revolt in Cuba

1900  • Hawaii becomes U.S. territory

1904  • Roosevelt Corollary issued

1914  • Panama Canal opens

1895  • Spanish-American War

1901  • Cuba granted independence

1909–1913  • Taft

1913–1921  • Wilson

1911  • Qing dynasty overthrown in China

1893–1897  • Cleveland

1897–1901  • McKinley

1901–1909  • Roosevelt

1909–1913  • Taft

1913–1921  • Wilson

Reading and Writing  As you read, write what you learn about the positive and negative effects of United States overseas expansion under the appropriate tabs of your foldable.

### Drawing Conclusions Study Foldable

Investigate the pros, or positive outcomes, and the cons, or negative outcomes, of overseas expansion by making this foldable.

**Step 1** Fold one sheet of paper in half from top to bottom.

**Step 2** Fold it in half again, from side to side.

**Step 3** Unfold the paper once. Cut up the fold of the top flap only.

**Step 4** Label the foldable as shown.

**PROS of Overseas Expansion**

**CONS of Overseas Expansion**

**Click Here**

Visit [taj.glencoe.com](taj.glencoe.com) and click on Chapter 22—Chapter Overviews to preview chapter information.
Main Idea
In the late 1800s the United States acquired lands overseas.

Key Terms
isolationism, expansionism, imperialism

Reading Strategy
Analyzing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and explain how the United States made its presence felt in each country or region.

<table>
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U.S. role

Preview of Events

1850

1853 Matthew Perry sails into Tokyo Bay

1854 Japan signs Treaty of Kanagawa

1867 William Seward signs treaty to buy Alaska

1889 Pan-American Union established

Read to Learn
• what factors contributed to the growth of American imperialism.
• how the United States expanded its economic and political influence in the late 1800s.

Section Theme
Economic Factors Americans expanded trade with other countries and competed for political influence.

American Foreign Policy
When President George Washington published his Farewell Address in 1796, he advised Americans to increase trade with other countries but to have “as little political connection as possible.” Above all else, he warned Americans to “steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world.” These principles guided American foreign policy for about 100 years. However, various people interpreted Washington’s words in different ways. Some

Expanding Horizons

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believed he meant that the United States should follow a policy of *isolationism*, or noninvolvement, in world affairs. Others pointed out that Washington supported trade with other countries and was not calling for complete isolation from the world.

**American Expansionism**

For many years some Americans dreamed of expanding their territory from ocean to ocean. Seeking land and better opportunities, many Americans moved to territories in the West and the South. This *expansionism* was a driving force in American history. During the Civil War, while the nation was torn apart, expansion came to a halt. After the war the United States began rebuilding and expanding again.

Americans settled the vast Great Plains, built railroads, and created large cities booming with people and busy factories. In 1890, when the nation spanned the North American continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean, the government issued a report announcing the end of the “frontier.” Although areas of unsettled land remained, settlements could now be found from coast to coast.

To many Americans the frontier meant growth and opportunity. The idea that the frontier no longer existed was alarming. Americans began to look beyond the nation’s borders to frontiers overseas where they could expand trade and compete for political influence.

**Foreign Trade**

In the mid-1800s, American merchants carried on a profitable trade with China and hoped to expand trade in other areas of the world. Many wanted to open trading relations with Japan, which had long been isolated from the West.

In 1853 President Millard Fillmore sent Commodore Matthew Perry on a mission to Japan. After steaming into Tokyo Bay with four warships, Perry asked the Japanese to open up their ports to U.S. ships. He told them he would return in several months for their answer.

The American show of force alarmed the Japanese. When Perry returned in 1854, the Japanese signed the *Treaty of Kanagawa* and opened two ports to American ships. Perry’s successful mission began a period of trade between Japan and the United States. It also marked the start of greater American involvement in Asia.

**An Age of Imperialism**

The United States was not the only Western nation expanding its trade and influence in Asia and other parts of the world. The late 1800s and
the early 1900s were called an age of imperialism, a time when powerful European nations created large empires by exercising economic and political control over weaker regions.

The search for materials and markets drove imperialism. The industrial nations of Europe needed raw materials from Asia and Africa. The Europeans also sought new markets for the goods they manufactured. In their drive for raw materials and new markets, European powers competed with one another for power and influence in Asia and Africa.

**Toward an Empire**

American interest in political as well as economic expansion developed after the Civil War. Some Americans wanted the nation to build an empire. By annexing new lands, they argued, the United States would join the ranks of the world’s great powers and take its rightful place at the center of power.

Secretary of State William H. Seward, appointed by Abraham Lincoln, supported this view. Seward pictured an American empire that dominated the Caribbean, Central America, and the Pacific. Holding this empire together would be a canal across Central America linking the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, a thriving transcontinental railroad system, and rapid communication by means of the telegraph.

**The Purchase of Alaska**

Seward took a major step toward making his vision a reality with the purchase of Alaska. In 1867 Seward signed a treaty with Russia to buy the Russian colony for $7.2 million—an extraordinary bargain for a territory that was twice the size of Texas.

At the time many people ridiculed Seward’s purchase. They regarded Alaska as a barren, ice-bound land. Newspapers mocked the purchase as “Seward’s Ice Box” and a “polar bear garden.” After gold was discovered in Alaska in the 1890s, however, Seward’s “folly” began to seem more like a wise purchase. In 1912 Alaska became a territory of the United States.

**A Sense of Mission**

Some Americans had another reason for imperialist expansion. They had a sense of mission—a belief that they could “lift up” people they considered “uncivilized” by sharing Christianity and Western civilization with the rest of the world. Josiah Strong, a Congregational minister, proposed an “imperialism of righteousness,” with Americans bringing their religion and their culture to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the United States’s closest neighbor, Latin America.
American Interest in Latin America
Since colonial times, the United States had carried on a flourishing trade with Latin America, including the Caribbean region. Fear of European influence in the region was a factor that led to the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, when President James Monroe warned European nations not to attempt to establish new colonies in North or South America.
United States merchants used the Monroe Doctrine to their advantage. In 1884 James G. Blaine, then the Republican nominee for president, declared:

“While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the [particular] province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America.”

Meanwhile, the United States signed treaties with a number of Latin American countries, allowing American businesses to influence those nations’ economies.
As secretary of state in 1889, Blaine invited Latin American countries to attend a Pan-American Conference held in Washington, D.C. Blaine hoped to develop economic and political ties among the nations of the region. Although many Latin American countries worried about American domination, they decided to attend the meeting. The conference established the Pan-American Union to share information among member nations.

Building Sea Power
As the United States looked to expand its horizons, Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, president of the Naval War College, called for improving and enlarging the navy. Mahan argued that sea power would protect shipping and provide access to world markets:

“Sea power is essential to the greatness of every splendid people.”

To maintain a powerful navy, the United States would need overseas colonies where ships could be refueled.
Transforming and expanding the navy began in 1883, when Congress authorized construction of the first steel-hulled warships. In the following years, the navy gradually shifted from sails to steam power and from wood to steel hulls. By the early 1900s, the United States had the naval power it needed to back up an expanded role in foreign affairs.

Checking for Understanding
1. Key Terms Use the following terms to create a newspaper article about United States expansion during the late 1800s: isolationism, expansionism, imperialism.
2. Reviewing Facts Discuss the main points of the Monroe Doctrine.
3. Economic Factors What price did the United States pay for Alaska? Why was the purchase of this territory ridiculed?
4. Determining Cause and Effect What did Alfred Thayer Mahan say would result from American sea power?
5. Organizing Information Re-create the diagram below and list two economic reasons for United States expansion.

Analyzing Visuals
6. Picturing History Study the painting on the chapter opening page on page 637. What does it show? What idea do you think the artist is expressing?

Geography Research the natural resources of Alaska. Draw a map of the state and use symbols to represent each resource and show its location in the state.
**Profile**

**BOOKER T. WASHINGTON**  
*Teaching industrial training as a means to success, in 1881 Washington founded the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Here is an excerpt from his autobiography, Up From Slavery.*

**FROM THE VERY BEGINNING, AT TUSKEGEE,** I was determined to have the students do not only the agricultural and domestic work, but to have them erect their own buildings. My plan was to have them, while performing this service, taught the latest and best methods of labour, so that the school would not only get the benefit of their efforts, but the students themselves would be taught to see not only utility in labour, but beauty and dignity. … My plan was not to teach them to work in the old way, but to show them how to make the forces of nature—air, water, steam, electricity, horse-power—assist them in their labour.

---

**VERBATIM**

**WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING**

“*If you pick up a starving dog and make him prosperous, he will not bite you. This is the principal difference between a dog and a man.*”  
MARK TWAIN, author of *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*

“*Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.*”  
PRESIDENT TEDDY ROOSEVELT, proposing action when asked how the United States will deal with its new far-flung colonies in 1901

“*Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.*”  
WORDS BY EMMA LAZARUS, engraved on the Statue of Liberty in 1903

“*Mountains! Look at them!*”  
EDWARD CORSI, 10-year-old Italian immigrant on spotting the high-rise buildings in New York City for the first time in 1907

---

**It’s The Law**

Two laws were passed in 1902 to deal with the automobile.

1. Tennessee demands all drivers give the public a week’s notice before they start any trip.
2. Vermont states an adult waving a red flag has to walk in front of any moving automobile.
MILESTONES

EVENTS AND PEOPLE OF THE TIME

SIGNED UP. Sharpshooter ANNIE OAKLEY to Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show in 1885.

FLEW. 19-year-old Cromwell Dixon over the Continental Divide in 1911 in a biplane. At age 14, Dixon was building DIRIGIBLES (sausage-shaped balloons), including a model that could be pedaled through the air like a bicycle. Dixon later traveled around the country, flying at state fairs.

NUMBERS

U.S. AT THE TIME

- **12¢** Price of a dozen eggs in 1910
- **$12** Price of a sewing machine in 1900
- **$12** Lowest price for a steamship ticket from Italy to America in 1905
- **$12** Average weekly salary (seven-day weeks/12-hour days) for arriving immigrants in 1907

AMERICAN SCENE

Average Lifespans in 1900

- Average life expectancy: **47.3 years**
- Male life expectancy: **46.3 years**
- Female life expectancy: **48.3 years**
- White life expectancy: **47.6 years**
- Nonwhite life expectancy: **33.0 years**

TRANSPORTATION

Take a Ride in My Car!

Here’s what one magazine from the early 1900s recommends you carry in your car at all times:

1. Efficient tire pump
2. Strong two-gallon can extra gasoline
3. Sheet fine sandpaper
4. Small, short-handled axe
5. Ball asbestos cord
4. Half-pound cans of meat or fish
2. Pounds sweet chocolate

12 seconds  Air time of Wright brothers’ first flight in 1903

1.2 million  Approximate number of immigrants who entered the U.S. in 1907

395,000 Approximate number of immigrants in 1908 who gave up on America and returned home

50¢  Price of cheapest seat at baseball’s first World Series in 1903
Main Idea
The United States expanded into the Pacific Ocean region to set up trading bases.

Key Terms
annexation, spheres of influence, Open Door policy

Reading Strategy
Sequencing Information As you read the section, complete a time line like the one shown with important events in Hawaii’s history.

1820 1842 1875 1887 1891 1898 1900

Read to Learn
• how the United States gained control of Hawaii and Samoa.
• how competition for influence in China and the Pacific region led to new foreign policies.

Section Theme
Geography and History The United States exercised its influence in China and the Pacific region.

Preview of Events

1893 American planters overthrow Queen Liliuokalani
1899 U.S., Britain, and Germany divide Samoa
1900 Hawaii becomes a U.S. territory
1907 The Great White Fleet begins its voyage

AN American Story

As more Americans arrived in Honolulu, many Hawaiians feared that time was running out for their people. Kaona, a local judge in Honolulu, had visions that the end of the world was near. When volcanoes erupted and earth tremors plagued the island, his visions seemed to be coming true. Kaona and his followers prepared for the end. They dressed in flowing white robes and prayed loudly. Kaona had indeed been correct. The world that he and native Hawaiians had known would soon end.

Geography

Hawaii

Secretary of State William H. Seward believed the United States could build its empire in Hawaii and other regions through trade. The Pacific region played a key part in Seward’s plan. In 1867 Seward acquired the two small Pacific islands of Midway. He thought that these islands, more than 3,000 miles (4,800 km) west of California, would serve as an important stopping
place for American ships en route to China. American merchants and the United States Navy would need more than two small islands, however, to establish a secure foothold in the vast stretches of the Pacific.

The lush Hawaiian Islands, a chain of 8 large and 100 or so smaller islands, lay about 2,000 miles (3,200 km) west of California. The Hawaiian people dwelled in independent communities, each with its own chieftain, and lived by farming and fishing. American trading ships and whalers often stopped at the islands to take on supplies and fresh water.

In the 1790s Americans began trading with the Hawaiians for local resources. About that same time, King Kamehameha I unified the islands. Villages with good ports such as Honolulu and Lahaina (luh•HY•nuh) began to grow in importance, and trade increased. However, American and European ships also brought infectious diseases to the islands. These diseases devastated the island population just as they had once devastated the Native Americans.

Missionaries and Sugar Growers

In 1820 Christian missionaries from the United States began arriving in Hawaii. They established schools, created a written Hawaiian alphabet, and translated the Bible into Hawaiian. Increasing numbers of American merchants in the whaling trade came to settle there, too.

An American firm introduced sugarcane in Hawaii in the 1830s, and the missionaries and traders began buying land and establishing sugar plantations. The sugar industry grew quickly, and plantation owners brought in thousands of immigrants from Japan, China, and other Pacific lands to work in the fields. Gradually the Americans took control of most of the land and businesses. They also influenced Hawaiian politics, serving as advisers to the Hawaiian ruling family. Although the United States recognized Hawaiian independence in 1842, the islands came increasingly under American influence.

In 1875 the United States agreed to allow Hawaiian sugar to enter the country without tariffs. As sugar exports to the United States soared, American planters in Hawaii reaped enormous profits. In 1887, in return for renewal of the trade agreement, the United States pressured King Kalakaua (kah•LAH•KAH•u•ah) to allow it to establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor, the best seaport in the islands.

In the early 1890s, under pressure from American sugar producers, Congress revised the tariff laws and eliminated the exemption for Hawaiian sugar. As a result, Hawaiian sugar planters had to drop their prices drastically in order to sell any sugar. Sugar exports to the United States dropped sharply. Facing ruin, the planters plotted a way to avoid the new tariff. They decided to make Hawaii a territory of the United States.

American Planters’ Revolt

The Hawaiians, meanwhile, had begun to resist the growing influence of Americans. In 1891 Queen Liliuokalani (lih•LEE•uh•woh•kuh•LAH•nee) came to the throne. The new ruler wanted Hawaiians to regain economic control of their islands, and she took away powers that the American sugar planters had held. In response, the white planters overthrew Liliuokalani and set up their own provisional, or temporary, government in 1893. The queen left under protest:

“Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps the loss of life, I . . . yield my authority.”

Annexation

The success of the planters’ revolt stemmed in part from the support of the chief American diplomat in Hawaii, John Stevens, who arranged for marines from the warship Boston to assist in the uprising. Stevens immediately recognized the new government, which sent a delegation to Washington to seek a treaty of annexation that would add Hawaii to the United States. President Benjamin Harrison signed the treaty during the final days of his administration and forwarded it to the Senate for approval.
About 3,000 miles (4,800 km) south of Hawaii lay the **Samoa Islands**, directly on the trade route linking Australia and the United States. As early as the 1830s, missionaries from the United States landed in Samoa and began converting the people to Christianity.

In 1878 Samoa agreed to give Americans special trading rights and permission to build a naval station at the port of Pago Pago. Great Britain and Germany also secured trading rights. During the 1880s, tensions mounted as the three rivals competed for power in Samoa.

In 1899 the United States, Great Britain, and Germany met in Berlin and—without consulting the Samoans—decided to divide up the islands. The United States and Germany split Samoa between them, while Great Britain agreed to withdraw from the area in return for rights on other Pacific islands. The Americans annexed their portion of Samoa the same year.

### The Islands of Samoa

However, the Senate did not act quickly enough. It failed to ratify the treaty before Harrison left office. The new president, **Grover Cleveland**, opposed annexation and withdrew the treaty from the Senate after discovering that Hawaiians did not support the revolt. Cleveland called American interference in the Hawaiian revolution “disgraceful.”

Although most of the Hawaiians and the Asian immigrants in Hawaii opposed annexation, their opposition made no difference. A small, powerful group of American sugar growers, traders, and missionaries—and their Hawaiian allies, along with influential people in the United States—had the final word. Congress approved the annexation of Hawaii in 1898, after William McKinley became president. In 1900 Hawaii became a territory of the United States.

**Explaining** Why did some American planters want to make Hawaii a territory of the United States?
China and the Open Door

For Americans the island territories in the Pacific, while important in themselves, represented stepping-stones to a larger prize—China. Torn apart by warring factions and lacking industry, China was too weak to resist the efforts of foreign powers that wanted to exploit its vast resources and markets.

Rivalries in China

By the late 1890s, Japan and the leading European powers had carved out spheres of influence in China—sections of the country where each of the foreign nations enjoyed special rights and powers. Japan held the island of Formosa and parts of the Chinese mainland. Germany controlled the Shandong area in east-central China. Great Britain and France held a number of Chinese provinces, and Russia moved into Manchuria and other areas in northern China.

An Open Door to China

In the United States, some government and business leaders worried about being squeezed out of the profitable China trade. Although the United States could not force the other foreign powers out of China, Secretary of State John Hay wanted to protect and expand American trading interests in the country. Hay proposed an Open Door policy under which each foreign nation in China could trade freely in the other nations’ spheres of influence.

The Boxer Rebellion

The other major powers were reluctant to accept a policy that would benefit the United States most of all. The situation soon changed, however. Beginning in late 1899 a secret Chinese martial arts society, known as the Boxers, led a violent uprising against the “foreign devils” in China. Many died and for nearly two months, hundreds more were trapped in the besieged capital city of Beijing. Finally, in August 1900, foreign troops broke the siege and defeated the Boxers.

Out of the Boxer Rebellion came a second Open Door proposal, which stressed the importance of maintaining China’s independence and respecting its borders. Alarmed by the rebellion, the other foreign powers accepted Hay’s policy.

Reading Check Analyzing What was the purpose of the Open Door policy?

View of Peking After the Boxer Rebellion by Yoshikazu Ichikawa American soldiers march through the Chinese capital after the Boxer Rebellion. What policy did the United States want for China?
Japan

Eager to expand its power in Asia, Japan began to ignore the Open Door policy. Japan’s actions led to war with Russia and conflict with the United States.

In the early 1900s, Japan and Russia clashed over Manchuria, a Chinese province rich in natural resources. On February 8, 1904, Japan launched an attack on the Russian fleet at Port Arthur in southern Manchuria, starting the Russo-Japanese War. By the spring of 1905, both Japan’s and Russia’s resources were nearly exhausted, and both countries were eager to make peace.

Treaty of Portsmouth

President Theodore Roosevelt offered to meet with their leaders in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to help settle the conflict. In September 1905, Japan and Russia signed the Treaty of Portsmouth, which recognized Japan’s control of Korea in return for a pledge by Japan to halt its expansion.

Roosevelt hoped the treaty would preserve a balance of power in Asia, but it failed to do so. Japan emerged as the strongest naval power in the Pacific, and it challenged the United States for influence in the region. Relations between the two nations deteriorated steadily.

Strained Relations

During the Russo-Japanese War, Japanese immigration to the United States—especially to California—increased. Many Americans resented the Japanese newcomers, claiming that they took jobs from Americans.

As you read in Chapter 21, in 1906 the San Francisco Board of Education ordered that all Asian students attend separate schools. The Japanese government protested. An 1894 treaty had guaranteed that Japanese living in the United States would be treated well. The Japanese felt that the treaty had been broken.

President Roosevelt forced the San Francisco school board to change its policies. In return, he persuaded Japan to consent to an agreement, promising to restrict emigration. The Japanese resented the agreement and relations between the two nations worsened. Some Americans called for war.

Although President Roosevelt had no plan for war, in 1907 he sent 16 gleaming white battle-ships on a cruise around the world to display the nation’s naval power. The “Great White Fleet” greatly impressed the Japanese. By 1909 the United States and Japan had resolved many of their differences.

Reading Check Identifying Who offered to help settle the Russo-Japanese War?

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

1. **Key Terms** Use each of these terms in a complete sentence that will help explain its meaning: annexation, spheres of influence, Open Door policy.

2. **Reviewing Facts** Name three Pacific Islands that the United States acquired in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

3. **Reviewing Themes** Why were American political leaders interested in the Pacific islands in the 1800s?

Critical Thinking

4. **Making Inferences** Why do you think Roosevelt considered the cruise of the Great White Fleet to be “the most important service [he] rendered for peace”?

5. **Determining Cause and Effect** Re-create the diagram below and list the cause and effects of the Boxer Rebellion.

   ![Diagram of Boxer Rebellion](image)

   **Cause:**

   **Effect:**

Analyzing Visuals

6. **Geography Skills** Study the map on page 646. What particular geographic region of the world is the focus of the map? Which location is farthest west—Hawaii, Baker Island, or Wake Island?

Interdisciplinary Activity

**Science** Research the process of turning sugarcane into the refined sugar available in supermarkets. Draw a diagram showing the steps involved.
Main Idea
The Spanish-American War emerged out of events in Cuba, where the Cuban people were resisting Spanish rule.

Key Terms
yellow journalism, armistice, protectorate

Reading Strategy
Analyzing Information As you read the section, complete a diagram like the one shown by listing two reasons the United States went to war over Cuba.

Read to Learn
• why the Spanish-American War began.
• how the United States’s role in global affairs grew after the war.

Section Theme
Continuity and Change Through the Spanish-American War, the United States took control of new territory.

African Americans had fought in military conflicts since colonial times. The Buffalo Soldiers—named for their bravery and fighting ability by their Apache and Cheyenne foes—also answered the nation’s call to arms during the Spanish-American War. On the front lines of the Spanish-American War, the 9th and 10th Cavalry, with valiant soldiers like Charles Young, led the charge up San Juan Hill with Colonel Teddy Roosevelt and his Rough Riders.

The Cuban Rebellion
The people of Cuba had lived under Spanish rule for centuries. The Cubans rebelled several times in the late 1800s, but each time the Spanish overpowered them and smashed their dreams of independence. José Martí, one of the heroes of the Cuban independence movement, fled to the United States to gather money, arms, and troops. In 1895, as economic conditions in Cuba worsened, Martí returned to Cuba to lead his people in a new revolt.
Martí’s revolution led to terrible losses in human life and property. The rebels burned sugarcane fields and destroyed buildings in hopes of forcing the Spaniards to leave. In retaliation Spanish troops herded Cuban people into camps to separate them from the rebels and to break their morale. Thousands of Cubans died of starvation and disease.

**War Fever**

The Cuban people’s struggle against Spain attracted much sympathy in the United States. Businesspeople worried about the destruction of trade and their loss of investments in Cuba. Government leaders were concerned about a rebellion so close to the United States. Many Americans were horrified by the atrocities against Cuban citizens and called for the government to do something about it.

President Grover Cleveland opposed any American involvement in Cuba. In March 1897, William McKinley became president. He, too, hoped the conflict could be settled peacefully.

The American press reported the unfolding tragedy in Cuba in graphic detail, and its coverage intensified the debate over America’s role in the crisis. Newspapers, including Joseph Pulitzer’s *World* and William Randolph Hearst’s *Journal*, tried to outdo each other with shocking reports on the revolution. Hearst supposedly told an artist who was illustrating a story on Cuba, “You furnish the pictures, and I’ll furnish the war.” This type of sensational, biased, and often false reporting—known as *yellow journalism*—played a major role in fanning the flames of pro-war sentiment in the United States. (See page 973 for one newspaper’s account of Cuba’s struggle.)

**“Remember the Maine”**

The pressure on President McKinley to take action seemed to grow by the hour. After rioting broke out in the Cuban capital of Havana in January 1898, McKinley sent the battleship *Maine* to protect American citizens and property.

The ship remained quietly at anchor in Havana Harbor for three weeks. Then, on the night of February 15, 1898, an enormous explosion shattered the *Maine*, killing 260 officers and crew members. American newspapers immediately blamed the Spanish, and the slogan “Remember the *Maine*” became a rallying cry for revenge. Spain denied responsibility for the explosion. Much later, evidence indicated that the explosion may have been accidental, but at the time, Americans clamored for war with Spain.

After the *Maine* incident, President McKinley sent the Spanish a strong note demanding a truce and an end to brutality against the Cubans. The Spanish agreed to some American demands, but not enough to satisfy McKinley or Congress. On April 19 Congress recognized Cuban independence. It also demanded the withdrawal of Spanish forces and authorized the president to use the army and navy to enforce American aims. On April 25, 1898, Congress declared war on Spain.
War in the Philippines

Although events in Cuba triggered the Spanish-American War, the war’s first military actions happened thousands of miles away in the Spanish colony of the Philippines. These islands served as a base for part of the Spanish fleet. In late February 1898, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt had wired Commodore George Dewey and his squadron of navy vessels to prepare for action in the Philippines “in the event of declaration of war.” In the early morning hours of May 1, Dewey launched a surprise attack on the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, destroying most of the ships.

American troops arrived in July. With the help of Filipino rebels led by Emilio Aguinaldo (AH•gee•NAHL•doh), the Americans captured the city of Manila. As in Cuba, the Filipino rebels had struggled for years to win independence from Spain. Using American-supplied arms, they seized the main island of Luzon, declared independence, and created a democratic republic. The rebels expected the United States to support their independence. However, the United States debated what to do with the islands.

Fighting in Cuba

Meanwhile in the Caribbean, a Spanish fleet entered the harbor of Santiago on the southeastern shore of Cuba on May 19. Several days later, an American naval force blockaded the coast, trapping the Spanish in the harbor.

An American land force of about 17,000—nearly a quarter of them African American—landed near the city of Santiago. The inexperienced, ill-equipped Americans disembarked while forces under Cuban general Calixto García drove off the Spanish soldiers. When the Cuban and American forces advanced, Sergeant Major Frank W. Pullen, Jr., wrote that they faced “a perfect hailstorm of bullets, which, thanks to the poor marksmanship of the Spaniards, ‘went high.’” Heavy fighting followed.
CHAPTER 22 Overseas Expansion

Theodore Roosevelt was not only the twenty-sixth president of the United States—he was also a writer, historian, explorer, soldier, conservationist, and rancher. His life was one of constant activity, great energy, and many accomplishments.

Struggling with poor health as a child, Theodore Roosevelt began to exercise vigorously, gaining strength and a love of the outdoors that lasted throughout his life. After serving in the New York State Assembly, Roosevelt headed west in 1883, where he hunted and also operated a cattle ranch. He drew on these experiences to write several books about life in the West.

Roosevelt gained political experience working for reform at the local and national levels. In 1897 he was appointed assistant secretary of the navy and helped prepare the navy for war with Spain. When the war broke out in 1898, he resigned from his post and helped organize the “Rough Riders.” Roosevelt came home a war hero and was elected governor of New York in 1898. Two years later he was elected vice president on the McKinley ticket. With the assassination of President McKinley in 1901, Roosevelt became president.

The Rough Riders

Theodore Roosevelt resigned his position as assistant secretary of the navy to join the fighting in Cuba. He led the First Regiment of U.S. Cavalry Volunteers, an assorted group of former cowhands and college students, popularly known as the Rough Riders. On July 1 the Rough Riders, with African American soldiers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalries, joined the Battle of San Juan Hill. "I waved my hat and we went up the hill with a rush," Roosevelt wrote later.

The Americans captured San Juan Hill after intense fighting. Two days later the Spanish fleet attempted to break out of Santiago. In a battle that lasted about four hours, the Spanish fleet was completely destroyed. This defeat ended Spanish resistance in Cuba.

The United States then turned its attention to the Spanish colony of Puerto Rico, east of Cuba. American troops landed on Puerto Rico in late July and quickly took control of the island. On August 12 the Spanish signed an armistice—a peace agreement—ending the war.

“A Splendid Little War”

Secretary of State John Hay called the Spanish-American War “a splendid little war.” The war lasted fewer than four months, and about 400 Americans were killed in battle or died from wounds received in the fighting.

Yet the war had other aspects that were not at all “splendid.” More than 2,000 Americans died of diseases such as yellow fever, malaria, and other diseases contracted in the tropical climate. The African Americans who served faced the additional burden of discrimination. Serving in segregated units, African Americans battled alongside the Cuban rebel army, in which black and white troops fought as equals.

Reading Check Explaining Why did Filipino rebels help the United States fight against Spain?

Acquisitions

The United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, marking the official end of the war. The treaty dissolved most of
Should the United States Take the Philippines?

In the late 1800s, the United States stretched its power by acquiring Puerto Rico, Hawaii, and many Pacific islands, including the Philippines. While some Americans applauded the additions to their nation, others condemned its ideals.

Cuban Protectorate

Americans debated what to do about Cuba. Many congressional leaders believed that the Cubans were not ready for complete self-government. American business leaders feared that leaving Cuba might weaken the political stability of Cuba and jeopardize American interests there.

While Congress considered the matter, American troops remained in Cuba. Finally, in 1901, the United States agreed to grant Cubans full independence, but only if their new constitution included clauses giving the United States certain rights. Known as the Platt Amendment, these clauses prohibited Cuba from making treaties with other nations and gave America control of a naval base at Guantanamo Bay. The Platt Amendment also gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs if the country’s independence was threatened.

New Government for Puerto Rico

After the war, Puerto Rico remained under direct military rule. In 1900 the United States set up a new Puerto Rican government under the Foraker Act. The American government controlled the new administration. In 1917 the Jones Act made Puerto Rico a territory of the United States.

Learning From History

1. Why did President McKinley decide to take over the Philippines?
2. Why did members of the Anti-Imperialist League condemn McKinley’s action?
3. What do you think each side believed the mission of the United States was at this time?
States and granted American citizenship to all Puerto Ricans. However, many Puerto Ricans still wanted independence.

**Acquiring the Philippines**

The United States had gained possession of the Philippines in the treaty that ended the Spanish-American War. But acquisition of the Philippines aroused fierce debate.

During the 1890s some people—anti-imperialists—opposed the American enthusiasm for foreign expansion and the Spanish-American War. After the war the anti-imperialists fought approval of the treaty. Some argued that American rule of the Philippines contradicted the principles on which the United States was founded. Others opposed the large standing army that would be necessary to control the Philippines. Still others feared competition from Filipino laborers.

Many Americans—including Carl Schurz, Andrew Carnegie, and Mark Twain—joined the anti-imperialist campaign. The imperialists, however, led by Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and Albert Beveridge, eventually won out. The Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris on February 6, 1899.

In February 1899, Emilio Aguinaldo’s forces began a fight for independence. This conflict became a mammoth undertaking for the United States. More than 4,000 Americans died. Filipinos suffered far greater casualties—at least 200,000 soldiers and civilians died.

When Aguinaldo was captured in March 1901, many Filipino military officers and soldiers surrendered. Others refused to give up even after Aguinaldo urged them to stop fighting.

In the summer of 1901, the United States transferred authority in the Philippines from the military to a civilian government headed by William Howard Taft. Taft set out to prepare the islands for eventual self-rule. However, the Philippines did not gain full independence until 1946.

**Puerto Rico**

- **Puerto Rico has its own constitution.** Puerto Rico was granted status as a commonwealth in 1952. This means that it is a territory of the United States but governs itself under its own constitution. Even though they are citizens, Puerto Ricans pay no federal income tax and they cannot vote for president. Many Puerto Ricans have immigrated to the United States mainland, which as citizens they can do freely.

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**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. **Key Terms** Write a one-page newspaper article about events during the Spanish-American War. Use these terms in your article: yellow journalism, armistice, protectorate.

2. **Reviewing Facts** Summarize how yellow journalism influenced Americans’ views of going to war with Spain.

**Reviewing Themes**

3. **Continuity and Change** How did the United States govern Puerto Rico and the Philippines?

**Critical Thinking**

4. **Drawing Conclusions** Do you think the United States should have taken permanent control of Cuba and made it part of its empire? Why or why not?

5. **Analyzing Information** Re-create the diagram below and list the reasons some Americans opposed making the Philippines a United States possession.

**Analyzing Visuals**

6. **Geography Skills** Study the maps of the war on page 651. Near what Cuban city was the Battle of San Juan Hill fought?

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**Expository Writing** Write a 45-second news report to convince viewers that they should pressure the United States to get involved in a war with Spain over Cuba. Be as persuasive as possible. Present your report to the class.
**Why Learn This Skill?**

You want to present a research report to the rest of your class, and you want to really hold their attention. How do you do it? Your presentation can be exciting if you use various media.

**Learning the Skill**

At its most basic, a multimedia presentation involves using several types of media. To discuss life in the Philippines, for example, you might show photographs of the country. You could also play a recording of the country’s language and music, or present a video showing the Filipino people at work and at play.

You can also develop a multimedia presentation on a computer. Multimedia, as it relates to computer technology, is the combination of text, video, audio, and animation in a computer program.

In order to create multimedia productions or presentations on a computer, you need to have certain tools. These may include traditional computer graphic tools and drawing programs, animation programs that make still images move, and authoring systems that tie everything together. Your computer manual will tell you which tools your computer can use.

**Practicing the Skill**

This chapter focuses on the overseas expansion of the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Ask yourself questions like the following to develop a multimedia presentation on the people, politics, and industries of that era:

- Which of these media forms does my computer support?
- What kind of software programs or systems do I need? A paint program? A drawing program? An animation program? A program to create interactive, or two-way, communication? An authoring system that will allow me to change images, sound, and motion?
- Is there a “do-it-all” program I can use to develop the kind of presentation I want?

**Developing Multimedia Presentations**

Keeping in mind the four guidelines given above, write a plan describing a multimedia presentation you would like to develop. Indicate what tools you will need and what steps you must take to make the presentation a reality.
Latin American Policies

Main Idea
After the Spanish-American War, the United States attempted to extend its political and economic influence in Latin America.

Key Terms
isthmus, anarchy, dollar diplomacy

Reading Strategy
Analyzing Information As you read the section, re-create the diagram below and describe these policies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt Corollary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dollar Diplomacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moral Diplomacy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Read to Learn
• what shaped the policies the United States followed in Latin America.
• where and how the United States intervened in Latin America.

Section Theme
Global Connections American investments in Latin America grew in the early 1900s.

American Story
On August 15, 1914, something described as the “greatest liberty that Man has taken with Nature” occurred. On that day, the first ship, the Ancon, traveled through the newly built Panama Canal. The world barely noticed, however. Most eyes were watching Europe, where World War I was beginning. As the ship passed the words on the great seal of the Panama Canal Zone—THE LAND DIVIDED, THE WORLD UNITED—the world was setting out to tear itself to pieces.

Panama

Americans and Europeans had dreamed of building a canal across Central America to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and to eliminate the long and dangerous sea voyage around South America. Now that the United States controlled territory in both oceans, a canal that would allow easier access to American overseas territory became increasingly important.

In 1879 a French company had acquired a lease from the government of Colombia to construct a canal across its province of Panama. Panama was an
**Isthmus**—a narrow strip of land connecting two larger bodies of land—about 50 miles (80 km) wide. Wedged between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean, Panama seemed like the perfect site for the canal.

French efforts to build a canal failed, and in 1901 the United States bought the lease from the French for $40 million. In 1903 Secretary of State John Hay negotiated a treaty with Colombia that granted the United States a 99-year lease on a strip of land across Panama in return for a payment of $10 million and an annual rent of $250,000.

In Colombia, opposition to the low price offered by the Americans led the Colombian senate to reject the treaty. In a fit of anger, President Roosevelt referred to the Colombians who rejected the treaty as “bandits.” He believed the canal was vital to America’s national defense.

**Revolution in Panama**

Roosevelt began looking for other ways to get land for the canal, and he wrote that he would “be delighted if Panama were an independent state.” The Panamanians had staged revolts against Colombia in the past, but never with success. This time, however, the Panamanians had reason to believe that the Americans would support them in a revolt against Colombia.

On November 2, 1903, the American warship *Nashville* steamed into the port of Colón on the Caribbean coast of Panama. Encouraged by this show of support, the Panamanians revolted the next day and declared their independence. When Colombia sent forces to stop the revolt, the United States intervened and turned them back.

**The Panama Canal**

On November 6, the United States recognized Panama’s independence. Less than two weeks later, Hay signed a treaty with the new nation of Panama. It gave the United States a 10-mile (16-km) strip of land across the country for the same amount offered earlier to Colombia. The United States now had land to build a canal. Roosevelt’s actions in Panama angered many Latin Americans and some members of Congress and other Americans. The president, however, took great pride in his accomplishment. “I took the canal zone and let Congress debate,” he said later, “and while the debate goes on, the canal does also.”

The United States could now start work on the canal—not an easy undertaking. Disease struck the workers. An English writer described Panama as “a damp, tropical jungle, intensely hot, swarming with mosquitoes.” These mosquitoes carried two deadly diseases—yellow fever and malaria.
Colonel William Gorgas, an army doctor who had helped eliminate yellow fever in Cuba, went to Panama to fight the diseases. Gorgas instructed workers to drain swamps, spray insecticides, spread oil on stagnant pools of water, and cut grassy marshes in order to destroy mosquito breeding places. By 1906 these measures had eliminated yellow fever and greatly reduced the number of malaria cases. Without controlling disease, the United States could not have built the canal.

The Panama Canal was regarded as one of the great engineering feats of the time. Thousands of workers struggled to carve a path through the dense jungle and over mountains. They dug out huge amounts of earth and rock and used them to build a dam. They created a large lake and constructed giant locks to raise and lower ships from sea level over the mountains and then back to sea level again on the other side of the isthmus.

The Grand Opening
The Panama Canal opened on August 15, 1914, and a cargo ship, the Ancon, made the first trip through the canal. A great success from the start, the canal reduced shipping costs by cutting more than 7,000 miles off the voyage from New York City to San Francisco. The canal also helped extend American naval power by allowing the United States fleet to move freely between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

In the long run, the canal guaranteed a strong American presence in Latin America, where the United States now had a valuable property it intended to protect. Yet many Latin Americans remained bitter over how the Canal Zone was acquired. This resentment soured relations between the United States and Latin America for years.

Analyzing Why was Panama chosen as the site for a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans?

Policing the Western Hemisphere
President Roosevelt often quoted an African proverb, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” He believed the United States should respond to foreign crises not by threats but by military action. Roosevelt became known for his “big stick” approach to foreign affairs. America must exercise “an international police power,” he maintained, to preserve order and prevent the world from falling into anarchy—disorder and lawlessness.

Roosevelt Corollary
Roosevelt worried that instability in the Caribbean region would lead European powers to intervene. Two incidents confirmed his fears. In 1902, when Venezuela failed to meet payments on its loans, European nations imposed a blockade. The following year a revolution in the Dominican Republic toppled the government, causing concern that European powers would step in to protect their financial interests there.
The president responded to these incidents in 1904 by asserting America’s right to act as a “policeman” in Latin America, intervening “however reluctantly . . . in cases of wrongdoing.” This policy, known as the **Roosevelt Corollary**, was an addition to the Monroe Doctrine. Up to that time, the United States had used the Monroe Doctrine only to prevent European intervention in Latin America. Under the Roosevelt Corollary, the United States now claimed the right to intervene in the affairs of Latin American nations whenever those nations seemed unstable.

The United States first applied the Roosevelt Corollary in 1905, when it took control of the Dominican Republic’s finances. This arrangement continued for more than 30 years. The United States used the policy again in 1906, when troops were sent to Cuba to stop a revolution there.

**Dollar Diplomacy**

Theodore Roosevelt thought of American power mostly in military terms. His successor in the White House, William Howard Taft, took a different view. Taft hoped to modify American foreign policy by “substituting dollars for bullets.” President Taft was willing to intervene in other nations whenever American business interests were threatened. He believed that American investments would bring stability to troubled areas of the world, as well as profit and power to the United States, without the need for force. Taft’s policy of linking American business interests to diplomatic interests abroad was known as **dollar diplomacy**. This policy set in motion some positive effects.

Encouraged by dollar diplomacy, American investments in Latin America grew in the early 1900s. American investments helped build roads, railroads, and harbors, which stimulated trade and brought benefits to both Latin American countries and the United States.

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**Analyzing Political Cartoons**

Uncle Sam is the nickname of the character often used to represent the United States in political cartoons. In this cartoon, Uncle Sam uses the Monroe Doctrine to warn the leaders of Europe not to interfere in the affairs of Latin America. **How are the European leaders reacting to Uncle Sam?**

- A European Leaders
- B Uncle Sam
- C Latin America
In 1911 a popular Mexican reformer named Francisco Madero (muh•DEHR•oh) led a revolution to overthrow Mexico’s brutal dictator Porfirio Díaz (DEE•ahs). Although foreign business and some Mexican politicians and landowners had prospered under the rule of Díaz, the lives of most Mexicans had grown worse. Two years after taking power, Madero was overthrown and killed by General Victoriano Huerta (WEHR•tuh), who—like Díaz—favored the wealthy and foreign interests. President Woodrow Wilson, who had just taken office, refused to recognize Huerta’s “government of butchers.”

Dollar diplomacy also resulted in a stronger role for the United States overseas. Large American companies gained great power in Latin America and controlled the politics of some nations in the region. Furthermore, when American business interests were endangered, military intervention often followed. In 1912, when a revolution in Nicaragua threatened American business interests, the United States quickly sent marines to restore peace. Such interference led to increased anti-U.S. feelings throughout Latin America.

Relations with Mexico

In the early 1900s, Mexico was a poor country controlled by a tiny group of rich landholders. Investors in the United States poured millions of dollars into Mexican oil wells and other businesses. Then, in 1910, Mexico entered a turbulent period in its history—one that threatened American investments, revealed the weaknesses of dollar diplomacy, and led to military intervention by the United States.

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Wilson’s “Moral Diplomacy”

A sincere believer in the ideals of democracy, Wilson thought the United States had a duty “to teach the South American republics to elect good men.” Like Roosevelt and Taft, Wilson recognized the importance of military power and economic interests. Yet Wilson also attempted to follow a foreign policy based on moral principles.
Wilson’s “moral diplomacy” faced a serious challenge in Mexico. After Huerta took power, a civil war broke out in Mexico. Wilson hoped that the Huerta government, without American support, would fall. When that did not happen, Wilson authorized arms sales to Huerta’s rival, Venustiano Carranza (kuh•RAN•ZUH).

In April 1914, after Huerta’s troops arrested some American sailors, Wilson ordered United States troops to seize the port of Veracruz. This show of force strengthened Carranza’s position and forced Huerta to flee in August. Carranza took power, and American troops withdrew.

**Francisco “Pancho” Villa**

Huerta’s resignation did not end civil war in Mexico. Rebel leader Francisco “Pancho” Villa launched an uprising against Carranza. In January 1916, Villa seized and shot 16 Americans because of United States support for the Carranza government. Villa hoped his action would damage relations between the United States and the Carranza government, but the United States did not take steps against Mexico. Then Villa and his rebels crossed the border into New Mexico and burned the town of Columbus, killing 18 Americans there.

Villa’s actions outraged the American public. The president sent General John J. Pershing with a large force of troops across the border into Mexico to capture Pancho Villa. For almost a year, Pershing’s troops pursued Villa across Mexico, but the Mexican people protected Villa.

In 1917, when America’s attention turned to the war raging in Europe, President Wilson withdrew the troops from Mexico. Mexico and the United States had come close to war, and American actions had caused great resentment in Mexico. America’s experience in Mexico, like its policies in the Caribbean, showed that it would willingly use its power when it believed its interests or honor was threatened.

**Reading Check**

**Explaining** On what principles did Wilson base his foreign policy?
Chapter Summary

Overseas Expansion

Expansion
• Acquisition of Alaska, new trading ties with Hawaii and Latin America, and a strong stand against European intervention in the Americas raise the stature of the United States.

Spanish-American War
• In fighting the Spanish-American War, the United States establishes its willingness to become involved in conflict to help oppressed people and to protect its own interests.

Building an Empire
• As a result of the war, the United States gains a colonial empire and with it the challenge of governing overseas possessions.

Diplomacy
• United States intervention in foreign countries is accomplished with the use or show of force—sanctioned by Roosevelt’s Big Stick diplomacy. Later, in the Pacific and East Asia, a combination of diplomacy and dollars helps the United States engage in trade and spread its influence.

Reviewing Key Terms
For each of the pairs of terms below, write a sentence or short paragraph showing how the two are related.
1. expansionism, imperialism
2. spheres of influence, dollar diplomacy
3. annexation, protectorate

Reviewing Key Facts
4. Why did many Americans oppose the purchase of Alaska?
5. How did the United States gain access to trade in China?
6. Who were the Rough Riders?
7. Why did the United States encounter difficult problems in trying to govern the Philippines?
8. What was the purpose of the Roosevelt Corollary?

Critical Thinking
9. Analyzing Themes: Economic Factors What economic reasons did the United States have for expanding its foreign interests?
10. Drawing Conclusions Re-create the diagram below and list the three types of diplomacy. Underline which type was the most effective during this period. Explain why you think so.

Practicing Skills
11. Developing Multimedia Presentations Study the list of topics below. Choose one of the topics and explain how you would use at least three types of media in a presentation to best teach the topic to your class.
• Matthew Perry’s mission to Japan
• The development of the American navy
• How the United States changed Hawaii forever
• The Battle of San Juan Hill
• Building the Panama Canal
Geography and History Activity
The building of the Panama Canal was regarded as a great engineering feat. Study the map of the canal below; then answer the questions that follow.

12. Location What bodies of water are shown on the map of the Panama Canal?

13. Human-Environment Interaction What is the approximate length of the Panama Canal? How did you determine your answer?

14. Location What cities are located near the path of the canal?

15. Movement In which direction would a ship en route to Cristobal from Balboa travel?

16. Human-Environment Interaction What does the location of Panama tell you about the climatic conditions the canal workers faced?

Citizenship Cooperative Activity
17. Community Service Working in groups of three, interview one of your community’s officials to learn how you can begin taking an active role in the community. Members of your group may wish to volunteer for some sort of community service, then perform the service and report your experiences to your classmates.

18. Economics Activity Work with a partner to create a map showing all of the areas acquired by the United States during the late 1800s and early 1900s. Research to find out about the natural resources that existed in each area and the importance of the area’s location in world trade. Then, starting with these two factors, rank each of the areas on your map as to its economic value to the United States. The area ranked number “1” should be the most valuable. Compare your maps and rankings with other members of the class and create a chart of the overall ratings.

Alternative Assessment
19. Portfolio Writing Activity Review the chapter for information about treaties and agreements between various nations during this period. Make a list of the agreements and draw a picture or symbol next to each that will help you recall its terms.

Standardized Test Practice
Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

The manner in which President Roosevelt acquired the Panama Canal Zone

A angered some members of Congress.
B led to better relations with Latin America.
C ended the Spanish-American War.
D led to McKinley’s election.

Test-Taking Tip.
Be aware of the order of events asked about in a question. This question specifically asks about the takeover of the Panama Canal Zone. Both choices C and D are events that occurred before the events in Panama. Therefore, answers C and D are incorrect.