

CHAPTER
18

Section 1

GUIDED READING *Imperialism and America*

- A.** As you read this section, fill out the chart below by summarizing reasons why the United States became an imperial power.

The Roots of American Imperialism		
1. Economic roots	2. Political and military roots	3. Racist roots



4. What did Admiral Mahan urge the United States to do to protect its interests?

- B.** For each year on the time line below, identify one important event in the history of U.S. involvement in Hawaii.

U.S. Imperialism in Hawaii	
1875	
1887	
1890	
1891	
1897	
1898	

- C.** On the back of this paper, identify who **Queen Liliuokalani** and **Sanford B. Dole** were and explain how their lives were connected.

CHAPTER
18**Section 2****GUIDED READING** *The Spanish-American War*

- A.** As you read about the Spanish-American War, write notes in the appropriate boxes to answer the questions about its causes and effects.

Causes: How did each of the following help to cause the outbreak of the Spanish-American War?
1. American business owners
2. José Martí
3. Valeriano Weyler
4. Yellow journalism
5. De Lôme letter
6. U.S.S. <i>Maine</i>

Effects: What happened to each of the following territories as a result of the Spanish-American War?
7. Cuba
8. Puerto Rico
9. Guam
10. Philippine Islands

- B.** On the back of this paper, explain briefly who **George Dewey** was and what he did. Then explain the importance of the **Rough Riders** and **San Juan Hill**.

CHAPTER
18

Section 3

GUIDED READING *Acquiring New Lands*

A. As you read about America's relations with lands under its influence, write notes to answer the questions below. Some answers have already been filled in for you.

	Puerto Rico 1898–1916	Cuba 1898–1903	The Philippines 1898–1945	China 1900
1. What was its relationship to the U.S.?	<i>very similar to that of a colony or protectorate</i>			
2. Why did the U.S. try to control its affairs?			<i>to provide the U.S. with raw materials and new markets</i>	
3. What laws and policies affected its relationship with the U.S.?				
4. What violent events affected its relationship with the U.S.?	<i>Spanish-American War</i>			

B. John Hay's "Open Door notes" paved the way for greater U.S. influence in Asia. Note three beliefs held by Americans that were reflected by the Open Door policy.

1.
2.
3.

C. On the back of this paper, briefly note who **Emilio Aguinaldo** was and how he affected U.S. foreign policy at the turn of the century.

CHAPTER
18

GUIDED READING *America as a World Power*

Section 4

- A.** As you read this section, write notes summarizing the effects of American military, diplomatic, and economic power around the world.

ROOSEVELT'S "BIG STICK" DIPLOMACY

American action taken	Consequences of that action
1. Treaty of Portsmouth is negotiated.	
2. U.S. warships are used to ensure Panama's independence.	
3. Panama Canal is built.	
4. Roosevelt Corollary is adopted.	

WILSON'S "MISSIONARY" DIPLOMACY

American action taken	Consequences of that action
5. Wilson uses a minor incident with Mexico as an excuse to occupy Veracruz.	
6. Wilson recognizes the Carranza government.	
7. Wilson refuses Carranza's demand to withdraw U.S. troops sent into Mexico to capture Villa.	

- B.** On the back of this paper, identify **Francisco "Pancho" Villa** and **John J. Pershing**, and describe how their lives came to be interrelated.

CHAPTER
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BUILDING VOCABULARY *America Claims an Empire*

A. Completion Select the term or name that best completes the sentence.

William Seward
Boxer Rebellion
San Juan Hill

dollar diplomacy
Alfred T. Mahan
Rough Riders

Roosevelt Corollary
U.S.S. *Maine*
Emilio Aguinaldo

1. The mysterious explosion of the _____ in Havana harbor helped push the United States to declare war against Spain.
2. _____ led the rebellion against American rule in the Philippines.
3. _____ urged that the United States had to strengthen its naval forces before it could become a world power.
4. Critics called the policy of using the U.S. government to promote American business in foreign countries _____.
5. During the Spanish-American War, the _____ were a prominent U.S. regiment of volunteer cavalry.

B. Matching Match the description in the second column with the term or name in the first column. Write the appropriate letter next to the word.

- _____ 1. John Hay
- _____ 2. Roosevelt Corollary
- _____ 3. José Martí
- _____ 4. Pearl Harbor
- _____ 5. Panama Canal
- _____ 6. Boxer Rebellion
- _____ 7. Treaty of Paris
- _____ 8. imperialism

- a. waterway through Central America
- b. policy of controlling weaker countries
- c. uprising in China against foreigners
- d. agreement ending Spanish-American War
- e. supplement to the Monroe Doctrine
- f. valuable U.S. naval base in Hawaii
- g. U.S. official who helped open up China
- h. Cuban resistance leader against Spain

B. Writing Write a paragraph describing America's actions as an imperial power using the following terms.

Foraker Act

Platt Amendment

protectorate

CHAPTER
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Section 2

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Bias*

In 1898, senatorial candidate Albert Beveridge gave a campaign speech in which he tried to persuade voters that the United States should keep the Philippines. Read this text and then fill in the chart with evidence of bias. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. R15.)

God bless the soldiers of 1898, children of the heroes of 1861, descendants of the heroes of 1776! In the halls of history they will stand side by side with those elder sons of glory, and the opposition to the government at Washington shall not deny them. No! They shall not be robbed of the honor due them, nor shall the republic be robbed of what they won for their country. For William McKinley is continuing the policy that Jefferson began, Monroe continued, Seward advanced, Grant promoted, Harrison championed, and the growth of the republic has demanded.

Hawaii is ours; Puerto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of the people, Cuba will finally be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours; at the very least the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and I pray God it may be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Frémont carried to the coast—the stars and stripes of glory.

The march of the flag! . . .

Think of the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Puerto Rico when the republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety! 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! Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common-school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba when a government of law replaced the double reign of anarchy and tyranny. Think of the prosperous millions that empress of islands will support when, obedient to the law of political gravitation, her people ask for the highest honor liberty can bestow, the sacred Order of the Stars and Stripes, the citizenship of the Great Republic!

from Thomas B. Reed, ed., Modern Eloquence, Vol. XI (Philadelphia, 1903), 224–243.

Words that indicate strong positive feelings	
Words that indicate negative feelings	
Idealized descriptions and images	

CHAPTER
18**Section 1****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *Imperialism and America***Finding Main Ideas**

The following questions deal with the growth of U.S. imperialism. Answer them in the space provided.

1. What was the policy of imperialism?

2. What three factors fueled the emergence of U.S. imperialism?

3. Why did many business leaders argue that imperialism would help the nation's economy?

4. In what way did Alaska turn out to be a good deal for the United States?

5. How did the country respond to the urgings of Alfred T. Mahan and other proponents of bolstering the country's naval forces?

6. What group became the most powerful in Hawaii? Why did they favor U.S. annexation?

CHAPTER
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Section 2

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *The Spanish-American War*

Sequencing

A. Put the events below in the correct chronological order.

- _____ 1. Americans learn of de Lôme letter.
- _____ 2. The United States declares war on Spain.
- _____ 3. U.S. forces arrive in Cuba.
- _____ 4. Cubans launch rebellion against Spanish rulers.
- _____ 5. Treaty of Paris officially ends the war.
- _____ 6. Explosion of the U.S.S. *Maine* stirs war fever in America.

Finding Main Ideas

B. Answer the following questions in the space provided.

1. How did the Treaty of Paris help to make the United States an imperial power?

2. What arguments did opponents of annexing foreign territories present?

CHAPTER
18**Section 3****RETEACHING ACTIVITY** *Acquiring New Lands***Completion**

A. Complete each sentence with the appropriate term or name.

governor	Filipino
protectorate	spheres of influence
Boxers	upper house
Mark Twain	American
lower house	William Jennings Bryan

1. Under the Foraker Act, the United States had the power to appoint Puerto Rico's _____ and _____.
2. The rebellion in the Philippines cost 4,000 _____ lives.
3. The _____ were a group opposed to the growing foreign influence in China.
4. By the late 1800s, China had become home to several European _____, areas where a nation claimed special rights and economic privileges.
5. President McKinley's opponent in the 1900 presidential election was _____, a staunch opponent of imperialism.

Evaluating

B. Write *T* in the blank if the statement is true. If the statement is false, write *F* in the blank and then write the corrected statement on the line below.

- _____ 1. The most important reason for the United States to maintain a strong political presence in Cuba was to protect American business interests.

- _____ 2. The Supreme Court ruled in the Insular Cases that the U.S. Constitution automatically applied to people in acquired territories.

- _____ 3. Many Americans questioned the U.S. presence in Puerto Rico, which was of no strategic importance to the United States.

- _____ 4. The United States finally granted the Philippines its independence on July 4, 1946.

- _____ 5. Members of the Anti-Imperialist League believed it was wrong for the United States to rule other people without their consent.

CHAPTER
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Section 4

RETEACHING ACTIVITY *America as a World Power*

Reading Comprehension

Choose the best answer for each item. Write the letter of your answer in the blank.

- _____ 1. Theodore Roosevelt earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906 for helping to negotiate a peace treaty to end the war between
 - a. England and France.
 - b. Russia and Japan.
 - c. Cuba and Spain.
 - d. China and India.

- _____ 2. Before building the Panama Canal, the United States helped to free Panama from its rule by
 - a. Colombia.
 - b. Nicaragua.
 - c. El Salvador.
 - d. Mexico.

- _____ 3. Construction of the Panama Canal took
 - a. 3 years.
 - b. 5 years.
 - c. 10 years.
 - d. 15 years.

- _____ 4. The Roosevelt Corollary proclaimed U.S. authority over
 - a. Canada.
 - b. Asia.
 - c. Africa.
 - d. Latin America.

- _____ 5. The U.S. president most associated with dollar diplomacy was
 - a. Theodore Roosevelt.
 - b. Woodrow Wilson.
 - c. Grover Cleveland.
 - d. William Howard Taft.

- _____ 6. Woodrow Wilson dispatched General John J. Pershing into Mexico to capture the rebel leader
 - a. Porfirio Díaz.
 - b. Francisco "Pancho" Villa.
 - c. Francisco Madero.
 - d. Venustiano Carranza.

CHAPTER

18

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: PLACE

Geography of the Panama Canal

Section 4

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

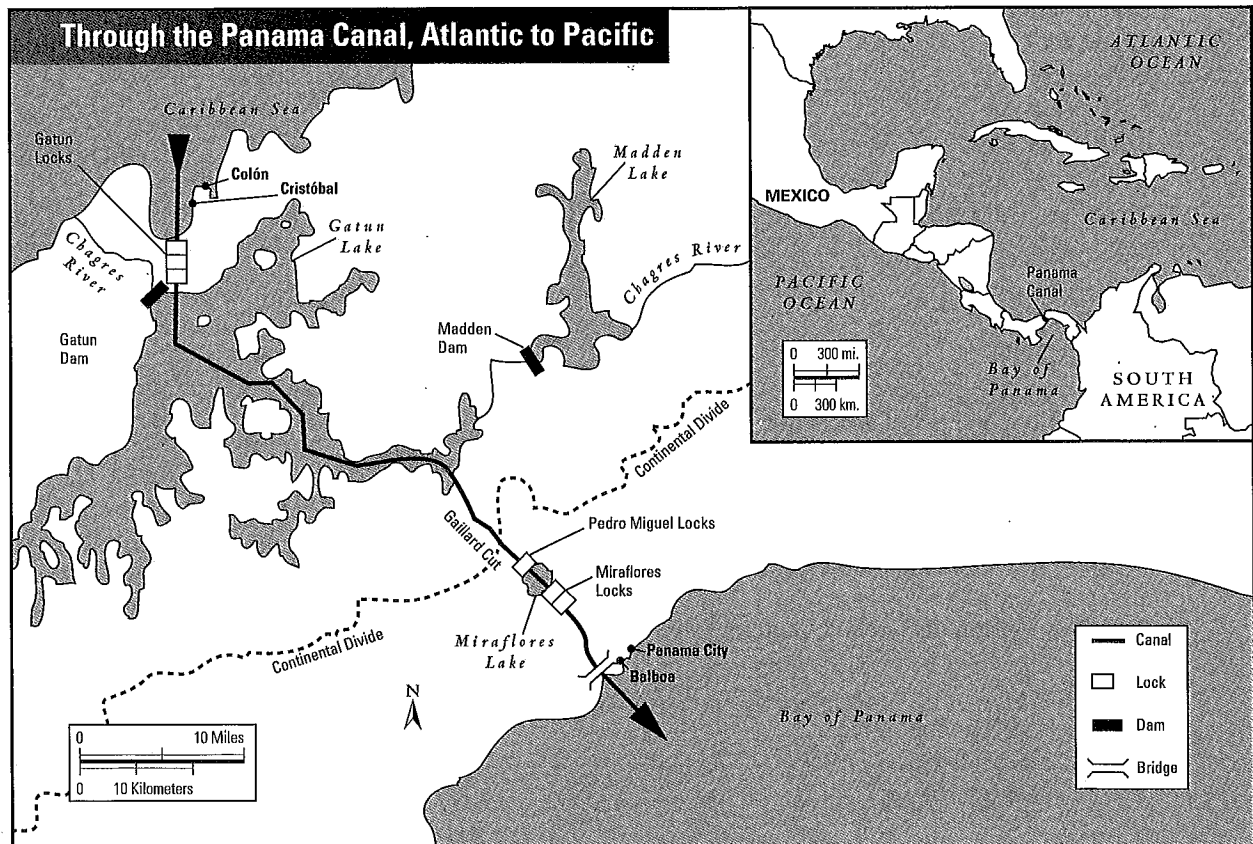
The Panama Canal is essential to the United States. About 12,000 ships a year pass through the canal, 70 percent of them going to or from U.S. ports.

A ship bound from New York to San Francisco, for example, enters the canal from the Caribbean Sea. The ship remains at sea level for the first few miles. Then it comes to a steplike series of three chambers called locks—the Gatun Locks. Each fills with water after the vessel enters, raising it about 28 feet. The three locks lift the ship to the level of Gatun Lake, formed by Gatun Dam. (It takes 26 million gallons of water from Gatun Lake to fill each lock. The lake does not run dry, however,

because the region receives substantial rainfall and because Gatun Lake has backup water stored in Madden Lake.)

The ship crosses Gatun Lake and goes through the Gaillard Cut, a narrow passage cut through hills. Then the ship is taken into the Pedro Miguel Locks and is lowered about 31 feet to Miraflores Lake. At the other side of the lake, the ship enters the two Miraflores Locks. As the water is released for each, the ship is lowered an additional 27 feet.

At sea level again, the ship passes to the Bay of Panama just a few miles away. The eight-hour passage through the Panama Canal has saved nearly 8,000 miles of travel.



Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. Use a ruler and the map's scale to find the approximate length of the Panama Canal. _____

About how far does a ship travel at sea level when passing through the canal? _____

2. How many locks does the canal have? _____

3. About how many feet above sea level is Gatun Lake? _____

4. Gatun Lake is one of the largest artificial lakes in the world.

Which river was dammed to create it? _____

5. What topographic obstacle made the Gaillard Cut necessary? _____

6. It has been noted ironically that although the Atlantic Ocean is east of the Pacific Ocean, a ship passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific travels from west to east through the Panama Canal. Why is this so?

About how many miles east of the Atlantic end of the canal is the Pacific end? _____

7. When the canal was opened in 1914, most of its cargo and passenger traffic was bound from one U.S. coast to the other. Today, use of the canal is only the eighth most common way of moving U.S. goods and people from coast to coast. What are some of the alternatives that have replaced this ocean route?

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Section 4

OUTLINE MAP *America as a World Power*

- A.** Review the maps of U.S. Imperialism, the World, and U.S. Dependencies on textbook pages 562, A2, and A18–19. Then label the following bodies of water and land areas on the accompanying outline map.

Bodies of Water	U.S. Possessions and Protectorates		Other Areas
Pacific Ocean Atlantic Ocean Caribbean Sea	Cuba Guam Hawaii Panama Canal Zone Midway Island	Philippines Puerto Rico Samoa Wake Island Alaska	Japan Australia South America United States

- B.** After labeling the map, highlight the areas of U.S. influence outside of its borders and use the completed map to answer the following questions.

1. Which possession or protectorate is farthest from the United States? _____

About how many miles from the United States is it? _____

2. Which possession or protectorate is located at approximately 166°E longitude and 19°N latitude? _____

3. Which of the possessions or protectorates was closest to the United States? _____

4. One of the possessions or protectorates served as a refueling station for ships traveling from the United States to Australia. Which one do you think it was? _____

5. Give a possible explanation for how Midway Island got its name. _____

6. Which possessions or protectorates are not islands? _____

7. Describe the path that a ship sailing from Hawaii to the East Coast of the United States was likely to take. _____

8. What is the approximate grid location of Guam? _____

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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE Newspaper Front Page

Examine this front page from an edition of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* printed after the warship *U.S.S. Maine* exploded in Cuban waters. How is this an example of yellow journalism?



The Granger Collection, New York.

Activity Options

1. Work with a group of classmates to analyze this page from the *New York World*. Are the headlines accurate and reliable? What facts about the sinking of the *Maine* are given? Do you think that the illustration accurately reflects what happened? Draw conclusions about this front page and share them with the class.
2. To understand the difference between yellow journalism in the late 1800s and journalism today, compare this page with the front page of a reputable local or national newspaper. With your classmates, discuss the similarities and differences.

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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE *from The Rough Riders*
by Theodore Roosevelt

During the Spanish-American War, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt led a charge of two African-American regiments and the Rough Riders up San Juan Hill in Cuba. As you read this excerpt from Roosevelt's account of the battle, visualize what happened during the assault.

The infantry got nearer and nearer the crest of the hill. At last we could see the Spaniards running from the rifle-pits as the Americans came on in their final rush. Then I stopped my men for fear they should injure their comrades, and called to them to charge the next line of trenches, on the hills in our front, from which had been undergoing a good deal of punishment. Thinking that the men would all come, I jumped over the wire fence in front of us and started at the double; but, as a matter of fact, the troopers were so excited, what with shooting and being shot, and shouting and cheering, that they did not hear, or did not heed me; and after running about a hundred yards I found I had only five men along with me. Bullets were ripping the grass all around us, and one of the men, Clay Green, was mortally wounded. . . .

I ran back, jumped over the wire fence, and went over the crest of the hill, filled with anger against the troopers, and especially those of my own regiment, for not having accompanied me. They, of course, were quite innocent of wrongdoing; and even while I taunted them bitterly for not having followed me, it was all I could do not to smile at the look of injury and surprise that came over their faces, while they cried out: "We didn't hear you, we didn't see you go, Colonel; lead on now, we'll sure follow you." I wanted the other regiments to come too, so I ran down to where General Sumner was and asked him if I might make the charge; and he told me to go and that he would see that the men followed. By this time everybody had his attention attracted, and when I leaped over the fence again, with Major Jenkins beside me, the men of the various regiments which were already on the hill came with a rush, and we started across the wide valley which lay between us and the Spanish intrenchments.

Captain Dimmick, now in command of the Ninth, was bringing it forward; Captain McBlain

had a number of Rough Riders mixed with his troop, and led them all together; Captain Taylor had been severely wounded. The long-legged men like Greenway, Goodrich, Sharp-shooter Proffit, and others, outstripped the rest of us, as we had a considerable distance to go. Long before we got near them the Spaniards ran, save a few here and there, who either surrendered or were shot down. When we reached the trenches we found them filled with dead bodies in the light blue and white uniform of the Spanish regular army. . . .

There was very great confusion at this time, the different regiments being completely intermingled—white regulars, colored regulars, and Rough Riders. General Sumner had kept a considerable force in reserve on Kettle Hill under Major Jackson of the Third Cavalry. We were still under a heavy fire and I got together a mixed lot of men and pushed on from the trenches and ranch-houses which we had just taken, driving the Spaniards through a line of palm-trees, and over the crest of a chain of hills. When we reached these crests we found ourselves overlooking Santiago.

from Theodore Roosevelt, The Rough Riders (New York, 1899). Reprinted in Richard B. Morris and James Woodress, eds., Voices from America's Past, Vol. 2, Backwoods Democracy to World Power (New York: Dutton, 1963), 276-277.

Discussion Questions

1. Why was Roosevelt angry with the troopers at first?
2. From reading this account, what conclusions can you draw about the Battle of San Juan Hill?
3. After the battle, Roosevelt wrote to his friend Senator Lodge: "I am entitled to the medal of honor, and I want it." Based on your reading of his account, do you agree with Roosevelt? Why or why not?

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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE In Favor of Imperialism

While running for the Senate in 1898, Indiana's Albert Beveridge gave a campaign speech in which he explained why the United States should keep the Philippines. As you read this excerpt, consider his arguments in favor of U.S. imperialism.

It is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe, a greater England with a nobler destiny. It is a mighty people that He has planted on this soil; a people sprung from the most masterful blood of history; a people perpetually revitalized by the virile, man-producing working folk of all the earth; a people imperial by virtue of their power, by right of their institutions, by authority of their heaven-directed purposes—the propagandists and not the misers of liberty.

It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon His chosen people; a history whose keynote was struck by the Liberty Bell; a history heroic with faith in our mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the republic out into unexplored lands and savage wildernesses; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across the blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous reasoning we find ourselves today.

Therefore, in this campaign, the question is larger than a party question. It is an American question. It is a world question. Shall the American people continue in their restless march toward the commercial supremacy of the world? Shall free institutions broaden their blessed reign as the children of liberty wax in strength, until the empire of our principles is established over the hearts of all mankind? . . .

God bless the soldiers of 1898, children of the heroes of 1861, descendants of the heroes of 1776! In the halls of history they will stand side by side with those elder sons of glory, and the opposition to the government at Washington shall not deny them. No! They shall not be robbed of the honor due them, nor shall the republic be robbed of what they

won for their country. For William McKinley is continuing the policy that Jefferson began, Monroe continued, Seward advanced, Grant promoted, Harrison championed, and the growth of the republic has demanded.

Hawaii is ours; Puerto Rico is to be ours; at the prayer of the people, Cuba will finally be ours; in the islands of the East, even to the gates of Asia, coaling stations are to be ours; at the very least the flag of a liberal government is to float over the Philippines, and I pray God it may be the banner that Taylor unfurled in Texas and Frémont carried to the coast—the stars and stripes of glory.

The march of the flag! . . .

Think of the thousands of Americans who will pour into Hawaii and Puerto Rico when the republic's laws cover those islands with justice and safety! 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! Think of the hundreds of thousands of Americans who will build a soap-and-water, common-school civilization of energy and industry in Cuba when a government of law replaced the double reign of anarchy and tyranny. Think of the prosperous millions that empress of islands will support when, obedient to the law of political gravitation, her people ask for the highest honor liberty can bestow, the sacred Order of the Stars and Stripes, the citizenship of the Great Republic!

from Thomas B. Reed, ed., Modern Eloquence, Vol. XI (Philadelphia, 1903), 224–243.

Discussion Questions

1. Whose hand does Beveridge see in America's destiny?
2. According to Beveridge, what would Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Cuba gain from their association with the United States?
3. What arguments does Beveridge give for the expansion of the American empire?

CHAPTER

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PRIMARY SOURCE Building the Panama Canal

The Panama Canal took ten years to build and cost almost \$400 million. Consider some of the challenges that had to be overcome in building it as you read this excerpt from an eyewitness account of the canal's construction.

From Gatun the train goes through territory which is to be the lake. For twenty-three miles the ships will cross this artificial lake to Culebra Cut. Never before has man dreamed of taking such liberties with nature, of making such sweeping changes in the geographical formation of a country. Here are we Americans dropping down into the heart of a jungle of unequaled denseness, building a young mountain, balancing a lake of 160 odd square miles on the top of the continental divide, gouging out a cañon 10 miles long, 300 feet wide, and in some places over 250 feet deep. Think about that a minute and then be proud that you are an American. . . .

"Look!" my friend cried suddenly. "See that machine—it looks like a steam crane—it is a track-shifter. Invented by one of our engineers. You see, on the dumps, where we throw out the spoil from the cuts, we have to keep shifting the tracks to keep the top of the dump level. Well, it took an awful lot of time to do it by hand. So we developed that machine. It just takes hold of a section of track, rails and ties and all, hoists it up out of its ballast, and swings it over to where we want it. Does in an hour what a gang of twenty men could not do in a week. They're not used much anywhere else in the world. You see, there isn't any other place where they have to shift track on so large a scale."

They seem vastly proud of this track-shifter down here.

"And this is Gorgona," he said, a minute later. "Those shops over there are the largest of their kind in the world—repairing machinery. We can mend anything in there from a locomotive to a watch-spring."

One gets tired of this "largest in the world" talk. But it is only as you accustom yourself to the idea that each integral part of the work is of unequaled proportions that you begin to sense the grandeur of the whole undertaking. The largest dam, the highest locks, the greatest artificial lake, the deepest cut, the biggest machine shops, the heaviest consumption of dynamite, the most wonderful sanitary

system—all these and others which I forget are unique—the top point of human achievement. . . .

It is between Gorgona and Empire that you get your first look into Culebra Cut. It is as busy a place as an anthill. It seems to be alive with machinery; there are, of course, men in the cut too, but they are insignificant, lost among the mechanical monsters which are jerking work-trains about the maze of tracks, which are boring holes for the blasting, which are tearing at the spine of the continent—steam shovels which fill a car in five moves, steam shovels as accurate and delicate as a watch, as mighty, well, I can think of nothing sufficiently mighty to compare with these steel beasts which eat a thousand cubic yards a day out of the side of the hills.

But it is not till you get beyond the cut and, looking back, see the profile of the ditch against the sunset that you get the real impression—the memory which is to last. The scars on the side of the cut are red, like the rocks of our great Western deserts. The work has stopped, and the great black shovels are silhouetted against the red of the sky. Then there comes a moment, as your train winds round a curve, when the lowering sun falls directly into the notch of the cut and it is all illumined in an utterly unearthly glory. . . .

from Arthur Bullard, *Panama: The Canal, the Country, and the People* (New York, 1914). Reprinted in Richard B. Morris and James Woodress, eds., *Voices From America's Past*, vol. 2, *Backwoods Democracy to World Power* (New York: Dutton, 1963), 295–298.

Research Options

1. Find out more about the building of the Panama Canal. What obstacles had to be overcome? What dangers did workers face? Prepare a brief oral report and share it with your classmates.
2. Controlling the spread of disease was a key factor in the completion of the Panama Canal. Research how Colonel William C. Gorgas made the Canal Zone safe for workers. Then write a short column about Gorgas's achievement for a health newsletter.

CHAPTER
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Section 1

LITERATURE SELECTION *from Hawaii*
by James A. Michener

The following excerpt from Michener's sweeping saga deals with the power struggle between native Hawaiians and American sugar planters. As you read this excerpt, think about how the planters seized power from the Hawaiian monarchy. Please be advised that one of the white characters uses an offensive racial epithet.

The revolution that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy and passed the government into the hands of the sugar planters was under way. In her palace, the wild-willed queen shuddered as she saw American troops file ashore to invade her territory. She was disposed to fight them, for she knew that this was a cruel perversion of the ordinary relationships between sovereign nations, but the sugar planters quickly immobilized her loyal troops, and she was left defenseless, a stubborn, anachronistic woman in her mid-fifties, regal in appearance but totally unaware that the nineteenth century was ebbing to a close and taking with it the concepts of government to which she adhered.

However, in the dying moments of her reign she was not completely without support, for after her troops were disbanded without firing a shot, a squad of volunteer loyalists materialized from the alleys of Honolulu and marched out to defend their queen. In their ranks, and typical of their quality, waddled the old kanaka [a Hawaiian of Polynesian descent] maile [a vine with fragrant leaves and bark] gatherer, Kimo. He had a musket that he had grabbed from a man in a pool hall and he held his uniform—a pair of sagging pants and that was all—about his waist with a length of red rope. His hair had not been combed for some days, he needed a shave and he was barefooted, but like his companions he gave every evidence of being willing to die for his queen. The sparkling American troops with new rifles watched in amazement as the volunteers marched up to give them battle, but a courageous officer in whites ran unarmed to the leader of the irregulars and said, “There’s no war. The queen has abdicated.”

“She’s what?” the leader of the loyalists asked.

“She’s abdicated,” the young American said. Then he shouted, “Anybody here speak Hawaiian?”

A haole [a person who is not a native Hawaiian] bystander idled up and asked, “What you want, General?”

“Tell these men that there is to be no war. The queen has abdicated.”

“Sure,” the haole agreed. Turning to Kimo and his men he said, “Eh, you kanaka! Liliuokalani pau. She go home. You pau too. You go home.”

And so far as the actual fighting was concerned, in this manner the revolution ended. Kimo trundled his unused musket back to the poolroom and listened to the gibes of his friends. Then in great disturbance of spirit, for he knew that he had participated in the death of a world he had loved—the horses prancing in gold tassels, the royal guard marching in bright uniforms, the queen going forth in a gilt carriage—he walked slowly down Beretania Street and up Nuuanu to the small house where he lived with his wife Apikela and his Chinese family. He went directly to bed and lay there without talking or laughing until he died.

The provisional government, with Micah Hale as its ostensible head and the sugar planters directing from behind, swept away the seventeenth-century anachronisms proposed by Queen Liliuokalani. Each act of the efficient new government was directed toward one clear goal: union with America. David Hale and Micah Whipple were rushed to Washington to force a Treaty of Annexation through the Senate before congenial President Harrison and his Republicans left office on March 4, because it was known that the newly elected President, Grover Cleveland, opposed what had been happening in Hawaii; and soon frantic appeals for moral support were speeding back to Honolulu, for the treaty commissioners Hale and Whipple reported: “There is considerable opposition to the manner in which the revolution was carried out. Cannot Micah Hale make a strong statement, relying upon his faultless reputation to give it force? Else we are lost.”

It was under these circumstances, in February, 1893, that Micah Hale retired to his study on King Street and wrote for a New York journal: “Any sane

man looking at these islands today has got to admit that they require supervision by the United States of America. The indigenous citizens are for the most part illiterate, steeped in idolatry, committed to vain shows of monarchical display and totally unsuited to govern themselves." In these harsh but true words, the son of a missionary, in his seventy-first year, summarized what his group had accomplished; but since he wrote as a profound patriot and as one who loved Hawaii above all else, he did not understand what he was saying. Furthermore, he went on to point out a great truth that others both in Hawaii and America were overlooking: "Hawaii cannot lie idle and unwanted in the middle of the Pacific. The islands seem to lie close to America, but they also lie close to Canada and on the route from that great land to Australia and New Zealand. There is every reason for Hawaii to become Canadian. They also lie close to Russia-in-Asia and except for an accident of history might even now belong to that great power. And to anyone who has sailed from Honolulu to Yokohama or to Shanghai, these islands lie perilously close to Japan and China. For more than half a century I have believed that their destiny lies with America, but it is not as I once thought an inevitable destiny. If at this crucial moment of history, our logical destiny is frustrated, an illogical one will triumph and Hawaii, the gem of the Pacific, will belong to Canada or to Russia or to Japan. It is to prevent such a catastrophe that we pray for the United States to accept us now." This widely reprinted article was taken from the Hale mansion on King Street by Wild Whip Hoxworth and delivered to one of his ships, waiting in the harbor, but as old Micah Hale handed it to his nephew, he was freshly appalled that he should be using such an evil agent to accomplish so good a purpose.

Micah's plea achieved nothing, for Louisiana and Colorado sugar interests prevented the lame-duck Senate of February, 1893, from jamming the Treaty of Annexation through, and five days after Grover Cleveland assumed the Presidency he sternly withdrew the treaty and rebuked those who had sought to foist it upon the American public. Now doleful news reached Hawaii. The Secretary of State wrote: "The United States will not accept the Hawaiian Islands on the terms under which they have been offered. It would lower our national standard to endorse a selfish and dishonorable scheme of a lot of adventurers. I oppose taking these islands by force and fraud, for there is such a thing as international morality."

President Cleveland was of a similar opinion and personally dispatched an investigator to Honolulu to inquire into America's role in the unsavory revolution, and by one of the tricks of history the investigator turned out to be a Democrat from Georgia and a member of a family that had once held slaves. When preliminary news of his appointment reached Hawaii, the Committee of Nine were apprehensive lest he report against them, but when his slave-holding status was revealed, they sighed with visible relief. "As a good Southerner he'll understand our problems," John Janders told the conspirators, and they all agreed.

But Whip Hoxworth, considering the matter carefully, judged: "We may be in for deep trouble. Since Cleveland's investigator comes from Georgia, he probably despises niggers."

"Of course he does," Janders agreed. "He'll see through these Hawaiians right away."

"I doubt it," Whip cautioned. "Granted that he hates niggers. As a sensible human being he'll try to compensate and prove that he doesn't hate other people with dark skins."

"Why would he do that?" Janders demanded.

"Don't ask me why!" Whip replied. "Just watch."

And when the investigator arrived he did exactly as Whip had predicted. Hating Negroes at home, he had to like Hawaiians abroad. It was a profound compulsion and it permitted him, a Georgia man, to understand the revolution better than any other American understood it at the time. He talked principally with Hawaiians, was bedazzled by the idea of speaking directly with a queen, became an ardent royalist, and suppressed evidence given by white men. His report to President Cleveland was a crushing rebuke to the sugar men; they had, he discovered, conspired with the American Minister to overthrow a duly constituted government; they had worked in league with the captain of an American vessel; they had deposed the queen against the will of the Hawaiian people; they had done all this for personal gain; and it was his opinion that Queen Liliuokalani, a virtuous woman, should be restored to her throne.

His report aroused such a storm in Washington that David Hale and Micah Whipple saw there was no hope of forcing the United States to accept Hawaii, and they returned to Honolulu with the glum prediction: "We will never become part of America while Grover Cleveland is President. His Secretary of State is already asking, 'Should not the

great wrong done to a feeble state by an abuse of the authority of the United States be undone by restoring the legitimate government? There's even talk of restoring the queen by force of American arms."

"What would happen to us?" members of the Committee asked.

"Since you're American subjects," a consular official explained, "you'd be arrested, hauled off to Washington, and tried for conspiring to overthrow a friendly power."

"Oh, no!" the conspirators protested. "We're Hawaiian subjects. Our citizenship is here."

September and October, 1893, were uneasy months in Hawaii, and Wild Whip's gang maintained power by only a nervous margin. Each arriving ship brought ominous news from Washington, where sentiment had swung strongly in favor of Queen Liliuokalani, and it was generally assumed that she would shortly be restored to power; but just before this was about to occur the obstinate woman committed an act so appalling to the Americans that she forever discredited the monarchy. What Wild Whip had been unable to gain for himself, the queen won for him.

Late in the year President Cleveland dispatched a second investigator to check upon the specific terms under which Liliuokalani should be returned to her throne, for as Cleveland pointed out, America never wished to profit from the misfortunes of her neighbors. The new investigator plunged the Committee of Nine into despair by announcing that the annexation of Hawaii by America was no longer even under discussion, whereupon he entered into formal discussions with the queen as to what steps she wanted America to take in restoring her crown.

No difficulties were encountered, and the investigator had to smile when the queen pointed out, "One of the charges made against us most often, sir, was that we were a small kingdom overly given to a love of luxurious display. To this charge I must plead guilty, because from the first our kings selected as their advisers men of the missionary group, and we found that no men on earth love panoply and richly caparisoned horses and bright uniforms and medals more than men who have long been dressed in New England homespun. I have four pictures here of state occasions. You see the men loaded with gold and medals. They aren't Hawaiians. They're Americans. They demanded the pomp of royalty, and we pampered them."

"Speaking of the Americans," the investigator asked, "what kind of amnesty will you provide for the revolutionists?"

"Amnesty?" Queen Liliuokalani asked, inclining her large and expressive head toward the American. "I don't understand."

"Amnesty," the investigator explained condescendingly. "It means . . ."

"I know what the word means," Liliuokalani interrupted. "But what does it mean in this circumstance?"

"Hawaii's undergone some unfortunate trouble. It's over. You're restored to your throne. President Cleveland assumes that you'll issue a proclamation of general amnesty. It's usually done."

"Amnesty!" the powerful queen repeated incredulously.

"If not amnesty, what did you have in mind?"

"Beheading, of course," the queen replied.

"What was that?"

"The rebels will have to be beheaded. It's the custom of the islands. He who acts against the throne is beheaded."

The American investigator gasped, then swallowed hard. "Your Excellency," he said, "are you aware that there are over sixty American citizens involved?"

"I did not know the number of traitors, and I do not think of them as Americans. They have always claimed to be Hawaiians, and they shall be beheaded."

"All sixty?" the investigator asked.

"Why not?" Liliuokalani asked.

"I think I had better report to President Cleveland," the perspiring investigator gulped, excusing himself from the august presence; and that night he wrote: "There are factors here which we may not have considered adequately in the past." After that there was no more talk of restoring the monarchy.

Activity Options

1. Acting as the investigator sent to Honolulu by President Cleveland, write up your report on the U.S. role in the revolution. Then share your report with classmates.
2. With a partner, role-play a conversation between a native Hawaiian and a sugar planter on the topic of Hawaii's political problems. Draw on information in this excerpt as well as in your textbook to prepare for your role.

CHAPTER
18

Section 2

AMERICAN LIVES **José Martí**
Poet, Patriot, Inspirational Leader

"It is my duty . . . to prevent, through the independence of Cuba, the U.S.A. from spreading over the West Indies and falling with added weight upon other lands of Our America. All I have done up to now and shall do hereafter is to that end. . . . I know the Monster, because I have lived in its lair."—José Martí, his last letter, written to a friend (1895)

José Martí (1853–1895) spent most of his brief life outside of Cuba, working for Cuba's independence from Spain. A writer and intellectual, he died in combat. A lover of freedom and democracy, he admired U.S. ideals but mistrusted its power and wealth.

Martí began his revolutionary activity when he was in his teens. Inflamed by his teacher with the desire for Cuban independence, he began publishing a newspaper called *La Patria Libre* ("Free Homeland") at age 16. He was arrested by Spanish officials and sent to prison. After six months of hard labor in a stone quarry, he was exiled to Spain. Only 18, he was forbidden to return to his country.

Martí studied law in a Spanish university and wrote essays, plays, and poems. His work was full of passion and politics. In 1875, he went to Mexico. Then, after a brief return to Cuba (in disguise, for his safety), he settled in Guatemala, married, and became a teacher and writer. His complete writings eventually filled 73 volumes.

Meanwhile, Cuban rebels were fighting for independence. The Spaniards finally won this ten-year war in 1878. They declared an amnesty, and Martí returned home. However, he continued his anti-Spanish activities, and he was exiled again.

By 1881, Martí had escaped to New York City, where he spent most of the rest of his life. He wrote a novel and more poems. He was hired as a diplomat by Uruguay—and later by Argentina and Paraguay as well. He wrote countless articles for newspapers, explaining Latin America to U.S. readers and explaining the United States to readers throughout Latin America. Most of all, he spent his time promoting the cause of Cuban independence from Spain. Many Cuban tobacco workers lived in Florida. Martí wrote to them and lectured to them, drumming up support for a rebellion. He convinced the workers to donate ten percent of their

wages to the cause. He gave lectures to other exiles, setting forth his goals for free Cuba: democracy, widespread education, tolerance between the races, and a varied economy that did not rely on the export of sugar.

He also pushed for Cuba's complete independence from the United States. Economic ties were increasingly linking the island to the United States. Many Cubans hoped that once free from Spanish control, they could join the United States. Martí admired democracy and freedom in the United States, which he called "the greatest [nation] ever built by freedom." However, he believed that capitalism and the growing spirit of imperialism threatened Cuba and all of Latin America. He feared the power of the nation he called "the Monster." His arguments helped convince other Cubans that full independence—not annexation—was the course to follow.

In 1892 Martí organized his supporters into the Cuban Revolutionary Party. He called for another armed rebellion against Spain. He contacted rebels in Cuba and urged them to prepare. He helped organize troops in the United States and elsewhere. In 1895, he announced that the war for independence had begun, and in April he landed in Cuba with a small force of men. On May 19, he was killed by Spanish soldiers in a brief battle. Cuban independence came three years later, and José Martí became a Cuban hero of mythic proportions. A statue of him is found even in New York City.

Questions

1. How did Martí contribute to the movement for Cuban independence?
2. What do Martí's goals for a free Cuba reveal about his thinking?
3. Why did Martí call the United States "the Monster"?

CHAPTER
18

Section 2

AMERICAN LIVES

William Randolph Hearst

Successful Publisher, Failed Politician

"[Newspapers are] the greatest force in civilization, . . . [able to] form and express public opinion, . . . suggest and control legislation, . . . declare wars, . . . punish criminals, . . . [and by representing the people] control the nation."
—William Randolph Hearst, editorial in the *New York Journal* (1898)

William Randolph Hearst built a great media empire. He published newspapers and magazines, created newsreels, broadcast radio shows, and made movies. However, he never achieved his goal of being a powerful politician.

Hearst (1863–1951) was born to a family made wealthy by owning western mines. He eventually went to Harvard College, where—before being expelled—he became interested in journalism. He persuaded his father to give him a family-owned newspaper, the *San Francisco Examiner*, to run. Hearst hired talented reporters, added new equipment, and printed sensational stories—anything to increase circulation. A letter revealed his view of journalism: "The modern editor of the popular journal does not care for facts. The editor wants novelty. The editor has no objections to facts if they are also novel. But he would prefer novelty that is not fact, to a fact that is not a novelty."

Soon Hearst had won: The *Examiner* had the largest circulation in the city. He determined to compete against Joseph Pulitzer and his *New York World* next. Hearst bought the *New York Journal* and then raided the *World's* staff by offering reporters twice what Pulitzer paid. At the same time, he cut the price of his paper from two cents to one—forcing Pulitzer to cut his price too. He printed sensational stories and promoted his paper constantly. He publicized murders and then sent reporters out to solve them. He used the paper to denounce the Spaniards for their actions in Cuba and to push President William McKinley to declare war. When war finally was declared, Hearst claimed full credit, calling it "the *Journal's* war." The paper's circulation went up.

Hearst added papers in other major cities, including Chicago, Los Angeles, and Boston. He bought magazines. Eventually he added radio stations, a newsreel company, and a film production company. Hearst used these media sources to promote his attempts to enter politics.

He joined the Democratic Party and began to

be a power behind the scenes. He used his papers to promote Democratic candidates—and to severely criticize President McKinley. After McKinley was assassinated, Hearst was criticized by many for having aroused hatred of McKinley.

In 1904, Hearst wanted to be the Democratic nominee for president. Largely by using his vast fortune, he secured more than 200 delegates but fell short of the number needed to win. Two years later, he came within 60,000 votes of winning election as governor of New York. He was defeated, in part, by a revival of the charge that his papers' attacks had contributed to the assassination of McKinley. Hearst next tried forming a third party, but the effort failed. He became so unpopular that, when newsreels produced by his company were shown in movie theaters, audiences hissed at his name on the screen.

Hearst returned to the Democrats but was never able to run for public office again. His last political act was to help secure the nomination of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932. Within a few years, though, he had turned against Roosevelt. His papers referred to the president's "New Deal" program as the "Raw Deal." Soon the Depression and Hearst's overspending cut into his fortune. He was forced to sell some of his properties. However, the prosperity of World War II brought back much of his publishing empire by 1945. After a heart seizure in 1947, he spent his remaining years largely as an invalid.

Questions

1. Evaluate Hearst's philosophy of journalism.
2. Hearst served two terms in the House of Representatives, but was not a successful legislator. What in his character would make him unsuitable to be an effective legislator?
3. Assess the timeliness of the opening quotation by Hearst. Is it as accurate in the 21st century as it was in the late 19th century?