

NINETEEN FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE

Objectives

A thorough study of Chapter Nineteen should enable the student to understand:

1. The nature of American party politics in the last third of the nineteenth century.
2. The problems of political patronage in the administrations of Rutherford B. Hayes, James A. Garfield, and Chester A. Arthur that led to the passage of the Pendleton Act.
3. The circumstances that permitted the Democrats to gain control of the presidency in the elections of 1884 and 1892.
4. The origins, purposes, and effectiveness of the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Antitrust Act.
5. The positions of the two major parties on the tariff question, and the actual trend of tariff legislation in the 1880s and 1890s.
6. The rise of agrarian discontent as manifested in the Granger movement, the Farmers' Alliances, and the Populist movement.
7. The rise of the silver question from the "Crime of '73" through the Gold Standard Act of 1900.
8. The significance of the presidential campaign and election of 1896.
9. The reasons for the decline of agrarian discontent after 1898.

Main Themes

1. How evenly balanced the Democratic and Republican parties were during the late nineteenth century and how this balance flowed from differing regional and sociocultural bases.
2. The inability of the political system and a limited national government to respond effectively to the nation's rapid social and economic changes.
3. How the troubled agrarian sector mounted a powerful but unsuccessful challenge to the new directions of American industrial capitalism, and how this confrontation came to a head during the crisis of the 1890s.

Glossary

1. **dark horse:** A political candidate who is not considered a front runner and whose victory would be surprising to most observers.
2. **cooperatives:** Business enterprises owned by members of an organization and operated for members' benefit and profit. Farmers hoped to avoid reliance on businessmen by forming their own cooperatives, but most of these enterprises failed.
3. **laissez-faire:** The theory that the economy functions best when it is free from governmental interference. In a strict laissez-faire system, the government neither helps nor hinders business, but many American businessmen who professed laissez-faire doctrines were happy to accept government aid in the form of protective tariffs and railroad subsidies.

Pertinent Questions

THE POLITICS OF EQUILIBRIUM (532-537)

1. How well balanced were the two major political parties between the Civil War and the turn of the century—especially from the mid-1870s to the early 1890s?
2. What role did politics play for the typical eligible voter of the late nineteenth century? How does that compare with the importance of politics in the life of the present-day voter?
3. What regional, religious, and ethnic factors distinguished the two major parties? Despite basic issue agreement, what culturally related issues tended to divide the parties?
4. Aside from its providing Civil War pensions and the postal service, how significant was the role of the national government in the late nineteenth century?
5. How did the patronage system lead to dominance of national politics by local and state political organizations and factions in the national parties? What was the impact on the presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes?
6. In what way was President James Garfield a martyr to civil service? How did Chester A. Arthur react?
7. How did the presidential election of 1888 differ from the typical fare of that period? What was the key issue, how did it become so, and what was the result?
8. What led to passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act? Why did it have so little impact?
9. What caused the significant Republican reverses in the 1890 and 1892 elections? What was the result of Cleveland's effort to lower tariffs after his reelection?
10. How was the demise of the Granger Laws related to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act? Why was the Interstate Commerce Commission so ineffectual?

THE AGRARIAN REVOLT (537-542)

11. Explain how the emphasis of the Grange gradually shifted. Why did the organization eventually fade in importance?
12. What was the vision of the Farmers' Alliance? What role did women play?
13. How did the Farmers' Alliance transform into the People's Party?
14. What kind of person was most attracted to Populism? What were the leaders like?
15. What were the basic elements of Populist ideology, and how were they reflected in the party's platform? Why did the movement fail to obtain significant labor support?

THE CRISIS OF THE 1890S (542-547)

16. What were the immediate and long-range causes of the Panic of 1893? How serious was the depression that followed?
 17. What developments after 1873 led to the coalition of farmers and miners on behalf of silver coinage? Why did "free silver" seem to be the answer?
- ### A CROSS OF GOLD (547-549)
18. Why did the gold-standard issue divide the Democratic Party?
 19. How did William Jennings Bryan win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1896, and how did his candidacy put the Populists in a dilemma?
 20. Describe the passions of the 1896 campaign. Where did Bryan do well? Why did he lose?
 21. How did President William McKinley handle the bimetallic question? What happened during his administration to help resolve the issue?

PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE: THE CHAUTAUQUUS (540-541)

22. Why was the Chautauque movement so popular at the turn of the century? What societal changes led to the movement's demise?
- WHERE HISTORIANS DISAGREE: POPULISM (544-545)**
23. To what extent have historians' own views about capitalism, democracy, and popular movements shaped their views about Populism?

Identification

Identify each of the following, and explain why it is important within the context of the chapter.

1. Civil War pensions
2. James G. Blaine
3. Pendleton Act
4. Benjamin Harrison
5. McKinley Tariff
6. Montgomery Ward & Co.
7. Mary Lease
8. Tom Watson
9. James B. Weaver
10. "Colored Alliances"
11. "Bourbons"
12. Coker's Army
13. specie
14. "Crime of 1873"
15. Currency/Gold Standard Act of 1900

Document 1

The tariff issue came to the fore in the election of 1888, with Grover Cleveland favoring lower rates. Read the following excerpt from President Cleveland's State of the Union message in December 1887. Also read the short excerpt from the Minority Report of the House Ways and Means Committee, in which the Republicans expressed their opposition to the Mills bills, which embodied many of Cleveland's tariff revision suggestions. Consider the following questions: How does the first part of the address reveal Cleveland's political philosophy? Is Cleveland's characterization of the protective tariff as a tax on consumers an accurate one? Although in another part of the speech Cleveland disclaims any support for completely "free trade," would that be the logical culmination of his ideas? The Republican Minority Report implies that American prosperity flowed from the protective tariff. Was this a valid claim?

You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demand immediate careful consideration.

The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share toward the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public Treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's tribute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding place of money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder. . . .

But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufacturers, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never used and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefore nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public Treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

* * *

The bill is a radical reversal of the tariff policy of the country, which for the most part has prevailed since the foundation of the Government, and under which we have made industrial and agricultural progress without a parallel in the world's history. If enacted into law it will disturb every branch of business, retard manufacturing and agricultural prosperity, and seriously impair our industrial independence.

William O. Stoddard, *Grover Cleveland* (New York: Stokes, 1888), pp. 248-250, 252-253.

Document 2

From the Farmer's Declaration of Independence of 1873 through the Omaha Demands of 1890 to the Populist Party's Omaha platform of 1892, the farmers of the South and West expressed their frustration with an increasingly industrial corporate society that they felt was leaving them behind. Read the selection below, which is taken from the Omaha platform, and consider the following questions: Were the Populist demands reasonable and rational responses to the problems facing the Populist constituency? What elements of socialism can be found in the Populist program? How was the platform designed as an attempt to broaden the appeal of Populism beyond farmers?

We declare, therefore—

First—That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual, may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Map Exercise
 Fill in or identify the following on the blank map provided. Use the map in the text as your source.

1. Using the maps in previous chapters, identify the Great Plains, the silver-mining regions, and the cotton-tobacco belt.
2. Fill in territories not yet states as of 1896.
3. Identify states carried by Bryan.



Interpretative Questions

Based on what you have filled in, answer the following. On some of the questions you will need to consult the narrative in your text for information or explanation.

1. Where was the Grange strongest? In what parts of the country did the Populist movement have the most impact? Why?
2. Why were the states carried by Bryan mainly those of the Great Plains, the silver-mining regions, and the cotton-tobacco belt? Why did he fail to make inroads in the Midwest and the Northeast?

Summary

Closely elections and shifting control of the White House and Congress characterized the politics of the period from 1876 to 1900. Regional, ethnic, and economic factors helped determine party affiliation, and elections often turned on considerations of personality. But there were real issues too. Tariff, currency, and civil-service questions arose in almost every national campaign and dominated key elections. Discontented farmers in the People's Party briefly challenged the Republicans and Democrats, but the two-party system remained intact.

Second.—Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civil labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third.—We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employes [sic].

FINANCE.—We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations; a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent, per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also, by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.
2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.
3. We demand a graduated income tax.
4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.
5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION.—Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph and telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transportation of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND.—The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens, should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

Omaha Platform of the Populist Party, 1892.

The election of 1896, the great battle between the gold standard and the silver standard, firmly established the Republican Party as the majority party in the United States. Agrarian and mining interests were unable to convince voters that currency inflation through the free coinage of silver would lead the nation out of the depression of the 1890s. By fusing with the Democrats, the Populists ended any chance they might have had to become a major force in American politics. By the end of the nineteenth century, business forces had triumphed. They had secured a gold-based currency and a rigorously protective tariff. Efforts to regulate railroads and trusts had been half-hearted to begin with and were weakened even further by court decisions.

Review Questions

These questions are to be answered with essays. This will allow you to explore relationships between individuals, events, and attitudes of the period under review.

1. What were the differences between the Republicans and the Democrats? To what extent did regional and ethnic differences translate into serious differences on the issues?
2. Compare and contrast the three major farm groups: the Grange, the Farmers' Alliances, and the Populists. Do you agree with the recent historians who believe that Populism was a reasonable and realistic response to agrarian grievances?
3. In a series of cases, including the *Wabash* case and *United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*, the United States Supreme Court severely restricted efforts to regulate business. What logic did the Court use in these and similar cases, and what effect did the decisions have on business?

Chapter Self Test

After you have read the chapter in the text and done the exercises in the Study Guide, take the following self test to see if you understand the material you have covered. Answers appear at the end of the Study Guide.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. A significant characteristic of American politics at the national level during the late nineteenth century was the:
 - a. development of a true multiparty system.
 - b. dominance of the Republican Party in popular support.
 - c. dominance of the Democratic Party in popular support.
 - d. nearly equal division of popular support for the Democratic and Republican parties.
2. In the late nineteenth century, which of the following groups would *least likely* vote Democratic?
 - a. Roman Catholics of immigrant origin
 - b. Protestant farmers of the South
 - c. unskilled wage earners
 - d. northern blacks

3. Before the passage of civil service-reform legislation, there were about 100,000 civilian federal government jobs to be filled by presidential appointment. Of these, the greatest percentage were in the:
 - a. post office.
 - b. Department of the Army.
 - c. attorney general's office.
 - d. Department of the Treasury.

4. Which of the following acts was passed to a considerable extent as a result of the assassination of Garfield?
 - a. the Mills Tariff Act
 - b. the Pendleton Civil Service Act
 - c. the Sherman Antitrust Act
 - d. the Dependent Pension Act

5. Which president served two nonconsecutive terms in office?
 - a. Rutherford B. Hayes
 - b. Benjamin Harrison
 - c. Grover Cleveland
 - d. William McKinley

6. The most significant issue in the presidential election of 1888 was:
 - a. civil service reform.
 - b. the Mulligan letters.
 - c. free silver.
 - d. the tariff.

7. Congress justified its passage of the Sherman Antitrust Act on the basis of its constitutional power to:
 - a. levy taxes.
 - b. promote the general welfare.
 - c. regulate interstate commerce.
 - d. forbid any business practice that impaired free competition or threatened the capitalist system.

8. What was the result of the 1892 national elections?
 - a. the House and Senate were controlled by different parties for the first time since the Civil War.
 - b. for the first time since the end of 1878 the Democratic Party controlled both houses of Congress and the presidency.
 - c. the Populists carried enough Congressional seats to prevent either party from having a majority.
 - d. the Supreme Court intervened to resolve an electoral vote dispute and awarded the presidency to Grover Cleveland.

16. In order to alleviate unemployment produced by the Panic of 1893, Jacob S. Coxey proposed:
- a new dependent pensions bill.
 - drafting the unemployed into the Army.
 - creating jobs by means of government public works programs.
 - a welfare program of unemployment compensation.
17. The expression "Crime of '73" refers to the:
- discontinuance of silver coinage.
 - adoption of a bimetallic standard.
 - inflation produced by the unlimited coinage of silver.
 - fixing of the ratio between silver and gold at 16 to 1.
18. The most important issue in the 1896 presidential campaign was:
- the tariff.
 - foreign policy.
 - the civil service.
 - the money question.
19. The significance of the "cross of gold" speech was that:
- it ended the "battle of the standards."
 - it inspired the Populists to oppose free silver.
 - it led to William Jennings Bryan's Democratic presidential nomination.
 - it helped persuade Congress to adopt the Gold Standard Act of 1900.
20. The issue of free coinage of silver rapidly declined in importance among farmers after 1896 partly because:
- farm prices began to rise.
 - farmers lost interest in politics.
 - tariff rates declined and imports increased.
 - voters became more knowledgeable about economic issues.

TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements "T" and false statements "F."

- Compared to today, a much higher percentage of eligible voters went to the polls in the late nineteenth century.
- In the late nineteenth century, the Republican Party was more likely than the Democratic to favor the restriction of immigration.
- Although most congressmen apparently expected the Sherman Antitrust Act to be mainly symbolic, the Supreme Court interpreted it very strictly and the Justice Department used it vigorously to prosecute monopolies.
- The Republican-sponsored high protective tariff of 1890 was popular with the voters and led to Republican control of both houses of Congress for the first time since the Civil War.
- The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was haphazardly enforced and narrowly interpreted by the courts so that it had little or no practical effect.
- The Grange was strongest in the Midwestern states.

9. The so-called Granger Laws were designed to regulate:
- child labor.
 - the export of farm crops.
 - railroad and warehouse rates.
 - minimum wages and maximum hours.
10. The Chautauqua movement represented the:
- aspirations of the urban poor to seek better environment.
 - thirst of many Americans for entertainment, education, and enlightenment.
 - coalition of bankers and industrial leaders to resist populist reforms.
 - emerging interest in using governmental action to end racial discrimination.
11. The company that emerged in the 1870s to provide goods to farmers via mail order was:
- R. H. Macy Company.
 - Bloomingtons, Inc.
 - F. W. Woolworth Ltd.
 - Montgomery Ward and Company.
12. During the 1860s and 1870s, the Grangers carried out three of the following activities. Which is the exception?
- They established cooperatives.
 - They forged a political coalition with organized labor.
 - They supported political candidates sympathetic to the farmers' needs.
 - They disseminated information about new scientific agricultural techniques.
13. One of the most important leaders of the Southern Farmers Alliance and People's Party was:
- Roscoe Conkling.
 - Marcus Hanna.
 - Tom Watson.
 - James G. Blaine.
14. The Populists in 1892 favored three of the following. Which is the exception?
- The direct election of senators.
 - The abolition of the graduated income tax.
 - Government ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs.
 - The establishment of "subtreasuries" that would advance loans against stored crops.
15. Three of the following were contributory causes of the Panic of 1893. Which is the exception?
- The tax policies of the federal government on big business.
 - Excessive capital investments, especially by railroads.
 - The loss of American markets abroad due to depressed conditions in Europe.
 - Weakened purchasing power of farmers due to depressed prices in agriculture.

7. The assassination of William McKinley by an office seeker provided impetus to the passage of the Pendleton Civil Service Act.
8. The Sherman Antitrust Act applied initially only to railroads.
9. The Farmers' Alliance organizations provided the foundation from which the Populist Party emerged.
10. Reflecting conservative rural values, the Farmers Alliance movement allowed no role for women and African Americans.
11. Many aged Civil War veterans of the Union army lived in severe poverty because of the lack of a widespread pension program.
12. Some southern white Populists sought to build political connections with black farmers, but the efforts did not prove lasting.
13. The Populists tried to build political connections with industrial workers but were generally unsuccessful in doing so.
14. Most industrialized nations of the world recognized both gold and silver as backing for their monetary systems.
15. In the 1896 election, William Jennings Bryan carried most of his votes from the farming areas of the Midwest and mid-Atlantic states.
16. The Chautauqua movement provided many reformers with a platform to spread their ideas to a wide audience.
17. James B. Weaver was the leader of the Stalwart faction of the Republican party.
18. Several influential Populist orators were women.
19. Increased gold production from new discoveries and improved techniques helped improve the U.S. economy around the turn of the century.
20. The Farmers' Alliance promoted the idea of having farmers form marketing cooperatives to eliminate the middleman.

TERMS, CONCEPTS, NAMES

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| "Half-breeds and Stalwarts" | Tom Watson | Interstate Commerce Act |
| Roscoe Conkling | "Free silver" | Populism |
| "Dark horse" | Ignatius Donnelly | "Bi-metalism" |
| James A. Garfield | Omaha Platform 1892 | "Crime of '73" |
| Chester A. Arthur | Paulie of 1893 | Sherman Silver Purchase Act |
| Pendleton Act | Coxey's Army | 1893 |
| James G. Blaine | "The money question" | William H. Harvey's <i>Coin's</i> |
| "Mugwumps" | "Thought the people support the Government, the Government should not support the people." | <i>Financial School</i> |
| "Rum, Romanism, rebellion" | Sherman Antitrust Act | Marcus A. Hanna |
| The Grange | McKinley Act | William Jennings Bryan |
| Oliver H. Kelley | James B. Weaver | "Cross of Gold" speech |
| "Farmers' Declaration of Independence" | Wilson | "Fusion" |
| Farmers' Alliances | Gorman Tariff | "Front-porch campaign" |
| Mary E. Lease | Granger Laws | Gold Standard Act 1900 |
| | | Dingley Tariff |

NINETEEN FROM CRISIS TO EMPIRE

Objectives

A thorough study of Chapter Twenty should enable the student to understand:

1. The new Manifest Destiny, and how it differed from the old Manifest Destiny.
2. The objectives of American foreign policy at the turn of the century with respect to Europe, Latin America, and Asia.
3. The variety of factors that motivated the United States to become imperialistic.
4. The relationship between American economic interests (especially tariff policy) and developments in Hawaii, Cuba, and Puerto Rico.
5. The causes of the Spanish-American War.
6. The military and political problems encountered in fighting the Spanish and, subsequently, the Filipinos.
7. The problems involved in developing a colonial administration for America's new empire.
8. The motives behind the Open Door notes and the Boxer intervention.
9. The nature of the military reforms carried out following the Spanish-American War.

Main Themes

1. Why Americans turned from the old continental concept of Manifest Destiny to a new worldwide expansionism.
2. How the Spanish-American War served as the catalyst to transform imperialist stirrings into a full-fledged empire.
3. How the nation had to make attitudinal, political, and military adjustments to its new role as a major world power.

Glossary

1. **Monroe Doctrine:** President James Monroe's declaration in 1823 that the Western Hemisphere was off limits to further European colonization and that the United States would consider any effort by the European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." This policy of opposing outside interference in Western Hemisphere affairs has been the enduring cornerstone of United States policy toward Latin America.
2. **filibustering:** The launching of invasions or attacks by private individuals organized as a military force. Anti-Spanish Cubans used the United States as a base for filibustering expeditions against the Spanish government of Cuba.

Pertinent Questions

STIRRINGS OF IMPERIALISM (554-559)

What intellectual, economic, philosophical, and racial factors helped create a new national mood more receptive to overseas expansionism?

2. Describe Alfred Thayer Mahan's thesis of national power. To what extent did the United States implement his ideas?
3. What were James G. Blaine's objectives in promoting a Pan-American cooperation? How successful were his efforts?
4. How did Hawaii gradually get drawn into America's economic and political sphere? What was the impact on the indigenous Hawaiian people?
5. How did the Venezuelan and Samoan incidents demonstrate that imperialism necessarily involved America in diplomatic maneuvers with European powers?

WAR WITH SPAIN (559-563)

6. What were the causes of American involvement in Cuban affairs? Could the United States have achieved its objectives by means short of war?
7. What two incidents combined to finally pull the United States into war with Spain? What were the broader motives that led the United States into the war?
8. Describe the American plans and preparations for the Spanish-American War. How effective was the effort?
9. Explain the importance of the action by the navy's Asiatic fleet. How did such action change the character of the war?
10. Explain how ground and sea forces combined for quick victory in Cuba. How intense was the Spanish resistance?
11. What role did African-American troops play in the United States' war effort? What social conflicts arose?
12. Describe the relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. What tensions emerged?
13. What arguments were raised for and against imperialism in general and annexation of the Philippines in particular? Why did annexation prevail?

THE REPUBLIC AS EMPIRE (568-571)

14. What forms of government did the United States establish for its newly obtained possessions other than Cuba? What particular challenges and conflicts did governing Cuba pose?
15. Were early American actions in the Philippines a repudiation of the ideals that had led the United States to help Cuba secure its independence? What happened in the longer run?
16. How was the Open Door policy calculated to provide maximum commercial and diplomatic advantage at minimum cost? What did the costs turn out to be?
17. Summarize the major military reforms instituted between 1900 and 1903. What were the problems that these changes were designed to solve?

AMERICA IN THE WORLD: IMPERIALISM (556-557)

18. How did the new imperialism of the Nineteenth Century differ from the older style empires?
 19. What were the justifications for imperialism put forth by its most ardent advocates?
 20. Briefly describe the British Empire. How did it influence American thinking?
- PATTERNS OF POPULAR CULTURE: YELLOW JOURNALISM (568-561)**
21. What was meant by "yellow journalism?" How was it spurred by the Spanish-American War? What was its legacy?

Identification

Identify each of the following, and explain why it is important within the context of the chapter.

1. Henry Cabot Lodge
2. Pan-American Union
3. Pearl Harbor
4. Queen Liliuokalani
5. "Butcher Weyer"
6. Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst
7. George Dewey
8. Rough Riders
9. Treaty of Paris
10. Election of 1900
11. Emilio Aguinaldo
12. Arthur MacArthur
13. William Howard Taft
14. John Hay
15. Boxer Rebellion
16. Elfin Root

Document 1

Read the section of the text under the heading "Stirrings of Imperialism." The selection below is taken from an article by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R-Mass.) in the March 1895 issue of *Forum* magazine. Then in the second of his more than thirty years in the Senate, Lodge criticized President Cleveland for his failure to annex Hawaii and stated his general position on American expansionism. Consider the following questions: What motives for imperialism are reflected in Lodge's article? How would Lodge's argument fit with that of Josiah Strong and the Social Darwinists? How much of Lodge's dream became reality during his long service in the Senate?

In the interests of our commerce and of our fullest development, we should build the Nicaragua Canal, and for the protection of that canal and for the sake of our commercial supremacy in the Pacific we should control the Hawaiian Islands and maintain our influence in Samoa. England has studied the West Indies with strong places which are a standing menace to our Atlantic seaboard. We should have among those islands at least one strong naval station, and when the Nicaragua Canal is built, the island of Cuba, still sparsely settled and of almost unbounded fertility, will become to us a necessity. Commerce follows the flag, and we should build up a navy strong enough to give protection to Americans in every quarter of the globe and sufficiently powerful to put our coast beyond the possibility of successful attack.

The tendency of modern times is toward consolidation. It is apparent in capital and labor alike, and it is also true of nations. Small states are of the past and have no future. The modern movement is all toward the concentration of people and territory into great nations and large dominions. The great nations are rapidly absorbing for their future expansion and their present defense all the waste places of the earth. It is a movement which makes for civilization and the advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march.

For more than thirty years we have been so much absorbed with grave domestic questions that we have had sight of these vast interests which lie just outside our borders. They ought to be neglected no longer. They are not only of material importance but they are matters which concern our greatness as a nation and our future as a great example. They appeal to our national honor and dignity and to the pride of country and of race.

Henry Cabot Lodge, *Forum*, March 1895.

Document 2

Read the passages of the text and the Patterns of Popular Culture section that discuss the "yellow press" of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Not all major newspapers engaged in such journalistic tactics. One of the nation's most conservative papers was the *New York Herald Tribune*. Although the *Herald Tribune* supported the Spanish-American War when it finally came, it consistently editorialized for peace. Staunchly Republican, the *Herald Tribune* supported McKinley's every move. After the de Lamoignon letter, the following editorials were written about two weeks before McKinley's war message. The *Herald Tribune* once again called for peace and then launched a blindingly satirical attack on its "yellow" competitors, the *New York World* and *New York Journal*. After reading the editorials, consider the following questions: Were the probabilities on the side of peace in early April 1898? Did the report on the sinking of the *Maine* satisfy the people? Does it appear that the *Herald Tribune* was jealous of the circulation gains made by its competitors? Were the excesses of the "yellow press" as extreme as the second editorial indicates?

The balance of probabilities is still on the side of peace. That is to be said with confidence, despite the alarmist rumors and truculent menaces so generally extant. Delay is making for peace by giving reason time to conquer passion. Men do not keep it white heat permanently. They either cool off or interconversion. Those who were loudest then see now that such action would have been a deplorable mistake. When Antonio Maceo was killed, men demanded war. But peace was kept, and with it the credit and honor of this Nation. When the *Maine* was destroyed indignation rose to fever pitch. But seven weeks have passed, and the peace is still unbroken. Again, the report on the *Maine* was to be the signal for hostilities. But it was not. It was a report that satisfied the American people. So did the message [from President McKinley] that accompanied it. And they are now a week old and there is no war. The chances are that, thus kept off week after week, the dreaded catastrophe will be altogether averted. . . . The honor and welfare of the Nation are safe in William McKinley's hands. It will be well to leave them there.

Not least of all, the outlook is still peaceful, and we trust increasingly so, because peace—so long as justice is supreme—is right, and war—unless justice and honor are at stake—is wrong.

It is to be feared that the exceedingly able and energetic manner in which the newspapers insisted with the National honor have conducted the war up to the present time may lead to overconfidence on the part of the seventy million American citizens who catch the newspapers on the fly as they come from the press and read them while they are hot. . . . If it isn't war, then we have been enjoying at the comparatively low price of twenty-four pages for a cent, then nothing is war, all the virtues have vanished, truth crumbled to earth under job type six inches deep cannot rise again. An error clad in the most gorgeous parts of the spewwriter's opulent vocabulary, instead of withering and dying, just stalks abroad with several bands in front of a procession of her worshippers.

War. Of course it's war. If it isn't war then the newspapers which have consented in the most self-sacrificing way to become the custodians of the National honor have been emitting lies at the rate of about a million a minute, and that is simply inconceivable. That is to say, it was inconceivable

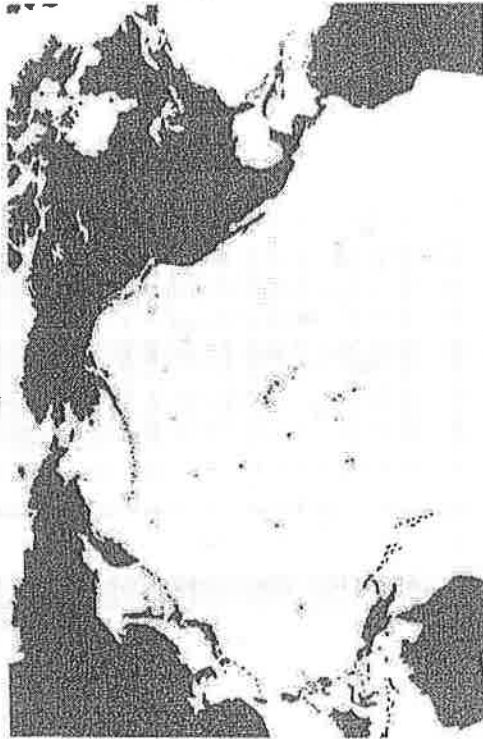
before the possibility of issuing and selling for cash a million newspapers a minute had been demonstrated by the actual affidavits of well-known votaries [devoted adherents] of the truth. . . . So as soon as the issue can be made plain to the American people, and the fact is established beyond a doubt that President McKinley has violated the unwritten law of the Republic which makes it obligatory upon him to declare war whenever any newspaper with a circulation of a million a minute demands it, this war will be concluded with the impeachment of McKinley and the general uprising of the outraged sentiment of the American people under Joseph Bailey of Texas against the Republican party.

New York Herald Tribune, 5 April 1898.

Map Exercise

Fill in or identify the following on the blank map provided. Use the map in the text as your source.

1. Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Samoa, Midway, Guam, the Philippines, and Alaska.
2. The area of the Venezuelan border dispute.
3. The area of the Chinese coast that was divided into European spheres of influence.



Summary

Turning its interest from the continental United States to the world at large, America in the years after the Civil War fought a war with Spain and acquired a far-flung empire. By 1900, American possessions included Alaska, Hawaii, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and a string of Pacific islands. In addition, Cuba was essentially an American protectorate. The nation was suddenly a world power with worldwide responsibilities and burdens. The empire had been acquired for economic and philosophical reasons. Expansionism could provide an outlet for a perceived glut of American goods and an arena in which to demonstrate the supposed superiority of Western civilization. To accommodate its new role, the nation had to devise ways to improve its military establishment and govern its overseas territories.

Review Questions

These questions are to be answered with essays. This will allow you to explore relationships between individuals, events, and attitudes of the period under review.

1. Compare and contrast the old and new concepts of the Manifest Destiny. Look especially at the economic, philosophical, cultural, and racial motives for overseas expansion. Were these factors at work in the older continental expansionism?
2. What hesitations and doubts about imperialism did Americans evince between 1865 and 1898? How did the Spanish-American War change all this?
3. Was the Spanish-American conflict indeed a "splendid little war"? What was splendid about it? What was sordid, racist, seamy, or ill-conceived?
4. What parallels can be drawn between America's imperial aspirations and actions and the way white Americans dealt with the American Indian?

Chapter Self-Test

After you have read the chapter in the text and done the exercises in the Study Guide, take the following self test to see if you understand the material you have covered. Answers appear at the end of the Study Guide.

MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Circle the letter of the response that best answers the question or completes the statement.

1. The new Manifest Destiny of the 1890s differed from traditional American expansionism in that the territories acquired in the 1890s were:
 - a. not likely to become states.
 - b. not contiguous with existing states or territories.
 - c. not considered suitable for massive American settlement.
 - d. all of the above.
2. The text lists three factors that contributed directly or indirectly to the development of the new Manifest Destiny at the turn of the century. Which of the following is *not* one of the three?
 - a. The depression of 1893.
 - b. The concept of the closing of the frontier.
 - c. The declining volume of American foreign trade.
 - d. The Populist movement and other class protests.

3. Alfred Thayer Mahan was significant to the development of American imperialism through his writings on:
- sea power.
 - Social Darwinism.
 - Christian Missions.
 - dialectical materialism.
4. As a result of the naval building program begun in the 1870s, by 1900 the U.S. Navy was:
- the most powerful in the world.
 - the third most powerful in the world.
 - the tenth most powerful in the world.
 - actually weaker than in 1880 because of corruption in spending naval appropriations.
5. Which of the following was *not* a result of increasing American influence in the Hawaiian Islands beginning in the 1830s?
- The native population declined significantly due to disease.
 - Native religion was undermined by Christian missionaries.
 - Asian immigrants were prevented from residing in Hawaii.
 - American sugar plantations dominated the economy.
6. In 1893, a revolution in Hawaii overthrew the government of Queen Liliuokalani. This revolution was instigated mainly by:
- Spanish imperialists.
 - native inhabitants of Hawaii.
 - Asian immigrants to Hawaii.
 - American plantation interests.
7. President Grover Cleveland's reaction to the revolution in Hawaii that overthrew Queen Liliuokalani was to:
- invoke the Monroe Doctrine.
 - send in the marines to protect the United States investment.
 - urge immediate annexation of the islands by the United States.
 - do none of the above.
8. Three of the following were competitors for control of the Samoan Islands in the 1880s and 1890s. Which is the *exception*?
- Germany
 - Great Britain
 - Japan
 - United States
9. The Wilson-Gorman tariff of 1894 had disastrous effects on the economy of Cuba because of its very high duties on:
- rum.
 - cotton.
 - tobacco.
 - sugar.
10. The expression "yellow journalism" refers to the newspapers that emphasized:
- unwavering loyalty to the Democratic Party in the South.
 - pacifism in foreign affairs.
 - lurid and sensational news.
 - the dangers of Oriental immigration.
11. Which of the following newspaper publishers were accused of using "yellow journalism" in their coverage of the trouble in Cuba in the 1890s? (Mark *two* letters.)
- William Randolph Hearst.
 - Josiah Strong.
 - Valentino Weyer.
 - Joseph Pulitzer.
12. The de Lôme letter had the effect of:
- discrediting the McKinley administration in U.S. eyes.
 - worsening United States-Spanish relations.
 - exposing United States imperialistic ambitions.
 - temporarily improving United States-Spanish relations.
13. Commodore George Dewey was noteworthy to the Spanish-American War for:
- capturing Puerto Rico.
 - sinking the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay.
 - sinking the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor.
 - preventing Spanish reinforcements from reaching Cuba.
14. American preparation and mobilization for the military operations against Cuba in 1898 may most accurately be described or characterized as:
- remarkably inefficient and incompetent.
 - adequate, but lacking in popular enthusiasm and support.
 - remarkably quick and efficient in spite of poor planning and leadership.
 - highly professional, well-organized, and efficient in both planning and execution.
15. The use of African-American troops in the United States Army during the Spanish-American War had the effect of:
- leading to the complete desegregation of the United States military.
 - promoting a significant, if temporary, wave of racial unity throughout the nation.
 - arousing racial tensions among troops and with communities around posts, especially in several southern states.
 - none of the above, for there were no African American troops in the United States military at this time.
16. In addition to waging military expeditions against the Spanish in Cuba and the Philippines, the United States invaded:
- Morocco.
 - Barcelona.
 - Puerto Rico.
 - El Salvador.

10. The largest ground-forces encounter of the Spanish-American War actually took place in the Dominican Republic.
11. Emilio Aguinaldo was the principal leader of the Cuban nationalists until he died in a Spanish detention camp prior to American intervention.
12. A provision was incorporated into Cuba's constitution that gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuba to preserve independence, life, and property.
13. Whereas the Spanish-American War lasted only about three and a half months, the American effort to suppress the subsequent Filipino insurrection lasted more than three years.
14. Because of the publicity that had accompanied Spanish atrocities in Cuba, the U.S. Army carefully avoided harsh tactics in the Philippine War.
15. William Howard Taft acquired his initial national reputation as the commander of the "Rough Rider" regiment.
16. The victory of William McKinley over William Jennings Bryan in the 1900 presidential election can be interpreted as a national endorsement of America's imperialism.
17. U.S. troops intervened in Cuba and occupied key parts of the island on occasion between 1900 and World War I.
18. The U.S. governors of the Philippine colony gave the Filipinos broad local autonomy and oversaw significant development of roads, schools, and the like.
19. As secretary of state, John Hay encouraged western nations and Japan to respect each others' spheres of influence in China and to allow all nations equal access to trade in their spheres.
20. The so-called Open Door policy was designed to protect American interests in Panama, in particular, and Central America, in general.

17. The Treaty of Paris of 1898, which ended the Spanish-American War, provided for Spain to transfer to the United States three of the following. Which is the *exception*?
 - a. Guam.
 - b. Virgin Islands
 - c. Philippines.
 - d. Puerto Rico.
18. The most serious issue in the debate over ratification of the Treaty of Paris of 1898 was:
 - a. the status of the Philippines.
 - b. political rights of Puerto Rican natives.
 - c. American commercial rights in Cuba.
 - d. the sum of money to be paid by Spain to the United States.
19. The motive of the United States in contributing troops to the rescue of the besieged diplomats during the Boxer Rebellion was to:
 - a. punish China.
 - b. demonstrate American power to the Europeans.
 - c. gain a foothold in China for an American sphere of influence.
 - d. have a voice in the final settlement and prevent the dismemberment of China.
20. The reforms of Eilhu Root in the period between 1900 and 1903 were significant in:
 - a. improving the federal bureaucracy.
 - b. modernizing the United States Army.
 - c. curbing monopolistic business practices.
 - d. cleaning up corruption in the Navy Department.

TRUE-FALSE QUESTIONS

Read each statement carefully. Mark true statements "T" and false statements "F."

1. Some influential writers supported American imperialism on the grounds that white Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic peoples were destined to dominate portions of the world occupied mainly by the darker-skinned races.
2. The United States helped organize the Pan-American Union.
3. In the 1895 dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, the United States' position was favorable to Great Britain.
4. In the 1890s Senator Henry Cabot Lodge led the isolationist faction of Congress that argued that the United States should not have any significant interests beyond the nation's existing borders.
5. The American attack on the Spanish fleet at Manila resulted in the most difficult and bloodiest engagement of the Spanish-American War.
6. The United States fought a brief naval war with Great Britain over access to trade in Jamaica and the Bahamas.
7. By 1895 almost all the population of Hawaii's main islands was of European ancestry.
8. The main commodity of trade between the United States and Cuba was cotton.
9. The Spanish-American War was called the "splendid little war" because military plans and arrangements went smoothly and efficiently even though there was diplomatic controversy.

TERMS, CONCEPTS, NAMES

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| New Manifest Destiny | John Hay, Open Door | "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war." |
| Albert J. Beveridge | Theodore Roosevelt as Secretary of the Navy | De Lome letter |
| Henry Cabot Lodge | Commodore Dewey | "Remember the Maine" |
| Josiah Strong: <i>Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis</i> | Rough Riders | "A splendid little war" |
| Alfred Thayer Mahan: <i>The Influence of Sea Power on History</i> | Treaty of Paris | Anti-Imperialist League |
| James G. Blaine | Pearl Harbor | General Leonard Wood |
| First Pan-American Congress | Queen Lilioukalani | Platt Amendment |
| Venezuelan Boundary Dispute | Samoan Islands | Emilio Aguinaldo |
| | "Butcher Wegler" | William Howard Taft |
| | Yellow Journalism | Open Door Notes |
| | Boxer Rebellion | |

