

CHAPTER 14

Overseas Expansion and World War I

Since colonial times, Americans had been pushing westward into new territories. Crossing the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi Valley, they reached the Pacific in the 1840s. Then they settled the last frontier—the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain region. By the late 19th century, Americans began to show interest in lands beyond their borders.

ACQUIRING NEW TERRITORIES

The first land acquired after the Civil War was Alaska. Since 1741, it had belonged to Russia, which was more interested in it for its fur trade than as a territory to settle. Finding Alaska of little value and fearing that Great Britain might seize it in case of war, Russia offered to sell it to the United States. Secretary of State William H. Seward arranged the purchase in 1867 for \$7.2 million. Alaska was one-fifth the size of the rest of the United States and had relatively few inhabitants. Many Americans of the 1860s were not interested in gaining far-away territories. They considered Alaska worthless, calling it "Seward's Folly."

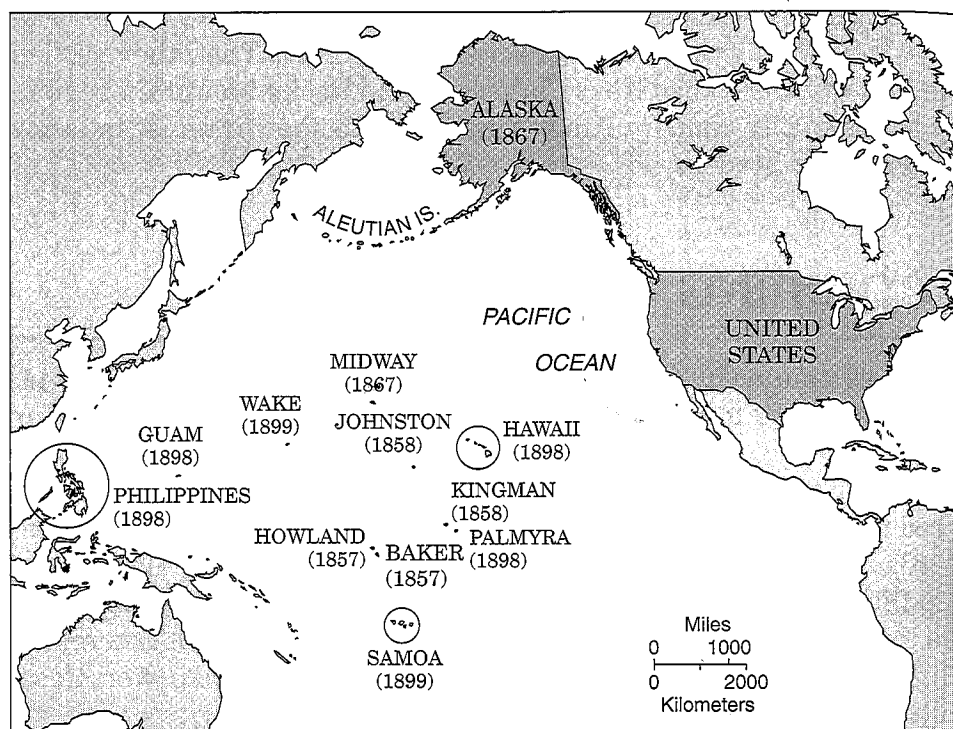
1. Increased Interest in Expansion. Toward the close of the 19th century, American views on overseas expansion changed. As the output of U.S. factories increased, industrialists wanted to export their products to new markets abroad. They also needed to import such raw materials as rubber and tin. Businesspeople wished to take advantage of investment opportunities overseas. American farmers sought foreign markets for their surplus crops. And Christian missionaries sought new converts.

The practice of acquiring foreign territories, or of gaining political or economic control over such areas, is called *imperialism*. In the 1870s, Britain, France, and other European nations had begun to scramble for territory and influence in Africa. Some Americans wondered why the United States did not seek foreign colonies as well.

One of the most influential advocates of American imperialism was Alfred Thayer Mahan, a naval officer and historian. In his book

The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660–1783, Mahan said that sea power was the key to the rise of all great nations. In his view, the mark of a great nation was not only a powerful navy but also colonial possessions, overseas bases, and *coaling stations* (harbors where steamships could refuel).

U.S. Possessions in the Pacific, 1899



2. Hawaii. Starting in 1820, American missionaries began to go to Hawaii to teach Christianity, set up schools, and train native teachers. American merchant ships en route to China stopped at the islands for supplies. Fishing vessels used Hawaii as headquarters for whaling operations. Later, other Americans developed sugar and pineapple plantations there. And in 1887, the United States obtained the right to build a naval base at Pearl Harbor.

By the late 1800s, two-thirds of Hawaii was under the control of Americans or the U.S. Navy. In 1891, Queen Liliuokalani came to power. She took steps to reduce U.S. influence in the islands. In response, American planters led by Sanford Dole staged a revolt. They overthrew the queen and set up a new government in 1893. This

group's request to Congress for annexation of the islands was denied at first. In 1898, though, Congress approved annexation.

3. Other Pacific Outposts. Americans also gained control over other Pacific islands, some 50 in all. Midway Island, for example, was occupied by U.S. troops in 1867. In 1898, the United States and Germany divided the Samoan Islands between them.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

A turning point in U.S. expansionism was a war with Spain in 1898.

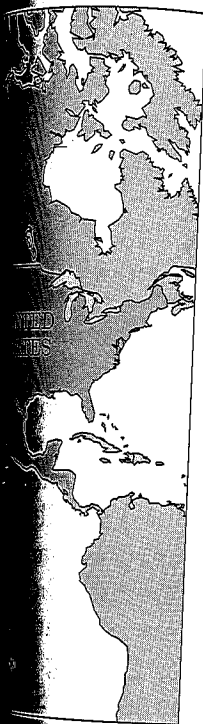
1. Trouble in Cuba. The Cubans had rebelled against Spanish rule early in the 19th century. At that time, the United States had shown little interest. But when they rebelled again in 1895, the United States was eager to prove itself a world power. Then, too, newspaper publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst had aroused the public's sympathy for the Cuban rebels. To boost circulation, they filled their papers with tales of Spanish atrocities in Cuba. Some of these accounts were accurate, but many others were exaggerated or untrue.

Although sympathetic to the Cubans, Americans did not want war. President Cleveland strongly supported neutrality. But in February 1898, Hearst's *New York Journal* published a secret letter in which a Spanish diplomat in Washington described President McKinley as weak. A week later, the U.S. battleship *Maine* mysteriously exploded in the harbor of Havana, Cuba. The ship had sailed to Cuba to protect American lives and property there. Americans blamed Spain for the disaster. To this day, no one knows who sank the *Maine*.

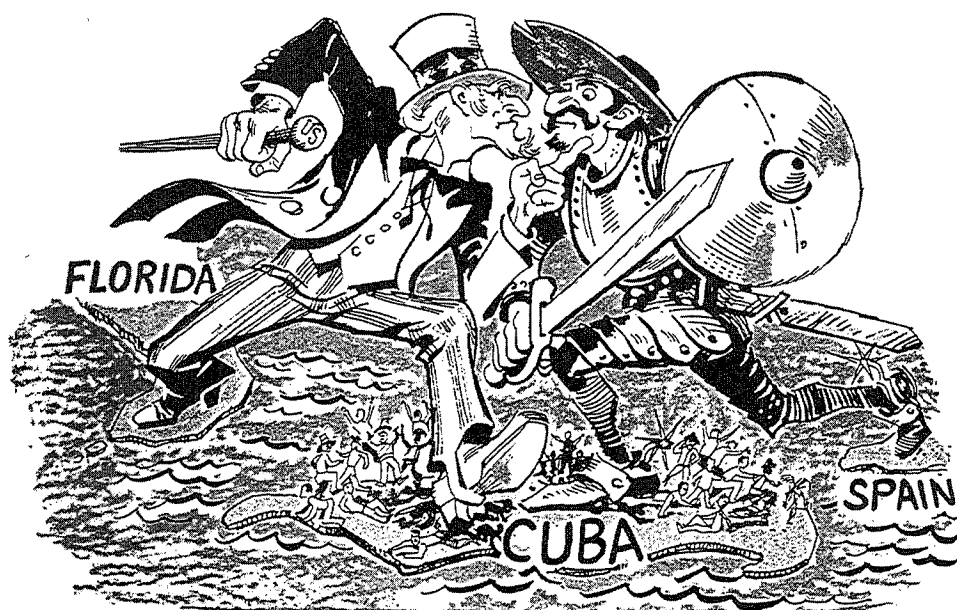
"Remember the *Maine*!" became the slogan of the day, as Congress and the public clamored for war. Although McKinley personally opposed such a move, he responded to the outcry by asking Congress to approve U.S. intervention in Cuba. On April 20, Congress adopted a resolution recognizing Cuban independence and authorizing the president to use force to drive the Spanish from the island. A few days later, both Spain and the United States issued formal declarations of war against each other.

2. Conflict in Two Hemispheres. The Spanish-American War (1898) was brief and decisive. Since the key battles of the war were

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naval engagements and the Spanish were unable to match the Americans in sea power, Spain was easily defeated.

a. The Pacific. The first fighting took place halfway around the world from Cuba, in the Philippines. George Dewey, commander of the U.S. Navy in the Pacific, had been ordered to attack Spain's naval forces there in case of war. Immediately after war was declared, he headed for Manila Bay, where a Spanish fleet was stationed. On May 1, Dewey's squadron destroyed or captured all the Spanish ships and blockaded the city of Manila. After the arrival of U.S. troops in the summer of 1898, Manila fell and the Spanish land forces in the Philippines surrendered.

b. The Caribbean. Meanwhile, in mid-May, a U.S. naval squadron blockaded a Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor, Cuba. U.S. troops landed in Cuba in June and marched on the city of Santiago. By early July, they had captured two strategic heights overlooking the city. The Battle of San Juan Hill was noted for the exploits of a young New Yorker named Theodore Roosevelt. The Rough Riders—a volunteer cavalry regiment that he had organized and led—distinguished themselves in the engagement and won national acclaim.

During the U.S. siege of Santiago, the Spanish fleet tried to escape from the harbor. In the sea battle that followed, the entire Spanish fleet was destroyed. Santiago surrendered, and Spanish resistance in Cuba collapsed. At about the same time, another U.S. force invaded Spanish-held Puerto Rico. The troops soon occupied

the island. The conflict ended in August 1898, when Spain asked for peace.

3. Results of the War. The Spanish-American War cost the United States some \$250 million and about 5,000 lives. But in return, the United States gained a strong position of influence in the Caribbean. The peace treaty, signed in December 1898, provided for the independence of Cuba. But Cuba remained under U.S. protection for more than 30 years. The United States gained Puerto Rico and the small Pacific island of Guam. Spain was reluctant to cede the Philippines but did so when the United States offered \$20 million for it.

When the war ended, some Americans opposed the idea of taking possession of the Philippines. Opponents of imperialism in the U.S. Senate argued that U.S. rule over others was not in the nation's democratic tradition. They also pointed out that it would be foolish to assume responsibility for a foreign people living 7,000 miles west of California. By contrast, expansionists stressed the economic and strategic importance of the Philippines to the United States. McKinley supported the expansionist position, declaring that Americans had a duty to "educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them." The expansionists won when the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty with Spain.

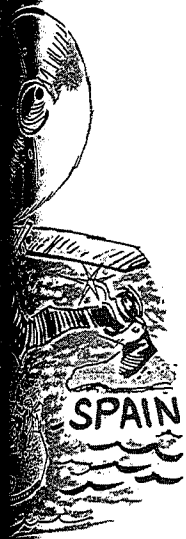
IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Seward's Folly, imperialism, Alfred Thayer Mahan, Sanford Dole, George Dewey, Rough Riders.

CRITICAL THINKING: Summarize the arguments pro and con U.S. acquisition of the Philippines in 1898. Which side do you think was right? Why?

EXTENDING U.S. POWER

The United States' growing colonial empire led to problems. The nation had to increase military spending and become more involved in foreign affairs. It also had to find ways of dealing justly with colonial peoples, many of them with different cultures.

1. The Philippines. Many Filipinos wanted to be independent after Spain was defeated. Early in 1899, Filipinos led by Emilio Aguinaldo began a campaign of guerrilla warfare against the United States. U.S. forces fought the guerrillas for three years before suppressing



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the rebellion. The United States ruled the Philippines until the 1940s. William Howard Taft served as its first governor, from 1901 to 1904.

2. China. After acquiring the Philippines, the United States became more involved in Asian affairs.

a. Spheres of influence. China had long resisted foreign influences. By the late 19th century, however, the country had little military power to back up its policy of isolationism. China was helpless to resist the great powers—among them Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. All these countries were carving out their own *spheres of influence*—areas where they could dominate trade and the exploitation of economic resources.

b. Open Door Policy. Since colonial times, American merchants had carried on a brisk trade with the Chinese. American business leaders now hoped to expand their activities in the East Asia. But they were at a disadvantage in those areas where other foreign countries had special commercial privileges.

To protect U.S. interests, Secretary of State John Hay made a proposal in 1899 to six of the great powers. He asked them to agree to an *Open Door Policy* in China. What he meant was that all nations should have equal trading rights in the various spheres of influence. The six countries' replies were evasive, but he decided to treat their lack of opposition as consent. In 1900, Hay announced that all the leading powers had accepted the Open Door Policy.

c. Boxer Rebellion. In 1900, a group of Chinese patriots called "Boxers" organized a revolt. Their purpose was to drive the "foreign devils" from China. The Boxers killed more than 200 foreigners, destroyed foreign property, and laid siege to foreign settlements in the capital city of Peking (Beijing). In response, the great powers raised an international army to put down the Boxer Rebellion. The army included some 2,500 Americans.

The United States feared that the other powers would use the rebellion as an excuse to seize more Chinese territory. Hay stated that the United States opposed the creation of further spheres of influence in China. He proposed that, instead, the Open Door Policy should be extended to cover the whole country. The other powers agreed. But first, they forced China to pay a large *indemnity* (fine) for foreign losses during the rebellion.

3. Japan. Like the Chinese, the Japanese had kept foreigners out of their country for centuries. The United States opened Japan to trade by sending a naval expedition to Tokyo led by Matthew C. Perry. Com-

modore Perry arranged a treaty of friendship with the Japanese emperor in 1854.

Unlike the Chinese, the Japanese decided to modernize their country. They industrialized and built a strong army and navy. Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. With this victory, Japan gained the island of Formosa (Taiwan) and a sphere of influence in Korea. Japan annexed Korea in 1910.

Japan also defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. Japan then asked U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt to help negotiate a peace treaty. Roosevelt won a Nobel Peace Prize for his work in arranging the Treaty of Portsmouth. But both the Japanese and the Russians accused the United States of favoring the other.

4. Intervention in Latin America. After the Spanish-American War, the United States had greater responsibilities in Latin America, especially in the Caribbean area.

a. Cuba. At the beginning of the war, the United States had stated that it would withdraw from Cuba when independence was won. U.S. military forces, however, occupied the island until 1902, when it became a republic. Even then, the Platt Amendment to the new Cuban constitution limited Cuba's independence. It authorized the United States to establish naval bases in Cuba. It also gave the United States the right to take action if Cuban law and order or independence were threatened. In the next 20 years, the United States intervened in Cuban affairs twice.

b. Puerto Rico. When Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States, the island was at first placed under military rule. Then in 1900 it became an unorganized U.S. territory. Congress authorized the U.S. president to appoint a civilian governor and an upper legislative house. A lower house would be elected by the people of Puerto Rico. In 1917, Congress (1) granted Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship, (2) made the upper house of the legislature an elective body, and (3) changed the island's status to that of an organized territory of the United States.

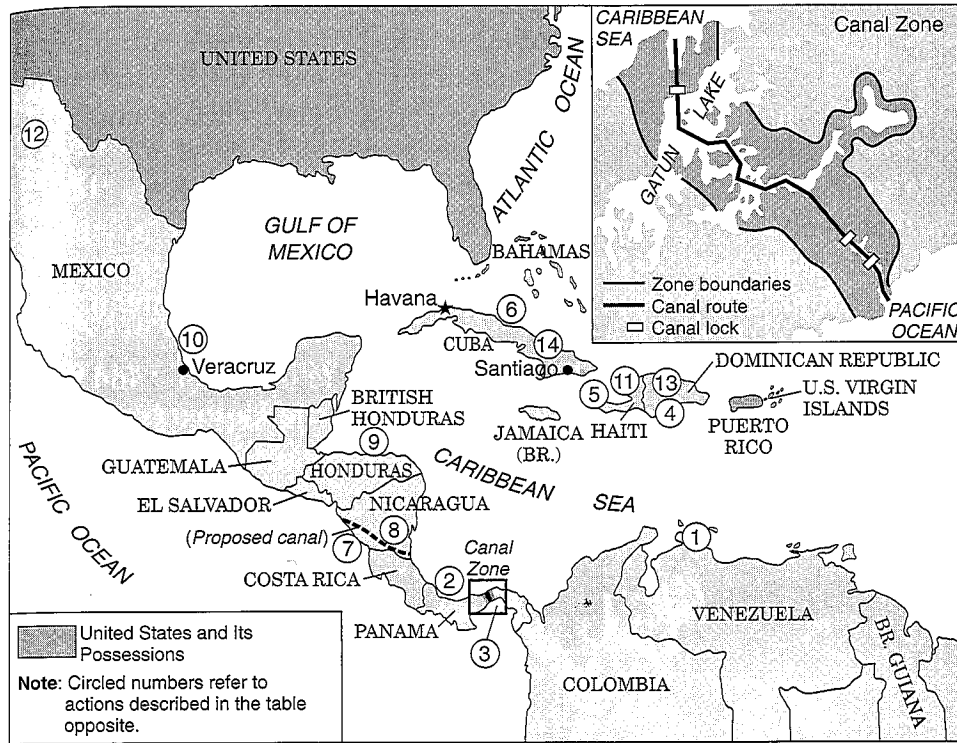
c. Venezuela. Events in Venezuela led to further United States involvement in the Caribbean area. Venezuela was unable to pay its debts to European investors. Seeking repayment, Britain, Germany, and Italy blockaded Venezuela in 1902, bombarded several of its ports, and sank some of its naval vessels. President Theodore Roosevelt strongly criticized these European actions. The matter was then settled by peaceful arbitration.

U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean Region, 1902-1941

<i>Map Code</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>U.S. Action</i>
①	1902	Venezuela	Warning to European powers to stop interference
②	1903	Panama	Support of revolution to gain independence from Colombia
③	1904	Canal Zone	Beginning of U.S. control
④	1905-1941	Dominican Republic	Supervision of finances
⑤	1905-1941	Haiti	Supervision of finances
⑥	1906-1909	Cuba	Military occupation to supervise voting reforms and election
⑦	1911-1914	Nicaragua	Supervision of finances
⑧	1912-1933	Nicaragua	Military occupation to maintain order
⑨	1912	Honduras	Landing of marines to protect U.S. property
⑩	1914	Mexico	Occupation of Veracruz to prevent unloading of foreign arms
⑪	1915-1934	Haiti	Military occupation to support U.S. protectorate
⑫	1916-1917	Mexico	Dispatch of troops to pursue Pancho Villa
⑬	1916-1924	Dominican Republic	Military occupation to maintain peace
⑭	1917-1922	Cuba	Military occupation to end revolt and maintain peace

d. Roosevelt Corollary. The possibility of further European interference still worried Roosevelt. In 1904, it seemed likely that the Dominican Republic too would be unable to pay its foreign debts. In his annual message to Congress, Roosevelt stated that the United States might have to intervene in the Western Hemisphere "in flagrant cases of . . . wrongdoing or impotence" and exercise "an international police power." This announcement became known as the *Roosevelt Corollary* to the Monroe Doctrine. The United States did take over the management of Dominican finances in 1905. During the next three decades, the United States was closely involved in the internal affairs of several other Caribbean countries as well.

U.S. Involvement in the Caribbean Region



THE PANAMA CANAL

For a long time, there had been great interest in digging a canal across Central America to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In 1881, a private French company started to construct such a canal across Panama, a province of Colombia. After seven years, however, the French company failed due to lack of funds and the deaths of workers from tropical diseases.

The United States realized that a canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans would shorten the water route from New York to San Francisco by some 8,000 miles. The waterway's usefulness was even more apparent after the United States became involved in the Spanish-American War. One U.S. battleship stationed in California had to sail all the way around South America to reach the fighting in Cuba.

In 1902, another French company offered to sell the property and canal rights in Panama to the United States for \$40 million. Congress authorized President Roosevelt to accept the offer, with one condition. Colombia had to agree to U.S. control of the region

through which the canal passed. Such a treaty was negotiated in 1903. The United States agreed to pay Colombia \$10 million in cash and \$250,000 in yearly rent. But then the Colombian Senate, hoping for better terms, refused to ratify the treaty. Both Roosevelt and the Panamanians were angry. The Panamanians wanted the canal to be built in Panama, and feared that the United States might switch to another route across Nicaragua.

A group of Panamanians decided to revolt. After secretly obtaining Roosevelt's pledge of support, they proclaimed their independence from Colombia. The revolution was successful largely because U.S. warships and marines prevented the entry of Colombian military forces into Panama.

The United States quickly recognized the new republic and drew up the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. It granted the United States full and permanent control over a strip of land 10 miles wide—the Canal



HELD UP THE WRONG MAN

Zone—through which a canal would be built. The United States guaranteed the independence of Panama and agreed to pay \$10 million for the Canal Zone and an annual rent of \$250,000. In 1921, the United States paid Colombia \$25 million for the loss of its Panamanian province.

It took more than 40,000 workers to complete the 50-mile canal, at a cost of some \$335 million. The Panama Canal opened to traffic in 1914. Before long, it became one of the great crossroads of the world.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Emilio Aguinaldo, sphere of influence, Open Door Policy, Boxers, Roosevelt Corollary.

CRITICAL THINKING: Why did the United States want to construct a canal across Central America?

THE EUROPEAN CONFLICT

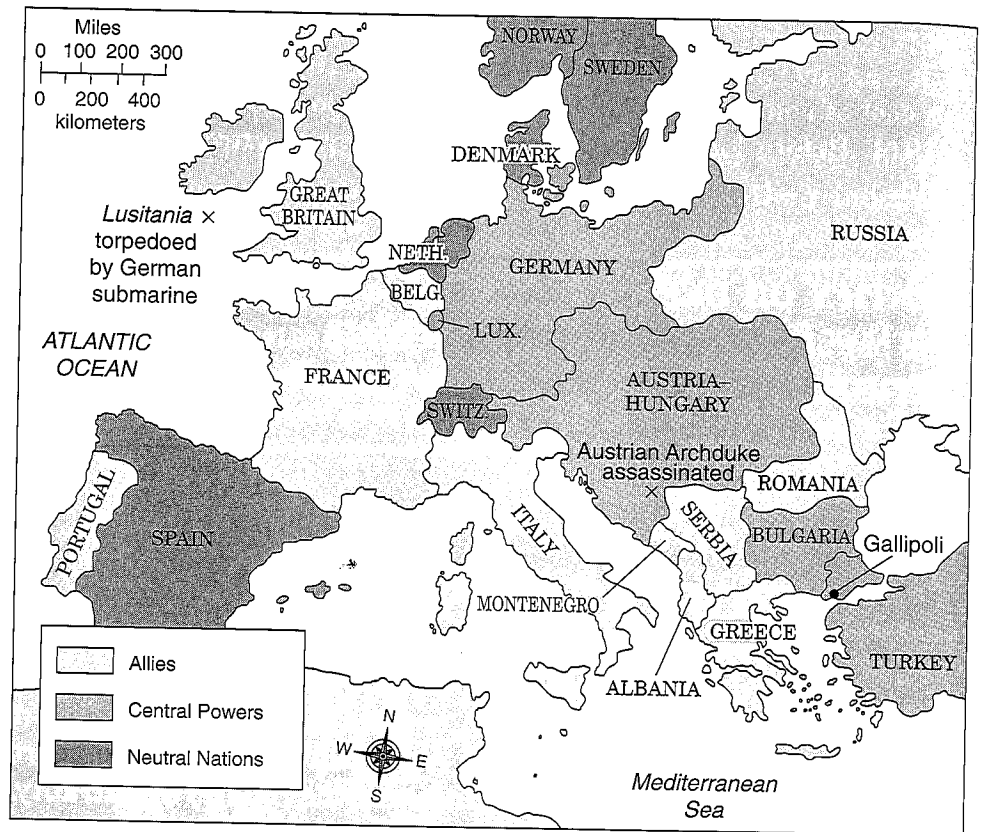
In the presidential election of 1916, Wilson campaigned and won on the theme “He kept us out of war.” A terrible conflict had broken out in Europe two years earlier, in 1914. Americans still wanted no part of it. Wilson won supporters by maintaining the country’s neutrality.

1. The Outbreak of War. World War I had started in 1914 soon after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It took place on June 28 in the town of Sarajevo. The assassin belonged to a terrorist organization that wanted to bring southern Slavs in Austria-Hungary under Serbian rule. Blaming Serbia for the assassination, Austria-Hungary sent the Serbian government a list of harsh demands. Dissatisfied with Serbia’s response, Austria-Hungary declared war.

Two alliance systems came into play. Russia, feeling close to fellow Slavic country Serbia, came to Serbia’s defense. Soon, Russia’s allies, Britain and France, joined Russia’s side, while Austria-Hungary’s ally, Germany, went to war against Russia, France, and Britain. By mid-August 1914, war was widespread. One side, the *Central Powers*, consisted of Germany and Austria-Hungary. They were eventually joined by the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) and Bulgaria. The other side, the *Allies*, included Britain, France, Russia, and a number of smaller countries.

READING A MAP

Allies and Central Powers, 1915



1. Which powers in 1915 were called the Central Powers?
2. Which other countries belonged to the Central Powers?
3. Which powers in 1915 were called the Allies?
4. Which countries were neutral?

The conflict, which involved millions of people, was called the Great War. (It became known as World War I only after a second worldwide conflict broke out in 1939.) The Central Powers fought the Allies on three main fronts. One was in the east, along the Russian border. Another was in the south, along the Italian border. The third front was in the west, in Belgium and northern France.

The new techniques of warfare—machine guns, poison gas, submarines, and tanks—caused vast destruction on both sides. The

result was a stalemate, particularly on the Western Front. Here, the opposing armies, occupying huge networks of rat-infested trenches, faced each other across "no-man's-land." Time after time, one side or the other would try to take an enemy position. Thousands of lives were lost as soldiers fought to gain a few hundred feet of ground.

2. American Neutrality. Although Wilson had issued a proclamation urging Americans to be neutral, he and the majority of Americans sympathized with the Allies. There were several reasons:

a. Submarine warfare. The United States supplied the Allies with needed goods and equipment and loaned them millions of dollars. In retaliation, the Germans launched *U-boat* (submarine) attacks on U.S. and Allied supply ships as they crossed the Atlantic. The U-boats sank passenger vessels as well as merchant ships. A German attack on the British liner *Lusitania* in 1915 killed almost 1,200 people, including more than 100 Americans. After Wilson protested, Germany promised that it would not attack neutral countries' passenger liners and that it would give warnings before attacking other ships. But in early 1917, Germany returned to unrestricted submarine warfare even though it knew that the United States would retaliate by entering the war. Germans believed that they could defeat Britain and France before the Americans were ready to fight with them.



This drawing, by William A. Rogers, appeared in the *New York Herald* on August 4, 1915, a few weeks after the Germans sank the *Lusitania*. The German action (and this drawing) helped galvanize U.S. public opinion against the Germans.

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b. Other factors. In February 1917, the British intercepted a secret message from German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann to the German representative in Mexico. They then turned it over to the Americans. The Zimmermann Note proposed that Mexico attack the United States if the Americans entered the war. In return, Mexico would get back its "lost territories" in the American Southwest. Hearing of this proposal brought Americans closer to war.

Another event concerned Russia, which was headed by a czar (emperor). Few U.S. leaders wanted to be allied with Russia's repressive government. But in March 1917, Russian moderates overthrew the czar and began to set up a democratic regime. The democratic nations began to see Russia as a compatible ally.

THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

In mid-March 1917, German U-boats sank four U.S. ships on the high seas. Early in April, Wilson sent a message to Congress condemning the German submarine policy and asking for a declaration of war. Congress passed a war resolution on April 6.

1. Efforts at Home. The United States immediately geared up to produce arms, munitions, and food to send to the hard-pressed Allies. By mid-June, almost 10 million men had registered for service in the armed forces. But it took months to train these new draftees. In the meantime, massive shipments of food and other supplies were sent overseas. To prevent attacks by German submarines, the Americans and British created convoys of merchant vessels protected by warships.

The U.S. government set up a number of agencies to coordinate war production. Farmers grew more crops. Workers kept strikes to a minimum. The government helped in this effort by encouraging unionization, fair working hours, and fair wages. Many African Americans and women found jobs in industry. Some 500,000 African Americans moved from the rural South to the industrial North, in part to search for jobs. The United States raised \$33 billion to fight the war, about a third of it from taxes. The other two-thirds was raised through the sale of government war bonds. Americans also conserved fuel and food to allow the troops to have more.

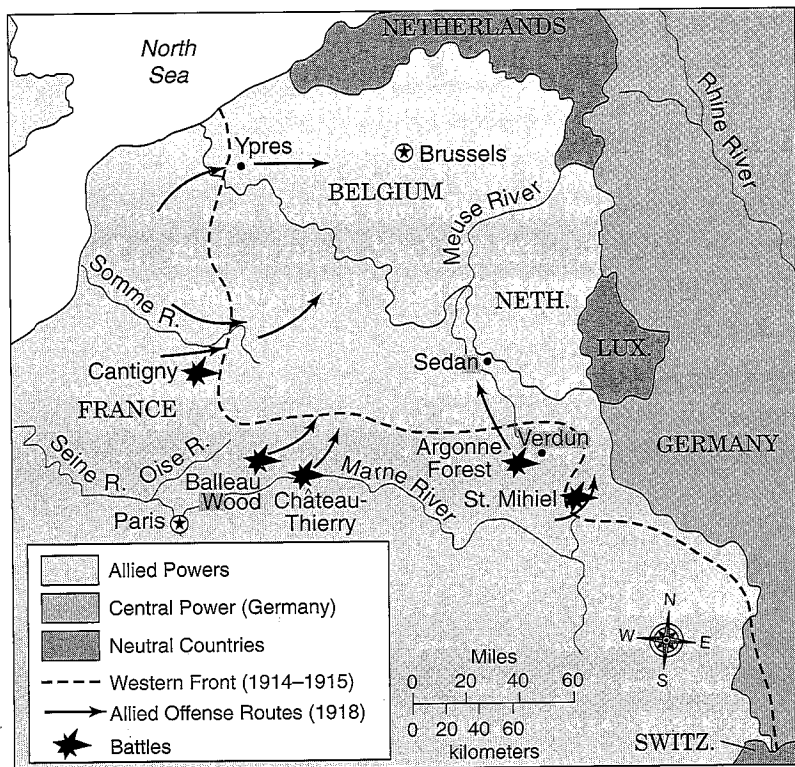
Americans were exposed to an outpouring of anti-German propaganda. In posters, news stories, and speeches, the Germans were pictured as savage "Huns" who committed atrocities. The teaching of German in schools was forbidden. German music was banned from concert halls. People with German names were fired from their jobs.

Even common German foods were renamed. Sauerkraut, for example, became "liberty cabbage."

2. On the Western Front. After the United States declared war, John J. Pershing became commander of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). By the summer of 1918, he had landed a million U.S. troops in France. The first troops went into action in the fall of 1917 on the Western Front, which passed through Belgium and France. This region had been the scene of a major German attack in 1914 that had come within 15 miles of Paris before being pushed back. Two years later, in 1916, assaults along the Somme River took more than a million lives.

In the spring of 1918, Germany launched another all-out offensive on the Western Front. Again, its army approached Paris. This time, though, U.S. troops were present. Their courageous fighting at Château-Thierry, Belleau Wood, and Cantigny stopped the German advance. The Allies then united under French Commander Ferdinand Foch. In July, they began a counteroffensive in which the Americans played a major role. By the end of October, the German army

Western Front and Allied Drives to Victory, 1918





THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

Many soldiers on the Western Front found themselves fighting the war from trenches.

was retreating all along the Western Front. And the Central Powers were in even greater trouble in Southern and Eastern Europe. There, the Ottoman army had been destroyed, Bulgaria had surrendered, and Austria-Hungary was suing for peace. In addition, threats of revolution had begun to surface within Germany itself. Realizing that the war was lost, the Germans asked for an *armistice* (an end to the fighting). The German emperor, Kaiser Wilhelm II, abdicated and fled the country. On November 11, 1918, the armistice was signed, ending World War I.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: U-boat, Zimmermann Note, American Expeditionary Force, armistice.

CRITICAL THINKING: How did the United States contribute to the Allied war effort after April 1917?

AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

Both sides suffered enormous casualties in World War I—a total of 10 million killed and twice as many wounded. Some Americans boasted

that the United States had won the war. Although this was an exaggeration, U.S. participation did tip the scale in favor of the Allies.

1. The Peace Conference. In December 1918, Wilson went to the Paris Peace Conference. He was the first U.S. president to travel to Europe while in office. All 23 of the Allies were represented. But the major players were President Wilson, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France.

a. Wilson's Fourteen Points. Wilson felt that the aim of the Allies should be a just and lasting peace, a "peace between equals." In January 1918, he presented Congress with his Fourteen Points. Among other things, it called for (1) abolition of secret treaties, (2) freedom of the seas in peace and in war, (3) removal of all trade barriers between nations, (4) reduction in arms, (5) fair settlement of colonial claims, (6) recognition of the right of national groups to *self-determination* (self-government), and (7) formation of an international association of nations to protect the territory and guarantee the independence of all countries.

b. Aims of the Allies. On the surface, the Allies seemed to agree on Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis for their negotiations. But they had different aims. Unlike the others, the United States had no territorial claims and no desire for revenge. France had suffered enormous casualties and considerable destruction of property. Britain, too, had been severely hurt. Both of them wanted Germany to make substantial *reparations* (payments for war damages).

Territories were also at stake. Italy had agreed to fight on the Allied side in exchange for land in southern Austria inhabited largely by Italians. Japan had joined the Allies in hopes of gaining Germany's Pacific possessions. Everywhere in Europe, national groups—Finns, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians—wanted their own countries.

c. The treaties. The treaties that were finally drawn up at Paris granted some wishes and denied others. What resulted was not a peace between equals. Instead, it was a settlement imposed by the winners on the losers.

There were five treaties in all. The most important one was the Treaty of Versailles between the Allies and Germany. German representatives signed it under protest in June 1919. The Versailles Treaty forced the Germans to accept responsibility for causing the war. They were to pay billions in reparations to the Allies. Germany returned Alsace and Lorraine to France and lost eastern territories

to an enlarged, newly independent Poland. Germany gave up all its colonial possessions in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. And the Germans were disarmed and forbidden to rebuild a strong military force. The Versailles Treaty also called for a new international organization, the League of Nations.

READING A MAP

Europe After World War I



1. Name *five* of the new nations created after World War I that at least part of which had previously been in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.
2. Name at least *two other* new nations.

The Paris treaties drastically changed national boundaries in Europe. Poland, which had disappeared from the map in the 18th

century, was re-created. Austria and Hungary were split apart. And a number of new nations came into being.

Wilson was able to soften some of the Allies' more extreme demands. For instance, he blocked French efforts to set aside part of western Germany as neutral territory. He was also successful in resisting Italian demands for the city of Fiume, a key seaport on the Adriatic. But he gave way on German reparations and on the "war guilt" clause that placed all blame on Germany.

2. Rejection of the League. Wilson believed strongly in the League of Nations. He hoped that it would prevent future alliances of the kind that had helped cause World War I. But the Treaty of Versailles, containing provisions for the League, had to be approved by the U.S. Senate. Some senators were opposed to the League. They feared that joining an international organization would weaken American democracy. Leaders of this group included Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, Hiram Johnson of California, and William Borah of Idaho. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, among other senators, favored the League but wanted it to guarantee U.S. freedom to act.

Wilson's failure to take any prominent Republicans to Paris cost him the support of the Republican party. Wilson had also incurred Senate opposition by refusing to make any compromises with it. Wilson set out on a nationwide tour to appeal to the people. Partway through the trip, in September 1919, he collapsed. Early in October, he suffered a stroke from which he never fully recovered.

In the months that followed, the Senate held votes on the Versailles Treaty, both with and without changes. On each occasion, the treaty was defeated. By this time, Americans had lost interest in international issues. Thus, the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations. (In 1921, a joint congressional resolution ended the state of war between the United States and Germany, Austria, and Hungary.) Wilson left office in March 1921.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Although the United States never joined the League, more than 50 other countries did. They pledged to submit disputes to the League for settlement and to abide by its decisions. They also agreed that any member resorting to war would become the target of *economic sanctions* (such as a halt in trade) and, if necessary, military force.

1. Work of the League. For 25 years, the League performed many useful services. It carried on relief work in war-torn countries and

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aided war refugees. Its Mandates Commission supervised the former colonies of the Central Powers. The World Court settled a number of international disputes. The League also gathered statistics, published reports, and held international conferences to improve labor conditions, public health, education, communication, and transportation throughout the world. The United States took part in many of the League's nonpolitical activities.

2. Weaknesses of the League. In spite of its accomplishments, the League was unable to succeed at its major task—preventing aggression and war. There were four main reasons for this failure: (1) The League lost prestige when the United States, a leading world power, refused to join. (2) The League lacked the means to punish an aggressor nation. It could suggest that its members take action but could not force them to do so. (3) Member nations accused of aggression chose to withdraw from the League, rather than give in to its demands. (4) Leading members did not unite against aggression, unless their own interests were directly involved.

IDENTIFY OR DEFINE: Paris Peace Conference, national self-determination, freedom of the seas, reparations, war guilt.

CRITICAL THINKING: Why did the United States fail to join the League of Nations?

Chapter Review



MATCHING TEST

Column A

1. Matthew C. Perry
2. Arthur Zimmermann
3. John J. Pershing
4. John Hay
5. Queen Liliuokalani

Column B

- a. proposed Open Door Policy
- b. commander of AEF
- c. arranged treaty of friendship with Japan
- d. native Hawaiian leader
- e. German foreign secretary during World War I

MULTIPLE-CHOICE TEST

1. The first new territory acquired by the United States after the Civil War was (a) Alaska (b) Puerto Rico (c) the Philippines (d) Hawaii.
2. A major cause of the Spanish-American War was (a) an uprising on the island of Puerto Rico (b) someone blowing up the battleship *Maine* (c) the Open Door Policy (d) the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani.
3. After the Spanish-American War, Filipinos waged a guerrilla war against (a) Cuba (b) the United States (c) Spain (d) Puerto Rico.
4. Theodore Roosevelt won a Nobel Peace Prize for arranging the treaty that ended the (a) Sino-Japanese War (b) Spanish-American War (c) Korean War (d) Russo-Japanese War.
5. The Platt Amendment gave the United States the right to intervene in (a) Cuba (b) Nicaragua (c) Haiti (d) China.
6. At the time, the 1914–1918 war was called (a) World War I (b) the Franco-Prussian War (c) the War Between the States (d) the Great War.
7. All of the following were new weapons of warfare in World War I *except* (a) machine guns (b) tanks (c) battleships (d) poison gas.
8. U.S. participation in the fighting of World War I lasted (a) about a year (b) about 20 months (c) two years (d) three years.
9. The Treaty of Versailles included provisions for all of the following *except* (a) Italy taking Fiume from Austria (b) the return of Lorraine to France (c) the surrender of all German colonial possessions (d) the League of Nations.
10. When Wilson encountered Senate opposition to the League of Nations, he (a) compromised on all points (b) gave up the struggle for ratification (c) went on a nationwide speaking tour (d) made it an issue in his third presidential campaign.

**ESSAY QUESTIONS**

1. Why did the United States become interested in expanding beyond its borders in the second half of the 19th century?

2. What was the Roosevelt Corollary? How did it come about?
3. What was the Open Door Policy? Why did the United States favor such a policy?
4. What developments led to the U.S. declaration of war on Germany in 1917?
5. How did the aims of the United States at the Paris Peace Conference differ from those of its allies?

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

This question is based on the accompanying documents (1–5). It will improve your ability to work with historical documents.

Historical Context:

From 1867 to 1900, the United States was involved in foreign expansion. It purchased Alaska, took over Pacific islands, and expanded its trade network and naval power around the world. The most striking foreign expansion was a result of the U.S. war against Spain in 1898. According to the historian Frank Friedel, U.S. involvement in the Spanish-American War was a result of “a popular crusade to stop a seemingly endless revolution which was shattering Cuba.”

Task:

Using information from the documents and your knowledge of United States history, read each document and answer the question that follows it. Your answers to the questions will help you write the document-based essay.

Document 1. Excerpts from a letter to the editor, *New York Evening Post*, by José Martí, a leader in the struggle to gain Cuban independence from Spain, March 25, 1889:

[W]e have fought like men, sometimes like giants, to be freemen; we are passing that period of stormy repose, full of germs of revolt, that naturally follows a period of excessive and unsuccessful action. . . . [W]e deserve in our misfortune the respect of those who did not help us in our need. . . . [We will continue] the war that has been by foreign observers compared to an epic, the upheaval of a whole country, the voluntary abandonment of wealth, the abolition of slavery in our first moment of freedom, the burn-

ing of our cities by our own hands, the erection of villages and factories in the wild forests. . . . The struggle has not ceased.

Source: www.fiu.edu/~fcf/martilettertoeditor.html

In your opinion, what purpose did Martí have in writing this letter to the editor?

Document 2. Excerpts from comments by President Grover Cleveland about the revolution in Cuba against Spanish rule, 1895:

This government is constantly called upon to protect American citizens, to claim damages for injuries to persons and property, now estimated at many millions of dollars, and to ask explanation and apologies for the acts of Spanish officials whose zeal for the repression of rebellion sometimes blinds them to the immunities [protections] belonging to the unoffending citizens of a friendly power. It follows from the same causes that the United States is compelled to actively police a long line of seacoast against unlawful expeditions, the escape of which the utmost vigilance will not always suffice [be able] to prevent.

Source: Richardson, James D. (ed.) *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Washington, D.C., 1917, XIV, pp. 6150–6151.

According to President Cleveland, how was the revolution in Cuba affecting the United States?

Document 3. Excerpts from an article by James Creelman, a correspondent for the *New York World*, describing what he saw while traveling in Cuba in 1896:

Cuba will soon be a wilderness of blackened ruins. . . . The horrors of a barbarous struggle for the extermination of the native population are witnessed in all parts of the country. Blood on the roadsides, blood in the fields, blood on the doorsteps, blood, blood, blood! The old, the young, the weak, the crippled—all are butchered without mercy. . . . Is there no nation wise enough, brave enough to aid this blood-smitten land?

Source: *New York World*, May 17, 1896.

In your opinion, what did Creelman hope to achieve by writing his article? Explain your answer.

Document 4. Excerpt from President William McKinley's message to Congress, April 11, 1898:

The forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral to stop the war . . . is justifiable. . . . First, in the cause of humanity and to put an end to the barbarities, bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there. . . . Second, we owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them . . . protection. . . . Third, the right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of our people. . . . Fourth, the present condition of affairs in Cuba is a constant menace to our peace, and entails upon this government an enormous expense.

Source: Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs of the United States, 1898, pp. 750–760. Found at: <http://search.eb.com/elections/pri/Q00099.htm>

On April 20, 1898, the U.S. Congress declared war on Spain and demanded Cuban independence. How did this April 20th declaration of war differ from what President William McKinley had asked Congress on April 11, 1898?

Document 5. Study the cartoon on page 266.

What is the view of the cartoonist regarding the U.S.-Spanish conflict? Explain your answer.

DOCUMENT-BASED ESSAY

Using information from the above documents and your knowledge of United States history, write an essay in which you:

- Explain whether you agree or disagree with the idea the United States went to war with Spain in 1898 mainly in order to help the Cuban people.