

How would you describe the expression on the eagle's face?

Why is the American flag placed here?

## America Becomes a World Power

### 28.1 Introduction

**W**illiam McKinley owed Theodore Roosevelt a big favor. Roosevelt had just helped him get elected president. The fiery Roosevelt had spoken all over America in 1896, promoting McKinley's support of business and industry. With energy and inspiration, he attacked the supporters of McKinley's opponent, like farmers and workers who felt left out of industry's great profits. These opponents, Roosevelt cried, planned nothing less than "revolution."

Now Roosevelt wanted McKinley to appoint him to be assistant secretary of the navy. McKinley, who favored peace, feared that Roosevelt was too warlike. Still, he gave Roosevelt the job. As he took office, Roosevelt said, "No triumph of peace is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war.... It is through strife, or the readiness for strife, that a nation must win greatness."

Some newspapers called Roosevelt patriotic. Others worried that he would push the country into war. Americans had mixed feelings about getting involved in international affairs. Expanding across the continent had given America enough territory to move into for decades. Recovery from the Civil War, followed by industrial expansion, had also given Americans plenty to focus on at home.

Now, the West was more settled, and the United States had become an industrial and agricultural leader. To keep the economy growing, business leaders wanted overseas markets. Seeing European countries controlling foreign lands, they didn't want to be left out. The national pride that had inspired Manifest Destiny was calling for new challenges.

Roosevelt agreed. He allied himself with American **expansionists**—people who wanted to extend the nation's power within the Western Hemisphere and around the world. In this chapter, you will learn how the expansionists achieved their goals. As it flexed its muscles overseas, the United States acquired new territories and became a world power. Before long, it would be drawn into a global war—and a difficult struggle to restore the peace.

### America Becomes a World Power Times

#### American Eagle Stretches Its Wings Around the World

As It Flexed Its Muscles, the United States Acquired New Territories and Became a World Power



#### Graphic Organizer: Front Page Headline

You will use this front page headline to summarize key information about U.S. foreign policy from the late 1800s to 1920.

**imperialism** the policy of extending a nation's power by gaining political and economic control over other countries

## 28.2 America Stretches Its Wings

In 1867, Secretary of State William Seward arranged for the United States to purchase Alaska from Russia. At the time, few people thought that acquiring this vast wilderness was a good idea. Even at a price of just two cents an acre, many labeled the deal "Seward's Folly."

But the "arctic wasteland" turned out to have thick forests, plentiful fish and wildlife, and mild coastal climates. Eventually settlers would discover gold, copper, coal, and other minerals there. With such potential treasures at stake, expansionists felt that America should gain control over other areas of the world as well.



The Granger Collection, New York

In this political cartoon, Secretary of State William Seward is pictured pulling a wheelbarrow containing a useless block of ice. President Andrew Johnson is pushing the wheelbarrow. What do you think this cartoonist thought about the purchase of Alaska?

potent than all the other nations of the earth combined, and it has exerted that influence without the use of the sword or Gatling [machine] gun."

By the 1890s, however, American business leaders were eager to dig mines and establish plantations in new places. Others wanted new markets for finished products. For years, European countries had been practicing imperialism, building empires by taking control of the governments and economies of other countries. American expansionists wanted to follow their example. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge declared, "Commerce follows the flag.... As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march."

**Expansion in Asia and the Pacific** America's foreign expansionism started with measures to protect profitable overseas trading. In Asia, several European countries had made efforts to control trade with China. The

United States announced that American companies would trade anywhere in China they wanted. The government also established trade treaties with Japan.

To reach such Asian ports, ships crossing the Pacific needed to be able to stop at strategically located islands for fuel and food. To keep European countries from claiming all these places for themselves, the United States occupied the Midway Islands, which were located in the Pacific between California and Asia.

**Annexing Hawaii** Closer to California lay a larger, more fertile group of islands that Americans found even more attractive—Hawaii. Americans had first come to these islands in the 1820s as missionaries. Their goal was to convert the native Hawaiians to Christianity. The Hawaiians, whose ancestors had come from the South Pacific, had lived on these islands for more than a thousand years. They were ruled by their own kings and queens.

In 1835, a Boston merchant established a large sugar plantation in Hawaii. Before long, American-owned sugar and pineapple plantations dotted the islands. The planters brought laborers to Hawaii from China and Japan to work in their vast fields. Under pressure from the planters, the Hawaiians agreed in 1887 to let the United States establish a naval base at Pearl Harbor, on the island of Oahu. The planters also persuaded Congress to allow Hawaiian sugar to be imported into the United States without paying any tariff (import tax).

U.S. sugar growers objected that the law now favored Hawaiian sugar over domestically grown sugar. They convinced Congress to give a bonus to growers in the United States. Hawaiian planters wanted that bonus, too. So they asked the United States to annex Hawaii.

Meanwhile, native Hawaiians increasingly resented being pushed around by Americans. When Queen Liliuokalani took the throne in 1891, people rallied around her call of "Hawaii for Hawaiians." Americans in Hawaii feared that they would lose their land. With help from U.S. marines, planters forced Queen Liliuokalani to give up her throne and established a new government for the islands.

Despite the planters' wishes, President Grover Cleveland refused to support the annexation of Hawaii. Cleveland, who opposed imperialism, said that Hawaii should be ruled by Hawaiians. But in 1898, under President McKinley, the United States did annex Hawaii.



Queen Liliuokalani, the last reigning monarch of Hawaii, insisted that native Hawaiians should control the islands. American planters, fearing they would lose their land, organized a revolt that dethroned her.



When an explosion sank the battleship *Maine* and killed 260 men, Americans immediately accused Spain of causing the tragedy, and demanded war. In 1976, Admiral H. G. Rickover, acting for the U.S. Navy, presented evidence that the explosion was probably caused by spontaneous combustion in one of the coal containers.

**yellow journalism** the practice of publishing sensational and often exaggerated news stories in order to attract readers

"reconcentration camps." Forced to live with inadequate food, beds, toilets, and medical care, tens of thousands died.

American newspapers jumped at the chance to report stories of Cuban suffering. Competing fiercely for customers, some newspapers resorted to **yellow journalism**, offering sensational and shocking reports. Some of these stories were based on rumors and untruths. One said that a Spanish general was "feeding prisoners to sharks."

As sympathy for Cubans grew, more and more Americans were willing to go to war for Cuba. To help Americans in Cuba in case of trouble, President McKinley sent the new battleship *Maine* to the island's capital city, Havana.

**The Spanish-American War** Trouble soon erupted in Havana. On February 15, 1898, an explosion shook the *Maine*, sinking the battleship and killing 260 American sailors. No one knew whether the explosion was caused by an accident or a mine (bomb). But many Americans were quick to blame Spain. Said Theodore Roosevelt, "The *Maine* was sunk by an act of dirty treachery on the part of the Spaniards!"

Young men rushed to join the army, raising the battle cry "Remember the *Maine*!" Senators shouted "Free Cuba!" Hoping to avoid war, McKinley offered to work out a solution between the Spanish and the Cubans. But the Spanish did not respond.

Faced with newspapers and members of Congress calling him a coward, McKinley asked Congress to declare war. Congress quickly agreed, and on

### 28.3 "A Splendid Little War"

**Americans** also established huge sugar plantations on the Caribbean island of Cuba, only 90 miles from Florida. Like nearby Puerto Rico, Cuba was still a Spanish colony.

By the 1890s, American expansionists wanted to annex both of these islands. To support their ambitions, they argued that it was time for the United States to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. No European country, they said, should control territory in the Western Hemisphere.

#### Cubans Struggle for Independence

The Cubans themselves had staged an unsuccessful revolt against Spain in 1868. In 1895, under the inspiring leadership of José Martí, Cubans again tried to win their independence.

To crush this movement, the Spanish herded men, women, and children into

The African American 10th Cavalry provided strong support to Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders as they charged up San Juan Hill. The capture of the hill allowed American guns to bombard Santiago Harbor. When the Spanish fleet attempted to escape, it was completely destroyed, and Spain sued for peace.

April 19 voted to go to war with Spain to free Cuba. At the same time, Congress approved a resolution stating that the United States intended "to leave the government and control of the Island [Cuba] to its people."

The American army quickly grew from 30,000 to over 274,000 men. Roosevelt resigned from his position as assistant secretary of the navy and put together his own regiment. A mixture of powerful, wealthy men and seasoned ranch hands, it came to be called the Rough Riders.

After long preparations, the Rough Riders and 17,000 other Americans arrived in Cuba. Seeing that Cuban fighters lacked the strength or the weapons to force the Spanish out of fortified cities and harbors, Roosevelt and his Rough Riders decided to capture Santiago, a major city. To do this, they had to capture nearby San Juan Hill, from which Spanish forces were able to defend the city.

The attacking force included the Rough Riders and African American troops from several regiments. Up the hill they charged, braving Spanish fire. "They walked to greet death at every step, many of them, as they advanced, sinking suddenly or pitching forward...but others waded on...creeping higher and higher up the hill," wrote an American reporter. "It was a miracle of self-sacrifice, a triumph of bull-dog courage."

The Americans captured San Juan Hill. Realizing that Santiago was lost, the Spanish tried to save their ships, sending them steaming out of the harbor. But Americans sank or captured every ship. The Spanish soon surrendered.

The Spanish-American War lasted just four months. Only 345 Americans died in combat, although 5,500 died of disease. Many Americans agreed with Secretary of State John Hay that it had been "a splendid little war."

In the peace treaty with Spain, Cuba gained its independence, while Puerto Rico came under American rule. The United States agreed to remove all of its troops from Cuba. However, Cuba was forced to agree that American troops could return if necessary to preserve law and order as well as defend the island's independence. The United States was also allowed to keep naval bases in Cuba. Despite a revolution that forced American businesses out of Cuba in the 1950s, the naval bases still remain today.



## 28.4 The Philippines

**A**fter the *Maine* exploded in Cuba, Assistant Naval Secretary Theodore Roosevelt sent a telegram to the head of America's Pacific fleet, Admiral George Dewey. "In the event of declaration of war," the telegram ordered, "[begin] offensive operations in Philippine Islands."

**Battle at Manila Bay** The Philippines provided Spain's main base in the Pacific. The islands' people, called Filipinos, had tried many times to throw off Spanish colonial rule. In 1898 they were trying again. Led by General Emilio Aguinaldo, they had begun attacking the Spanish army and government officials. Now their struggle was about to become part of the war between the United States and Spain.

Dewey's fleet arrived in Manila, the Philippine capital, just five days after war with Spain was declared. At dawn on May 1, American battleships faced Spanish gunships. As naval bands struck up "The Star-Spangled Banner," sailors stood on deck and saluted the flag. These men were about to engage in the first battle of the Spanish-American War.

By 11 A.M., the entire Spanish fleet was burning, sunk, or sinking. Spain's old wooden ships were no match for the modern steel American ships with well-trained crews. Only one American had died in the battle.

General Emilio Aguinaldo believed that the United States would help the Philippines gain independence from Spain. When the United States annexed the Philippines, he fought for Filipino freedom.



**Defeating the Spanish** Dewey blockaded Manila's port until American troops could arrive to take the city. Filipino fighters, allied with Dewey, surrounded Manila. The Filipinos believed that the coming Americans would help them gain independence. While they waited, Aguinaldo issued the Philippine Declaration of Independence, formed a national government, and designed a national flag.

Once U.S. reinforcements showed up, the Spanish agreed to "lose" a fake battle in order to surrender to the Americans. They didn't want to give themselves up to the Filipinos, who resented Spanish rule so intensely.

**Fighting the Filipinos** In a treaty negotiated after the surrender, the United States "bought" the Philippines from Spain for \$20 million. Then, in 1899, Congress voted to annex the Philippines.

Aguinaldo's government felt betrayed. Angrily, the Filipino leader called for "war without quarter to the false Americans who have deceived us! Either independence or death!"

For three years, over 80,000 Filipino fighters fought off better-trained and better-armed American troops. Soldiers on both sides tortured prisoners. Americans became increasingly cruel, harming civilians and destroying villages.

Some Americans protested that denying independence to the Philippines violated American ideals. Carl Schurz was a leader among these anti-imperialists. Said Schurz, "We shall, for the first time since the abolition of slavery, again have two kinds of Americans: first-class Americans, who have the privilege of taking part in government, and second-class Americans, who are to be ruled by the first-class Americans."

But expansionists won the day. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge argued that "Manila with its magnificent bay...will keep us open to the markets of China." President McKinley himself believed that the Philippines could become "a land of plenty...a people redeemed from savage and indolent [lazy] habits...set...in the pathway of the world's best civilization."

More than 20,000 Filipinos and about 4,000 Americans died in the struggle. When the revolt was finally put down, the Americans set up a nonmilitary government to "prepare Filipinos for independence." Americans built roads, hospitals, and schools. But the United States did not grant the Philippines independence until 1947.

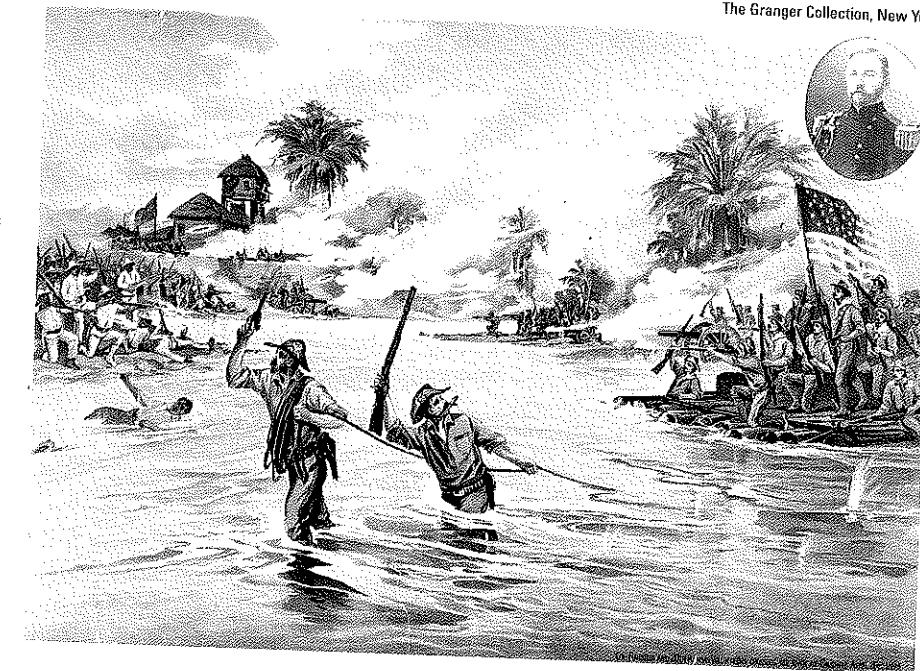
## 28.5 Panama and the Canal

**B**y 1901, America's favorite hero from the Spanish-American War, Theodore Roosevelt, had become vice president. "We stand on the threshold of a new century," Roosevelt declared. "Is America a weakling, to shrink from the work of the great powers? No. The young giant of the West stands on a continent and clasps the crest of an ocean in either hand."

**Dreaming of a Canal** Roosevelt wanted to join those two oceans with a canal. If ships could move quickly between the Atlantic and the Pacific, the navy would be better able to defend America's new territories. And businesses would gain from lower shipping costs.

In September 1901, President McKinley was shot and killed by an assassin, and Roosevelt became president. In his first speech to Congress, Roosevelt argued for the canal. "No single great material work which remains to be undertaken on this continent is of such consequence to the American people," he told the nation.

Congress soon approved funding. In 1903, Roosevelt offered Colombia \$10 million for land in their province of Panama, the narrowest part of Central America. The Colombian senate refused, feeling that the United States was trying to take a weaker country's valuable resources.



A long war between the United States and the Filipinos who resisted U.S. control resulted in heavy casualties. More than 20,000 Filipinos were killed before the Philippines became independent in 1947.

The Culebra Cut, shown here, was one of the engineering miracles that allowed engineers to complete the Panama Canal in ten years. Millions of pounds of dynamite blasted apart the mountain. The earth was then used to construct dams to form lakes.



Furious, Roosevelt sent an American warship to Panama. Roosevelt knew that Panamanians wanted independence. The day after the ship arrived, a revolution started in Panama. With American marines keeping Colombian soldiers from reaching Panama's harbors, the rebels quickly won.

The new country of Panama agreed to accept \$10 million in exchange for giving the United States control over a "canal zone" ten miles wide. Some American senators and newspapers, and countries all over the world, objected to America's "gunboat diplomacy." But most of the public supported the president. He was living out his personal motto, "Speak softly and carry a big stick."

#### Building "The Big Ditch"

Construction on the canal began in 1904. Workers faced terrible conditions. "We had to bathe, wash our clothes in the same river; drink the same river water and cook with it," said one. A year later, three quarters of American workers had quit the project.

The majority of employees were workers from the West Indies who couldn't afford to go home. To prevent deadly yellow fever and malaria, crews worked to eliminate the mosquitoes that carried these diseases. They drained ditches, spread oil on swamps, and screened doors and windows. Within two years, canal workers were no longer dying from these diseases.

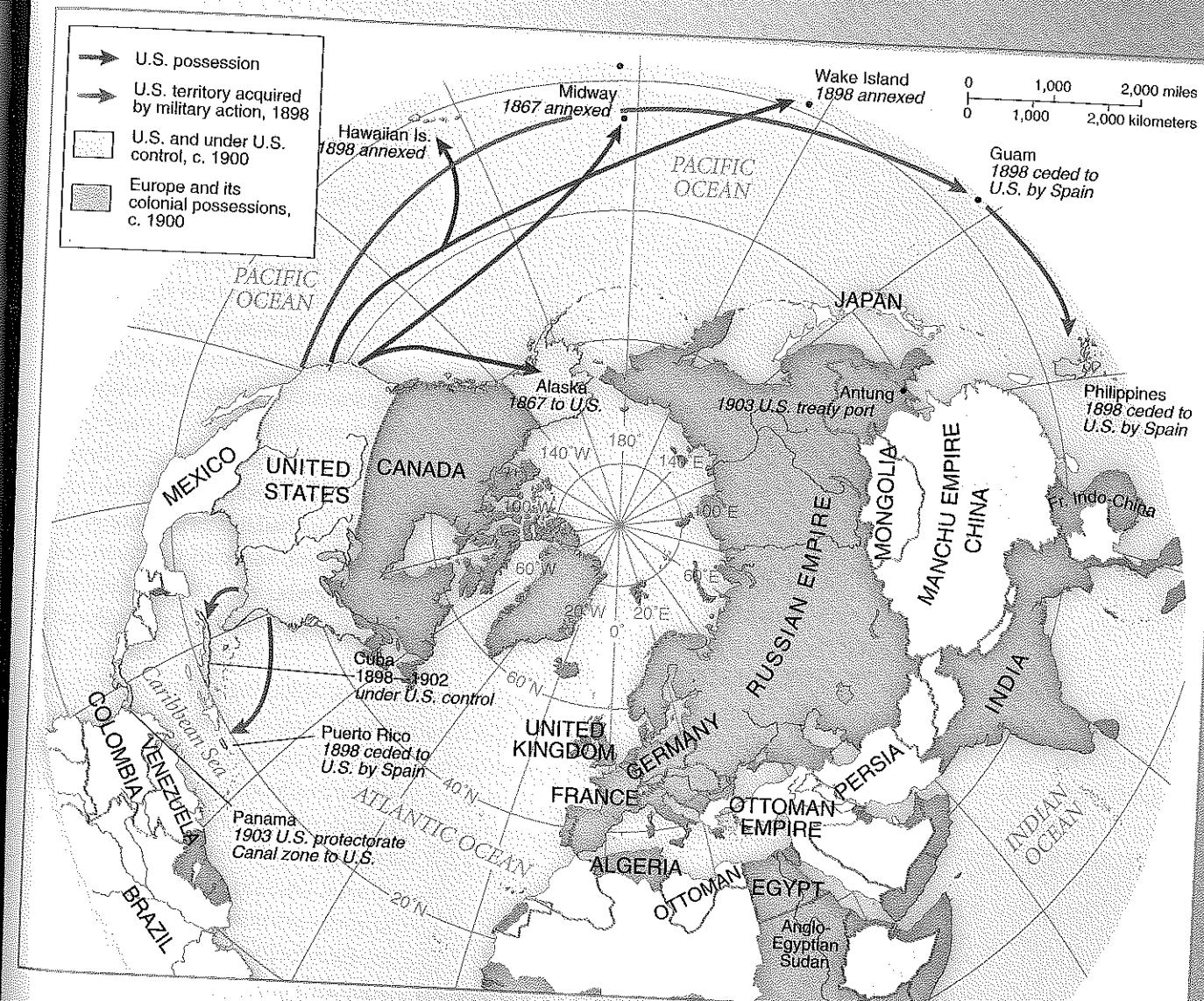
A new chief engineer improved housing and strictly organized the huge project. Using dynamite and huge steam shovels, men made a

wide, deep cut through Panama's mountains. The excavated dirt was moved by railroad car to lower elevations. Here workers created earthen dams to form three giant lakes. Engineers supervised the construction of locks, a type of gate that would allow water levels to be raised and lowered along the canal.

By the time the 51-mile-long canal opened in 1914, Roosevelt had left office. His influence in the Panamanian revolution continued to be controversial. Roosevelt himself admitted, "I took the Canal Zone." In 1921, Congress apologized to Colombia and gave it \$25 million. But anti-American feelings remained high in Latin America, and Panamanians increasingly resented American control of the Canal Zone. In 2000, the United States returned the zone to Panama.

## Geography Challenge

### U.S. Expansion Around the World, 1867–1903



**nationalism:** devotion to a national or ethnic identity, including the desire for independence from rule by foreign countries

**militarism:** a policy of glorifying military power and military ideas and values

The Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife are shown here shortly before they were assassinated by a Serbian nationalist. The assassination triggered World War I.



## 28.6 The Outbreak of World War I

**B**y the time the first ship sailed through the Panama Canal, the world's attention was not on Panama, but on far-off Europe. In August 1914, German troops poured across Belgium, on their way to try to conquer France. Europe was at war.

**Tensions in Europe** European countries had long competed with each other for colonies, trade, and territory. By the early 1900s, nationalism was complicating these rivalries. Austria-Hungary had built an empire by taking over smaller countries in the part of eastern Europe known as the Balkans. Nationalism inspired in the Balkan people a burning desire to be independent of Austrian rule.

As tensions grew, European leaders looked for safety in **militarism**, a policy of glorifying military power and military ideas and values. When Germany built up its navy to challenge Britain's fleet, Britain constructed more battleships. As Germany's army grew, France built up its own army.

European countries also looked for safety in alliances. In secret treaties, Germany and Austria-Hungary agreed to help each other in case of attack. Britain, Russia, and France made similar agreements. Europe was dividing into armed camps.

**Assassination Leads to War** An outburst of nationalism lit the fuse of war. On June 28, 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was visiting the city of Sarajevo in the province of Bosnia. Many Bosnians were Serbs who wanted to be part of nearby Serbia. A Serbian nationalist jumped out of a crowd and fatally shot the archduke and his wife.

Outraged, Austria-Hungary accused Serbia of having a hand in the assassinations and pressured Serbia to give up most of its independence. When the Serbs refused, Austria-Hungary declared war. The Russians

stepped in to defend the Serbs. The Germans came to the aid of Austria-Hungary by declaring war on Russia. Russia's ally, France, began to prepare for war.

Eventually, more than a dozen countries took sides in the "Great War." (Decades later, people called the conflict World War I.) Austria-Hungary and Germany headed the Central Powers. France, Russia, and Britain led the Allied Powers.

Like most Americans, President Woodrow Wilson wanted to stay out of the war. Declaring that the United States would remain neutral, Wilson begged citizens to be "impartial in thought as well as deed."

## 28.7 A New Kind of Warfare

**B**y September 1914, six million soldiers were on the march across Europe. On Germany's Eastern Front, German troops fought Russians. On the Western Front, German forces advanced quickly before being stopped by French and British troops at the Marne River, about 40 miles outside Paris.

With neither army able to advance, both sides dug long, narrow ditches called *trenches* to protect their soldiers. A new kind of warfare was beginning.

**Trench Warfare** For the next three years, the war in the west was fought from two parallel lines of trenches. Men ate, slept, fought, and died in these miserable ditches. Eventually, the lines of trenches stretched for 600 miles across France.

Each side protected its front trench with barbed wire and booby traps. Between the opposing trenches lay a deadly "no-man's land." Attacking soldiers came under intense fire from the men in the trenches. Thousands upon thousands of soldiers died trying to advance their line of trenches a few yards.

The trenches were wretched places, infested with rats, lice, and disease. "We are not leading the life of men at all," wrote an American who had volunteered to fight with the British forces, "but that of animals, living in holes in the ground, and only showing outside to fight and to feed."

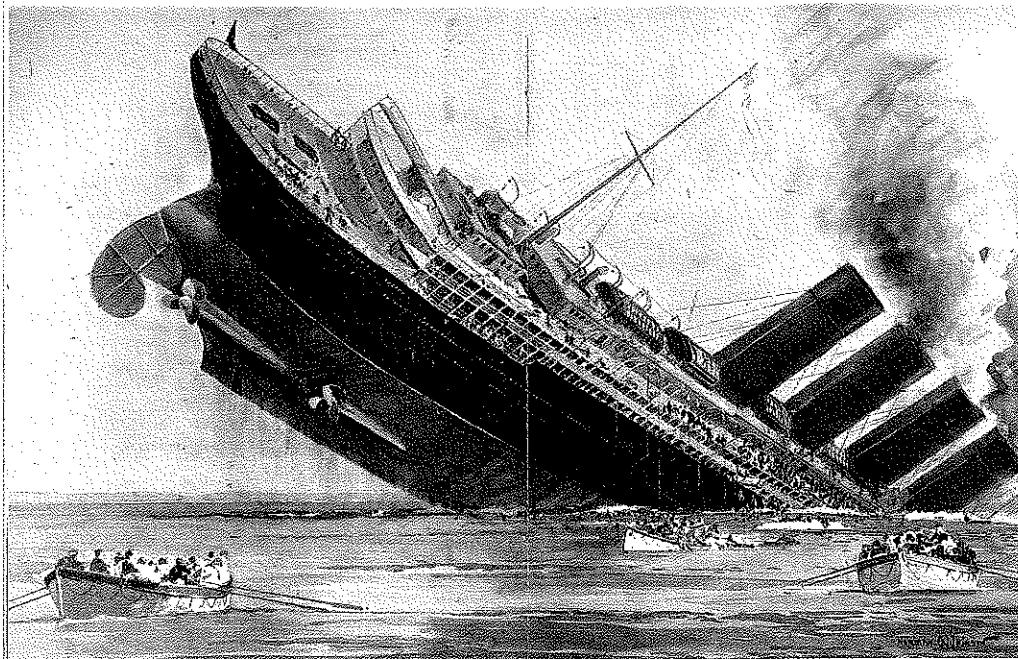
**New Weapons** New weapons added to the horror of trench warfare. "We never got anywhere near the Germans," one English corporal remembered. "The machine-guns were just mowing the top of the trenches." These new machine guns fired hundreds of bullets a minute. By the end of 1914, the French had lost 300,000 men. Germany lost more than 130,000 soldiers in a single battle.

The next spring, a green cloud floated over the Allied lines. Soldiers gasped and died, their throats and noses burning. The Germans had invented poison gas. Soon both sides were using chemical weapons.

The armies' new technology and strategies were effective for defense, but not for decisive attack. At one point, the British tried for six months to



During World War I, a new kind of war called *trench warfare* began. Hundreds of miles of trenches, like this trench for British soldiers, provided protection for infantrymen and allowed supplies and reinforcements to be safely delivered to the front.



The American public was furious when a U-boat sank the *Lusitania*, which the Germans suspected of carrying weapons to the Allies. Germany apologized and promised to stop sinking passenger ships without warning. However, Germany broke its promise and continued its attacks.

its only access to the ocean was through the North Sea. To close German ports, Britain mined the North Sea. This blockade stopped most of the neutral shipping and kept the German fleet bottled up in harbors for most of the war.

Unable to use its surface ships, the German navy tried to blockade Britain using submarines, called *U-boats* (for “underwater boats”). Fearing that the British would try to disguise their ships as neutrals, Germany announced that it might sink vessels flying the flags of neutral countries. Because submarines on the surface were easy targets for enemy fire, German submarines began sinking vessels on sight, instead of rising to the surface to give warning, as was traditional.

**Germany Sinks the *Lusitania*** The German embassy in the United States placed newspaper ads warning passengers not to sail to Britain, and specifically not to take the *Lusitania*, a British luxury liner. On May 7, 1915, six days after leaving New York, the *Lusitania* neared the coast of Ireland. Suddenly a ship’s lookout shouted, “Torpedo coming on the starboard side!” Within moments, the ship exploded and quickly sank, killing 1,198 people, including 128 Americans.

Americans were outraged. One newspaper called the German attack “wholesale murder.” When President Wilson protested, Germany said that the *Lusitania* had been carrying arms. Still, Germany apologized and offered to pay for damages. Hoping to keep the United States out of the war, Germany also promised not to attack merchant and passenger ships without warning in the future.

Protected by this promise, U.S. manufacturers increased their trade with the Allies. Trade with Allied countries swelled to \$3.2 billion in 1916, while trade with the Central Powers dropped to \$1 million. Americans weren’t fighting in the war, but they had definitely taken sides.

advance their lines. They gained only five miles, and lost 420,000 men. “The deadlock here is permanent,” wrote an American volunteer.

**War at Sea** To supply soldiers in the trenches with food, ammunition, and other supplies, the warring nations bought goods from neutral countries. Each side tried to cut off the flow of supplies to its enemy.

Most trade, especially with the United States, was by sea. Britain had the world’s greatest fleet and numerous ocean ports. Germany had a strong navy, but

## 28.8 To Make the World Safe for Democracy

**A**fter the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Wilson decided that the United States needed to prepare in case war became necessary. He worked with Congress to get money to improve the army and navy. Still, neither Wilson nor the country wanted war. In 1916, Wilson won reelection under the slogan, “He Kept Us out of War.”

Wilson also tried to start peace talks. But European leaders, having lost so many soldiers, rejected Wilson’s call for “peace without victory.”

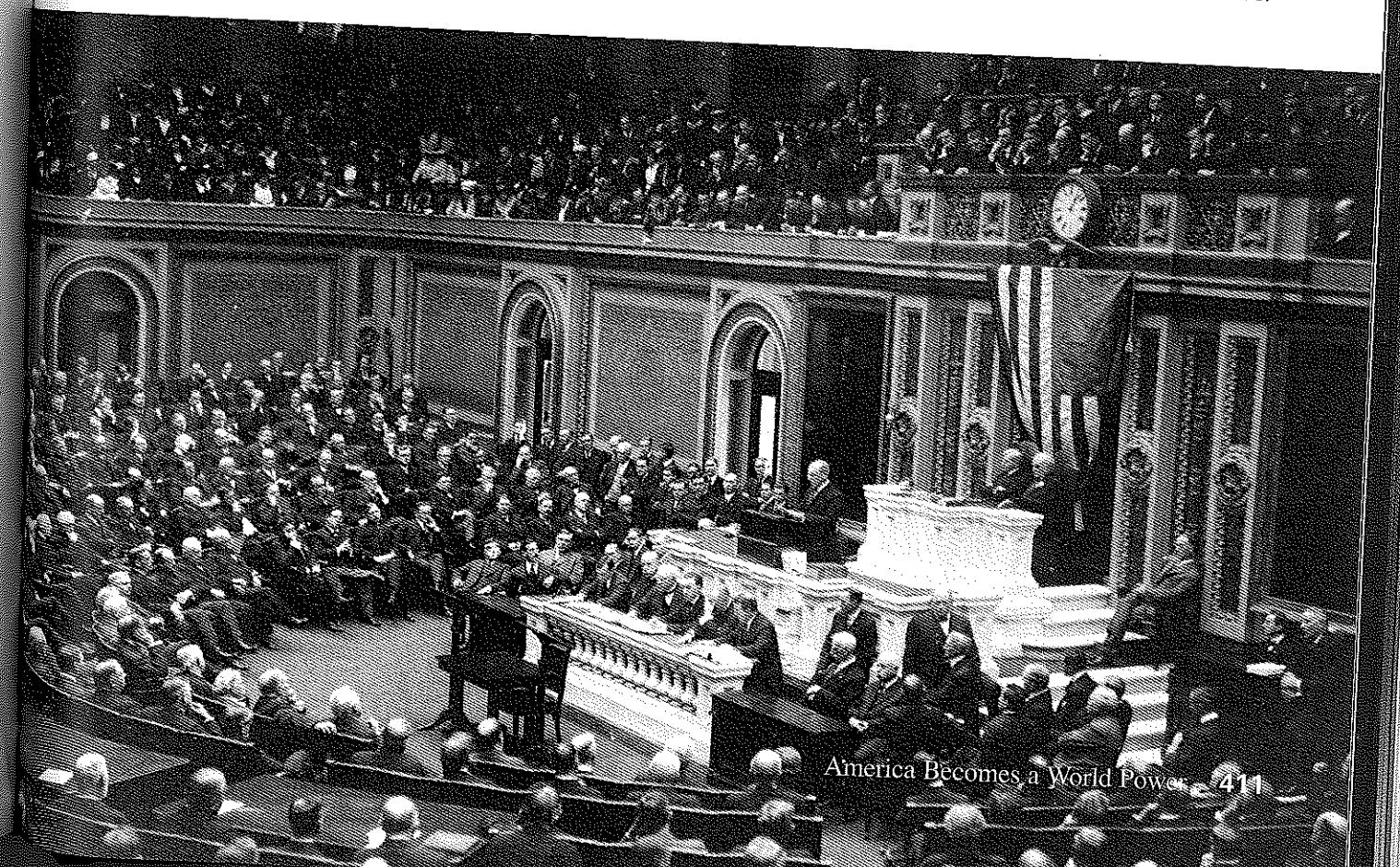
**America Enters the War** The Germans soon risked war with the United States again. Even though U-boats were sinking 50 to 100 British merchant ships per month, enough were getting through to keep the Allies going. Desperate to prevent an Allied victory, the Germans decided to cut off British supplies before their own ran out. In February 1917, Germany resumed sinking merchant ships from other countries without warning.

In March, U-boats torpedoed three U.S. merchant ships, killing many Americans. In fact, these ships had been carrying weapons to the Allies. The Germans knew that this attack might bring the United States into the war, but they hoped to win before America was ready to fight.

It was a fatal mistake. Addressing a special session of Congress, Wilson urged a declaration of war. America would fight alongside the Allies, he said, not just to protect neutral shipping, but because “the world must be made safe for democracy.”

Congress greeted Wilson’s speech with applause. Later, Wilson reflected, “My message today was a message of death for our young men. How strange it seems to applaud that.”

In the photograph below, Woodrow Wilson appears before Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. Although Wilson tried to avoid war, continued U-boat attacks on merchant ships gave him no choice.





To recruit the necessary men for an army to send to Europe, the United States resorted to the draft. All men between the ages of 18 and 45 had to register. Within a few months, the army grew from 200,000 men to over 4 million.

Meanwhile, Russia had dropped out of the war. With millions of soldiers dead and starvation spreading across the country, Russians had revolted against their ruler, the czar. Russia's new government made peace with the Germans. This enabled Germany to bring soldiers back from the east, swelling their western forces to 3,500,000 men.

The German forces rushed to capture Paris before large numbers of Americans could arrive from overseas. They pushed quickly through the village of Chateau-Thierry and a nearby forest called Belleau Wood. They were within 50 miles of Paris when Americans reinforced the exhausted French. Gradually, American machine guns and artillery enabled the Allies to push the Germans back.

By the summer of 1918, more than a million Americans were in Europe. Pershing set his Allied offensive into motion. His plan took advantage of several offensive capabilities that had been developed during the war. Tanks could advance through trenches. Airplanes could deliver machine-gun fire and drop bombs. Carefully coordinating huge numbers of soldiers, tanks, airplanes, and artillery, the Allies forced the weakened Germans back to their own border.

To avoid the invasion of their own country, German leaders agreed to an armistice, or cease-fire. On November 11, 1918, for the first time in four years, the guns were silenced.

The costs of the war horrified the world. More than 9 million people had died. Entering the war late, the United States lost 116,000 lives. Throughout the warring nations, people mourned the loss of so many of their young men.

**Americans Prepare to Fight** On April 6, 1917, Congress declared war. The Allies rejoiced, hoping for American supplies—and soldiers. Allied ships were sinking faster than they could be replaced. To get U.S. supplies delivered safely, convoys of American warships started escorting cargo vessels, protecting them from attack. American destroyers also helped the British navy assault U-boats. These strategies dramatically reduced shipping losses.

When the United States entered the war, it had only 200,000 soldiers, and most of those had limited training. Congress quickly authorized a national draft. Soon, 3 million men were drafted. Another 2 million volunteered.

**Fighting and Winning** American troops who sailed overseas were called the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). As they began arriving in Europe in June 1917, AEF soldiers soon learned from the Allies about trench warfare. The American commander, General John J. Pershing, hated these terrible conditions for soldiers. He also realized that trench warfare wasn't winning the war. He worked on a plan for driving the Germans out of the trenches and forcing them to retreat into open country.



## 28.9 The Struggle for Peace

Less than two months after the fighting ended in Europe, President Wilson traveled to Paris to take part in peace talks. He was cheered by huge crowds. The United States had saved the French from endless war. And many Europeans welcomed Wilson's eagerness to prevent future wars.

### Fourteen Points for World Peace

Months earlier, Wilson had presented to Congress a 14-point proposal for a postwar agreement. The first five points aimed to prevent conflict. Nations were asked to avoid secret treaties, to practice free trade, and to reduce their weapon supplies. Wilson asked that new borders be drawn based on self-determination, or the will of the people in each area.

Points 6 through 13 described new boundaries for many European countries. Finally, the ambitious fourteenth point called for nations to join a general association of countries to protect each other's independence. With this League of Nations, Wilson believed, the world could achieve a lasting peace.

Germany had surrendered, believing that Wilson's "Fourteen Points" would be the basis for a fair and just peace. But after years of fighting and dreadful losses, some Allied leaders weren't satisfied with a just peace.

**The Treaty of Versailles** On January 18, 1919, delegates from dozens of countries assembled at a gorgeous French palace outside Paris called Versailles. In addition to Wilson, three Allied leaders dominated the treaty talks. They were David Lloyd George of England, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy.

The German representatives were not allowed to speak. This was a clue to the Allies' anger and their determination to punish Germany and remove it as a future threat. They created a treaty that forced Germany to disband almost all of its armed forces, give up its colonies, and surrender territory in Europe. In addition, they called on Germany to pay reparations, or money to make up for damages and war deaths. The amount of these reparations was later set at \$33 billion.

President Wilson opposed such harsh treatment of Germany. However, he eventually accepted the Allied leaders' demands for punishment in order to win their support for his Fourteen Points.

The Allies rejected some of Wilson's points, including freedom of the seas. But the peace conference did create new national boundaries in

This painting shows the signing of the peace treaty that ended World War I at the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles. The treaty dealt harshly with Germany and planted the seeds of hatred that would lead to World War II.

reparations debts imposed on a defeated nation to pay for the harm done during a war



Woodrow Wilson toured the country seeking public support for the League of Nations, which was opposed by Congress. On his tour, he suffered from a massive stroke. He was unable to continue his fight with Congress, and the Senate refused to approve the Treaty of Versailles.

power to send Americans to war. Many didn't want the United States involved in messy European problems anyway.

The struggle over the treaty became a fight between political parties. Republicans had a majority in the Senate. They felt that Wilson, a Democrat, had made his Fourteen Points a political issue by not appointing any Republicans to his negotiating team.

Anxious to increase public support for the League of Nations, Wilson undertook an intense speaking tour. In 22 days, he toured 29 cities, speaking up to four times a day, with hardly any rest. Finally, he collapsed with severe headaches. He rushed back to Washington, D.C., where he suffered a massive stroke.

Recovering slowly, Wilson was less willing or able to compromise with opposition senators. In March 1920, the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles.

**A Return to Isolationism** Once again, America was heading toward isolationism. When the League of Nations opened in Geneva, Switzerland, the United States did not participate. In later years, when big crises developed in Europe, the League lacked the power that Wilson hoped it would have.

In Germany, the Treaty of Versailles left a bitter legacy. Germans felt betrayed by the treaty—especially Adolf Hitler, a corporal who had been temporarily blinded by gas during the war. Hitler's rise to power in the 1930s would pose a fresh challenge to American isolationism. Only after a second world war would the United States take on the role of world power that it continues to fill today.

Europe based on self-determination. Most important to Wilson, the Treaty of Versailles established a League of Nations. Wilson thought that this agreement would make the peace treaty successful. The League of Nations, he believed, could fix any problems created by the treaty.

#### Struggling for Senate Ratification

Wilson needed the approval of two thirds of the U.S. Senate to ratify the peace treaty. He quickly ran into opposition, especially to the League of Nations. Some senators worried that other countries would force American soldiers to fight in international conflicts. They argued that only Congress had the Constitutional

#### 28.10 Chapter Summary

In this chapter, you read about American expansionism and the nation's involvement in World War I. You used a front-page headline to summarize key information about U.S. foreign policy from the late 1800s to 1920.

America's first great expansion after the Civil War was the purchase of Alaska. The United States also expanded westward by taking over the Midway Islands in the Pacific and annexing Hawaii.

As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States gained two new possessions—Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Although the United States did not take over Cuba, it did keep the right to send troops to the island and to maintain naval bases there.

In Central America, the United States encouraged revolution in Panama, and then purchased a strip of land from the new country in order to build the Panama Canal. The United States maintained its control over the Canal Zone for the rest of the 20th century.

By the time World War I broke out, the United States was becoming a world power. America remained neutral until late in the war, and then entered the conflict on the side of the Allied Powers. President Wilson described the war as a fight to make the world safe for democracy.

Americans helped to win the war, but Wilson was unable to get all of his peace plan adopted. The U.S. Senate refused to ratify the peace treaty, preventing the United States from joining the League of Nations. In Europe, the harsh terms imposed by the victorious Allies caused great bitterness in Germany.

Meanwhile, the United States turned back toward isolationism. After World War II, however, America would remain engaged in world affairs.

Other big changes were also in store for Americans. In the final chapter of this book, you will explore some of these changes.

Does this political cartoon support or oppose U.S. expansion?

