Aguinaldo had responded in kind, shouting “Viva los Americanos!” This enthusiasm, however, did not last long. The United States had promised its support of Philippine independence if Aguinaldo joined the United States in its fight against Spain. After the war, that promise was not kept. President McKinley wanted to “civilize” the Filipinos before granting independence. When the United States refused to accept Aguinaldo as the legitimate head of government, a struggle ensued. American officials no longer praised him as a founder of his country. Instead, they plotted his capture. Aguinaldo marked the United States as an enemy and led a guerrilla war to rid his country of American forces.

Aguinaldo’s capture in 1901 did not end the Filipino struggle. The war lasted for another year. How the United States became the enemy of Aguinaldo is only part of the larger story of American foreign policy under the progressives—a policy guided by an uneasy mixture of idealism and self-interest.

Senator George F. Hoar once called Emilio Aguinaldo the “George Washington of the Philippines” when Aguinaldo sought to liberate his country from foreign rule. When that rule was Spanish, Hoar and others had encouraged the Philippine liberation struggle.

Study the illustration of the famous piece of sheet music on page 293, and write your reaction to the mood it creates. Do you think American soldiers were always welcome in foreign countries? Why or why not?
This spirited patriotic song glorified the role of the United States in World War I.
Albert J. Beveridge, senator from Indiana, stood up before the United States Senate and spoke with candor. “Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce,” he declared. He argued that the United States must secure new markets. As the United States acquired new markets in the countries of Asia and of Latin America, it should be willing to send troops, if needed, to protect those markets. It should even be willing to annex, or put under the dominion of the United States, new territories, so that only the United States could control the markets.

As Beveridge argued his ideas, he recalled that the nation’s Founders were not afraid to acquire the territories of Louisiana and Florida and other continental territories farther west. “The founders of the nation were not provincial,” he noted. “Theirs was the geography of the world. They were soldiers as well as landmen, and they knew that where our ships should go our flag might follow.”

Progressives responded to the possibility of gaining foreign commercial markets and annexing new territories in vastly different ways. Some
of them wanted to forge ahead; others did not. They all kept in mind, however, that the United States was different from the many countries of Europe. For decades the United States had a special destiny to uphold liberty and freedom. Some progressives agreed with Senator Beveridge that the people of the United States had a duty to spread the American way of life to lands recently acquired during the Spanish-American War of 1898.

To some extent the idea of exporting American capitalism and democracy to foreign lands overseas gained strength from the Progressive movement itself. The progressives had shown that Americans had the ability to organize and mobilize for social, political, economic, and even moral reform within the United States. The progressives reasoned that they could export their knowledge and products to less developed countries overseas.

Deeply ingrained racial attitudes added support to the American impulse to become involved in the affairs of other countries. Some Americans believed that the people of the Philippines, as well as the people of most of the Caribbean islands, were racially inferior and that they should succumb to the leadership of the United States.

**Overseas Markets**

Not only progressive ideas but also economic realities helped to spur the debate about the United States’s engaging in commercial expansion around the world. Senator Beveridge touched upon the economic realities affecting industries and the workforce:

> Today we are making more than we can use. Today our industrial society is congested; there are more workers than there is work; there is more capital than there is investment. We do not need more money—we need more circulation, more employment. Therefore we must find new markets for our produce, new occupation for our capital, new work for our labor.

—Albert J. Beveridge, in *The American Spirit*

Beveridge’s cry for new markets struck a responsive chord in American farmers, manufacturers, and investors. As shown by the graph on this page, exports of American products rose dramatically in the early 1900s. Investors, as well as farmers and manufacturers, favored new markets.

Railroads offered a good example of an American industry that was seeking new opportunities for investment. By the turn of the century railroads already crisscrossed North America. Entrepreneurs eagerly looked overseas to lands where railroads had yet to be built. One railroad entrepreneur at the World’s Fair Railway Conference spoke eloquently on his desire for commercial expansion:

> We blow the whistle that’s heard round the world, and all peoples stop to heed and welcome it. Its resonance is the diplomacy of peace. The locomotive bell is the true Liberty bell, proclaiming commercial freedom. Its boilers and the reservoirs are the forces of civilization. Its wheels are the wheels of progress, and its headlight is the illumination of dark countries.

—Railway Conference Proceedings, in *Spreading the American Dream*

**An Anti-imperialist Plea**

Not all Americans favored expansion overseas. In 1902 the *Nation* magazine declared, “We made war on Spain four years ago for doing the very things of which we are now guilty ourselves.” In this editorial the *Nation* pointed out that many Americans had previously opposed Spanish exploitation of local peoples, but now the government of the United States engaged in similar exploitation. Some Americans, like the author of the editorial, disapproved of imperialism, the policy of establishing economic, political, and military dominance over weaker nations, on humanitarian and moral grounds.

Other anti-imperialists prided themselves as Americans for being different from the Europeans, who were caught up in colonialism and militarism. They shared the sentiments of diplomat Carl Schurz, who lamented that extensive trading overseas would mean “wars and rumors of wars, and the time will be forever past when we could look down with condescending pity on the nations of the old world groaning under militarism and its burdens.”
In spite of anti-imperialist arguments, the political and economic climate at the turn of the century favored commercial expansion, even if commercial expansion meant sending troops to keep order and defend markets. Such commercial and military endeavors suited the temperament of Theodore Roosevelt, who became President in 1901. “I have always been fond,” Roosevelt explained, “of the West African proverb, Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far.” Roosevelt preferred not to brag about American power, but rather to be so strong that other countries would bow to the United States. This philosophy came to be known as the Big Stick. Roosevelt’s Big Stick policies in the Caribbean included the building of a canal in Panama and the extension of the Monroe Doctrine.

**The Big Ditch**

A canal across Central America linking the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans had been the dream of people of many different nationalities for years. The inset map above reveals the commercial and military advantages of such a canal. The reduction in travel time would save commercial fleets millions of dollars and increase the efficiency of naval fleets. The inefficiency of naval fleets during the Spanish-American War had underscored the need for a canal. When the war broke out in 1898, the battleship *Oregon* was sent from Seattle to Cuba. Because a canal did not exist at that time, the ship did not arrive until the war was nearly over.
The United States went on to negotiate the Hay-Herrán Treaty with Colombia in 1903, offering $10 million outright and $250,000 annually for a canal zone 6 miles wide in Panama, which at the time belonged to Colombia. When the Colombian legislature held out for more money, Roosevelt responded angrily and plotted to support a revolution that would make Panama an independent country—one the United States could more easily control.

When the Nashville, a gunboat from the United States, arrived on November 2, 1903, the Panamanians began their rebellion. On November 4, 1903, the victorious rebels read a formal declaration of independence, and 2 days later the United States recognized the Republic of Panama. The new government had little choice but to accept the United States’s terms for the building of a canal. The cutting of the canal began in 1904 and was completed 10 years later. Roosevelt took pride in having skillfully secured the canal, forging ahead in spite of reservations from Congress and legal advisers. He noted, “I took the Canal and let Congress debate.”

Expansion of the Monroe Doctrine

Roosevelt had supported the revolution in Panama against Colombia to secure a canal for American interests. In general, though, he did not look kindly upon revolutions or any kind of disorder in the Caribbean. Striving to keep the region stable for American investment, he put down disorders in various Caribbean countries.

In 1904 and 1905 several European powers threatened the Dominican Republic. They wanted to collect money owed by Dominican customs, but could not do so peacefully because various factions in the Dominican Republic fought for control of customs revenues. Before Germany could send troops to collect the funds owed it, American troops seized Dominican custom-houses and supervised the collection of customs fees and the repayment of debts. Roosevelt justified this action by issuing a corollary, or proposition, extending the Monroe Doctrine. His corollary asserted that “chronic wrongdoing” or “impotence” gave the United States the right to exercise “international police powers” in the Western Hemisphere. This changed the original intention of the Monroe Doctrine, which was to ward off European colonization. The United States now committed itself to

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**The map and the time line on this page show the pattern of United States intervention in the Caribbean from 1898 to 1917. What islands became possessions of the United States?**

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**United States Intervention in the Caribbean, 1898–1917**

- **1901** Platt Amendment permits United States intervention in Cuba.
- **1911** Nicaragua becomes a protectorate of the United States.
- **1916** Wilson sends troops to the Dominican Republic to quell domestic uprisings.
- **1898** United States annexes Puerto Rico.
- **1906** United States sends troops to Cuba to quell domestic uprisings.
- **1915** Wilson dispatches the marines to Haiti to restore order; Haiti becomes a protectorate of the United States.
- **1917** United States purchases the Virgin Islands from Denmark.
maintaining stability in the Western Hemisphere. The commitment would cause Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson to send troops to a number of Caribbean countries—including Cuba, Nicaragua, and Haiti—during their respective terms of office.

**Dollar Diplomacy**

When William Howard Taft succeeded Roosevelt as President in 1909, he agreed with the spirit of Roosevelt’s Big Stick policies, but not his tactics. Taft preferred a different form of conducting international relations, or diplomacy. His program, called Dollar Diplomacy—a somewhat milder approach to expansion and to interference in foreign governments—was one that substituted dollars for bullets. Hoping to gain more American influence in the hemisphere, Taft encouraged American bankers to lend money to Central American countries so that they could pay debts owed to Britain. He also encouraged entrepreneurial investment in the region. Investment in Central American mines, banana and coffee plantations, and railroads increased by $72 million from 1897 to 1914. Loans and investments had the effect of further impoverishing the fragile economies of Central American countries because most of their resources had to be used to pay back money, rather than to provide goods and services to their citizens. Throughout the 1900s, the United States State Department would use its power and influence in Latin America to protect American investors from loan defaults and unfriendly governments.

**Policies in Eastern Asia**

**Establishing an American Presence**

At the same time the United States consolidated its power in Latin America, it also turned to Asia to look for additional markets and to spread American values. Some Americans regarded Asia as a mysterious and alluring place. Others feared the growing Asian population, especially if it meant large numbers of Asians immigrating to the United States. The stereotypes that emerged in the 1800s lingered into the 1900s and characterized Asians as heathen and exotic—“the lawless hordes,” “the yellow peril.” Both prejudice against and fascination with Asia influenced foreign policy during the Progressive era.

**The Chinese Market**

While Americans at the turn of the century feared and discriminated against Chinese immigrants in the United States, the great numbers of people in China itself attracted them. The lure of souls, more than 400 million of them, to convert to Christianity inspired missionaries. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions sprang up on college campuses all over the United States. During the 1890s the number of American missions in China doubled to more than 500.

Missionaries not only attempted to convert Chinese people to Christianity, but also built schools and hospitals and encouraged their converts to buy American products. As missionaries became more and more involved in China, they increasingly looked toward the American government for protection and help, especially when they confronted Chinese resentment and hostility. In 1900 missionaries asked for and received American military help in putting down the Boxer Rebellion, an attempt by a group of Chinese rebels to expel foreign influence from China.

Saving 400 million souls inspired missionaries, but 400 million bodies consuming goods inspired American businesspeople. The United States was not alone in its attraction to the Chinese market. China and its promise of wealth attracted Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan as well.
By the latter half of the 1800s, these powers competed for influence in a China weakened by a decaying government, the Manchu dynasty. Each power vied for a chance to expand its interests in China. The United States wanted to share in these opportunities as well. Some Americans saw the possibility of building railroads, controlling ports, and selling manufactured products. At least two factors, however, put the United States at a distinct disadvantage: its geographical location, distant from China compared with Russia or Japan; and its navy, inferior to those of Japan, Germany, and Britain.

In 1899 and 1900 Secretary of State John Hay promoted a plan that would strengthen the American position in the scramble to gain control over specific regions of China. He sent notes to Japan and the key European powers asking them to accept the territorial integrity of China. In other words, Hay asked them not to control a specific part of China, but to leave the door open to trade for all nations in all parts of China. Because Russia, Japan, Britain, and France were jealous of one another’s influence in China, they temporarily agreed with Hay’s Open Door plan. The Open Door policy became a key concept in American foreign policy during the first decades of the 1900s. The hope of getting a share of the Chinese market continued to be the driving force in American policies in Asia and played a role in the American decision to annex the Philippines.

A War in the Philippines

As the United States celebrated its victory of 1898 against Spain, many wondered if the United States would allow the Philippines its independence. Before the Spanish-American War, the Filipinos had been waging a guerrilla war for independence from their colonial ruler, Spain. Filipino revolutionaries initially welcomed American forces into their country as liberators. The United States promised to support Philippine independence if the Filipino revolutionaries fought with the Americans against Spain. Moreover, the United States had drafted the Teller Amendment promising Cuba complete and unconditional freedom at the end of the war, and the Philippines expected similar treatment.
To justify annexation of the Philippines, expansionists used the arguments first put forth by President McKinley, who feared “anarchy” and vowed to “educate,” “uplift,” and “civilize” the population. Not far behind these lofty intentions, other considerations lurked: the Philippines could provide a rich variety of natural resources, as well as a foothold in Asia—a naval stop on the way to China. McKinley decided to hoist the American flag and take control of the country.

Filipino revolutionaries, led by Emilio Aguinaldo, did not accept the American decision to annex the Philippines without a fight. They waged guerrilla war at full force in the Philippines until 1902 and at reduced levels until 1906. In total, 120,000 American troops fought in the war, 4,200 of whom died. Filipinos suffered far greater casualties: at least 15,000 rebels and 200,000 civilians died. The novelist Mark Twain depicted the supreme irony of the situation:

There must be two Americas: one that sets the captive free, and one that takes a once-captive's new freedom away from him, and picks a quarrel with him with nothing to found it on; then kills him to get his land.

—Mark Twain, “To the Person Sitting in Darkness,” 1901

Balancing Russia and Japan

The port of Manila would be a stop on the way to the tempting Chinese market, and this in part explained the willingness of the United States to fight for the Philippines. As Albert Beveridge put it: “[J]ust beyond the Philippines are China’s illimitable markets.” This dream also shaped American policies with Japan. When Theodore Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1901, Russia posed the greatest danger to the Open Door policy in China because it controlled the large Chinese province of Manchuria. Like Hay before him, Roosevelt attempted to change the situation through diplomacy.

In 1904 Japan launched an attack against Russia, destroying much of its fleet. Roosevelt opportunistically supported Japan because he regarded Russia as a greater enemy. In 1905 he mediated a peace agreement between the two rivals, which earned him the Nobel Peace Prize. Roosevelt’s mediation of the Russo-Japanese War pleased Japan. It gained control over Korea, as well as key ports in China and the railroad in southern Manchuria. Roosevelt, however, made a point of checking Japanese power by negotiating rights for Russia in northern Manchuria and by having Japan agree to non-interference in the Philippines. His main interest was in seeing that no single power reigned supreme in Asia.

The Great White Fleet Destroyers and battleships of the United States Navy were painted a dazzling white, giving the fleet its name. What would be the advantage to the United States of having a port in Manila?
**Racial Politics**

In addition to shifting the balance of power in China, the settlement of the Russo-Japanese War also had worldwide implications for racial politics. That an Asian people, the Japanese, had humiliated a white people, the Russians, kindled new national and racial pride in both the Chinese and the Japanese.

Japan reacted by protesting the 1906 segregation of Japanese children in San Francisco schools. A respected Japanese journal urged Japan to use its navy, if necessary, to end such humiliation:

> The whole world knows that the poorly equipped army and navy of the United States are no match for our efficient army and navy. It will be an easy work to awake the United States from her dream of obstinacy when one of our great admirals appears on the other side of the Pacific.
> —Mainichi Shimbun, 1906

Roosevelt soothed Japanese humiliation with “A Gentleman’s Agreement” in 1907 that ended school segregation in San Francisco—while at the same time controlling Japanese immigration to California. As the controversy raged, Roosevelt began to calculate. Perhaps the delicate balance of power was shifting. Perhaps it was time for the United States to flex its muscles for the Japanese to see. Roosevelt had been building a stronger and more modern navy, and now he resolved to send the entire American fleet of 16 battleships around the world in a show of might. The Great White Fleet made a special stop in Japan in 1908.

**Entanglement With Europe**

**Mediating Disputes**

As the United States experimented in colonial and militaristic adventures overseas, its attitude toward Europe changed. For almost all of the 1800s, the United States had shunned entanglement with Europe. The democratic institutions of the United States set it apart from the colonial and militaristic ways of Europe—or so popular opinion believed. Nevertheless, when Hay shaped his Open Door policy and when Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War, they both participated in diplomacy that affected politics in Europe. They also showed that the United States could effectively resolve conflicts of interest in other parts of the world.

In the early 1900s the United States was often called upon to mediate disputes. In 1906 Roosevelt defused a crisis between Germany and France over Morocco. In 1911 Taft arbitrated a dispute between France and Great Britain over Liberia. In part, a desire for trading privileges in Africa motivated the efforts of Roosevelt and Taft in these cases. Far more than keeping an open door for American trade, the two Presidents hoped to keep peace in Europe. By 1900 the economy of the United States depended on markets all over the world. If tensions in Europe were to explode into war, American trade might suffer disastrously.

**Section Assessment**

**Main Idea**

1. Use a diagram like this one to compare arguments over United States foreign expansion.

**Vocabulary**


**Checking Facts**

3. How did feelings of superiority shape United States foreign expansion?

4. Why did Roosevelt mediate in the Russo-Japanese War?

**Critical Thinking**

5. Making Comparisons Compare how missionaries and investors viewed American involvement in China.
Geography: Impact on History

LOCATION

The Panama Canal

Still considered one of the greatest engineering feats in the world, the Panama Canal cuts more than 50 miles (80.5 km) through the Isthmus of Panama. The story of how the only link between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans came to be built on this site reads like a novel—full of suspense and intrigue.

A Race for the First Canal

When California entered the Union in 1850, the United States saw that a canal joining its 2 oceans would be a great military and commercial boon. Between 1870 and 1875, the United States Navy made official surveys of desirable locations. In 1881 a United States commission decided that a canal through Nicaragua would be the cheapest to build. It would need locks, but it would involve the least digging. Convinced that a transoceanic canal was in the best interests of the United States, the government bought a concession for a canal from Nicaragua.

About the same time, France obtained a grant to build a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. In a race with the Americans, French government officials persuaded Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal, to build it. Although he was 75, de Lesseps could not resist the offer. He formed a private company to raise money and drew up plans for a sea-level canal.

During the 6 years that de Lesseps worked on the canal, 2 out of 3 workers died of yellow fever or malaria. In 1898 de Lesseps had to admit that his plan for a sea-level canal would not work. Cutting through the continental divide was...
not only extraordinarily expensive but almost impossible with the equipment he had. By then he had spent $320 million, at least 20,000 workers had died, and his company had gone bankrupt.

**Panama or Nicaragua?**

After the Spanish-American War, the United States renewed its interest in an American canal. Congress voted to build a canal in Nicaragua. Shortly afterward, the New Panama Canal Company (a French company that owned what was left of de Lesseps’s canal in Panama) offered to sell the United States all of its canal rights and holdings for $40 million.

The United States would probably have stuck to its plan for a Nicaraguan canal, but a few days before Congress was to vote again on the canal’s location, a volcano erupted in the French West Indies, killing 40,000 people. Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a representative of the French, seized the opportunity to remind Congress that potentially active volcanoes existed near the lake in Nicaragua where the approved canal was to be built. When Congress finally voted in 1902, Panama was in and Nicaragua was out as the site of the canal—by a margin of only 8 votes.

In the 1880s Nicaragua probably was the better choice for a canal; by the 1900s, Panama was a better site. The larger ships being built at that time would have had great difficulty negotiating the winding canal in Nicaragua. In hindsight, a Nicaraguan canal would have been a costly mistake because it soon would have become obsolete.

Meanwhile, the intrigue continued. The Panama site depended upon the assent of Colombia, which controlled the isthmus. Colombia balked. Dissidents in Panama had long wanted to break with Colombia. Roosevelt spoke in favor of the rebels, who in turn favored an American canal. After Panama’s successful revolt, it signed a treaty guaranteeing the United States the exclusive use and control of a canal zone 10 miles (16 km) wide across the isthmus, “in perpetuity.”

**Work Begins**

In May 1904, a United States commission assumed the French property, and work began again on the Panama Canal. Colonel William C. Gorgas, an American physician who had wiped out yellow fever in Havana, Cuba, spent the first 2 years of construction clearing brush, draining swamps, and cutting out large areas of grass where mosquitos carrying malaria and yellow fever lived. At the height of the project, more than 40,000 workers were employed. In 1914 the cost for the completed project came to more than $380 million.

**The Panama Canal Today**

The Panama Canal remains a crucial commercial and military waterway. Its importance diminished somewhat with the advent of supertankers and large aircraft carriers too large to go through the canal. The high speeds and low operating costs of these ships have undercut the time-saving advantage of the canal. After World War II, the canal’s military importance changed, too. The United States Navy decided to maintain fleets in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Still, an average of 34 oceangoing vessels travel through the Panama Canal each day—for a total of about 12,500 ships every year.
Notice! Travellers intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; . . . and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.
—New York World, May 1, 1915

The passengers who sailed from New York on the British ship *Lusitania* that day seemingly ignored the warning that appeared in the newspaper. Bound for England, they enjoyed six days of dining and dancing on the luxury liner.

Early in the afternoon of May 7, in calm waters off the coast of Ireland, a German torpedo ripped into the side of the *Lusitania*. The huge ship sank within 18 minutes, taking with it the lives of nearly 1,200 men, women, and children, including 128 Americans.

Germany defended its action on the grounds that the *Lusitania* carried a shipment of arms. It also pointed out that passengers had been warned not to sail in the war zone. Americans, however, were outraged. Some demanded a declaration of war, although most wanted to keep the United States out of the conflict. President Wilson chose to apply diplomatic pressure on Germany and try to hold it accountable for its actions. During the next few months Wilson sent increasingly severe protests to Germany. He insisted that it abandon unrestricted submarine warfare. Americans could no longer merely watch Europe’s war.

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**Headlines Influence Public Opinion**

After reading this news report about the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the loss of life that resulted, Americans began to unify against Germany.

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**Main Idea**

World War I forced Americans to reexamine long-standing beliefs about noninvolvement in European wars.

**Vocabulary**

- self-determination
- coup
- alliance
- neutrality
- dogfight
- emigrate

**Read to Find Out . . .**

- reasons for the conflict between Wilson’s belief in self-determination and his interventionist actions in Mexico and the Caribbean.
- the events that caused World War I.
- efforts taken by the United States to remain neutral during World War I.
Wilson’s Foreign Policy

Intervention in Mexico

President Wilson brought to foreign policy an element of idealism that contrasted with the pragmatism of Roosevelt and Taft. He strongly believed that all peoples of the world had a right to self-determination, the right to choose the form of government they live under and to control their internal affairs. Yet President Wilson intervened in the affairs of other countries more than any previous President.

Revolution in Mexico

President Wilson, like Roosevelt, upheld the principles of the corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. Wilson maintained stability in the Western Hemisphere for American investment by sending American troops to quell domestic uprisings in Haiti in 1915, in the Dominican Republic in 1916, and in Cuba in 1917. He also continued Taft’s Dollar Diplomacy policies by encouraging investors to buy out British enterprises in Central America. Dealing with Mexico and Europe, however, proved problematic for Wilson.

For 30 years the powerful Porfirio Díaz ruled Mexico. The stability of his rule encouraged American, British, and German investors, so much so that they controlled 90 percent of Mexico’s mines, railroads, and industry. In 1911, however, Díaz fell from power, toppled by angry peasants whose land had been taken and middle-class Mexicans who had been deprived of their civil and voting rights.

Foreign investors feared that Francisco Madero, who replaced Díaz, would confiscate their property. Foreign diplomats—including the ambassador of the United States—and businesspeople plotted with discontented elements of the Mexican army to overthrow Madero. They wanted to replace him with Victoriano Huerta.

By the time President Wilson took office on March 4, 1913, Huerta had seized power, overthrowing the government and killing Madero in a bloody coup. Wilson thought the violence repulsive. He refused to recognize Huerta’s government, vowing not to interfere directly.

We shall have no right at any time to intervene in Mexico to determine the way in which the Mexicans are to settle their own affairs. . . . Things may happen of which we do not approve and which could not happen in the United States, but I say very solemnly that that is no affair of ours.

—Woodrow Wilson, letter, 1914

American Intervention

A few months after expressing these beliefs, Wilson changed his mind, declaring that he had to teach Mexico to elect good officials. A minor incident concerning American honor was one reason for his shift. In April 1914, Mexican officials arrested several sailors from an American naval vessel in the port of Tampico. Local Mexican officials, as well as Huerta, quickly apologized for the incident. The American admiral in charge demanded a 21-gun salute to the American flag. Huerta demanded the same salute to the Mexican flag. This infuriated Wilson, who used the Tampico incident as a pretext for sending marines to the port city of Veracruz.
Another cause for Wilson’s change of mind was a rumor that a German ship bound for Veracruz carried guns for Huerta’s army. In spite of Mexico’s ongoing revolution, the occupation of Veracruz outraged most Mexicans. Anti-American riots broke out in Mexico and throughout Latin America. The European press condemned the American military intervention, and so did many Americans. Shocked, Wilson backed off, and agreed to allow the ABC powers—Argentina, Brazil, and Chile—to mediate.

In 1915 Venustiano Carranza followed Huerta as president of Mexico. When Wilson backed Carranza, the rebel leader Pancho Villa struck back by killing 18 American mining engineers in Mexico. Villa’s band then crossed the border and killed 17 Americans in the town of Columbus, New Mexico.

Wilson sent an expedition of 15,000 troops into Mexico under the command of John J. Pershing to find and capture Villa. Though they never found Villa, both Mexican and American lives were lost in battle.

Despite this military involvement, the United States failed to control events in Mexico. By late January 1917, Wilson decided to withdraw forces from Mexico. Another, much larger, war raged in Europe.

**Origins of World War I**

**Assassination and Alliances**

What set off World War I in Europe? The bullet that killed the heir to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, started World War I. Austria-Hungary ruled over a large part of the Balkans, a mountainous area of southeastern Europe where many ethnic groups struggled for their independence. When a Serbian who supported Balkan independence assassinated Franz Ferdinand and his wife, all of Europe held its breath.

**Entangling Alliances**

By June 1914, almost any troublesome event could have sparked a war in Europe. Russia vied with Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire for control over the Balkans. France, Russia, Britain, and Germany wrangled with one another to control ports and colonies overseas. The new naval force of Germany challenged Britain’s long-established naval supremacy. Similarly, Germany’s disciplined army struck fear into the hearts of neighboring Russia and France.

To gain security, many European countries organized themselves into a number of formal alliances, or unions. Each country that was part of a particular alliance vowed to help the allied countries in case of war. The members of the Triple Entente—which came to be called the Allies—were Britain, France, and Russia. Opposing the Allied Powers were the Central Powers, which consisted of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire.

Because of the alliances, leaders in Europe knew that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand might mean world war. Russia reacted first by coming to the defense of the Serbian nationalists, in hopes of gaining influence in the Balkans. Russia’s move brought the countries of the Triple Entente into the dispute, but Austria-Hungary and Germany needed to protect their interests too. Soon all of Europe erupted into war.

**Early Years of the War**

Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914, and Germany declared war on Russia and France in the next few days. To avoid the strong defenses on the Franco-German border, German troops stormed through neutral Belgium. As a result, Great Britain, which was committed to the neutrality, or impartiality, of Belgium, declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914. A year later France, Russia, and Great Britain lured Italy into World War I on their side by promising Italy territory from the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the war was over. The map of Europe on page 307
shows that battle lines, or fronts, formed in two principal places: the Eastern Front in Russia and Germany and the Western Front in Belgium and France.

By November 1914, opposing troops on the Western Front faced each other in a deadlock. French troops stopped a German advance toward Paris, but at heavy cost. For more than three years thereafter, each side held the other in check.

On the Eastern Front, the Central Powers rapidly pushed back a disorganized and unprepared Russian army. They advanced across hundreds of miles of territory and took hundreds of thousands of prisoners early in the war. Later Russian successes were less decisive. Hardship among the Russian people, coupled with plummeting confidence in the czar’s leadership, threatened Russia’s ability to fight at all. Talk of mutiny sped through the troops.

The Fields of Death

World War I resulted in greater loss of life and property than in any previous war. In the Battle of Verdun (February to July 1916), for example, French casualties numbered about 315,000 and German casualties about 280,000. In the Battle of the Somme, Britain suffered 60,000 casualties in one day of fighting. That battle raged...
from July to November of 1916 and resulted in more than 1 million deaths. In the end, the Allies had advanced the front only about 7 miles. A battle at Tannenberg, in East Prussia, was so disastrous that the Russian general shot himself in despair over the defeat.

The terrible destruction of World War I resulted from a combination of old-fashioned strategies and new technology. Military commanders continued to order massive infantry offensives. The command “Over the top!” sent soldiers scrambling out of the trenches to dash across a field with fixed bayonets, hurling grenades into enemy trenches. The attackers, however, were no match for automatic machine guns that could fire hundreds of rounds in rapid succession. Defensive artillery kept each side pinned in the trenches.

Both sides developed new weapons designed to break the deadlock. In April 1915, the Germans first used poison gas in the Second Battle of Ypres. The fumes caused vomiting and suffocation. When the Allies also began using poison gas as a weapon, gas masks became a necessary part of a soldier’s equipment. Flamethrowers that shot out streams of burning fuel and tanks that could roll over barbed wire and trenches added to the destruction.

The fields of battle in World War I extended to the seas and to the skies. Germany challenged Britain’s sea power with its submarine blockade. The two navies squared off in a major encounter on May 31 and June 1, 1916, in the Battle of Jutland, off the west coast of Denmark. Both sides claimed victory, but Britain retained control of the seas.

Great advances in aviation came about during World War I. At first planes were used mainly to observe enemy activities. Then Germany developed a machine gun timed to fire between an airplane’s propeller blades. This invention led to the use of airplanes for combat. Dogfights, the name given to clashes between enemy aircraft, proved deadly for pilots but had little effect on the ground war.

During 1917 France and Britain saw their hopes for victory diminish. A revolution in Russia made the situation seem even more hopeless. In March 1917 (February in old Russian calendar), an uprising in Russia resulted in the overthrow of the czar. In November, Bolshevik party leader Vladimir I. Lenin seized control of the government and began peace talks with Germany. Thus, the Russian Revolution led to the end of fighting on the Eastern Front, freeing Germany to concentrate all its forces on the Western Front. The Allies’ only hope seemed to be the entry of the United States into the war.

In the Trenches

The soldiers on the Western Front spent most of their time in muddy trenches. Enemy troops were protected from one another only by dirt, barbed wire, and a stretch of land—called no-man’s-land—no more than 30 yards wide in some places.
When not shooting at the enemy, soldiers in trenches fought lice, rats, and the dampness and cold, as well as such diseases as dysentery, gangrene, and trench mouth. All understood the suffering they faced daily, if not the politics that created the trenches. By the end of World War I roughly 10 million soldiers and about 20 million civilians had died. Exact numbers were impossible to collect.

Many soldiers took the war as a personal challenge. Others became disillusioned. One German novelist portrayed a young German soldier crying out in protest:

While they [government officials] continued to write and talk, we saw the wounded and dying. While they taught that duty to one’s country is the greatest thing, we already knew that death-throes are stronger. . . . We loved our country as much as they; we went courageously into every action; but also we distinguished the false from true.

—Erich Maria Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front, 1929

Myth of Neutrality

While Wilson publicly proclaimed neutrality of the United States, American interests leaned toward the Allies. Although United States businesses traded with both sides in the European conflict, ties with the Allies were much stronger. A representative from the House of Morgan, the mighty New York financial institution, explained:

Those were the days when American citizens were being urged to remain neutral in action, in word, and even in thought. But our firm had never for one moment been neutral: we didn’t know how to be. From the very start we did everything that we could to contribute to the cause of the Allies.

—Thomas W. Lamont, Manchester Guardian, January 27, 1920

American political and business sympathy pleased the Allies. They tried to sway popular support to their side too. One of the first things Britain did when war broke out was to cut the transatlantic cable to the United States, so all news had to come through Britain. The reports that arrived vilified the Germans. Soon many ordinary Americans favored the Allies in World War I.

Bryan and the Submarines

Although public sentiment was turning toward the Allies, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan still favored neutrality—even after German submarines attacked ships on which American citizens traveled. The
Germans had developed this new weapon, the submarine, and they used it to surprise enemy merchant ships in the war zone Germany monitored around the British Isles. That strategy was in response to a British blockade of Germany that had effectively begun to starve the German people. Bryan could see that both sides had military reasons for acting as they did. He encouraged Wilson to forbid Americans from traveling in the submarine zones as a way of avoiding trouble with Germany. Wilson argued, however, that free and safe travel was a right of citizens of a neutral country.

The issue reached a crisis on May 7, 1915, when German submarines attacked the Lusitania, a British passenger ship. More than 1,000 passengers died, including 128 Americans, as the torpedoed ship quickly sank. Germany knew that the Lusitania secretly carried arms and had warned ahead of time that it might be a target for attack. Nevertheless, Americans were outraged. “Damnable! Damnable! Absolutely hellish!” cried Billy Sunday, a fiery evangelist of the time. In spite of the tragedy, Wilson continued to believe that Americans should not be restricted from traveling the seas. In protest, Bryan resigned.

Reelection

The American people reelected Woodrow Wilson to the presidency in 1916 in a close race against Charles Evans Hughes. American voters responded to the Democratic campaign slogan: He kept us out of war! That slogan, however, made Wilson nervous. In spite of his neutrality efforts, he knew that the nation was edging closer to entering World War I.

The pressure on Wilson to enter the war came partly from his own moral commitment to the Allies; but it came also from American business leaders and

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**A German Submarine** This camouflaged German submarine, or U-boat, was typical of those that operated from 1914 to 1918. What strategy did the Germans employ to break the British blockade of Germany?
investors. American companies had invested deeply in an Allied victory. By 1917 American loans to the Allies totaled $2.25 billion. If Wilson helped the Allies win, the money would be paid back. Even more important, his commitment to the Allies would ensure a place for American investment in postwar Europe.

In addition to these pragmatic motives, the idealistic Wilson truly wanted to have a say in a peace settlement. He longed to make sure that after World War I, no other war would ever threaten the world again. He felt that no one would listen seriously to his ideas unless the United States had actually proved itself in battle. Ironically, Wilson’s desire for a peaceful world led him closer to war.

Closer to War

Several events led the United States to finally enter the war. In January 1917, a German official named Arthur Zimmermann cabled the German ambassador in Mexico instructing him to make an offer to the Mexican government. Zimmermann proposed that Mexico ally itself with Germany. In return, Germany would make sure that after World War I, no other war would ever threaten the world again. He felt that no one would listen seriously to his ideas unless the United States had actually proved itself in battle. Ironically, Wilson’s desire for a peaceful world led him closer to war.

By April 1, President Wilson was brooding and pacing the floor. “Once I lead these people into war,” he confided to editor Frank Cobb, “they’ll forget there was ever such a thing as tolerance. To fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fabric of our national life.” Despite his anguish, on April 2, 1917, the President stood before the United States Congress and asked its members to declare war on Germany.

It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations. . . . [W]e dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, . . . America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

—Woodrow Wilson, War Message, April 1917

Main Idea

1. Use a diagram like this one to show events leading to United States entry into World War I.

   | Event | Event | Event | Event | War |

Vocabulary


Checking Facts

3. How did Wilson continue the policies of Roosevelt and Taft?

4. What single act set off World War I? Why?

Critical Thinking

5. Drawing Conclusions Why was the British government so eager to inform the United States of Germany’s offer to Mexico? What did it hope to gain? How did this information affect Wilson’s thinking on the war?
The Radio

With the invention of the radio, communication improved worldwide. The radio connected governments, as well as average citizens, providing information about international events and ending isolation across the globe. As a form of entertainment, the radio also impacted everyone’s leisure time.

**GENERATING POWER**
The use of wireless telegraphy during World War I affected the development of offensive and defensive fronts. This soldier is pedaling a stationary bike to generate the power needed to make radio contact between troops. The primary concern was communicating information between a fixed and a moving point.

**THE “MUSIC BOX”**
Frank Conrad, an engineer for Westinghouse, began broadcasting music from his garage after World War I. As interest in the broadcasts grew, Harry P. Davis, a Westinghouse vice president, launched the sale of the first commercial radio receiver in 1920 called the “music box” (above).

**THE EVOLUTION OF RADIO BROADCASTING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-1900s</th>
<th>1900s</th>
<th>1910s</th>
<th>1920s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ELECTROMAGNETIC WAVES</strong>, the precursor to radio, radar, and television, are demonstrated by James Maxwell in 1864.</td>
<td><strong>ELECTROMAGNETIC WAVES</strong> first transmit sounds in a 1900 experiment by R.A. Fessenden.</td>
<td><strong>TRIODE VACUUM TUBE</strong>, which allows for amplification of weak signals, is developed by Lee De Forest in 1906.</td>
<td><strong>BROADCASTING INDUSTRY</strong>, including hundreds of radio stations and millions of receivers, is envisioned by David Sarnoff in 1916.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE CHANGING SHAPE OF RADIO

How has the radio changed since its inception in 1920? What impact has this form of communication had on other sectors of life? Make a collage labeling the different forms of radio technology available today.

TRANSMITTING SIGNALS

On November 2, 1920, KDKA of Pittsburgh conducted the world’s first scheduled broadcast. By the mid-1920s, KDKA personnel were testing an experimental antenna, carried aloft by a big balloon (left). This was a far cry from the first mobile radio in 1901 (below), with its cylindrical aerial that allowed telegraphic transmissions around the country and to sailing vessels. Guglielmo Marconi, standing at the extreme right, is credited with the invention of wireless telegraphy.

ENTERTAINMENT

Singing into an early microphone, Dame Nellie Melba’s clear soprano soared across European and Atlantic airwaves on June 15, 1920, from the Marconi wireless factory in Chelmsford, England. This was the first advertised program of entertainment on the radio—until then the radio had been used mostly as a news service. Civilians were prohibited from using the wireless during the war.

FM RADIO becomes available in 1929.


INTERNET RADIO comes into existence with the birth of the World Wide Web in 1991. Within less than a decade, radio stations around the world broadcast radio programs via the Internet.
In her novella *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, Katherine Anne Porter describes life on the home front through the experiences of a woman named Miranda. During 1918 Miranda’s problems, like those of other young working women, were intimately linked to the war. One morning, she awakened with a headache and a queasy feeling in her stomach—symptoms of influenza. This disease had infected the people of Denver, where Miranda worked, and other cities across the nation. Thousands died. The deadly epidemic struck other countries too. It proved fatal to more American soldiers than did the war itself. About 57,000 American soldiers died from influenza while the United States was at war; about 53,500 died in battle.

Miranda tried to ignore her headache and the funeral processions that wound down the city’s streets. She needed to concentrate on two other problems. She had fallen in love with a young man, Adam, who had to leave for the front in a few days. She also was being hounded to buy liberty bonds—loan certificates the government issued to help pay for the war. Bonds were sold at rallies throughout the country. Miranda could not afford a bond, but she was afraid she would lose her job if she refused to buy one.

That evening Miranda met Adam. The couple strolled to the theater. They could not, however, escape the hawking of the war. When the curtain rose for the third act, the audience beheld not the actors, but an American flag draped...
across a backdrop. In front of the flag, a middle-aged man began to sell Liberty Bonds. All of the words Miranda had ever heard about the war ran together in her mind:

WAR to end WAR, war for Democracy, for humanity, a safe world forever and ever—and to prove our faith in Democracy to each other, and to the world, let everybody get together and buy Liberty Bonds and do without sugar and wool socks.

—Katherine Anne Porter, *Pale Horse, Pale Rider*, 1939

**Mobilization**

**Military Draft and Civilian Pressure**

The pressures Miranda felt to back the war effort were typical for her generation. When President Wilson asked Congress to declare war, he knew that he needed the support of all Americans. War, he said, would involve mobilization, or preparation, by citizens and business enterprises. Wilson warned that any disloyalty would be met “with a firm hand.” Support in Congress for the war resolution was very strong. To fund the war, Wilson raised income taxes and organized a vigorous Liberty Bond campaign. Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo also pressed the public for financing. “A man who can’t lend his government $1.25 per week at the rate of 4 percent interest,” he said, “is not entitled to be an American citizen.”

**Drafting an Army**

In addition to raising money, the President initiated conscription, or compulsory enrollment in military service. The United States had not enforced a draft since the Civil War, and some Americans spoke out against it. “I feel it is my sacred duty to keep the stalwart young men of today out of a barbarous war 3,500 miles away,” said Congressman Isaac Sherwood. Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress, also opposed both conscription and the war declaration.

Many progressives, however, supported the war and the draft. They argued that the draft might prove to be a great equalizer. Young men from upper and lower classes and from many ethnic origins would serve side by side, learning to live together as brothers. This equality might then translate into reforms at home.

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker called June 5, 1917, the official day of registration for the draft, “a festival and patriotic occasion.” Draft registration proceeded in the midst of local fairs and picnics. Men aged 21 to 30 (later the draft age was extended from 18 to 45) registered by the millions. A lottery decided those to be actually inducted into the military. About 11,000 women also volunteered as nurses, clerical workers, and telephone operators.

**Segregating African Americans**

The military was not an equalizer for African Americans, who were strictly segregated. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) demanded that African Americans be allowed to become officers. Its persistence paid off, when more than 600 African Americans graduated from an officer-training program at Fort Des Moines. The military, however, did not give high rank to any of these officers. White officers commanded the African American Ninety-Second Division. Some African American troops were integrated with white French troops once they arrived in Europe. This tolerance abroad added to African Americans’ discontent with prejudice back home.

**Fighting Over There**

**American “Pep” and Strength in Numbers**

Under the command of General John J. Pershing, the United States infantry—nicknamed doughboys after a cake traditionally baked for sailors—began coming ashore in France in late June 1917. The Allies
desperately needed “men, men, men,” as one French officer put it. Although most Americans fought separately from the European units, the Allies welcomed the relief the American Expeditionary Force (A.E.F.) offered.

The doughboys arrived in France singing “Pack Up Your Troubles in an Old Kit Bag” and “It’s a Grand Old Flag.” Aside from their confident air, the doughboys were unprepared for war. Pershing, known for his unbending will and a personality embittered by the death of his wife and children in a fire, described the problem: “A large percentage of them [American troops] were ignorant of practically everything pertaining to the business of the soldier in war.” By late 1917, about 200,000 had arrived. Though they lacked training, American soldiers gained a reputation for courage and “pep.”

The Eastern Front

The A.E.F. filled a breach left by heavy Allied losses on the Western Front and Russia’s pullout from the war. Russia had suffered huge losses on the Eastern Front. Its new revolutionary government wanted no part of what they considered to be the czar’s imperialistic—and now unwinnable—war. Russia signed a peace treaty with Germany on March 3, 1918, and gave up large amounts of territory, including Finland, Poland, Ukraine, and the Baltic states.

Yet Germany’s strength was waning. American troops and military hardware added punch to the Allied attack in the west, and the military position of all of the Central Powers deteriorated rapidly in the fall of 1918. Bulgaria surrendered on September 29. British forces caused the surrender of the Ottoman Empire on October 30. Italy, with the help of France and Britain, brought about the surrender of Austria-Hungary in November.

The Expeditionary Force’s Role

More than 2 million American soldiers went to France during the war, the peak arriving in July 1918. Of these troops, nearly 1.4 million took part in active combat. Most were in the army or marines, but 50,000 United States naval forces, under the command of William S. Sims, were indispensable too. They convoyed troop transports and helped the British fleet chase submarines and keep German ships out of the North Sea.

Beginning in March 1918, the Germans launched a last desperate series of offensives on the Western Front. In June United States troops helped the French forces block a German advance at Château-Thierry. American troops then captured the town of Cantigny. The turning point of the war was at the Second Battle of the Marne in July. About 85,000 American troops helped end the German offensive. After that, the Allies advanced steadily.

Britain and France attacked the Germans near Amiens, and General Pershing led United States troops to a major victory at St.-Mihiel. The last major offensive of the war took place between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest, beginning in September 1918. More than 1 million
American troops took part in a campaign that finally convinced the Germans they could not overcome the superior strength of the Allies. Germany signed the armistice on November 11, 1918, and World War I came to an end.

Americans had fought in Europe for just over a year. They felt neither the despair nor the suffering of their European counterparts. Many doughboys, never away from home before, regarded the “Great War” as a dashing adventure, a romantic scene from movies they had seen in boot camp.

Not all soldiers, however, could romanticize the war. They had witnessed sobering scenes such as this one described in the diary of an American draftee:

Many dead Germans along the road. One heap on a manure pile. . . . Devastation everywhere. Our barrage has rooted up the entire territory like a ploughed field. Dead horses galore, many of them have a hind quarter cut off—the Huns need food. Dead men here and there.

—Battlefield diary, November 3, 1918, in The American Spirit

The War Effort at Home

Adversaries United—or Arrested

Unity, cooperation, conformity—these words described the war effort at home. Propaganda, a form of public information used to mold public opinion, became the tool by which American opinion would be molded to fight and win the war. Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo relentlessly pitched patriotism in his Liberty Bond campaigns. Herbert Hoover, food administrator, used slogans to urge housewives to conserve: Food will win the war, Use all leftovers, and Serve just enough. George Creel, who headed Wilson’s Committee on Public Information, also relied on emotion and peer pressure to mold public opinion. Some regarded his numerous flyers, movies, conferences, speeches, posters, news bulletins, headlines, and exhibits as heavy-handed. Creel, however, defended his mission, calling it “the world’s greatest adventure in advertising.”

Response From the Heartland

The patriotism campaigns of McAdoo, Hoover, and Creel reached every corner of the United States. In Geneva, Illinois, for example, women formed the Women’s Council of Defense to conserve food for the war effort. Because the Allies desperately needed food, many crops were shipped overseas and Americans at home were asked to conserve. Besides conserving food, women, along with adolescent girls and boys, pitched in to plow fields and plant and harvest corn. The corn crops of the Midwest fed the whole nation.

Women and teenagers in Geneva also worked at the Burgess-Norton Company, a factory booming with war business. In 1916 the government awarded the factory a contract to produce ammunition. Burgess-Norton later received contracts to produce fuses for navy shells, as well as meat cleavers, saws, and brush axes for the army.

Cooperation of Business

The Burgess-Norton Company, like thousands of other small companies, willingly cooperated with the government. By helping the war effort, they seized an opportunity to grow and increase profits. For large corporations, the war promised even bigger rewards.

In the name of unity (and expecting abundant profit), big businesses joined with the government in forming cooperative committees. They supervised the purchasing of war supplies and the granting of contracts. Progressives who lauded efficiency and cooperation smiled upon this centralized regulation, forgetting, in the heat of the moment, their former distrust of big business. Corporate profits tripled between 1914 and 1919.
Cooperation of Labor

Would labor cooperate with government and big business to win the war? In 1917 that question did not have a ready answer. Antiwar sentiment among ordinary workers had soared since 1914, and labor leadership was sharply divided. The American Federation of Labor and the Women’s Trade Union League supported the war, while Socialists (members of the American Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World) opposed it as an imperialist ploy to protect the profits of big business. Likewise, some women suffragists in the labor movement opposed the war, questioning Wilson’s commitment to democracy. After all, women still could not vote in most states.

Samuel Gompers, who headed the American Federation of Labor, became a key figure in labor’s support of the war. He shed his earlier pacifist ideals as he calculated the opportunities war might bring to the labor movement. If he cooperated with government, Gompers believed he could gain concessions from company leaders: higher pay and better working conditions; the right to organize and bargain collectively.

Even before the country entered the war, Gompers had pledged support to Wilson. In return, the government’s Committee of Public Information secretly channeled money to Gompers’s American Alliance for Labor and Democracy, a group organized to discredit Socialists in the labor movement.

The American Federation of Labor did attract thousands of workers to its ranks during the war years. By 1918, with its membership swelled to nearly 3 million, labor had won important concessions such as an 8-hour workday in many industries previously opposed to it.

These gains came at a price. For example, during the war workers labored under no-strike contracts. Later, women of all races and African American and Hispanic men quickly lost their jobs when soldiers returned home to claim them. The labor movement itself lost some of its diversity as Gompers, in cooperation with the government, muzzled Socialist opponents. Thus weakened, the labor movement was unable to effectively face the backlash that would come after the war.

War and Civil Liberties

The lack of diversity in the labor movement reflected a similar pattern in society as a whole as the government passed legislation to unify everyone behind the war effort. The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Amendment of 1918 made any obstruction of the war effort illegal and curbed the civil liberties, or democratic rights, of those who spoke against the war. Government agencies broadly interpreted the new laws. Loyalty Leagues, organized by George Creel, encouraged Americans to spy and report on those who might be “disloyal.” The Post Office withdrew circulation privileges from Socialist and antiwar newspapers such as the Masses and the Milwaukee Leader; and it even hired college professors to translate foreign periodicals to find out if they contained antiwar messages. Wilson’s fears of April 1, 1917, seemed prophetic. Just before he declared war, Wilson had expressed concern that the war would result in widespread intolerance.

During the war, freedom of speech took a severe beating. Socialist Rose Pastor Stokes was punished for a letter she sent to the Kansas City Star stating that...
“no government which is for the profiteers can also be for the people, and I am for the people, while the Government is for the profiteers.” For her words, a local court sentenced her to 10 years in prison. That decision was later reversed through a higher court. Socialist leader Eugene Debs served time in prison for telling his followers to “resist militarism, wherever found.”

This atmosphere of legal repression, or official restriction of dissent, soon led to mindless crowd reaction. One night in Tulsa, Oklahoma, “gowned and masked gunmen” terrorized members of the Industrial Workers of the World. One member remembered the ordeal: “After each one [of us] was whipped another man applied the tar with a large brush, from the head to the seat. Then a brute smeared feathers over and rubbed them in.”

Americans of German descent, like Socialists, suffered wartime harassment. All things German became suspect. Advertisers began to call sauerkraut “liberty cabbage” and hamburgers “liberty sausage” because they wanted to avoid German names. Many schools dropped German language classes from their curricula. In some small towns, anti-German feeling turned into violence. A mob numbering 500 in Collinsville, Illinois, lynched a young German-born man whom they suspected of disloyalty. When a jury found the mob leaders innocent, they shouted, “Nobody can say we aren’t loyal now!”

Defending Free Speech

Not all Americans were caught up in the wartime frenzy. Some spoke out against the espionage and sedition laws and what they considered to be violations of free speech. Senator Robert La Follette and Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., of the Harvard Law School openly defended Americans’ rights to exercise freedom of speech with regard to war. Groups formed to protect the rights of antiwar protesters. The Civil Liberties Union assisted pacifists and conscientious objectors who had been subjected to ridicule and abuse. Most Americans, however, gave little thought to restrictions of speech and supported the war without questioning the rights they were giving up.

After the war Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., ruled that a citizen’s freedom of speech should only be curbed when the words uttered constitute a “clear and present danger.” He used yelling a false alarm of “Fire!” in a crowded theater as an example of a situation in which freedom of speech would be superseded by others’ right to safety. The question remained whether critics of the war constituted a “clear and present danger” to the nation.
Social Studies Skill

Learning the Skill

If you want to write a paper on a topic related to World War I, you will need to use a variety of reference resources. Familiarity with such materials sharpens your research skills and helps you decide where to look for information. Try to locate the following resources in a library’s reference department:

Encyclopedias

Encyclopedia articles give an overview of a topic. Most offer suggestions for further research at the end of an article, including a bibliography, list of related articles in the encyclopedia, or additional sources of information.

Indexes of Periodicals

Periodicals from the past reflect the culture, events, and concerns of their time; current periodicals provide the most recent research on a given topic. Several indexes can help you find information in periodicals. The *Readers’ Guide to Periodical Literature* is a popular set of reference books that lists magazine articles by topic.

Historical Atlases

These contain maps with information about people and events of the past, and may also have articles and timelines. National Geographic’s *Historical Atlas of the United States* is one source for United States history.

Statistical Sources

For information about the United States, the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* is a good place to start. Compiled by the Bureau of the Census, it contains data on more than 30 topics. The information dates back to 1790, the year the first census was taken.

Biographical Dictionaries

These tell about the life or achievements of noteworthy people. Webster’s *American Biographies* and the *Dictionary of American Biography* are good sources.

Practicing the Skill

Study the chart below and answer the following questions.

1. For each source, make up your own research question based on material in Chapter 10.
2. Find answers to the questions you wrote in question 1 in the appropriate reference materials.
3. Write a short report about a key figure in this chapter. Tell what sources you used.
4. Where would you look to find out more about World War I battlefields?
5. Look up the Philippines in two sources, and list two facts from each source.

Applying the Skill

Check today’s newspaper for a story that interests you; where would you look for more information on the subject?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of Information</th>
<th>Uses</th>
<th>Sample Research Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encyclopedias</td>
<td>Provide topic overviews; suggest further research</td>
<td>What were the main provisions of the Versailles Treaty?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Periodicals</td>
<td>Reflect the past; supply current research on a topic</td>
<td>How did journalists react to the November Revolution?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Atlases</td>
<td>Provide geographic context for historical information</td>
<td>Locate the Eastern and Western fronts during World War I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistical Sources</td>
<td>Convey statistical information</td>
<td>What was the estimated total cost of World War I to the United States?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Dictionaries</td>
<td>Describe the backgrounds and achievements of historical figures</td>
<td>Who were Emilio Aguinaldo, V.I. Lenin, and Georges Clemenceau?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Glencoe Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook, Level 2 CD-ROM provides more practice in key social studies skills.
“We want Wilson,” the war-weary crowd roared. “Long live Dr. Wilson!” “Honor to Wilson the just!” British students with American flags smiled, tossing flowers in the President’s path. Everywhere in Europe the Wilsons visited—Paris, Rome, Milan—the reception was jubilant. An Italian laborer spoke for millions when he said of Wilson:

They say he thinks of us—the poor people; that he wants us all to have a fair chance; that he is going to do something when he gets here that will make it impossible for our government to send us to war again. If he had only come sooner! I have already lost my two sons. Do you believe he is strong enough to stop all wars?

—Overheard conversation, 1918, My Diplomatic Education

Europeans had lost about 10 million soldiers in the war and twice as many civilians. Soldiers still suffered from wounds in crowded hospitals. French towns had been obliterated from the map. Ordinary Europeans had sacrificed, scrimping on food, often going cold and hungry. No wonder they looked for a savior—someone to end such brutality forever. They hailed Wilson hopefully because of his plan for a just and lasting peace. The President had outlined the plan in a 14-point document; his ideas came to be known simply as the Fourteen Points.

European leaders, however, regarded Wilson with skepticism. French Premier Georges Clemenceau observed, “God has given man Ten Commandments. He broke every one. President Wilson has his Fourteen Points. We shall see.”

Guide to Reading

Main Idea
The destruction of World War I and the rise of radical bolshevism in Russia produced stiff resistance to Wilson’s Fourteen Points both in Europe and the United States.

Vocabulary
▶ bolshevism
▶ irreconcilables
▶ reservationist

Read to Find Out . . .
▶ the terms of Wilson’s Fourteen Points and international reaction to them.
▶ how events in Russia affected other nations.
▶ the 1919 Paris Peace Conference negotiations and the Treaty of Versailles.
▶ why the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles.
Points for Peace
Fear and Hope for the Postwar World

Wilson’s Fourteen Points for peace had been a brilliant propaganda ploy as well as an earnest effort to steer a middle course between a radical peace settlement and a conservative, opportunistic peace settlement. Wilson gave his Fourteen Points speech to Congress on January 8, 1918, 10 months before the end of World War I. George Creel chose the most lyrical phrases from the speech to print in leaflets—about 60 million of them. He eagerly distributed them around the world, even dropping them from the air above Central Power countries.

Why had Wilson outlined his terms for peace so long before the war was over? The answer lay in the momentous events of the war years. Wilson believed that if he did not act quickly, he might lose the initiative to the Bolsheviks in Russia, who had powerful ideas of their own about reshaping the world.

Impact of Bolshevism

Russia had dealt a hard blow to the Allied cause when it withdrew from the war in early 1918. On March 3, 1918, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the new leader in Russia, signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, formally ending Russian-German conflict. Lenin gave up large areas of land to the Germans because he needed peace to concentrate on domestic reform and on internal opposition by czarist forces, called the Whites. Events in Russia during the war help explain why bolshevism, a radical socialist ideology, posed such a threat to President Wilson.

When World War I began, an autocratic czar ruled Russia. Wilson’s initial hesitation to enter the war stemmed, in part, from his distaste for associating with the absolute monarchy of the czarist rulers. By July 1917, the czar had already surrendered his power, and the Russian parliament had set up a provisional government led by moderate Socialist Aleksandr Kerensky. His liberal policies and commitment to keep Russia in the war made Kerensky very popular with the Allies.

At home, however, domestic problems overwhelmed Kerensky. Chief among them was the war’s unpopularity and the disintegration of the Russian army. In the midst of chaotic discontent, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, seized power from Kerensky in November 1917.
(October in old Russian calendar). All of Europe, as well as the rest of the world, watched the tumultuous events in Russia. American journalist John Reed described the “October Revolution” in *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

This revolution frightened world leaders. They knew that bolshevism could potentially attract millions of discontented, war-weary workers to its ranks. Lenin’s beliefs were rooted in the Communist ideology of philosopher Karl Marx, who called for class war between workers and capitalists rather than world war between capitalist governments. Lenin blamed the war on capitalism and named workers of all nationalities as its hapless victims.

Wilson and other world leaders feared the Bolsheviks’ radical message. They were embarrassed when Lenin published copies of secret pacts made between allied European powers early in the war. The pacts revealed that the Allies were not simply fighting for democracy but also hoped to divide the world among themselves. The publication of the pacts put Wilson in a difficult position. He did not want to be associated with them, nor did he want to support the Bolsheviks. His answer to this dilemma emerged as the Fourteen Points. Wilson hoped that his plan for lasting peace would attract the attention of common people, distracting them from bolshevism.

### Wilson’s Fourteen Points

The Fourteen Points promised that all countries signing the peace treaty would enjoy equality of trade and “removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers” in the postwar world. This provision reassured Germany, who feared harsh reprisals. The points stressed the importance of territorial integrity and self-determination for countries invaded during the war, including Russia, Belgium, France, and Italy. They outlined specific recommendations for adjusting borders after the war, so that the Austro-Hungarian Empire would be divided into several new states based on nationality.

The Fourteen Points also suggested new forms of international conduct: freedom of ocean travel and trade, open agreements instead of secret pacts, and arms reductions. One point called for “impartial adjustment” of the colonial claims, with a voice for both the colonized and the former governments claiming dominion over them.

Wilson believed the most important point to be the establishment of a League of Nations, an international mediating body “affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” He thought that such a league could bond all nations of the world together. If the League provided for the security of each individual state, then the ancient dream of peace among nations might succeed.

### Reaction to the Fourteen Points

While the European masses greeted the Fourteen Points with great enthusiasm, British and French leaders were more restrained. They did not have time to sit down with Wilson and discuss his grand ideas. The war needed their attention. Nonetheless, David Lloyd George, the pragmatic prime minister of Great Britain, knew that he could never agree to freedom of the seas, thus giving up British naval dominance. Likewise, Georges Clemenceau knew that France would never concede to ignoring the damage inflicted by Germany. From the outset the Fourteen Points were no match for the fierce determination of France to punish Germany.

One of the Fourteen Points was ignored seven months after the points were announced—the right of Russia to have “institutions of her own choosing.” Yielding to pressure from the Allies, Wilson sent American battalions to the Russian ports of Vladivostok and Murmansk. He did so under the pretense of helping Czech troops stranded there after Russia pulled out of the war. In reality the intervention gave aid to the White Army that was engaged in a civil war against the Bolsheviks.

### Program for the Peace of the World

By PRESIDENT WILSON

January 8, 1918

I Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind by the belligerent powers, either written or oral.

II Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, subject only to the rights of belligerents, in time of war, as recognized and provided in this article.

III The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and of every investment which now represent barriers to international trade and exchange. The food supplies of all nations, and, in particular, of the neutrals, shall be inviolate. The profound importance of this principle is recognized.

IV Absolute guarantee of title and freedom of investments; and no fiscal discrimination, under any guise or pretense, against the investments of any nation.

V True, open, needful, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, base upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the population concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a restoration of the countries in which the rights of nationality and self-determination have been unduly interfered with, that all nations, large and small, strong and weak, rich and poor, shall be assured a just and equal opportunity to use their own resources, to determine their own policies, and to maintain their own independence.

VII The evacuation of all territories and such a restoration of the countries therein involved as will assure the full enjoyment of the rights of nationality and self-determination.

VIII All French territory should be had and paid for in gold and silver bullion, and the war indemnity fixed and paid in gold and silver bullion. The war indemnity should be fixed by the conference only in proportion to the economic resources of the countries concerned.

IX A just adjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be offered along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose places among the nations is not yet extinguished, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be occupied; occupied territories restored; Serbia sustained the just claims of the subjects of Serbia in the territories of the Serbs.

XII The four nations to be seated at the Conference for the solution of the several Balkan States to be another determined by the Allied and Associated Governments.

XIII The Council of the League of Nations, which, 10 years from the date of the Peace Conference, the Allied and Associated Governments would be invited to attend.

XIV The Allied and Associated Governments, banded together in this war for freedom, are now in a position to make the world safe for democracy, by so organizing their political and economic life as to make it possible to carry out the just peace.

Wilson’s Hope: The Fourteen Points were brief but influential, condensing Wilson’s plan for peace to one page. How did other world leaders react to Wilson’s plan?
Wilson also unwittingly endangered his Fourteen Points with a political move at home. As the midterm congressional elections of 1918 drew near, Wilson issued an appeal urging Americans to vote Democratic. This appeal enraged Republicans, who took it as an affront to their patriotism. When voters later elected Republican majorities to Congress, Wilson lost credibility at the negotiating table with European leaders.

A Troubling Treaty
Vision and Vengeance Clash

Woodrow Wilson walked into the Paris Peace Conference at the Palace of Versailles in January 1919 with the cheers of the European crowds still ringing in his ears, but he was in a very weak bargaining position. As the conference dragged on for five long months, he would give up more and more of his Fourteen Points as well as his own good spirits and health. By April he appeared thinner, grayer, grimmer, and more nervous. His face twitched as he spoke, and he expressed greater moral rigidity than ever before. This irritated the European leaders around him. “I never knew anyone to talk more like Jesus Christ,” said Clemenceau in exasperation.

An Atmosphere of Exclusion

One of the Fourteen Points promised that international negotiations and agreements would be made in the open, eliminating secret pacts. From early on, however, this principle was ignored. The press was kept away from the negotiations. The Allied Powers also pared down the number of countries actually shaping the final outcome to the “Big Four”—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. Germany and Russia—two countries whose futures hinged on the outcome of the treaty—were completely shut out of negotiations.

Great Britain, Italy, and France insisted on the exclusion of a German representative. France even refused Germany the right to have observers at the proceedings. Wilson had argued for peace among equals, but now he deferred to the wishes of his three wartime allies. Before the conference concluded, France obtained concessions to occupy an industrial region of Germany for 15 years, won back its northeastern territories of Lorraine and Alsace, and established a reparations commission to assess money Germany would pay for French losses.

The exclusion of Russia at the conference stemmed from confusion and fear. In 1919 Europe seemed on the brink of revolution. Bolshevik forces had not fallen to the White Russian opposition, in spite of American and Japanese intervention. In Germany radical groups threatened to overthrow the newly established Social Democratic government. Communists gained power in Hungary. Leaders of the Western democracies at Versailles were worried about the revolutionary movements sweeping Europe.

The Big Four vacillated and disagreed. Should they include Russia to try to soften its impact, or should they use direct military action to subdue the Bolsheviks? Neither extreme won the day. Instead, they simply excluded Russia from the conference, but as a contemporary observer noted, “the black cloud” of Russia remained, “threatening to overwhelm and swallow up the world.”

An Atmosphere of Self-Interest

The Fourteen Points dwindled to even fewer as the Big Four debated what to do about German and Turkish colonies in Asia and Africa. In Wilson’s original plan, all colonies would have a say in their own destiny. Colonies of Allied Powers hoped this principle would include them. To victorious France and Great Britain, however, the self-determination of their colonies was completely unacceptable. Rather than losing their own colonies, they were eager to enjoy the spoils of war by absorbing the colonies of their defeated enemies.

The final compromise did little to honor Wilson’s call for “impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.” Allied Powers would retain their own colonies and the League of Nations would give them control over Central Germany Impoverished

Germany’s huge postwar debt helped bankrupt its economy and made it fertile ground for the rise of fascism. Some poorer citizens turned to rummaging through refuse heaps in hopes of finding everyday necessities.

How was Germany treated at the Paris Peace Conference?
Power colonies. These mandated colonies, however, would be ruled in the name of the League.

Italy presented another challenge to the Fourteen Points. It, too, wanted some of the spoils of war—parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire including the ports of Fiume and Trieste. Wilson resisted Italy’s expansion because his plan advocated forming Balkan states from the land of Austria-Hungary. Much of what Italy wanted would go to the newly created state of Yugoslavia (shown on the map on page 326). Soon Italians would turn to Benito Mussolini, who vowed to avenge their humiliation.

Japan, the mighty force of the Pacific, also came to Versailles to make its demands as the world shifted and realigned. Japan wanted full recognition of its rights in the Shandong Province of China, which Germany had controlled before the war. During the heat of the war, world powers had little time to protect their stake in China, leaving Japan to consolidate its interests there. Japan’s demand to control the province directly opposed the self-determination provisions of the Fourteen Points.

Nonetheless, Japan devised a scheme to secure its control of Shandong. Japanese delegates asked that an article formally declaring the equality of all races be attached to the peace agreement. This request exposed the limitations of Wilson’s progressive approach. Much of progressive foreign policy, especially in the Caribbean, had been based on the assumption that white people knew best. While the Fourteen Points provided for a degree of self-determination, Wilson was not ready to change the power structure of the world so radically. The Japanese proposal directly challenged not only Wilson, but all of the colonial powers at the conference who held dominion over people of color in Asia and Africa. Rather than deal with this troubling situation, the conference let Japan expand its influence in China, provided it drop its racial equality proposal. Thus, by cleverly manipulating the issue of race, Japan gained power in China. The Japanese victory enraged student radicals in China, who rioted in protest through the streets of Beijing.

By June 28, 1919, when the Treaty of Versailles was signed, a beleaguered and ill Woodrow Wilson had only one consolation left: the provision for the League of Nations had not been rejected, even though most of his original Fourteen Points had vanished. He returned to the United States driven by the idea that the League of Nations must not fail. Only an international league could deal with the injustices built into the Treaty of Versailles.

Rejection at Home

Political and Personal Obstacles

Woodrow Wilson’s long stay in Europe took its toll on his health. Moreover, his rivals in Congress had united against him. Approval for the League of Nations now hinged on ratification of the Treaty of Versailles by the United States Senate.

Opposition in Congress

Opposition to the League was consolidated in two camps in Congress. One camp, the irreconcilables, was mostly progressive Republicans, many of whom had been in elected office since the turn of the century. They included Robert La Follette, William Borah, Hiram Johnson, and a handful of others. They called themselves irreconcilables because under no circumstances would they be reconciled to voting for the League of Nations.
Irreconcilables clung to the old argument that the United States was better off steering clear of the corrupting influence of Europe. They were mainly anti-imperialists and feared that if the United States joined the League of Nations, it would be put in the immoral position of defending the colonial activities of European powers. They preferred to focus attention on reform at home rather than on politics abroad. Nevertheless, they did not completely favor isolationism—a policy that supported indifference in affairs outside the United States.

The reservationists, on the other hand, approved of the idea of the League of Nations but wished to modify Wilson’s particular proposal. They disliked the article specifying that the League preserve “the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.” Vague wording described how such an obligation would be fulfilled. Both reservationists and irreconcilables feared that this article—Article 10—could involve the United States in armed conflict. It also seemed to suggest that the League itself would have the authority to decide if and when the United States, or any League members, would enter a conflict in defense of a member nation’s independence. If this were so, the power of the League superseded the power of Congress to declare war.

By late summer 1919, anti–League of Nations sentiment spread from Washington throughout the country. An advertisement in the Boston Herald on July 8, 1919, for an anti-League meeting warned: “AMERICANS, AWAKE! Shall We Bind Ourselves to the War Breeding Covenant? It Impairs American Sovereignty! Surrenders the Monroe Doctrine! . . . Entangles us in European and Asiatic Intrigues!” Besides the reservationists’ concern about Article 10, they also objected to the League for other reasons. Led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, they hoped to embarrass the President. Lodge, like Wilson, had formerly been a scholar. Though Lodge often acted in an aristocratic manner, he resented the same behavior in Wilson. He seethed with anger at the thought of Wilson getting full credit for the League when he himself had often suggested an international peacekeeping body. Motivated by anger as well as genuine misgivings, Lodge fought to attach his amendments to the original proposal for the League. Wilson refused to consider a compromise.
Speaking to the People

Growing impatient with senators and critics, President Wilson decided to take his case to the American people. If he had their overwhelming support, the Senate would not dare defy him. In September 1919, Wilson organized a grueling 9,000-mile (14,481-km) cross-country speaking tour by train: 26 different stops in 27 days.

As in Europe, cheering crowds greeted Wilson. Despite failing health, he often spoke eloquently:

“For the first time in the history of a civilized society, a great international convention, made up of the leading statesmen of the world, has proposed a settlement which is for the benefit of the weak and not the benefit of the strong.”

—Woodrow Wilson, speech in Los Angeles, September 1919

Wilson refused to give up. He looked forward to the presidential election of 1920. The Democratic party did not seriously consider renominating President Wilson because of his illness. Wilson, however, pinned his hopes on the party’s nominee, Governor James M. Cox from Ohio. Woodrow Wilson saw the election of 1920 as a “solemn referendum” on the League of Nations.

Most of the country, however, was not listening. Other concerns captured their attention. The Red Scare—a fear of bolshevism—spread throughout the United States. Wilson himself had contributed to this hysteria during the war by supporting the Espionage Act of 1917 and the 1918 Sedition Amendment that had led to the arrest of several Socialist labor leaders.

In the election of 1920, the country responded to this fear by isolating itself, turning away from Europe and the world’s troubling revolutions. Repudiating the League of Nations and the idea of internationalism, the American people opted for a promise of “normalcy” by electing the Republican Warren G. Harding to the presidency. Woodrow Wilson lived for three years after leaving office, but he never regained his health. He died on February 3, 1924, shortly after telling some of his friends that he was “tired of swimming upstream.”
Reviewing Key Terms

Imagine that you have kept a diary of events covering the outbreak of World War I and the United States involvement in the war. Write headlines for 10 diary entries, using each of the following terms.

- alliance
- doughboys
- neutrality
- propaganda
- dogfight
- bolshevism
- mobilization
- irreconcilable
- conscription
- reservationist

Recalling Facts

1. Why did overseas markets appeal to many Americans? Why did some oppose commercial expansion overseas?

2. What policies did Roosevelt and Taft implement in the Caribbean?

3. What is self-determination? What actions did Wilson take that were not consistent with his belief in self-determination?

4. Describe the United States’s involvement in Mexico during the first 2 decades of the 1900s.

5. Why did Wilson claim neutrality before World War I?

6. Give examples of print media that historians might use to study public opinion during World War I.

7. Describe the racial bias that existed in the United States military during World War I.

8. What actions were taken to support the war on the home front?

9. How did George Creel help spread Wilson’s ideas about peace?

10. Why did bolshevism frighten President Wilson and other world leaders?

Critical Thinking

1. Recognizing Bias When Roosevelt negotiated peace between Russia and Japan, he claimed neutrality. What evidence suggests that he actually favored one side? Why would it be to his advantage to pretend he was unbiased?

2. Predicting Consequences Think about the convictions of Eugene Debs and Rose Pastor Stokes and the terrorization of IWW members in Oklahoma. In what ways might the abridgement of civil liberties lead to mob rule?

3. Determining Cause and Effect President Woodrow Wilson did not want to involve the United States in World War I. Instead he wished to remain neutral, supporting neither Germany nor Russia. The President wanted the people of the United States to be “impartial in thought as well as in action.” On April 2, 1917, however, the President asked the members of Congress to declare war on Germany. What factors or international incidents involving the United States caused President Wilson to reverse his position?

4. Determining Cause and Effect Use a diagram like this one to summarize the causes and effects of World War I. Add answer lines as needed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>World War I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Causes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Portfolio Project

Select a country in Europe that was involved in World War I. Research what life was like for the citizens of that country during the war. Try to locate and review primary sources to supplement textbook and other secondary source materials. Primary sources might include letters, diaries, personal memoirs, and legal documents such as wills and titles. Prepare a written report about “life during World War I.” You may want to support your report with appropriate visuals—pictures from newspapers and magazines, photographs, paintings, and drawings. Share your report orally with your classmates before filing your written account in your portfolio.

Cooperative Learning

With a small group, stage the debate over the selective exclusion that occurred during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. Use information from Section 4, as well as additional research, to represent the Big Four countries. Try to identify the reasons the Big Four finally excluded Germany and Russia from the peace negotiations.

Reinforcing Skills

Using Reference Materials

Imagine that you are a reporter who was assigned a feature story commemorating Theodore Roosevelt. Think about the various reference materials that could be sources of information about his family, his accomplishments, and his career. Refer to the Tools of Reference chart on page 320 as you list the various reference materials you could use. Explain the type of information that you expect to learn from each source.
**GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY**

United States in World War I

- **Central powers**
- **Allied powers**
- **Neutral countries**
- **Armistice Line, 1918**
- **Major battle involving U.S. troops**
- **Capital cities**

**Study the map to answer the following questions:**

1. Name two important World War I battles involving United States troops. In what country did the fighting occur?

2. Which French city was an important naval landing site for British and Allied replacement troops? Why?

3. Which capital city of western Europe was most threatened by nearby warfare? How did this affect the way the war was fought?

4. Through what countries did the Armistice Line extend? Were these countries primarily Allied Powers or Central Powers?

**Technology Activity**

**Using the Internet** Search the Internet to find out more details about the “Great War”—World War I. Use the information you find to create a chart titled “World War I —A Closer Look.” Focus on causes of the war for various countries. Include the number of casualties and costs of rebuilding.

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**Standardized Test Practice**

1. The United States did not enter World War I until 1917. Which of the following was the most important factor in convincing the American public to support the war?

   A. German submarine attacks on American ships
   B. the threat of a German invasion
   C. failure of British and French troops to defeat Germany
   D. use of poison gas by the Central Powers

   **Test-Taking Tip:** Use reasoned judgment to eliminate weak answers. For example, since the majority of Americans favored an isolationist policy, answers C and D were probably not strong enough reasons to change public opinion.

2. One of the effects of World War I on the American economy was

   A. a sharp rise in unemployment.
   B. more favorable contracts for labor unions.
   C. a huge increase in business profits.
   D. increased progressive efforts to regulate big business.

   **Test-Taking Tip:** This question asks you to identify a cause-and-effect relationship. Look for an answer that can be directly related to the needs of a wartime economy. For example, mobilization requires increased production, which means that answer A would be unlikely.
Fun Facts

FOR LOVE OF TRADITION
When The Coca-Cola Company tried altering its recipe in 1985, the popular uproar forced a reintroduction of “Coca-Cola classic” within 3 months.

ADVERTISING AT ITS BEST
Some say that “Coca-Cola” is the second most recognized term on the earth, after “OK.”

Then...

Coca-Cola: Symbol of America

In the heyday of American soda fountains, Dr. John S. Pemberton decided to create a beverage tasty enough to top the lists of soda fountain flavors. In 1886, after months of taste-testing, he produced his famous drink—actually 99 percent sugar water—and Coca-Cola was born.

Pemberton’s partner Frank Robinson created the product’s name and its flowing script. His adjectives “delicious and refreshing” became almost synonymous with the drink. Bottles, advertising, and recipes changed, but the Coca-Cola script remained the same.
2 Pemberton spent under $75 in advertising during the first year— at a time when a streetcar sign cost a penny and 1,000 free-sample coupons could be printed for a dollar. Soon the Coca-Cola name was visible on all kinds of items, such as the 1910 baseball scorecard, below.

3 At soda fountains, Coca-Cola syrup was often stored in urns like this one. It was mixed with carbonated water at soda fountains and served in a glass for 5 cents.

Stats

**PRODUCT DEVELOPMENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Originated</th>
<th>Patent Registered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coca-Cola name</td>
<td>1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coke name</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contour bottle</td>
<td>1916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THE COMPETITION**

- Before Pepsi Cola became a threatening competitor, Coca-Cola refused two offers to buy out the nearly bankrupt company.
- Hire’s Root Beer and Dr Pepper were already on many soda fountain menus by the time Coca-Cola arrived.
- Dr. Pemberton originally called his concoction “my temperance drink,” in response to the growing temperance movement of the day.

**ANALYZING ADVERTISING**

Coca-Cola is one of the best advertised products in the country. From the start, the product name has appeared on matchbooks, blotters, clocks, calendars, lamps, serving trays, and playing cards, among other things. In what ways do you see Coca-Cola advertised today? How are today’s approaches similar to and different from those of the past? What do you consider to be the most effective forms of advertisement today? Why? Compile examples and explanations for your portfolio.

**EVOLUTION OF DISTRIBUTION**

Bottles of ready-to-drink Coca-Cola were not widely distributed until the turn of the century when the crimped-crown bottle cap became the industry standard.