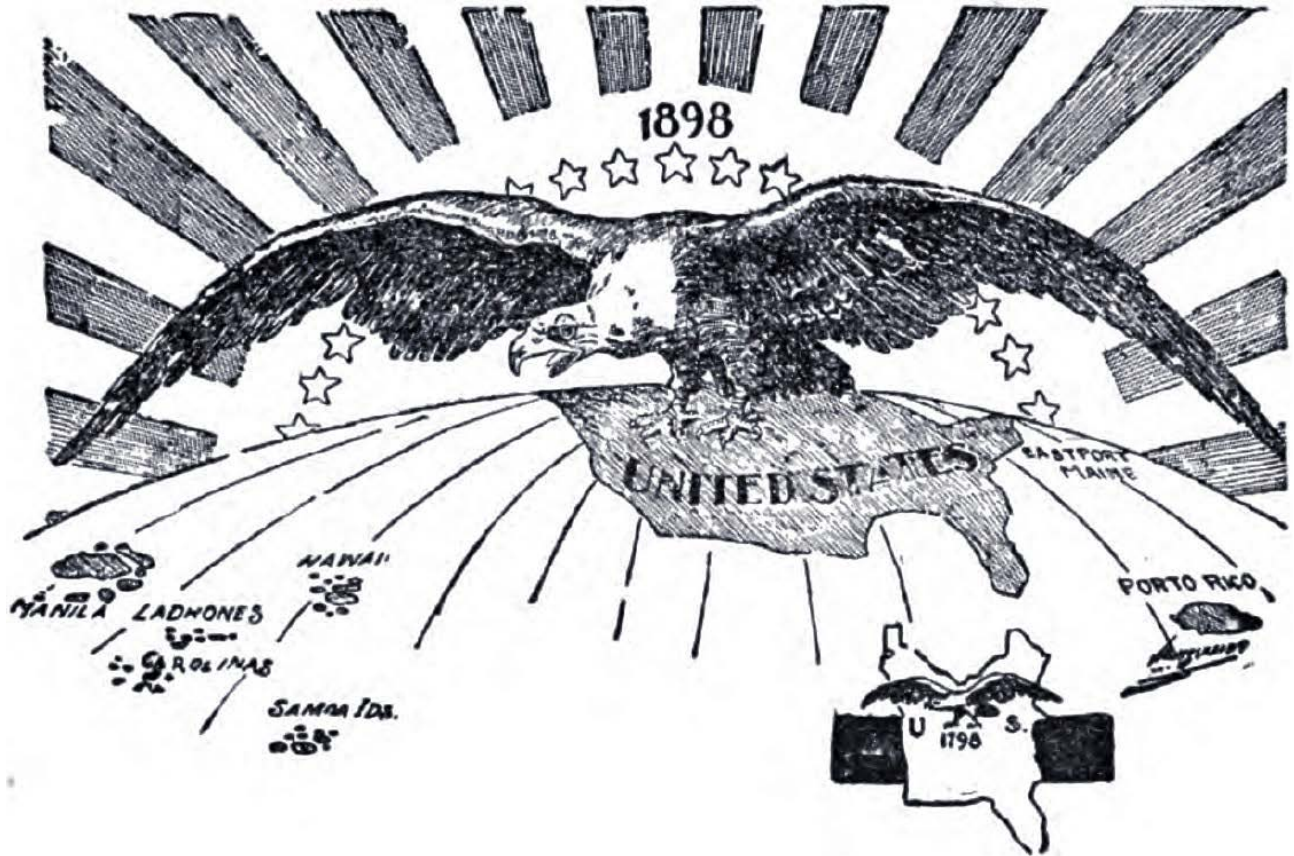


The American Empire: **Imperialism and World War I** *1890–1920*

Year 2
History Unit 5
Sourcebook

Lesson 1: The Birth of Imperial America



Ten thousand miles from tip to tip.—Philadelphia Press.

Ten Thousand Miles from Tip to Tip, published by the Philadelphia Press, 1898 (Wikimedia)

Why did the United States adopt imperial policies in the late 19th century?

Homework

American Imperialism

Read the articles “American Empire” on the New World Encyclopedia website, “Seeking Empire,” and “Early Stirrings” both on Independence Hall’s USHistory.org website.

Document A

Frederick Jackson Turner: Frontier Thesis

In 1890, the Census Bureau stated that all the land within the United States was claimed, and there was no longer a frontier. Historian Frederick Jackson Turner presented his “frontier thesis” in 1893 in an address in Chicago. His thesis, excerpted below, was used to help explain both the development of cities and American imperial expansion.

Up to our own day, American history has been [mostly] the history of the colonization of the Great West. The existence of an area of free land . . . and the advance of American settlement westward, explain American development The **peculiarity** [uniqueness] of American institutions is the fact that they must adapt themselves to the changes of an expanding people

Since the days when the fleet of Columbus sailed into the waters of the New World, America has been another name for opportunity, and the people of the United States have taken their tone from the **incessant** [nonstop] expansion which has not only been open but has even been forced upon them. He would be a [fool] who should **assert** [claim] that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon a people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. 1893. Courtesy of the National Humanities Center, NationalHumanitiesCenter.org.

Document B

Henry Cabot Lodge: “Our Blundering Foreign Policy”

Henry Cabot Lodge was a Republican congressman and a historian from Massachusetts. Below is an excerpt from Lodge’s essay “Our Blundering Foreign Policy” in *The Forum*, March 1895.

Commerce [wealth, trade] follows the flag, and we should build up a navy strong enough to give protection to Americans in every quarter of the globe and powerful [enough] to put our coasts beyond the possibility of successful attack.

In modern times, small parts are joining together as one. It is **apparent** [clear] in business and labor alike, and it is also true of nations. Small States are of the past and have no future. The modern movement is all toward the concentration of people and territory into great nations and large **dominions** [territories]. The great nations are rapidly absorbing all the waste places of the earth for their future expansion and their present defense. It is a government which makes for civilization and the advancement of the race. As one of the great nations of the world, the United States must not fall out of the line of march.

Lodge, Henry Cabot, Our Blundering Foreign Policy. Courtesy of The UNZ Review, UNZ.com.

Document C

Rudyard Kipling: “The White Man’s Burden”

In February 1899, British novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling wrote a poem entitled “The White Man’s Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands.” The poem was published in the February 1899 issue of McClure’s Magazine. Theodore Roosevelt, soon to become vice president and then president, copied the poem and sent it to his friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, commenting that it was “rather poor poetry, but good sense from the expansion point of view.”

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives’ need;
To wait in heavy harness,
On **fluttered** [*restless*] folk and wild—
Your new-caught, **sullen** [*gloomy*] peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man’s burden—
And **reap** [*receive*] his old reward:
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye **humour** [*accommodate*]
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
“Why brought he us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?”

Take up the White Man’s burden—
Ye dare not **stoop** [*resort*] to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To **cloak** [*hide*] your weariness;
By all ye cry or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent, sullen peoples
Shall weigh your gods and you.

Kipling, Rudyard. The White Man’s Burden: The United States and The Philippine Islands. February 1899. Courtesy of History Matters, George Mason University, HistoryMatters.GMU.org.

Document D

H. T. Johnson: "The Black Man's Burden"

In response to Kipling's poem "The White Man's Burden," African American clergyman and editor H. T. Johnson wrote "The Black Man's Burden" in April 1899.

Pile on the Black Man's Burden.
'Tis nearest at your door;
Why **heed** [*notice*] long bleeding Cuba,
or dark Hawaii's shore?
Hail ye your fearless armies,
Which menace **feeble** [*weak*] folks
Who fight with clubs and arrows
and **brook** [*tolerate*] your rifle's smoke.

Pile on the Black Man's Burden
His **wail** [*cry*] with laughter drown
You've sealed the **Red Man's** [*Native American's*] problem,
And will take up the Brown,
In vain ye seek to end it,
With bullets, blood, or death
Better by far defend it
With honor's holy breath.

Johnson, H.T. The Black Man's Burden. April 1899. Courtesy of History Matters, George Mason University, HistoryMatters.GMU.org.

Document E
A Lesson for Anti-Expansionists

The magazine *Judge* published a number of cartoons criticizing American imperial policies during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The cartoon below, entitled *A Lesson for Anti-Expansionists*, illustrates Uncle Sam as the United States, from his (and the nation's) birth through 1899, when the cartoon was published.



"A LESSON FOR ANTI-EXPANSIONISTS."
 "Showing how Uncle Sam has been an expansionist first, last, and all the time."
Judge, Arkell Publishing Company, New York, 1899 [artist: Victor Gillam]

(Schools.Wikia.com)

Lessons 2–4: The Spanish-American War



Colonel Roosevelt and his Rough Riders at the top of the hill they captured during the Battle of San Juan, 1898 (Wikimedia)

Why did the United States invade Cuba in 1898?

Homework
The Spanish-American War

Read "The Spanish American War" by the History Channel and available on the Newsela website.

Document A
New York Journal and Advertiser: The Sinking of the *Maine*

*The following is an excerpt from the New York Journal and Advertiser, published February 17, 1898, following the explosion of the American warship the *Maine* two days earlier in Cuba. The Journal published investigative and human interest stories that used a highly emotional writing style and included banner headlines and graphic images, known as yellow journalism.*

DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR SHIP *MAINE* WAS THE WORK OF AN ENEMY
Assistant Secretary Roosevelt Convinced the Explosion of the War Ship Was Not an Accident.
The Journal Offers \$50,000 Reward for the Conviction of the Criminals Who Sent 258 American Sailors
to Their Death.
Naval Officers All Agree That the Ship Was Destroyed on Purpose.
NAVAL OFFICERS THINK THE *MAINE* WAS DESTROYED BY A SPANISH **MINE** [bomb].

George Bryson, the *Journal's* special reporter at Havana, writes that it is the secret opinion of many people in Havana that the warship *Maine* was destroyed by a mine and 258 men were killed on purpose by the Spanish. This is the opinion of several American naval authorities. The Spaniards, it is believed, arranged to have the *Maine* drop anchor over a harbor mine. Wires connected the mine to the **magazine** [storage for weapons] of the ship. If this is true, the brutal nature of the Spaniards will be shown by the fact that they waited to explode the mine until all the men had gone to sleep. Spanish officials are protesting too much that they did not do it. Our government has ordered an investigation. This newspaper has sent divers to Havana to report on the condition of the wreck. This newspaper is also offering a \$50,000 reward for exclusive evidence that will convict whoever is responsible. Assistant Secretary of the Navy Theodore Roosevelt says he is convinced that the destruction of the *Maine* in Havana Harbor was not an accident. The suspicion that the *Maine* was purposely blown up grows stronger every hour. Not a single fact to the contrary has been produced.

February 17, 1898. Courtesy of Stanford History Education Group.

Document B
President McKinley: War Message to Congress

On April 11, 1898, President William McKinley delivered the following speech to Congress, calling for the invasion of Cuba.

The **grounds** [*reasons*] for such intervention may be briefly summarized as follows:

First, to protect humanity and to put an end to the **barbarities** [*brutality, cruelty*], bloodshed, starvation, and horrible miseries now existing there

Second, we owe it to our citizens in Cuba to afford them that protection and **indemnity** [*repayment*] for life and property which no government there can or will afford

Third, the right to intervene may be justified by the very serious injury to the commerce, trade, and business of [American] people, and by the destruction of property and devastation of the island.

Fourth, and which is of the utmost importance With such a conflict waged for years in an island so near us and with which our people have such trade and business relations; when the lives and liberty of our citizens are in constant danger and their property destroyed and themselves ruined; where our trading vessels are **liable to** [*likely to experience*] seizure and are seized at our very door by warships of a foreign nation . . . , — all these and others . . . are a constant **menace** [*threat*] to our peace

I have already sent to Congress the report . . . on the destruction of the battleship *Maine* The destruction of that noble **vessel** [*ship*] has filled the national heart with horror

[T]he destruction of the *Maine*, by whatever exterior cause, is an impressive proof of a state of things in Cuba that is intolerable [T]he Spanish government cannot assure safety and security to a vessel of the American Navy in the harbor of Havana on a mission of peace, and rightfully there

McKinley, William. April 11 1898. Courtesy of Historical Thinking Matters, HistoricalThinkingMatters.org.

Document C
Beveridge: March of the Flag

Albert J. Beveridge gave this speech on September 16, 1898, while he was campaigning to become a senator for Indiana. The speech helped him win the election and made him one of the leading advocates of American expansion.

Fellow citizens,—it is a noble land that God has given us; a land that can feed and clothe the world It is a mighty people that he has planted on this soil It is a glorious history our God has **bestowed** [*given*] upon his chosen people . . . ; a history of soldiers who carried the flag across the blazing deserts and through the ranks of hostile mountains, even to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century

The Opposition tells us that we ought not to govern a people without their consent. I answer, The rule of liberty that all just government **derives** [*receives*] its authority from the consent of the governed, applies only to those who are capable of self-government We govern our territories without their consent, we govern our children without their consent

They ask us how we will govern these new possessions. I answer . . . : If England can govern foreign lands, so can America. If Germany can govern foreign lands, so can America

What does all this mean for every one of us? It means opportunity for all the glorious young manhood of the republic It means that the resources and the commerce of these immensely rich **dominions** [*colonies*] will be increased

In Cuba, alone, there are 15,000,000 acres of forest unfamiliar with the axe. There are endless mines of iron There are millions of acres yet unexplored It means new employment and better wages for every laboring man in the Union Ah! as our commerce spreads, the flag of liberty will circle the globe And, as their **thunders** [*loud cries*] salute the flag, people will know that the voice of Liberty is speaking, at last, for them; that civilization is arriving, at last, for them Fellow Americans, we are God's chosen people

Beveridge, Albert J. September 16, 1898. Courtesy of Historical Thinking Matters, HistoricalThinkingMatters.org.

Document D

Jose Marti: Letter to Manuel Mercado

Jose Marti was a Cuban revolutionary who led the movement for Cuban independence from Spanish imperial control. In the letter excerpted below, Marti writes to his friend Manuel Mercado, a Mexican politician. Marti wrote this letter just hours before he was gunned down by Spanish troops at the Battle of Dos Rios, May 18, 1895, three years before the United States invaded Cuba.

Mr. Manuel Mercado

My dearest brother,

... I am in daily danger of giving my life for my country and duty—the duty of preventing the United States from spreading through the **Antilles** [*islands in the Caribbean, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica*] as Cuba gains its independence, and [of preventing the United States] from overpowering our lands with its additional strength. All I have done so far, and all I will do, is for this purpose

The duties of nations such as yours [Mexico] and mine [Cuba] are very concerned with preventing the opening in Cuba [by imperialists] of the road [to annexation] that is is being closed with our blood, [and with preventing the] annexing of our nations to the brutal United States which despises them

I am doing my duty here. The Cuban [revolutionary] war ... has come in time to prevent Cuba's annexation to the United States ... for the war will not accept annexation.

Marti, Jose. May 18, 1895. Courtesy of HistoryofCuba.com.

Lesson 5: Presidential Imperial Policy



A Thing Well Begun Is Half Done, published in Judge magazine, 1899 (Wikimedia)

How did Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson promote American imperialism?

Homework

Presidential Foreign Policy: 1896–1918

Read “William McKinley,” “Theodore Roosevelt,” “Woodrow Wilson,” and “William Howard Taft” on the History Channel website.

Columbia’s Easter Bonnet

The cartoon Columbia’s Easter Bonnet by Samuel D. Ehrhart appeared on the cover of Puck magazine on April 6, 1901.



The woman, Columbia, a symbol of the United States, adjusts her hat, an American war ship. (Library of Congress)

Group 1: President McKinley
Document A
Annexation of Hawaii

In his First Annual Message to Congress on December 6, 1897, President McKinley explains the annexation of Hawaii.

While consistently **disavowing** [*rejecting*] . . . any aggressive policy of absorption in regard to the Hawaiian group, many declarations over the last century have made clear the essential interest of the United States in the independence of the Islands and their **intimate** [*close*] commercial dependence upon this country Under these circumstances, the logic of events required that annexation should come about as the natural result of the strengthening ties that bind us to those Islands and be realized by the free will of the Hawaiian State.

McKinley, William. December 6, 1897. Courtesy of Miller Center, University of Virginia, MillerCenter.org.

Document B
John Hay: Open Door Note

On September 6, 1899, President McKinley's secretary of state, John Hay, sent the following "Open Door Note" to the nations of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and Japan, which each held "spheres of influence" in China.

To protect the commerce of all nations in China . . . , the Government of the United States would be pleased to see [the British, German, French, Russian, and Japanese governments'] formal reassurance that each, within its respective sphere of whatever influence —

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

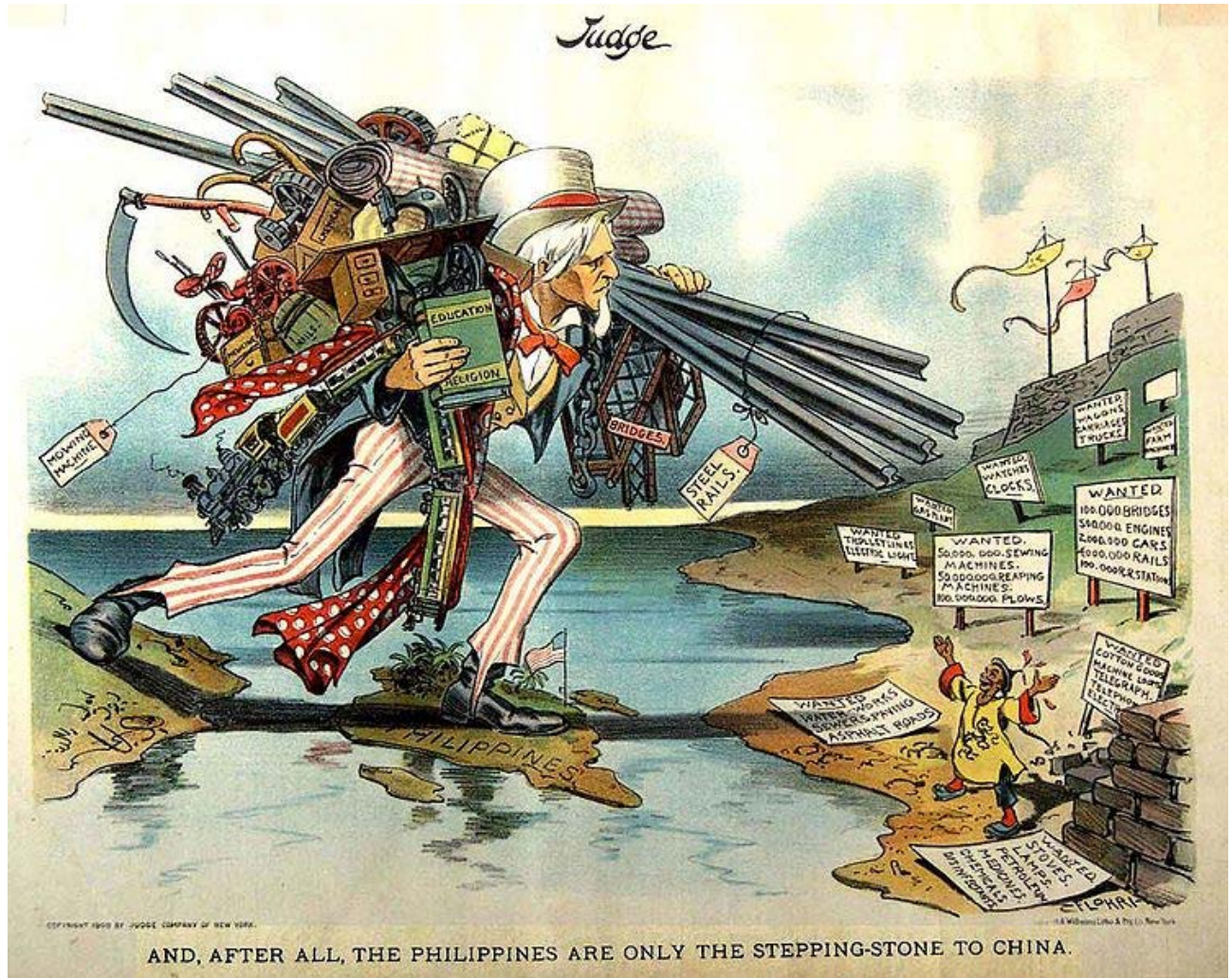
Second. That the Chinese treaty **tariff** [*tax*] of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that these taxes shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will **levy** [*collect*] no higher **harbor dues** [*taxes on trading ships*] on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality

McKinley, William. Open Door Note. September 6, 1899. Courtesy of Mount Holyoke, MtHolyoke.edu.

Document C
Stepping-Stone to China

This political cartoon, *Stepping-Stone to China*, was published in *Judge* magazine in 1900, shortly following the U.S. annexation of the Philippines.



The cartoon's caption reads, "And, after all, the Philippines are only the stepping-stone to China."
(Wikimedia)

Group 2: President Roosevelt
Document A
President Roosevelt's Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine

*In December 1823, President James Monroe delivered his annual speech to Congress. In his speech, he warned European nations to stop colonizing in the Western Hemisphere in what became known as the Monroe Doctrine. In his annual messages to Congress in 1904, Roosevelt delivered the Roosevelt **Corollary** [addition] to the Monroe Doctrine, ending European intervention. Here is an excerpt from the corollary.*

The steady **aim** [goal] of this Nation, as of all enlightened nations, should be to help the peace of justice **prevail** [triumph] throughout the world The eternal **vigilance** [careful watch for danger] must be used to protect liberty, sometimes to guard against outside enemies; although of course far more often to guard against our own selfish or thoughtless shortcomings.

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or **entertains** [considers] any projects in the other nations of the Western Hemisphere except for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous In the Western Hemisphere . . . , the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in obvious cases of such wrongdoing or weakness, to be an international police power We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the **detriment** [harm] of the entire body of American nations

In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in trying to get around the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large.

Roosevelt, Theodore. December 6, 1904. Courtesy of OurDocuments.gov.

Document B
The Big Stick Policy

Roosevelt wanted to build a canal through Central America to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. At the turn of the century, the United States had been negotiating to build a canal with Colombia. When these negotiations failed in 1903, Roosevelt supported a movement in Colombia for Panamanian independence in the region where he had wanted to build the canal. Thanks to secretive U.S. support, Panama declared independence only days after fighting began. In return for the support, Panama agreed to allow the United States to build a canal through the territory. The cartoon below illustrates the president's actions in Panama, an example of his "Speak softly, but carry a big stick" foreign policy.



This cartoon shows President Roosevelt, carrying a big stick while leading the U.S. Navy to Panama. While the president first asked the Colombian government to purchase the canal, when they declined, he responded by wielding the "big stick" and bringing the American Navy in to use military force to gain access to the canal. (Wikimedia)

Group 3: President Taft
Document A
Dollar Diplomacy

“Dollar diplomacy” is the term used to describe America’s efforts under President William Howard Taft to further its foreign policy aims in Latin America and the Far East through the use of economic power. Below, Taft explains his vision of dollar diplomacy in a U.S. Department of State memo from 1912.

The huge growth of the export trade of the United States has [increased] the economic prosperity of the country. With the development of our industries, the foreign commerce of the United States must rapidly become a still more essential factor in its economic welfare The diplomacy of the present administration has tried to respond to modern ideas of commercial interaction. This policy has been characterized as substituting dollars for bullets. It is one that appeals alike to idealistic **humanitarian** [*compassionate*] sentiments, to the **dictates** [*commands*] of **sound** [*smart, thorough*] policy and strategy, and to legitimate **commercial** [*business*] aims. It is an effort frankly directed to the increase of American trade upon the unquestionable principle that the government of the United States shall support every legitimate and beneficial American **enterprise** [*business*] abroad.

1912. Courtesy of TeachingAmericanHistory.org

Document B
Taft and China

In his last State of the Union Address in 1912, President Taft discussed American diplomacy in China. The excerpt below discusses America’s dedication to economic investment in China.

In China the policy of encouraging financial investment to enable that country to help itself has had the result of giving new life and practical application to the open-door policy¹. The consistent purpose of the present administration has been to encourage the use of American money in the development of China by the promotion of those essential reforms which China has promised in treaties with the United States and other powers The principle of international cooperation in matters of common interest upon which our policy had already been based in all of the above instances has admittedly been a great factor in that [cooperation] of the powers which has been so happily **conspicuous** [*visible*] during the **perilous period of transition** [*the Chinese Revolution*] through which the great Chinese nation has been passing.

Taft, William Howard. State of the Union Address. 1912. Courtesy of American History: From Revolution to Reconstruction and Beyond, let.rug.nl.

¹ A trade policy initiated by President McKinley that opened China up to trade with the United States and Europe through “spheres of influence,” or specific regions of trade controlled by each foreign power.

Group 4: President Wilson
Document A
President Wilson's Moral Diplomacy

Wilson disliked the assertive policies of Presidents William Taft and Theodore Roosevelt. He advocated "moral diplomacy." Below is an excerpt from President Wilson's speech before the Southern Commercial Congress in Mobile, Alabama, on October 27, 1913.

These **States** [*countries*] lying to the south of us, which have always been our neighbors, will now be drawn closer to us by **innumerable** [*many*] ties, and I hope by the tie of a common understanding of each other. Interest does not tie nations together; it sometimes separates them. But sympathy and understanding does unite them . . . [.] We must prove ourselves their friends and champions upon the terms of equality and honor We must show ourselves friends by comprehending their interest, whether it squares with our own interest or not. It is a very **perilous** [*dangerous*] thing to determine the foreign policy of a nation in the terms of **material** [*profitable*] interest. It not only is unfair to those with whom you are dealing, but it is degrading as regards your own actions

The United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest. The country will devote itself to showing that it knows how to make honorable and fruitful use of its own territory, and it must honor its friendship with Latin America and promise that from no quarter material interests are made superior to human liberty and national opportunity

We must not turn from the principle that morality, not **expediency** [*convenience*] is the thing that must guide us and that we will never condone iniquity because it is most convenient to do so.

Wilson, Woodrow. October 27, 1913. Courtesy of U.S. Embassy and Consulate in Korea, KR.USEmbassy.gov.

Document B
It's for His Own Good

Despite his claims for “moral diplomacy,” Wilson still got the United States involved in many conflicts around Latin America, often sending the United States and its military to intervene in regional conflicts in order to “protect democracy.” The political cartoon below was published in the Chicago Tribune in 1916. It was entitled *It's for His Own Good*.



McCutcheon in the Chicago Tribune

“It’s for his own good.”

“Come now. You’ve got to take it sooner or later, and you might as well take it now,” says Uncle Sam in the political cartoon above. The sign on the left reads “Civilization Follows the Flag,” while the medicine in Uncle Sam’s spoon reads “Pacification Pill.” Uncle Sam gives the medicine to Mexico, while Cuba, the Philippines, Nicaragua, and Panama wait in line.

Courtesy of Internet Archive, Archive.org.

Lesson 6: Anti-Imperialism



Declined with Thanks, by John S. Pugh, published in Puck magazine, 1900 (Wikimedia)

Why did people at home and abroad oppose American imperialism?

Homework

The Global Impact of American Imperialism

Read pages 191 through 197 in *A Young People's History of the United States*, by Howard Zinn and Rebecca Stefoff (Seven Stories Press: 2007).

Transcript: William Jennings Bryan: Anti-Imperialism, 1

On August 9, 1900, Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan delivered the following speech at the Democratic Convention in Kansas City, Missouri.

I can **conceive of** [*imagine*] a national destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of tomorrow. Behold a republic, resting securely upon the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident propositions that all men are created equal; that they are **endowed** [*provided*] with **inalienable** [*unable to be taken away*] rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty **stimulates** [*inspires*] all to **earnest** [*serious*] **endeavor** [*attempt*] and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every citizen is a **sovereign** [*self-governing*], but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own **armaments** [*weapons*—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength, and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of a universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted **arbiter** [*judge*] of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, “is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.”

Bryan, William Jennings. August 9, 1900. Courtesy of Voices of Democracy, University of Maryland, VoicesofDemocracy.UMD.edu.

Document A

Anti-Imperialist League

In 1889, In response to the U.S. participation in the Spanish-American War and invasions of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, anti-imperialist Americans formed the American Anti-Imperialist League. The organization was formed in order to protest the United States' annexation of the Philippines the year before. Here is an excerpt from the League's platform.

We hold that the policy known as imperialism is **hostile** [*opposed*] to liberty and encourages **militarism** [*military aggression*] . . . We regret that it has become necessary in the land of Washington and Lincoln to **reaffirm** [*restate*] that all men, of whatever race or color, are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We insist that the **subjugation** [*forced rule*] of any people is "criminal aggression . . ."

We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to **extinguish** [*destroy*] the spirit of 1776 in those islands . . . We criticize the slaughter of the Filipinos as a needless horror. We protest against the extension of American rule by Spanish methods . . .

A self-governing state cannot accept **sovereignty** [*rule*] over an unwilling people . . .

American Anti-Imperialist League. 1889. Courtesy of Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University, Sourcebooks.Fordham.edu.

Document B

William Jennings Bryan: Anti-Imperialism, 2

William Jennings Bryan was a prominent anti-imperialist. During his campaign for president in 1900, Bryan delivered the following speech.

Imperialism is the policy of an empire. And an empire is a nation composed of different races, living under varying forms of government. A republic [like the United States] cannot be an empire, for a republic rests upon the theory that governments derive their powers from the consent of the governed, and colonialism violates this theory. We do not want the Filipinos for citizens. They cannot, without danger to us, share in the government of our nation and moreover, we cannot afford to add another race question to the race questions which we already have. Neither can we hold the Filipinos as subjects even if we could benefit them by doing . . . Our experiment in colonialism has been unfortunate. Instead of profit, it has brought loss. Instead of strength, it has brought weakness. Instead of glory, it has brought humiliation.

Bryan, William Jennings. 1900. Courtesy of Herb, American Social History Production, City University of New York, Herb.ASHP.CUNY.edu.

Document C
Queen Liliuokalani: Protesting the Annexation of Hawaii

After the planter rebellion, Queen Liliuokalani was put under house arrest for five years. In 1897, Liliuokalani was pardoned. She traveled to Washington, D.C., to protest a provisional treaty made to annex Hawaii. Below is an excerpt from her protest.

I, LILIUOKALANI of Hawaii ... do protest against the ratification of the treaty, which has been signed at Washington ... to **cede** [*give up*] those Islands [of Hawaii] to the United States. I declare such a treaty to be an act of wrong toward the native people of Hawaii

YIELDED TO AVOID BLOODSHED.

... Because [the planter government established here] has never received any such authority from the registered voters of Hawaii, but takes its assumed powers ... largely from persons claiming American citizenship, and not one single Hawaiian was a member

Because my people, about 40,000 in number, have in no way been consulted by those, 3,000 in number, who claim the right to destroy the independence of Hawaii. My people **constitute** [*make up*] four-fifths of the legally qualified voters of Hawaii

CIVIC AND HEREDITARY RIGHTS.

Because said treaty ignores not only the civic rights of my people, but, further, the hereditary [inherited through families] property of their chiefs

Queen Liliuokalani. 1897. Courtesy of Penn Libraries, Digital.Library.UPenn.edu.

Document D

Emilio Aguinaldo: Letter to the American People

In June 1900, Filipino general and politician Emilio Aguinaldo wrote the following letter to the American people.

God Almighty knows how unjust is the war which the Imperial arms have provoked and are maintaining against our unfortunate country! If the honest American patriots could understand the sad truth of this declaration, we are sure they would, without the least delay, stop this unspeakable horror.

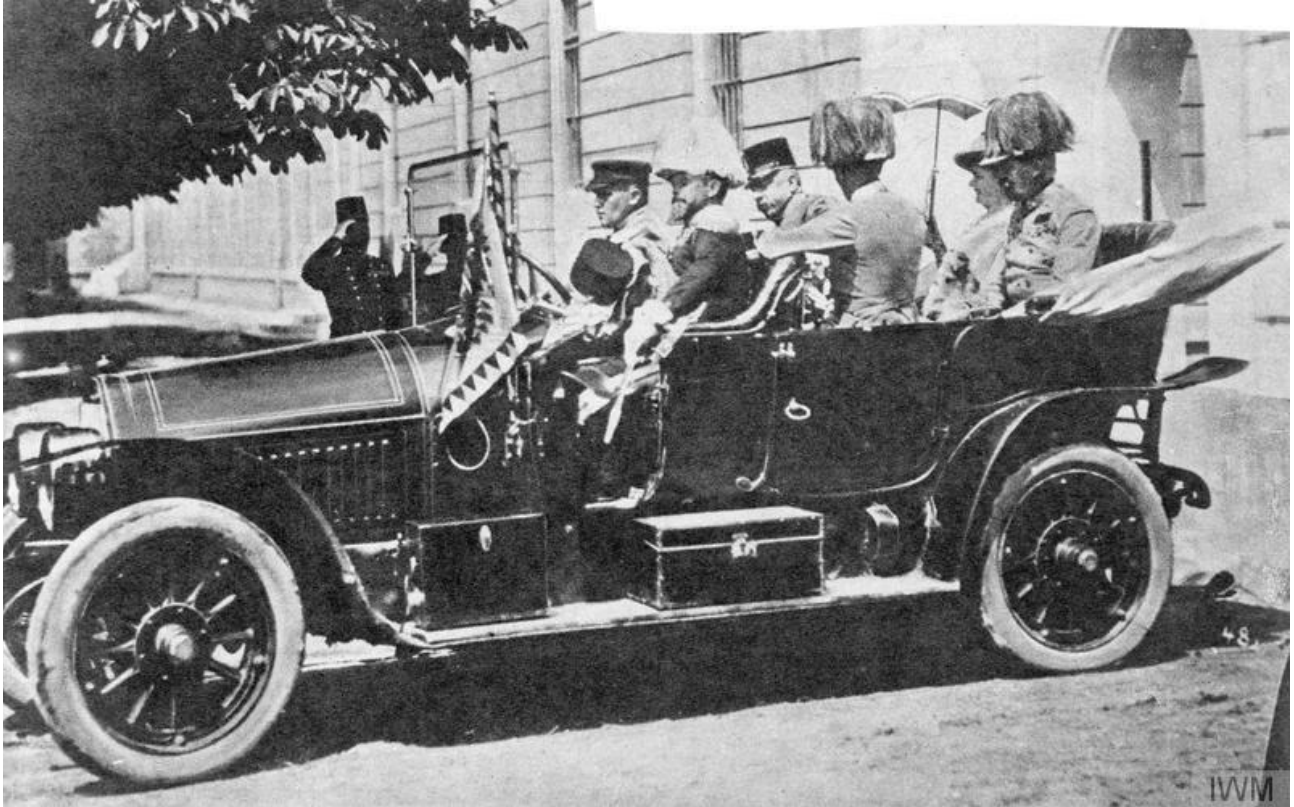
When we protested against this **iniquitous** [*unfair, morally wrong*] ingratitude, then the guns of the United States were turned upon us; we were **denounced** [*criticized*] as traitors and rebels; you destroyed the homes to which you had been welcomed as honored guests, killing thousands of those who had been your allies, **mutilating** [*brutally killing*] our old men, our women, and our children, and watering with blood the beautiful soil of our Fatherland.

... The Spanish government, whose **despotic** [*tyrannical*] cruelty American Imperialism now imitates, and in some respects **surpasses** [*exceeds*], denied to us many of the liberties which Americans already had when you revolted against British domination [in the American Revolution].

Why do the Imperialists wish to **subjugate** [*control*] us? What do they intend to do with us? Do they expect us to surrender—to yield our inalienable rights, our homes, our properties, our lives, our future destinies, to the absolute control of the United States? What would you do with our nine millions of people? Would you permit us to take part in your elections? Would you concede to us the privilege of sending Senators and Representatives to your Congress . . . ? Or, would you tax us without representation?

Aguinaldo, Emilio. June 1900. Courtesy of Annenberg Learner, Learner.org.

Lesson 7: World War I

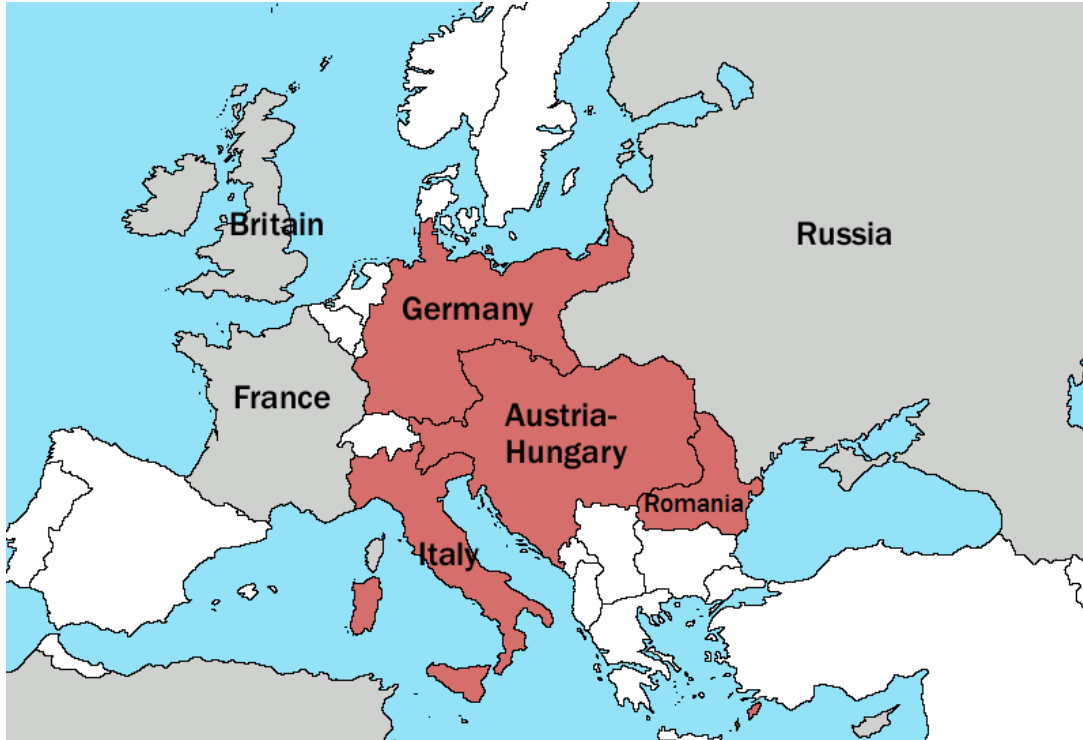


Archduke Franz Ferdinand, June 1914, before his assassination, photograph by Jaroslav Brunner-Dvořák (Wikimedia)

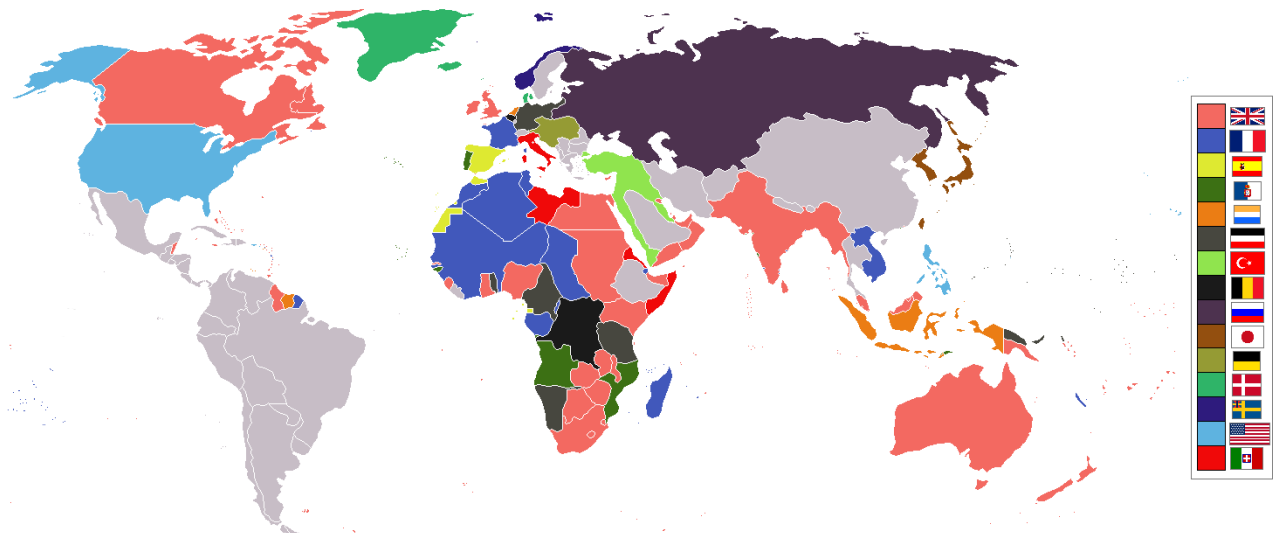
Why did World War I become a global conflict?

Homework
The Causes of World War I

Read "Did Franz Ferdinand's Assassination Cause World War I?" on the History Channel website.

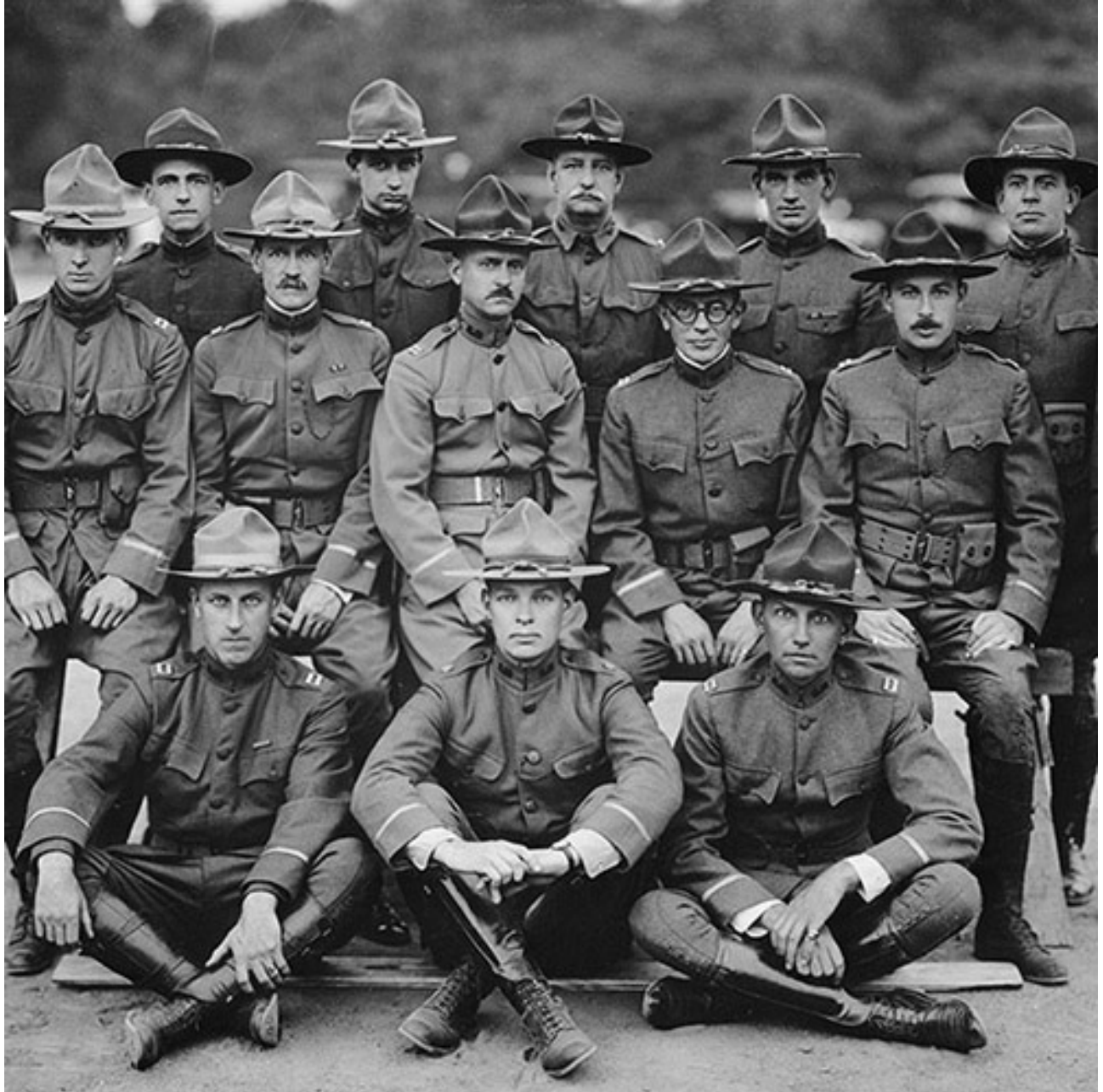


The Triple Alliance (Central Powers) and the Triple Entente (Allies) (Wikimedia)



European colonial holdings as of spring 1914 in the Eastern Hemisphere (Published by Andrew0921 @ Wikimedia under the CC BY 3.0 license.)

Lessons 8–10: The United States and World War I



U.S. officers in World War I (National Archives)

Why did the United States join World War I?

Homework

Wilson's Call to War Pulled America Onto the World Stage

Read "Wilson's Call to War Pulled America Onto the World Stage in 1917," by Professor Gordon Stables, published by the Conversation and available on the Newsela website.

Document A

Woodrow Wilson: Speech Before Congress

The text below was excerpted from President Woodrow Wilson's speech to Congress calling for the United States to join the war on April 2, 1917.

Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against **commerce** [*trade*] is a warfare against mankind.

The German policy ignored restrictions. Ships of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom of the ocean without warning [by the Germans]. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken. I advise that the Congress declare the recent actions of the Imperial German Government to be, in fact, nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States.

Neutrality is no longer **feasible** [*possible*] or desirable where the peace of the world is involved.

The world must be made safe for democracy. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no **dominion** [*control of domination*]. We seek not **material compensation** [*money*] for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the **champions** [*supporters*] of the rights of mankind.

It is a fearful but right thing to lead this great peaceful people to war. We shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of [people] to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations.

Wilson, Woodrow. April 2, 1917. Courtesy of Stanford History Education Group.

Document B

Howard Zinn: Critique of President Wilson

Howard Zinn was a historian and an activist who is best known today as the author of A People's History of the United States, a book that tells American history from the perspective of people of color, women, and poor people. The book is very critical of the U.S. government. Below is an excerpt from his book.

President Woodrow Wilson had promised that the United States would stay neutral in the war But in April of 1917, the Germans had announced they would have their submarines sink any ship bringing supplies to their enemies; and they had sunk a number of merchant vessels. Wilson now said he must stand by the right of Americans to travel on merchant ships in the war zone

As historian Richard Hofstadter points out: "This was rationalization of the flimsiest sort The British had also been intruding on the rights of American citizens on the high seas, but Wilson was not suggesting we go to war with them"

The United States claimed the *Lusitania* carried innocent cargo, and therefore the torpedoing was a monstrous German **atrocitiy** [*crime*]. Actually, the *Lusitania* was heavily armed: It carried thousands of weapons and ammunition The British and American governments lied about the cargo

Prosperity depended much on foreign markets, it was believed by the leaders of the country. In 1897, private foreign investments of the United States amounted to \$700 million dollars. By 1914, they were \$3.5 billion

With World War I, England became more and more a market for American goods and for loans at interest. J.P. Morgan and Company acted as agents for the Allies, and when, in 1915, Wilson lifted the ban on private bank loans to the Allies, Morgan could now begin lending money in such great amounts as to both make great profit and tie American finance closely to the interest of a British victory in the war against Germany.

Zinn, Howard. A People's History of the United States. 1980. Courtesy of Stanford History Education Group.

Document C

The Zimmerman Telegram

In January 1917, British spies deciphered a telegram from German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German minister to Mexico, [Heinrich] von Eckhardt. On February 24, Britain released the Zimmerman telegram to Wilson, and news of the telegram was published widely in the American press on March 1. Here it is.

We intend to begin on the first of February unrestricted submarine warfare. [However] we shall **endeavor** [*try*] to keep the United States of America neutral. [If the United States declares war on us], we make Mexico a proposal for alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona [from the Mexican-American War]. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain Please call your President's attention to the fact that the ruthless use of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace. Signed, ZIMMERMANN.

Zimmerman, Arthur. January 1917. Courtesy of OurDocuments.gov.

Document D
Secretary of State Lansing: Letter to President Wilson

On August 4, 1914, President Wilson declared that the United States would remain neutral in World War I. The excerpt below is from a letter from Secretary of State Robert Lansing to President Wilson in response to this declaration on September 6, 1915.

Thus far, [in] the year 1915, [the value of U.S. goods traded in Europe] will be approximately two and a half billions of dollars [more than what the United States buys from Europe]. To pay for this would ruin the economies of the European nations, and the consequence would be a general state of bankruptcy.

If the European nations cannot pay for [these goods], they will have to stop buying, and our present trade will shrink. The result would be industrial depression, **idle** [*inactive*] capital and idle labor, financial **demoralization** [*depression*], and general unrest and suffering among the laboring classes

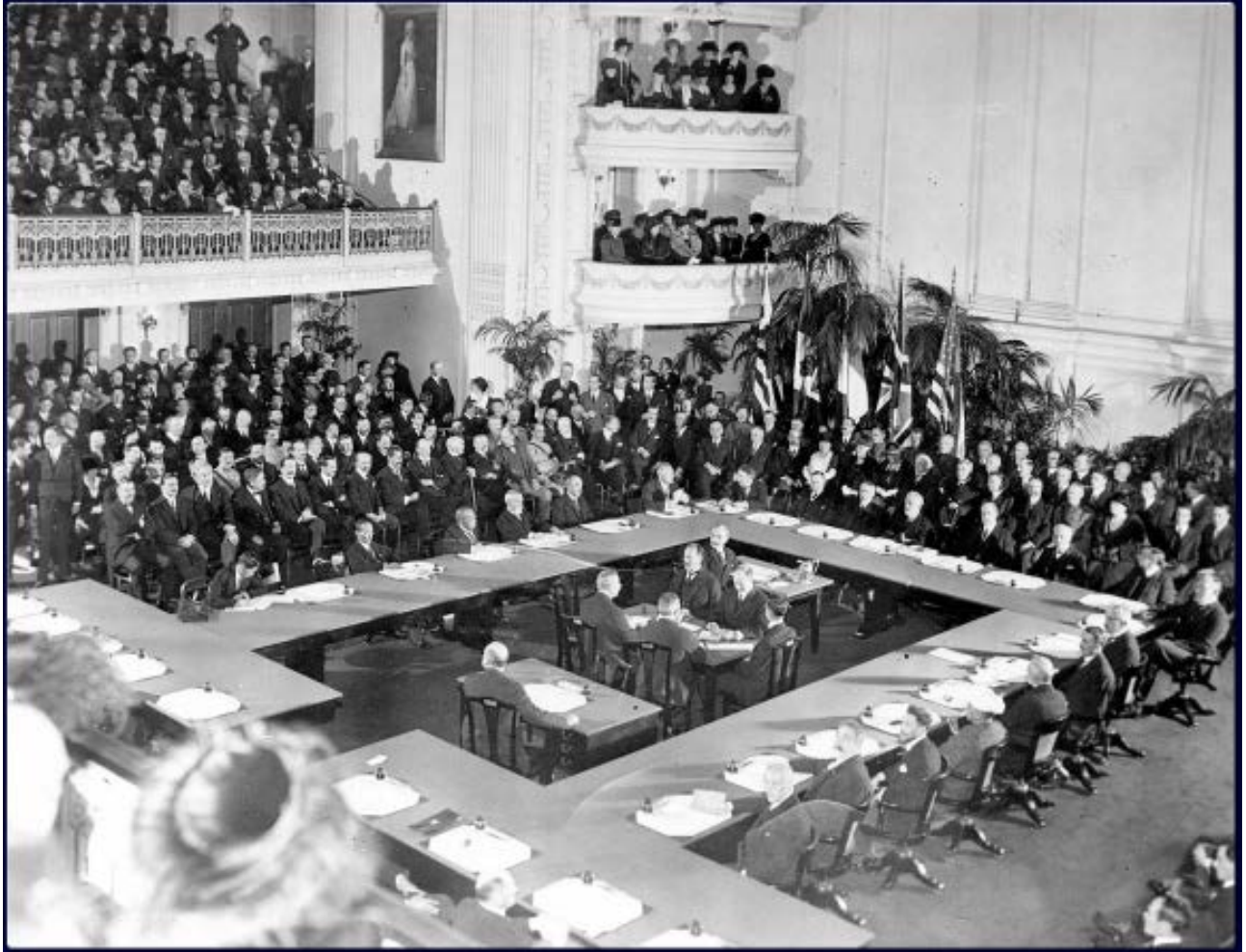
Now ... we are face to face with what appears to be a critical economic situation, which can only be [solved] by the investment of American **capital** [*money*] in foreign loans [to Europe] to be used in [paying off] the enormous balance of trade in favor of the United States. Can we afford to let a declaration ... of “the true spirit of neutrality” made in the first days of the war stand in the way of our national interests which seem to be seriously threatened?

This table illustrates the value of U.S. exports and loans during World War I.

	Allies	Central Powers
Value of U.S. Exports: 1914	\$824.8 million	\$169.3 million
Value of U.S. Exports: 1916	\$3.2 billion	\$1.2 million
Value of U.S. Loans: 1917	\$2.5 billion	\$27 million

Lansing, Robert. September 6, 1915. Courtesy of EDSITEment, National Endowment for the Humanities, EDSITEment.NEH.gov.

Lesson 11: The Treaty of Versailles



Delegations at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919 (Wikimedia)

**Should the United States have signed
the Treaty of Versailles?**

Homework

The End of the War and the Treaty of Versailles

The following text was adapted from the essay "World War I" by historian Jennifer Keene published by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.

At the end of the war, Wilson offered a more comprehensive description of the country's war goals in his Fourteen Points speech to Congress on January 8, 1918. The Fourteen Points envisioned a world dominated by democracy, free trade, disarmament, and self-determination; sought to solve territorial disputes in Europe; and proposed a league of nations to mediate international crises

The First World War was a total war, requiring the complete mobilization of American society. During the war, the federal government exercised unprecedented powers to centralize and coordinate the economy The Food Administration organized a massive food conservation campaign around the slogan "food will win the war," urging citizens to observe wheatless Mondays, meatless Tuesdays, and porkless Saturdays to save food for the troops. The War Industries Board ranked industries, so that those most critical to the war effort received raw materials ahead of nonessential businesses, while the Railroad Administration ran the nation's railroads for the duration of the war. The National War Labor Board (made up of representatives from government, business, and labor) required industries that accepted government contracts to honor the eight-hour day and the forty-hour week, government-sponsored benefits that workers lost when the war ended. Wages increased slightly during the war, but the steel, copper, petroleum, and meatpacking industries all reaped tremendous profits by selling war-related goods to the government.

During the period of neutrality, Americans could freely voice their opposition to fighting against Germany. Once the nation was officially at war, however, the government stopped dissent. The 1917 Espionage Act made it a crime to obstruct military recruitment, to encourage mutiny, or to aid the enemy by spreading lies. The 1918 Sedition Act prohibited uttering, writing, or publishing "any abusive or disloyal language" concerning the flag, Constitution, government, or armed forces

Under the command of General John J. Pershing, the American Expeditionary Forces experienced both the horrors of trench warfare and the difficulties of conducting a war of movement during the sweeping attacks that slowly pushed the Germans back toward their own border in 1918. Key American engagements included battles at Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Château-Thierry, which helped stop the German drive toward Paris in the spring of 1918. In the St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives American soldiers took part in a multi-pronged Allied assault that ended when Germany requested an armistice. At 11:00 a.m. on November 11, 1918, men on both sides climbed out of the trenches to celebrate having survived the war. Overall, the Americans lost 53,400 troops on the battlefield and 63,100 to disease (the majority victims of the Spanish Influenza pandemic that killed over half a million Americans in 1918).

The Armistice ended active fighting in western Europe, but the Versailles Peace Treaty took months to negotiate. The final treaty required that Germany pay reparations and disarm. It also created a League of Nations. Wilson believed that this collective security organization would prevent another world war by giving member nations a place to mediate international disputes and coordinate joint-military actions to contain aggressor nations. Many Republicans, however, disagreed with the Democratic president's rosy predictions of permanent peace. Opponents worried that by joining the League the United States would lose control of its own foreign policy. Membership might also invite international scrutiny of US armed interventions throughout Central America, where the United States was used to acting unilaterally. Isolationists and balance-of-power advocates joined forces to strenuously oppose joining the League, and their campaign gained momentum when a stroke (kept secret from the public) forced Wilson into seclusion for months. Wilson ultimately refused to compromise with his opponents, and the Senate rejected the treaty. Instead, the war officially ended for United States

in October 1921 when the Senate ratified separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The United States never joined the League of Nations, but the Wilsonian goals of self-determination, free trade, disarmament, and spreading democracy continued to shape American foreign policy for decades to come.

Keene, Jennifer, World War I. (Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History)

Against the Treaty of Versailles

Document A

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge: Against the Treaty of Versailles

Republican Henry Cabot Lodge was a strong opponent of Democrat President Woodrow Wilson and of the Treaty of Versailles. He gave the following speech August 12, 1919, in Washington, D.C.

Mr. President:

I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first.

I have never had but one **allegiance** [*loyalty*]*—I cannot divide it now. I have loved only one flag and I cannot share that devotion [to other countries] . . . Internationalism is to me repulsive [disgusting].*

The United States is the world's best hope, but if you **fetter** [*restrain with chains*] her in the interests and disagreements of other nations, if you tangle her in the **intrigues** [*secret plans*] of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone.

No doubt many excellent and patriotic people see a coming fulfillment of noble ideals in the words "league for peace." We all respect and share these **aspirations** [*hopes*] and desires, but some of us see no hope, but rather defeat, for them in this **murky** [*dark and dirty*] plan.

Our first ideal is our country. Our ideal is to make her ever stronger and better and finer, because in that way alone can she be of the greatest service to the world's peace and to the welfare of mankind.

Lodge, Henry Cabot. August 12, 1919. Courtesy of Stanford History Education Group.

Document B

Senator William Borah: Speech on the League of Nations

William Borah was a senator from Idaho who strongly opposed the Treaty of Versailles, primarily because of the proposed League of Nations. Below is an excerpt of a speech he delivered on the Senate floor.

[The treaty] **imperils** [*threatens*] what I **conceive** [*believe*] to be the underlying, the very first principles of this Republic. It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers

When this league, this combination, is formed, four great powers representing the dominant people will rule one-half of the inhabitants of the globe as subject peoples—rule by force, and we shall **be a party to** [*be involved in*] the rule of force. There is no other way by which you can keep people in

subjection. You must either give them independence, recognize their rights as nations to live their own life and to set up their own form of government, or you must deny them these things by force. That is the scheme, the method proposed by the league. It proposes no other Would you purchase peace at the cost of any part of our independence?

Borah, William. November 19, 1919. History Central, HistoryCentral.com.

In Favor of the Treaty of Versailles
Document A
President Wilson: Speech in Favor of the Treaty

When President Wilson returned to the United States in 1919 after the Paris Peace Conference, he toured the country to raise support for the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Below is an excerpt from a speech he gave in favor of the treaty in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, 1919.

My fellow citizens, as I have crossed the continent, I have perceived more and more that men have been busy creating an absolutely false impression of the treaty of peace and the **Covenant** [agreement] of the League of Nations.

Reflect, my fellow citizens that the membership of this great League is going to include all the great fighting nations of the world, as well as the weak ones. And what do they unite for? They enter into a solemn promise to one another that they will never use their power against one another for aggression; that they never will violate the **territorial integrity** [borders of a country] of a neighbor; that they never will interfere with the political independence of a neighbor; that they will **abide** [accept] by the principle that great populations are entitled to determine their own destiny; and that no matter what differences arise between them, they will never resort to war without first submitting their differences to the consideration of the council of the League of Nations, and agreeing that at the end of the six months, even if they do not accept the advice of the council, they will still not go to war for another three months.

I wish that those who oppose this settlement could feel the moral obligation that rests upon us not to turn our backs on the boys who died, but to see the thing through, to see it through to the end and make good their **redemption** [save from evil] of the world

Wilson, Woodrow. September 25, 1919. Courtesy of Stanford History Education Group.

Document B
Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo: On the Treaty

Secretary of the Treasury William McAdoo gave the following press statement in 1921, as Wilson left office and one year after the debate over the Treaty of Versailles concluded.

Whatever may be the imperfections of the Treaty from a political or economic standpoint, Woodrow Wilson did not fail. The outstanding thing for which he fought, the thing that **transcends** [goes beyond] political and economic considerations, is the permanent peace of the world. Unless this is secured all else is failure; without this the **sublimest** [most noble, wonderful] hope of humanity is sunk in the black **abyss** [nothingness]; without this all political and economic adjustments are unstable and sooner or later will disappear.

McAdoo, William. 1921. Courtesy of The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History.