

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918 Chapter Contents
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter 30

The War to End War 1917–1918

- Chapter Introduction
- 30-1 War by Act of Germany
- 30-2 Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned
- 30-3 Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points
- 30-4 Creel Manipulates Minds
- 30-5 Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent
- 30-6 The Nation's Factories Go to War
- 30-7 Workers in Wartime
- 30-8 Suffering Until Suffrage
- 30-9 Forging a War Economy
- 30-10 Making Plowboys into Doughboys
- 30-11 Fighting in France—Belatedly
- 30-12 America Helps Hammer the “Hun”
- 30-13 The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany
- 30-14 Wilson Steps Down from Olympus
- 30-15 An Idealist Amid the Imperialists
- 30-16 Hammering Out the Treaty
- 30-17 The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War
- 30-18 The Domestic Parade of Prejudice
- 30-19 Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)
- 30-20 Defeat Through Deadlock
- 30-21 The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920
- 30-22 The Betrayal of Great Expectations

- 30-23 Chapter Review
 - 30-23a Key Terms
 - 30-23b People to Know
 - 30-23c To Learn More
 - 30-23d Chronology

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918 Chapter Introduction
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Introduction

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make.

Woodrow Wilson, *War Message*, April 2, 1917

Destiny dealt cruelly with **Woodrow Wilson**. The lover of peace, as fate would have it, was forced to lead a hesitant and peace-loving nation into war. As the last days of 1916 slipped through the hourglass, the president made one final, futile attempt to mediate between the embattled belligerents. On January 22, 1917, he delivered one of his most moving addresses, restating America's commitment to neutral rights and declaring that only a negotiated “peace without victory” would prove durable.

Germany's warlords responded with a blow of the mailed fist. On January 31, 1917, they announced to an astonished world their decision to wage *unrestricted* submarine warfare, sinking *all* ships, including America's, in the war zone.

Why this rash act? War with America was the last thing Germany wanted. But after three ghastly years in the trenches, Germany's leaders decided the distinction between combatants and noncombatants was a luxury they could no longer afford. Thus they jerked on the string they had attached to their *Sussex* pledge in 1916, desperately hoping to bring Britain to its knees before the United States entered the war. **Wilson**, his bluff called, broke diplomatic relations with Germany but refused to move closer to war unless the Germans undertook “overt” acts against American lives.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-1 War by Act of Germany
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-1 War by Act of Germany

To defend American interests short of war, the president asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships. When a band of midwestern senators launched a filibuster to block the measure, **Wilson** denounced them as a “little group of willful men” who were rendering a great nation “helpless and contemptible.” But their obstruction was a powerful reminder of the continuing strength of American isolationism.

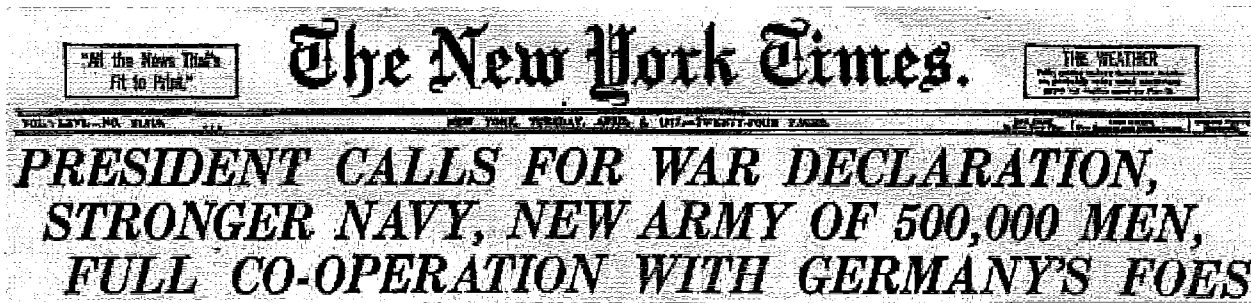
Meanwhile, the sensational Zimmermann note (German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman had secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance against the United States. When the note was intercepted and published in March 1917, it caused an uproar that made some Americans more willing to enter the war.) was intercepted and published on March 1, 1917, infuriating Americans, especially westerners. German foreign secretary **Arthur Zimmermann** had secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance, tempting anti-Yankee Mexico with veiled promises of recovering Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.

On the heels of this provocation came the long-dreaded “overt” acts in the Atlantic, where German U-boats sank four unarmed American merchant vessels in the first two weeks of March. As one Philadelphia newspaper observed, “The difference between war and what we have now is that now we aren't fighting back.” Simultaneously came the rousing news that a revolution in Russia had toppled the cruel regime of the tsars. America could now fight foursquare for democracy on the side of the Allies, without the black sheep of Russian despotism in the Allied fold.

Subdued and solemn, **Wilson** at last stood before a hushed joint session of Congress on the evening of April 2, 1917, and asked for a declaration of war. He had lost his gamble that America could pursue the profits of neutral trade without being sucked into the ghastly maelstrom. A myth developed in later years that America was dragged unwittingly into war by munitions makers and Wall Street bankers, desperate to protect their profits and loans. Yet the weapons merchants and financiers were already thriving, unhampered by wartime government restrictions and heavy taxation. Their slogan might well have been “Neutrality Forever.” The simple truth is that British harassment of American commerce had been galling but endurable; Germany had resorted to the mass killing of civilians. The difference was like that between a gang of thieves and a gang of murderers. President **Wilson** had drawn a clear, if risky, line against the depredations of the submarine. The German high command, in a last desperate throw of the dice, chose to cross it. In a figurative sense, America's war declaration of April 6, 1917, bore the unambiguous trademark “Made in Germany.”

WAR!

Attacks by German submarines finally forced Wilson's hand, and he asked Congress for a declaration of war on April 2, 1917. Four days later, after considerable debate and with fifty-six dissenting votes, Congress obliged the president.



Granger Collection

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-2 Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-2 Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

“It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war,” **Wilson** said in his war message. It was fearful indeed, not least of all because of the formidable challenge it posed to Wilson's leadership skills. Ironically, it fell to the scholarly **Wilson**, deeply respectful of American traditions, to shatter one of the most sacred of those traditions by entangling America in a distant European war.

How could the president arouse the American people to shoulder this unprecedented burden? For more than a century, they had prided themselves on their isolationism from the periodic outbursts of militarized violence that afflicted the Old World. Since 1914 their pride had been reinforced by the bountiful profits gained through neutrality. German U-boats had now roughly shoved a wavering America into the abyss, but ominously, no fewer than six senators and fifty representatives (including the first congresswoman, **Jeannette Rankin** of Montana) had voted against the war resolution. **Wilson** could whip up no enthusiasm, especially in the landlocked Midwest, by calling on the nation to fight to make the world safe from the submarine.

To galvanize the country, Wilson would have to proclaim more glorified aims. Radiating the spiritual fervor of his Presbyterian ancestors, he declared the supremely ambitious goal of a crusade “to make the world safe for democracy.” Brandishing the sword of righteousness, **Wilson** virtually hypnotized the nation with his lofty ideals. He contrasted the selfish war aims of the other belligerents, Allied and enemy alike, with America's shining altruism. America, he preached, did not fight for the sake of riches or territorial conquest. The Republic sought only to shape an international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of power-crazed autocrats and militarists.

In **Wilsonian** idealism the personality of the president and the necessities of history were perfectly matched. The high-minded Wilson genuinely believed in the principles he so eloquently intoned—especially that the modern world could not afford the kind of hyper-destructive war that advanced industrial states were now capable of waging. In this, Wilson's vision was prophetic. In any case, probably no other appeal could have successfully converted the American people from their historic hostility to involvement in European squabbles. Americans, it seemed, could be either isolationists or crusaders, but

nothing in between.

Wilson's appeal worked—perhaps too well. Holding aloft the torch of idealism, the president fired up the public mind to a fever pitch. “Force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit,” he cried, while the country responded less elegantly with “Hang the kaiser.” Lost on the gale was Wilson's earlier plea for “peace without victory.”

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-3 Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-3 Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

Wilson quickly came to be recognized as the moral leader of the Allied cause. He scaled a summit of inspiring oratory on January 8, 1918, when he delivered his famed **Fourteen Points** (Woodrow Wilson's proposal to ensure peace after World War I, calling for an end to secret treaties, widespread arms reduction, national self-determination, and a new league of nations.) Address to an enthusiastic Congress. Although one of his primary purposes was to keep reeling Russia in the war, Wilson's vision inspired all the drooping Allies to make mightier efforts and demoralized the enemy governments by holding out alluring promises to their dissatisfied minorities.

The first five of the Fourteen Points were broad in scope.

1. A proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries.
2. Freedom of the seas appealed to the Germans, as well as to Americans who distrusted British sea power.
3. A removal of economic barriers among nations had long been the goal of liberal internationalists everywhere.
4. A reduction of armament burdens was gratifying to taxpayers in all countries.
5. An adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of both native peoples and the colonizers was reassuring to the anti-imperialists.

Indeed Wilson's pronouncement about colonies was potentially revolutionary. It helped to delegitimize the old empires and opened the road to eventual national independence for millions of “subject peoples.”

Other points among the fourteen proved to be no less seductive. They held out the hope of independence (“self-determination”) to oppressed minority groups, such as the Poles, millions of whom lay under the heel of Germany and Austria-Hungary. The capstone point, number fourteen, foreshadowed the League of Nations—an international organization that **Wilson** dreamed would provide a system of collective security. **Wilson** earnestly prayed that this new scheme would effectively guarantee the political independence and territorial

integrity of all countries, whether large or small.

Yet Wilson's appealing points, though raising hopes the world over, were not everywhere applauded. Certain leaders of the Allied nations, with an eye to territorial booty, were less than enthusiastic. Hard-nosed Republicans at home grumbled, and some of them openly mocked the “fourteen commandments” of “God Almighty Wilson.”

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-4 Creel Manipulates Minds

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

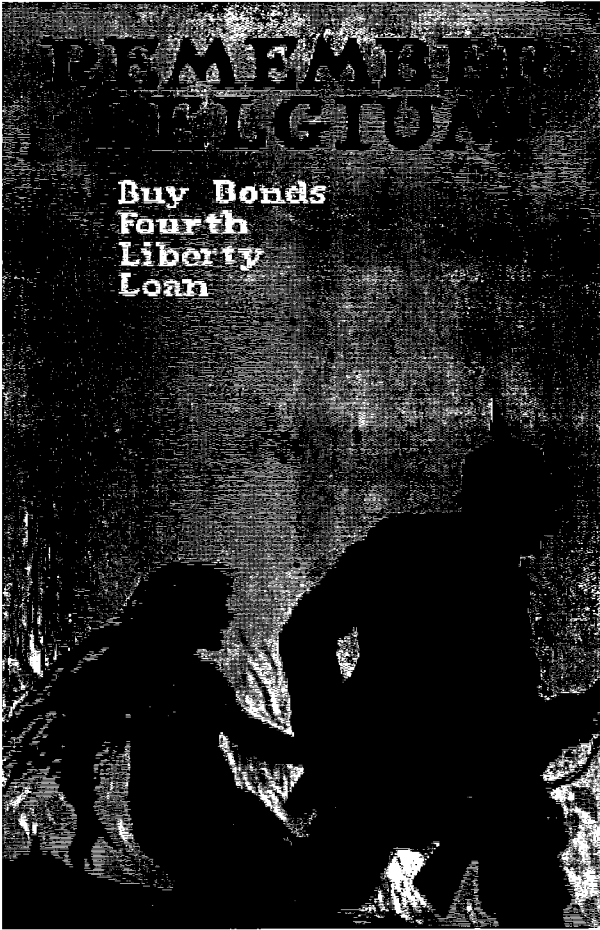
30-4 Creel Manipulates Minds

Mobilizing people's minds for war, both in America and abroad, was an urgent task facing the Washington authorities. For this purpose the **Committee on Public Information** (A government office during World War I known popularly as the Creel Committee for its chairman George Creel, it was dedicated to winning everyday Americans' support for the war effort. It regularly distributed prowar propaganda and sent out an army of “four-minute men” to rally crowds and deliver “patriotic pep.”) was created. It was headed by a youngish journalist, **George Creel**, who, though out-spoken and tactless, was gifted with zeal and imagination. His job was to sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims.

The Creel organization, employing some 150,000 workers at home and overseas, proved that words were indeed weapons. It sent out an army of 75,000 “four-minute men”—often longer-winded than that—who delivered countless speeches containing much “patriotic pep.”

Anti-German Propaganda

The government relied extensively on emotional appeals and hate propaganda to rally support for the First World War, which most Americans regarded as a distant “European” affair. This poster used gendered imagery to evoke the brutal German violation of Belgian neutrality in August 1914.



Library of Congress

Creel's propaganda took varied forms. Posters were splashed on billboards in the "Battle of the Fences," as artists "rallied to the colors." Millions of leaflets and pamphlets, which contained the most pungent Wilsonisms, were showered like confetti upon the world. Propaganda booklets with red-white-and-blue covers were printed by the millions.

Hang-the-kaiser movies, carrying such titles as *The Kaiser*, *the Beast of Berlin* and *To Hell with the Kaiser*, revealed the helmeted "Hun" at his bloodiest. Arm-waving conductors by the thousands led huge audiences in songs that poured scorn on the enemy and glorified the "boys" in uniform.

Patriotic Persuasion

Worried about the public's enthusiasm for the war, the government employed all the arts of psychology and propaganda to sustain the martial spirit. The prewar song "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier" was changed to "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Slacker," which in turn inspired the cruel parody "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Sausage."

Library of Congress

The entire nation, catching the frenzied spirit of a religious revival, burst into song. This was undoubtedly America's singingest war. Most memorable was **George M. Cohan's** spine-tingling “Over There”:

*Over there, over there
Send the word, send the word over there,
That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming
The drums rum-tumming ev'rywhere.*

Creel typified American war mobilization, which relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws. But he oversold the ideals of **Wilson** and led the world to expect too much. When the president proved to be a mortal and not a god, the resulting disillusionment both at home and abroad was disastrous.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-5 Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-5 Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

German Americans numbered over 8 million, counting those with at least one parent

foreign-born, out of a total population of 100 million. On the whole they proved to be dependably loyal to the United States. Yet rumormongers were quick to spread tales of spying and sabotage; even trifling epidemics of diarrhea were blamed on German agents. A few German Americans were tarred, feathered, and beaten; in one extreme case a German Socialist in Illinois was lynched by a drunken mob.

As emotion mounted, hysterical hatred of Germans and things Germanic swept the nation. Orchestras found it unsafe to present German-composed music, like that of Wagner or Beethoven. German books were removed from library shelves, and German classes were canceled in high schools and colleges. Sauerkraut became “liberty cabbage,” hamburger “liberty steak.” Even beer became suspect, as patriotic Americans fretted over the loyalty of breweries with names like Schlitz and Pabst.

Both the Espionage Act (A law prohibiting interference with the draft and other acts of national “disloyalty.” Together with the Sedition Act of 1918, which added penalties for abusing the government in writing, it created a climate that was unfriendly to civil liberties.) of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 reflected current fears about Germans and antiwar Americans. Especially visible among the nineteen hundred prosecutions pursued under these laws were antiwar Socialists and members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Kingpin Socialist **Eugene V. Debs** was convicted under the Espionage Act in 1918 and sentenced to ten years in a federal penitentiary. IWW leader William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood and ninety-nine associates were similarly convicted. Virtually any criticism of the government could be censored and punished. Some critics claimed the new laws were bending, if not breaking, the First Amendment. But in Schenck v. United States (A Supreme Court decision that upheld the Espionage and Sedition Acts, reasoning that freedom of speech could be curtailed when it posed a “clear and present danger” to the nation.) (1919), the Supreme Court affirmed their legality, arguing that freedom of speech could be revoked when such speech posed a “clear and present danger” to the nation.

These prosecutions form an ugly chapter in the history of American civil liberty. With the dawn of peace, presidential pardons were rather freely granted, including President Harding's to **Eugene Debs** in 1921. Yet a few victims lingered behind bars into the 1930s.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-6 The Nation's Factories Go to War
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

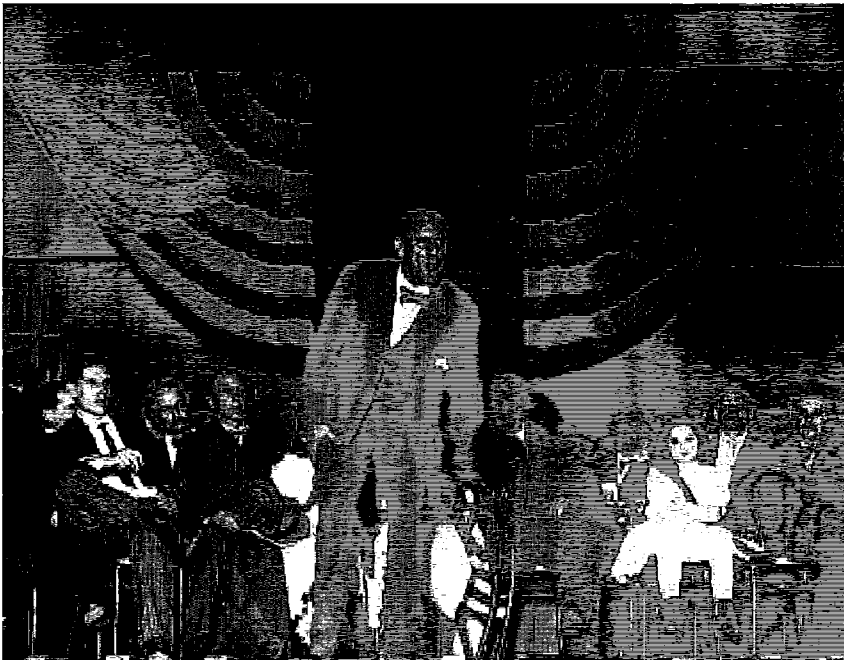
30-6 The Nation's Factories Go to War

Victory was no foregone conclusion, especially since the Republic, despite ample warning, was caught flat-footedly unready for its leap into global war. The pacifistic **Wilson** had only belatedly backed some mild preparedness measures beginning in 1915, including the creation of a civilian Council of National Defense to study problems of economic mobilization. He had also launched a shipbuilding program (as much to capture the belligerents' war-disrupted foreign trade as to anticipate America's possible entry into the war) and endorsed a modest beefing-up of the army, which with 100,000 regulars then ranked about fifteenth among the armies of the world, in the same category with Persia's. It

would take a herculean effort to marshal America's daunting but disorganized resources and throw them into the field quickly enough to bolster the Allied war effort.

Socialist Leader Eugene V. Debs Addresses an Antiwar Rally in 1918

For his denunciation of World War I, Debs was convicted under the Espionage Act of 1917 and sent to federal prison. In his courtroom speech defending himself against charges of disloyalty, he passionately declared, "While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." he ran as a presidential candidate in 1920 while still incarcerated in his cell and received nearly a million votes.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Towering obstacles confronted economic mobilizers. Sheer ignorance was among the biggest roadblocks. No one knew precisely how much steel or explosive powder the country was capable of producing. Old ideas also proved to be liabilities, as traditional fears of big government hamstrung efforts to orchestrate the economy from Washington. States' rights Democrats and businesspeople alike balked at federal economic controls, even though the embattled nation could ill afford the freewheeling, hit-or-miss chaos of the peacetime economy.

Late in the war, and after some bruising political battles, Wilson succeeded in imposing some order on this economic confusion. In March 1918 he appointed lone-eagle stock speculator Bernard Baruch to head the War Industries Board (Headed by Bernard Baruch, this federal agency coordinated industrial production during World War I, setting production quotas, allocating raw materials, and pushing companies to increase efficiency and eliminate waste. Under the economic mobilization of the War Industries Board, industrial production in the United States increased 20 percent during the war.) . Although the War Industries Board had only feeble formal powers, it set a precedent for the federal government to take a central role in economic planning in moments of crisis. It was

disbanded just days after the armistice, and Americans returned to their preference for laissez-faire and a weak central government. But in the midst of the Great Depression of the 1930s, policymakers would look back to World War I agencies like this one as models.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-7 Workers in Wartime
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-7 Workers in Wartime

Suppressing the Steel Strike: Pittsburgh, 1919

The big steel producers ferociously resisted the unionization of their industry. In Pittsburgh compliant local officials bent to the steel makers' will and issued an order banning all outdoor meetings of strikers. This mounted policeman enforced the order with a flailing billy club. The steelworkers' strike eventually failed, leaving the steel industry un-unionized until the New Deal championed labor's cause in the depression decade of the 1930s.



© Bettmann/Corbis

Spurred by the slogan “Labor Will Win the War,” American workers sweated their way to victory. In part they were driven by the War Department's “work or fight” rule of 1918, which threatened any unemployed male with being immediately drafted—a powerful discouragement to go on strike. But for the most part, government tried to treat labor fairly. The National War Labor Board (This wartime agency was chaired by former President Taft and aimed to prevent labor disputes by encouraging high wages and an eight-hour day. While granting some concessions to labor, it stopped short of supporting labor's most important demand: a government guarantee of the right to organize into unions.), chaired by former president **Taft**, exerted itself to head off labor disputes that might hamper the war effort. While pressing employers to grant concessions to labor, including high wages and the eight-hour day, the board stopped short of supporting labor's

most important demand: a government guarantee of the right to organize into unions.

Fortunately for the Allied cause, **Samuel Gompers** and his American Federation of Labor (AF of L) loyally supported the war, though some smaller and more radical labor organizations, including the **Industrial Workers of the World** (The IWW, also known as the “Wobblies,” was a radical organization that sought to build “one big union” and advocated industrial sabotage in defense of that goal. At its peak in 1923, it could claim 100,000 members and could gain the support of 300,000. The IWW particularly appealed to migratory workers in agriculture and lumbering and to miners, all of whom suffered from horrific working conditions.) , did not. The IWW, known as the “Wobblies” and sometimes derided as the “I Won't Works,” engineered some of the most damaging industrial sabotage, and not without reason. As transient laborers in such industries as fruit and lumber, the Wobblies were victims of some of the shabbiest working conditions in the country. When they protested, many were viciously beaten, arrested, or run out of town.

Mainstream labor's loyalty was rewarded. At war's end, the AF of L had more than doubled its membership, to over 3 million, and in the most heavily unionized sectors—coal mining, manufacturing, and transportation—real wages (after adjusting for inflation) had risen more than 20 percent over prewar levels. A new day seemed to be dawning for the long-struggling union movement.

Chicago Race Riot, 1919

The policeman apparently arrived too late to spare this victim from being pelted by stones from an angry mob.



Chicago History Museum

Yet labor harbored grievances. Recognition of the right to organize still eluded labor's grasp. Wartime inflation—prices more than doubled between 1914 and 1920—threatened to eclipse wage gains. Not even the call of patriotism and Wilsonian idealism could defuse

all labor disputes. Some six thousand strikes, several stained by blood, broke out in the war years. In 1919 the greatest strike in American history rocked the steel industry. More than a quarter of a million steelworkers walked off their jobs in a bid to force their employers to recognize their right to organize and bargain collectively. The steel companies resisted mercilessly. They refused to negotiate with union representatives and brought in thirty thousand African American strikebreakers to keep the mills running. After bitter confrontations that left more than a dozen workers dead, the steel strike collapsed, a grievous setback that crippled the union movement for more than a decade.

The black workers who entered the steel mills in 1919 were but a fraction of the tens of thousands of southern blacks drawn to the North in wartime by the magnet of war-industry employment. These migrants made up the small-scale beginnings of a great northward African American trek that would eventually grow to massive proportions. Their sudden appearance in previously all-white areas sometimes sparked inter-racial violence. An explosive riot in East St. Louis, Missouri, in July 1917 left nine whites and at least forty blacks dead. An equally gruesome race riot ripped through Chicago. The wartime Windy City was taut with racial tension as a growing black population expanded into white working-class neighborhoods and as African Americans found jobs as strikebreakers in meatpacking plants. Triggered by an incident at a bathing beach in July 1919, a reign of terror descended on the city for nearly two weeks. Black and white gangs roamed Chicago's streets, eventually killing fifteen whites and twenty-three blacks.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-8 Suffering Until Suffrage
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-8 Suffering Until Suffrage

Women also heeded the call of patriotism and opportunity. Thousands of female workers flooded into factories and fields, taking up jobs vacated by men who left the assembly line for the frontline. But the war split the women's movement deeply. Many progressive-era feminists were pacifists, inclined to oppose the participation both of America in the war and women in the war effort. This group found a voice in the National Woman's party, led by Quaker activist **Alice Paul**, which demonstrated against “**Kaiser Wilson**” with marches and hunger strikes.

But the larger part of the suffrage movement, represented by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, supported Wilson's war. Leaders echoed Wilson's justification for fighting by arguing that women must take part in the war effort to earn a role in shaping the peace. The fight for democracy abroad was women's best hope for winning true democracy at home.

In an open address to Congress in 1917, suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt (1859–1947) capitalized on the idealism of the day and invoked the founding principles of American democracy in arguing the case for women's right to vote:

“How can our nation escape the logic it has never failed to follow, when its last unenfranchised class calls for the vote? Behold our Uncle Sam floating the banner with one hand, ‘Taxation without representation is tyranny,’ and with the other seizing the billions of dollars paid in taxes by women to whom he refuses ‘representation.’... Is there a single man who can justify such inequality of treatment, such outrageous discrimination? Not one.”

War mobilization gave new momentum to the suffrage fight. Impressed by women's war work, President **Wilson** endorsed woman suffrage as “a vitally necessary war measure.” In 1917 New York voted for suffrage at the state level; Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota followed. The next year, governments in Great Britain, Austria, Hungary, and Germany extended the suffrage to women. Not long after, the United States followed suit. In 1920, more than seventy years after the first calls for suffrage at Seneca Falls, the **Nineteenth Amendment** (This Constitutional amendment, finally passed by Congress in 1919 and ratified in 1920, gave women the right to vote over seventy years after the first organized calls for woman's suffrage in Seneca Falls, New York.) was ratified, giving all American women the right to vote. (See the Appendix and Table 30.1.)

Table 30.1

A Chronology of Women's Right to Vote in National Elections in Selected Nations

1893	New Zealand
1902	Australia (white women only until Aborigines included in 1962)
1906	Finland
1915	Denmark, Iceland
1918	Austria, Canada (women of British and French extraction only until 1950), Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russian Federation, United Kingdom (only women who were married, householders, or university graduates age 30 or over until 1928)
1919	Netherlands, Sweden
1920	United States, Czechoslovakia

1924	Mongolia
1930	South Africa (whites only until 1994), Turkey
1931	Spain (but women lost the vote under the dictator Francisco Franco, 1936–1976)
1934	Brazil, Cuba
1944	France
1945	Italy, Japan
1946	Yugoslavia
1947	Argentina, Mexico, Pakistan
1948	Israel, South Korea
1949	China, Syrian Arab Republic
1950	Haiti, India
1952	Greece, Lebanon
1956	Egypt
1963	Iran
1965	Afghanistan (revoked under Taliban rule, 1996–2001)
1971	Switzerland
1974	Jordan
2005	Kuwait

[Sources: **Caroline Daley** and **Melanie Nolan**, eds., *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (1994); <http://www.ipu.org/english/issues/wmndocs/suffrage.htm>; **About.com**, *Women's History, International Woman Suffrage Timeline*, <http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/a/intltimeline.htm>.]

Despite political victory, women's wartime economic gains proved fleeting. Although a permanent Women's Bureau did emerge after the war in the Department of Labor to protect women in the work-place, most women workers soon gave up their war jobs. Meanwhile, Congress affirmed its support for women in their traditional role as mothers when it passed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act (Designed to appeal to new women voters, this act provided federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care and expanded the role of government in family welfare.) of 1921, providing federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care. In doing so, it also expanded the

responsibility of the federal government for family welfare.

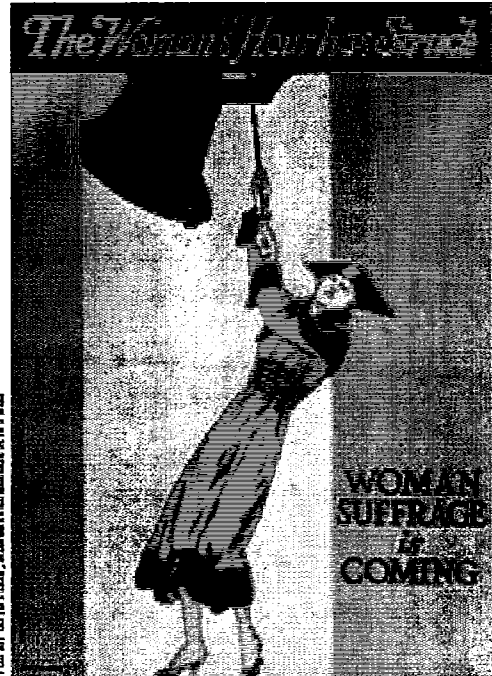
Feminists continued to flex their political muscle in the postwar decade, pressing for more laws to protect women in the workplace and prohibit child labor. Complete success often eluded them in those crusades, but the developments of the World War I era nevertheless foreshadowed a future when women's wage-labor and political power would reshape the American way of life.

In the Trenches and to the Polls

Wars often bring opportunities and innovations as well as danger and destruction. As U.S. Army nurses went into harm's way at the fighting front in France, the century-long struggle for women's suffrage intensified on the home front, culminating in the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.



National Archives



Poster for the film 'The Women of Nowhere' by the National Archives

National Archives Poster Collection, Hoover Institution Archives

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-9 Forging a War Economy

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-9 Forging a War Economy

Mobilization relied as much on the heated emotions of patriotism as on the cool majesty of the laws. The largely voluntary character of economic war organization testified to ocean-insulated America's safe distance from the fighting—as well as to the still-modest scale of government powers in the progressive-era Republic. But as the war wore on, government took greater command of the nation's resources to secure an Allied victory.

As the larder of democracy, America had to feed itself and its allies. By a happy inspiration,

the man chosen to head the Food Administration was the Quaker-humanitarian **Herbert C. Hoover**. He was already considered a hero because he had successfully led a massive charitable drive to feed the starving people of war-racked Belgium.

In common with other American war administrators, Hoover preferred to rely on voluntary compliance rather than on compulsory edicts. He deliberately rejected issuing ration cards, a practice used in Europe. Instead he waged a whirlwind propaganda campaign through posters, billboards, newspapers, pulpits, and movies. To save food for export, Hoover proclaimed wheatless Wednesdays and meatless Tuesdays—all on a voluntary basis. Even children, when eating apples, were urged to be “patriotic to the core.”

The country soon broke out in a rash of vegetable “victory gardens,” as perspiring patriots hoed their way to victory in backyards and vacant lots. Congress severely restricted the use of foodstuffs for manufacturing alcoholic beverages, and the war-spawned spirit of self-denial helped accelerate the wave of prohibition that was sweeping the country. Many leading brewers were German-descended, and this taint made the drive against alcohol all the more popular. The reformers' dream of a saloonless nation was finally achieved—temporarily—in 1919 with the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, prohibiting all alcoholic drinks.

Thanks to the fervent patriotic wartime spirit, Hoover's voluntary approach worked. Farm production increased by one-fourth, and food exports to the Allies tripled in volume. Hoover's methods were widely imitated in other war agencies. The Fuel Administration exhorted Americans to save fuel with “heatless Mondays,” “lightless nights,” and “gasless Sundays.” The Treasury Department sponsored huge parades and invoked slogans like “Halt the Hun” to promote four great Liberty Loan drives, followed by a Victory Loan campaign in 1919. Together these efforts netted the then-fantastic sum of about \$21 billion, or two-thirds of the current cost of the war to the United States. The remainder was raised by increased taxes, which, unlike the loan subscriptions, were obligatory. (The ultimate bill, including interest and veterans' benefits, mounted to some \$112 billion.)

Pressures of various kinds, patriotic and otherwise, were used to sell bonds. The unfortunate German American who could not display a Liberty Bond button might find his or her house bedaubed with yellow paint. A number of reluctant investors in war bonds were roughly handled. In at least one instance, a man signed for a bond with a rope around his neck.

Food for Thought

Wartime agencies flooded the country with posters like this in 1917–1918, exhorting women on the home front to “grow their own” and thus ease the pressure on food supplies.



Library of Congress

Despite the **Wilson** administration's preference for voluntary means of mobilizing the economy, over the course of the war it expanded the federal government in size and power. The War Industries Board issued production quotas, allocated raw materials, and set prices for government purchases. Following indescribable traffic snarls in late 1917, Washington took over the railroads. Time itself came under Uncle Sam's control when the entire country was ordered to observe daylight saving time to extend the workday and save on fuel.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-10 Making Plowboys into Doughboys

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-10 Making Plowboys into Doughboys

Most citizens, at the outset, did not dream of sending a mighty force to France. As far as fighting went, America would use its navy to uphold freedom of the seas. It would continue to ship war materials to the Allies and supply them with loans, which finally totaled nearly \$10 billion. But in April and May of 1917, the European associates laid their cards on the table. They confessed that they were scraping the bottom not only of their money chests but, more ominously, of their manpower barrels. A huge American army would have to be raised, trained, and transported, or the whole western front would collapse.

Conscription was the only answer to the need for raising an immense army with all possible speed. **Wilson** disliked a draft, as did many other Americans with Civil War memories, but he eventually accepted and eloquently supported conscription as a disagreeable and temporary necessity.

*Ignoring grisly tales of the agonies of trench warfare, many young American men saw an opportunity for adventure and seized it. Author **John Dos Passos** (1896–1970) recollected how he felt going off to war in 1917:*

“We had spent our boyhood in the afterglow of the peaceful nineteenth century.... What was war like? We wanted to see with our own eyes. We flocked into the volunteer services. I respected the conscientious objectors, and occasionally felt I should take that course myself, but hell, I wanted to see the show.”

The proposed draft bill immediately ran into a barrage of criticism in Congress. A congressman from Missouri, deploring compulsion, cried out in protest that there was “precious little difference between a conscript and a convict.” Prophets of doom predicted that on draft-registration day, the streets would run red with blood. At length Congress—six weeks after declaring war—grudgingly got around to passing conscription.

The draft act required the registration of all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. No “draft dodger” could purchase his exemption or hire a substitute, as in the days of the Civil War, though the law exempted men in key industries, such as shipbuilding.

The draft machinery, on the whole, worked effectively. Registration day proved to be a day of patriotic pilgrimages to flag-draped registration centers, and the sign-up saw no shedding of blood, as some had gloomily predicted. Despite precautions, some 337,000 “slackers” escaped the draft, and about 4,000 conscientious objectors were excused.

Within a few frantic months, the army grew to over 4 million men. For the first time, women were admitted to the armed forces; some 11,000 to the navy and 269 to the marines. African Americans also served in the armed forces, though in strictly segregated units and usually under white officers. Reflecting racial attitudes of the time, military authorities hesitated to train black men for combat, and the majority of black soldiers were assigned to “construction battalions” or put to work unloading ships.

Miracles in Shipbuilding



Hulton Archives/Getty Images

Recruits were supposed to receive six months of training in America and two more months overseas. But so great was the urgency that many doughboys were swept swiftly into battle scarcely knowing how to handle a rifle, much less a bayonet.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-11 Fighting in France—Belatedly
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

30-11 Fighting in France—Belatedly

Russia's collapse underscored the need for haste. The communistic Bolsheviks, after seizing power late in 1917, ultimately withdrew their beaten country from the “capitalistic” war early in 1918. This sudden defection released hundreds of thousands of battle-tested Germans from the eastern front facing Russia for the western front in France, where, for the first time in the war, they were developing a dangerous superiority in manpower.

Battling Venereal Disease

The American military waged a half-hearted war on rampant venereal disease.



Library of Congress

Berlin's calculations as to American tardiness were surprisingly accurate. Germany had counted on knocking out Britain six months after the declaration of unlimited submarine warfare, long before America could get into the struggle. No really effective American fighting force reached France until about a year after Congress declared war. Berlin had also reckoned on the inability of the Americans to transport their army, assuming that they were able to raise one. Here again the German predictions were not far from the mark, as shipping shortages plagued the Allies.

Nevertheless, France gradually began to bustle with American doughboys (see Map 30.1). The first trainees to reach the front were used as replacements in the Allied armies and were generally deployed in quiet sectors with the British and French. The newcomers soon made friends with the French girls—or tried to—and one of the most sung-about women in history was the fabled “Mademoiselle from Armentières.” One of the printable stanzas ran,

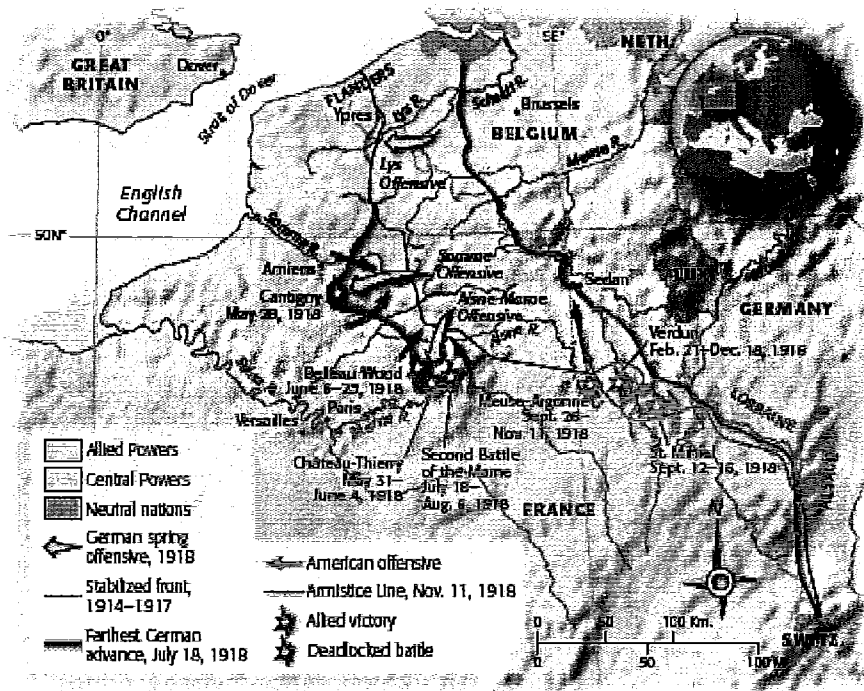
*She was true to me, she was true to you,
She was true to the whole damn army, too.*

Map 30.1

Major U.S. Operations in France, 1918

One doughboy recorded in his diary his baptism of fire at St. Mihiel: “Hiked through dark woods. No lights allowed, guided by holding on the pack of the man ahead. Stumbled through underbrush for about half mile into an open field where we waited in soaking rain until about 10:00 P.M. We then started on our hike to the

St. Mihiel front, arriving on the crest of a hill at 1:00 A.M. I saw a sight which I shall never forget. It was the zero hour and in one instant the entire front as far as the eye could reach in either direction was a sheet of flame, while the heavy artillery made the earth quake.”



© Cengage Learning

Not surprisingly, American soldiers suffered from high rates of venereal disease, which the army only contributed to by avoiding the subject.

American operations were not confined solely to France; small detachments fought in Belgium, Italy, and notably Russia. The United States, hoping to keep stores of munitions from falling into German hands when Bolshevik Russia quit fighting, contributed some 5,000 troops to an Allied invasion of northern Russia at Archangel. **Wilson** likewise sent nearly 10,000 troops to Siberia as part of an Allied expedition, which included more than 70,000 Japanese. Major American purposes were to prevent Japan from getting a stranglehold on Siberia, to rescue some 45,000 marooned Czechoslovak troops, and to snatch military supplies from Bolshevik control. Sharp fighting at Archangel and in Siberia involved casualties on both sides, including several hundred Americans. The Bolsheviks long resented these “capitalistic” interventions, which they regarded as high-handed efforts to suffocate their infant communist revolution in its cradle.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-12 America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-12 America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

The dreaded German drive on the western front exploded in the spring of 1918.

Spearheaded by about half a million troops, the enemy rolled forward with terrifying momentum. So dire was the peril that the Allied nations for the first time united under a supreme commander, the quiet French marshal Foch, whose axiom was “To make war is to attack.” Until then the Allies had been fighting imperfectly coordinated actions.

At last the ill-trained “Yanks” were coming—and not a moment too soon. Late in May 1918, the German juggernaut, smashing to within forty miles of Paris, threatened to knock out France. Newly arrived American troops, numbering fewer than thirty thousand, were thrown into the breach at **Château-Thierry** (The first significant engagement of American troops in World War I—and, indeed, in any European war. To weary French soldiers, the American doughboys were an image of fresh and gleaming youth.) , right in the teeth of the German advance. This was a historic moment—the first significant engagement of American troops in a European war. Battle-fatigued French soldiers watched incredulously as the roads filled with endless truckloads of American doughboys, singing New World songs at the top of their voices, a seemingly inexhaustible flood of fresh and gleaming youth. With their arrival it was clear that a new American giant had arisen in the West to replace the dying Russian titan in the East.

Examining the Evidence

“Mademoiselle from Armentières”

Some familiar songs, such as **Julia Ward Howe's** stirring Civil War–era melody “Battle Hymn of the Republic,” were penned by known composers and have well-established scores and lyrics. But many ballads have no specific author. Songwriters may fit new verses to known tunes, but the songs essentially grow out of the soil of popular culture and take on a life of their own. “Yankee Doodle Dandy,” for example, originated during the seventeenth-century English Civil War, was adapted by the American revolutionaries more than a century later, and was parodied by Southerners during the American Civil War:

*Yankee Doodle had a mind
To whip the Southern “traitors,”
Because they didn't choose to live
On codfish and potatoes.*

“**Stagger Lee**,” or “Stagolee,” a blues ballad supposedly based on a murder in Memphis in the 1930s, has been played in countless renditions, with its homicidal subject variously portrayed as a ruthless badman or a civil rights hero.

This process of accretion and adaptation can furnish valuable clues to historians about changing sentiments and sensibilities, just as the ballads themselves give expression to feelings not always evident in the official record. Folklorist **Alan Lomax** spent a lifetime tracking down American ballads, documenting layers of life and experience not usually excavated by traditional scholars. In the case of the First World War's most notorious song, “Mademoiselle from Armentières” (or “Hinky Dinky, Parley-Voo?”), he compiled from various sources more than six

hundred soldier-authored stanzas, some of which are reproduced here (others he delicately described as “not mailable”). What fresh—and irreverent—perspectives do they reveal about the soldier's-eye view of military life?

*Mademoiselle from Armentières,
She hadn't been kissed in forty years.*

*She might have been young for all we knew,
When Napoleon flopped at Waterloo....*

*You'll never get your Croix de Guerre,
If you never wash your underwear....*

*The French, they are a funny race,
They fight with their feet and save their face.*

*The cootie [louse] is the national bug of France.
The cootie's found all over France,
No matter where you hang your pants....*

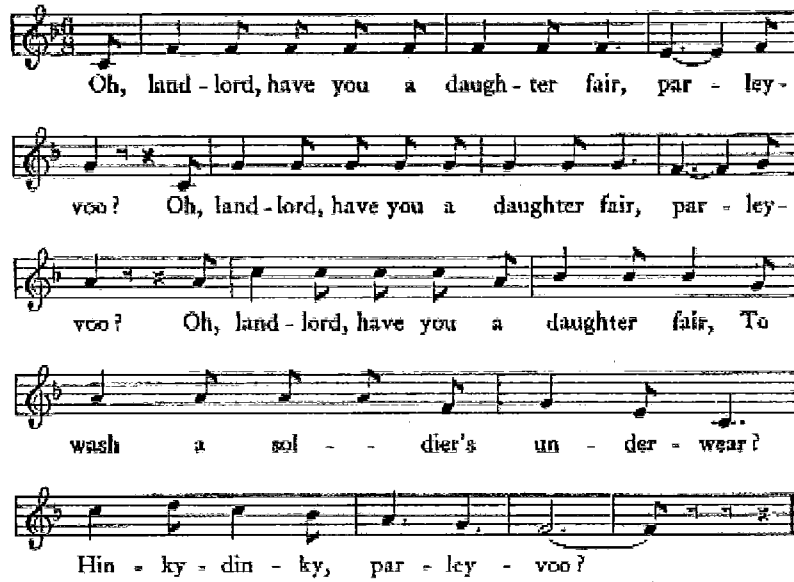
*Oh, the seventy-seventh went over the top,
A sous lieutenant, a Jew, and a Wop....*

*The officers get all the steak,
And all we get is the belly-ache.*

*The general got a Croix de Guerre,
The son-of-a-gun was never there....*

*There's many and many a married man,
Wants to go back to France again.*

*'Twas a hell of a war as we recall,
But still 'twas better than none at all.*



Oh, land - lord, have you a daugh - ter fair, par - ley -
 voo? Oh, land - lord, have you a daughter fair, par - ley -
 voo? Oh, land - lord, have you a daughter fair, To
 wash a sol - - dier's un - der - wear?
 Hin - ky - din - ky, par - ley - voo?

American Ballads and Folk Songs by John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935

Source: From **John A. Lomax and Alan Lomax**, *American Ballads and Folksongs*, pp. 558-560. Reprinted by permission of *Odyssey Productions, Inc.*

Gassed, by John Singer Sargent

The noted artist captures the horror of trench warfare in World War I. The enemy was often distant and unseen, and death came impersonally from gas or artillery fire. American troops, entering the line only in the war's final days, were only briefly exposed to this kind of brutal fighting.



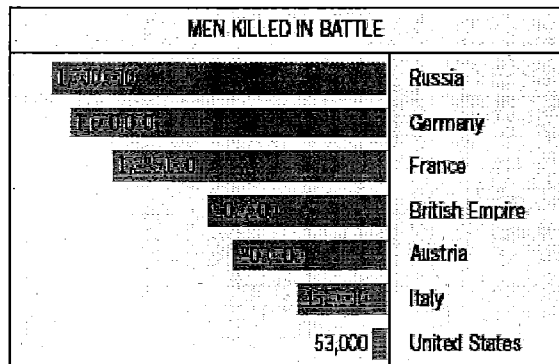
Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Art Library

American weight in the scales was now being felt on both sides of the conflict (see Figure 30.1). By July 1918 the awesome German drive had spent its force, and keyed-up American men participated in a Foch counteroffensive in the Second Battle of the Marne. This engagement marked the beginning of a German withdrawal that was never effectively reversed. In September 1918 nine American divisions (about 243,000 men) joined four

French divisions to push the Germans from the St. Mihiel salient, a German dagger in France's flank.

Figure 30.1

Approximate Comparative Losses in World War I



The Americans, dissatisfied with merely bolstering the British and French, had meanwhile been demanding a separate army. General John J. (“Black Jack”) Pershing was finally assigned a front of eighty-five miles, stretching northwestward from the Swiss border to meet the French lines.

As part of the last mighty Allied assault, involving several million men, Pershing's army undertook the **Meuse-Argonne offensive** (General John J. “Black Jack” Pershing led American troops in this effort to cut the German railroad lines supplying the western front. It was one of the few major battles that Americans participated in during the entire war, and was still underway when the war ended.), from September 26 to November 11, 1918. One objective was to cut the German railroad lines feeding the western front. This battle, the most gargantuan thus far in American history, lasted forty-seven days and engaged 1.2 million American troops. With especially heavy fighting in the rugged Argonne Forest, the killed and wounded mounted to 120,000, or 10 percent of the Americans involved. The slow progress and severe losses from machine guns resulted in part from inadequate training, in part from dashing open-field tactics, with the bayonet liberally employed. Tennessee-bred **Alvin C. York**, a member of an antiwar religious sect, became a hero when he single-handedly killed 20 Germans and captured 132 more. Victory was in sight—and fortunately so. The slowly advancing American armies in France were eating up their supplies so rapidly that they were in grave danger of running short. But the battered Germans were ready to stagger out of the trenches and cry “*Kamerad*” (Comrade). Their allies were deserting them, the British blockade was causing critical food shortages, and the sledgehammer blows of the Allies pummeled them relentlessly. Propaganda leaflets, containing seductive Wilsonian promises, rained down upon their crumbling lines from balloons, shells, and rockets.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-13 The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-13 The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

Berlin was now ready to hoist the white flag. Warned of imminent defeat by the generals, it turned to the presumably softhearted **Wilson** in October 1918, seeking a peace based on the Fourteen Points. In stern responses the president made it clear that the kaiser must be thrown overboard before an armistice could be negotiated. War-weary Germans, whom Wilson had been trying to turn against their “military masters,” took the hint. The kaiser was forced to flee to Holland, where he lived out his remaining twenty-three years, “unwept, unhonored, and unhung.”

The exhausted Germans were through. They laid down their arms at eleven o'clock on the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918, and an eerie, numbing silence fell over the western front. War-taut America burst into a delirium of around-the-clock rejoicing, as the war to end wars had ended. But the costs exceeded comprehension: nearly 9 million soldiers had died, and more than 20 million had suffered grievous wounds. To make matters worse, some 30 million people perished in a worldwide influenza pandemic in 1918–1919. Over 550,000 Americans—more than ten times the number of U.S. combat casualties—died from the flu.

German “Repentance,” 1918

A prophetic reflection of the view that the failure to smash Germany completely would lead to another world war.



Library of Congress

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) favored the Germans' unconditional surrender. Referring to Wilson's practice of drafting diplomatic notes on his own typewriter, Roosevelt telegraphed several senators (October 24, 1918),

“Let us dictate peace by the hammering guns and not chat about peace to the accompaniment of clicking typewriters. The language of the fourteen points and the subsequent statements explaining or qualifying them are thoroughly

mischievous.”

Home from the War, 1919

Most black troops in World War I were denied combat duty and served as laborers and stevedores, but this wounded veteran had seen some tough fighting—though in a segregated unit, the 369th Colored Infantry Regiment, also known as the “Hell-fighters of Harlem.” Segregation followed black servicemen even into death. When Congress appropriated money in 1930 to send “Gold Star Mothers” to visit the graves of their slain soldier-sons in France, it provided for separate ships, hotels, and trains for African American women. Several black mothers, preferring “to remain at home and retain our honor and self-respect,” reluctantly refused to make the trip.



© Bettmann/Corbis

The United States' main contributions to the ultimate victory had been foodstuffs, munitions, credits, oil for this first mechanized war, and manpower—but not battlefield victories. The Yanks fought only two major battles, at St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne, both in the last two months of the four-year war, and they were still grinding away in the Meuse-Argonne, well short of their objectives, when the war ended. It was the *prospect* of endless U.S. troop reserves, rather than America's actual military performance, that eventually demoralized the Germans.

Ironically enough, General Pershing in some ways depended more on the Allies than they depended on him. His army purchased more of its supplies in Europe than it shipped from the United States. Fewer than five hundred of Pershing's artillery pieces were of American manufacture. Virtually all of his aircraft were provided by the British and French. Britain

and France transported a majority of the doughboys to Europe. The United States, in short, was no arsenal of democracy in this war; that role awaited it in the next global conflict, two decades later.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-14 Wilson Steps Down from Olympus
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-14 Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

Woodrow Wilson had helped to win the war. What part would he now play in shaping the peace? Expectations ran extravagantly high. As the fighting in Europe crashed to a close, the American president towered at the peak of his popularity and power. In lonely huts in the mountains of Italy, candles burned before poster-portraits of the revered American prophet. In Poland starry-eyed university students would meet in the streets, clasp hands, and utter only one word: “**Wilson.**” No other man had ever occupied so dizzy a pinnacle as moral leader of the world. **Wilson** also had behind him the prestige of victory and the economic resources of the mightiest nation on earth. But at this fateful moment, his sureness of touch deserted him, and he began to make a series of tragic fumbles.

Under the slogan “Politics Is Adjourned,” partisan political strife had been kept below the surface during the war crisis. Hoping to strengthen his hand at the Paris peace table, **Wilson** broke the truce by personally appealing for a Democratic victory in the congressional elections of November 1918. But the maneuver backfired when voters instead returned a narrow Republican majority to Congress. Having staked his reputation on the outcome, **Wilson** went to Paris as a diminished leader. Unlike all the parliamentary statesmen at the table, he did not command a legislative majority at home.

Wilson's decision to go in person to Paris to help make the peace infuriated Republicans. At that time no president had traveled to Europe, and Wilson's journey looked to his critics like flamboyant grandstanding. He further ruffled Republican feathers when he snubbed the Senate in assembling his peace delegation and neglected to include a single Republican senator in his official party. The logical choice was the new chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, slender and aristocratically bewhiskered Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, a Harvard Ph.D. But including Lodge would have been problematic for the president. The senator's mind, quipped one critic, was like the soil of his native New England: “naturally barren but highly cultivated.” **Wilson** loathed him, and the feeling was hotly reciprocated. An accomplished author, Lodge had been known as the “scholar in politics” until **Wilson** came on the scene. The two men were at daggers drawn, personally and politically.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-15 An Idealist Amid the Imperialists
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-15 An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

Woodrow Wilson, the great prophet arisen in the West, received tumultuous welcomes from the masses of France, England, and Italy late in 1918 and early in 1919. They saw in his idealism the promise of a better world. But the statesmen of France and Italy were careful to keep the new messiah at arm's length from worshipful crowds. He might so arouse the people as to prompt them to overthrow their leaders and upset finespun imperialistic plans.

The Paris Conference of great and small nations fell into the hands of an inner clique, known as the Big Four. **Wilson**, representing the richest and freshest great power, more or less occupied the driver's seat. He was joined by genial Premier Vittorio Orlando of Italy and brilliant Prime Minister **David Lloyd** George of Britain. Perhaps the most realistic of the quartet was cynical, hard-bitten Premier Georges Clemenceau of France, the seventy-eight-year-old "organizer of victory" known as "the Tiger."

Speed was urgent when the conference opened on January 18, 1919. Europe seemed to be slipping into anarchy; the red tide of communism was licking westward from Bolshevik Russia.

*The English science fiction writer **H. G. Wells** (1866–1946), soon a strong proponent of the League of Nations, spoke for many Europeans when he praised **Woodrow Wilson** in 1917:*

"In all the world there is no outstanding figure to which the world will listen, there is no man audible in all the world, in Japan as well as Germany and Rome as well as Boston—except the President of the United States."

Wilson in Dover, England, 1919

Hailed by many Europeans in early 1919 as the savior of the Western world, Wilson was a fallen idol only a few months later, when Americans repudiated the peace treaty he had helped to craft.



National Archives

Wilson's ultimate goal was a world parliament to be known as the League of Nations (A world organization of national governments proposed by President Woodrow Wilson and established by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. It worked to facilitate peaceful international cooperation. Despite emotional appeals by Wilson, isolationists' objections to the League created the major obstacle to American signing of the Treaty of Versailles.) , but he first bent his energies to preventing any vengeful parceling out of the former colonies and protectorates of the vanquished powers. (He was less attentive to the fate of colonies belonging to the victorious French and English.) **Wilson** tried to force through a compromise between naked imperialism and Wilsonian idealism. The victors would not take possession of the conquered territory outright, but would receive it as trustees of the League of Nations. Strategic Syria, for example, was awarded to France, and oil-rich Iraq went to Britain. In practice this half-loaf solution was little more than the old prewar colonialism, thinly disguised, although in the decades to come, anticolonial independence movements would wield the Wilsonian ideal of self-determination against their imperial occupiers.

Meanwhile, **Wilson** had been serving as midwife for the League of Nations, which he envisioned as containing an assembly with seats for all nations and a council to be controlled by the great powers. He gained a signal victory over the skeptical Old World diplomats in February 1919, when they agreed to make the League Covenant, Wilson's brainchild, an integral part of the final peace treaty. At one point he spoke with such ardor for his plan that even the hard-boiled newspaper reporters forgot to take notes.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-16 Hammering Out the Treaty

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-16 Hammering Out the Treaty

Domestic duties now required **Wilson** to make a quick trip to America, where ugly storms

were brewing in the Senate. Certain Republican senators, Lodge in the lead, were sharpening their knives for **Wilson**. To them the League was either a useless “sewing circle” or an overpotent “super-state.” Their hard core was composed of a dozen or so militant isolationists, led by Senators **William Borah** of Idaho and **Hiram Johnson** of California, who were known as **irreconcilables** (Led by Senators William Borah of Idaho and Hiram Johnson of California, this was a hard-core group of militant isolationists who opposed the Wilsonian dream of international cooperation in the League of Nations after World War I. Their efforts played an important part in preventing American participation in the international organization.) or “the Battalion of Death.”

Pilgrim Landing in America, 1919



Granger Collection

Thirty-nine Republican senators or senators-elect—enough to defeat the treaty—proclaimed that the Senate would not approve the League of Nations in its existing imperfect form. These difficulties delighted Wilson's Allied adversaries in Paris. They were now in a stronger bargaining position because Wilson would have to beg them for changes in the covenant that would safeguard the Monroe Doctrine and other American interests dear to the senators.

As soon as **Wilson** was back in Paris, the hard-headed Clemenceau pressed French demands for the German-inhabited Rhineland and the Saar Valley, a rich coal area. Faced with fierce Wilsonian opposition to this violation of self-determination, France settled for a compromise whereby the Saar basin would remain under the League of Nations for fifteen years, and then a popular vote would determine its fate. ✱ In exchange for dropping its demands for the Rhineland, France got the Security Treaty, in which both Britain and America pledged to come to its aid in the event of another German invasion. The French

later felt betrayed when this pact was quickly pigeonholed by the U.S. Senate, which shied away from all entangling alliances.

Wilson's next battle was with Italy over Fiume, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavs. When Italy demanded Fiume, **Wilson** insisted that the seaport go to Yugoslavia and appealed over the heads of Italy's leaders to the country's masses. The maneuver fell flat. The Italian delegates went home in a huff, while the Italian masses turned savagely against **Wilson**.

Another crucial struggle was with Japan over China's Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula and the German islands in the Pacific, which the Japanese had seized during the war. Japan was conceded the strategic Pacific islands under a League of Nations mandate, ~~but~~ but **Wilson** staunchly opposed Japanese control of Shandong as a violation of self-determination for its 30 million Chinese residents. But when the Japanese threatened to walk out, **Wilson** reluctantly accepted a compromise whereby Japan kept Germany's economic holdings in Shandong and pledged to return the peninsula to China at a later date. The Chinese were outraged by this imperialistic solution, while Clemenceau jeered that **Wilson** "talked like Jesus Christ and acted like Lloyd George."

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-17 The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War
 Book Title: The American Pageant
 Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
 © 2013 Wadsworth,

30-17 The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

A completed Treaty of Versailles (World War I concluded with this vengeful document, which secured peace but imposed sharp terms on Germany and created a territorial mandate system to manage former colonies of the world powers. To Woodrow Wilson's chagrin, it incorporated very few of his original Fourteen Points, although it did include the League of Nations that Wilson had long sought. Isolationists in the United States, deeply opposed to the League, led the opposition to the Treaty, which was never ratified by the Senate.), after more weeks of wrangling, was handed to the Germans in June 1919—almost literally on the point of a bayonet. Excluded from the settlement negotiations at Paris, Germany had capitulated in the hope that it would be granted a peace based on the Fourteen Points. A careful analysis of the treaty shows that only about four of the twenty-three original Wilsonian points and subsequent principles were fully honored. Vengeance, not reconciliation, was the treaty's dominant tone. Loud and bitter cries of betrayal burst from German throats—charges that **Adolf Hitler** would soon reiterate during his meteoric rise to power.

Wilson, of course, was guilty of no conscious betrayal. But the Allied powers were torn by conflicting aims, many of them sanctioned by secret treaties. There had to be compromise at Paris, or there would be no agreement. Faced with hard realities, **Wilson** was forced to compromise away some of his less cherished Fourteen Points in order to salvage the more precious League of Nations. He was much like the mother who had to throw her sickly younger children to the pursuing wolves to save her sturdy firstborn.

A troubled **Wilson** was not happy with the results. Greeted a few months earlier with

frenzied acclaim in Europe, he was now a fallen idol, condemned alike by disillusioned liberals and frustrated imperialists. He was keenly aware of some of the injustices that had been forced into the treaty. But he was hoping that the League of Nations—a potent League with America as a leader—would iron out the inequities.

Yet the loudly condemned treaty had much to commend it. Not least among its merits was its liberation of millions of minority peoples, such as the Poles, from the yoke of imperial dynasties. Wilson's disappointments and his critics to the contrary, the settlement was almost certainly a fairer one because he had gone to Paris.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-18 The Domestic Parade of Prejudice

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-18 The Domestic Parade of Prejudice

Returning for the second and final time to America, **Wilson** sailed straight into a political typhoon. Isolationists raised a whirlwind of protest against the treaty, especially against Wilson's commitment to usher the United States into his newfangled League of Nations. Invoking the revered advice of Washington and Jefferson, they wanted no part of any “entangling alliance.”

Nor were the isolationists Wilson's only problem. Critics showered the Treaty of Versailles with abuse from all sides.

Rabid Hun-haters, regarding the pact as not harsh enough, voiced their discontent. Principled liberals, like the editors of the *New York Nation*, thought it too harsh—and a gross betrayal to boot. German Americans, Italian Americans, and others whom **Wilson** termed “hyphenated Americans” were aroused because the peace settlement was not sufficiently favorable to their native lands.

Contentious Nuptials

Woodrow Wilson's visionary effort to end more than a century of American aloofness from world affairs met vigorous opposition from traditional isolationists, especially in the U.S. Senate. Senators eventually refused to ratify the Versailles treaty, shattering Wilson's dream of making the United States a more engaged international actor.



Library of Congress

Irish Americans, traditional twisters of the British lion's tail, also denounced the League. They felt that with the additional votes of the five overseas British dominions, it gave Britain undue influence, and they feared that it could be used to force the United States to crush any rising for Irish independence. Crowds of Irish American zealots hissed and booed Wilson's name.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-19 Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-19 Wilson's Tour and Collapse (1919)

Despite mounting discontent, the president had reason to feel optimistic. When he brought home the treaty, with the “Wilson League” firmly riveted in as Part I, a strong majority of the people still seemed favorable. At this time—early July 1919—Senator Lodge had no real hope of defeating the Treaty of Versailles. His strategy was merely to amend it in such a way as to “Americanize,” “Republicanize,” or “senatorialize” it. The Republicans could then claim political credit for the changes.

Lodge effectively used delay to muddle and divide public opinion. He read the entire 264-page treaty aloud in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and held protracted hearings in which people of various nationalities aired their grievances.

Wilson fretted increasingly as the hot summer of 1919 wore on. The bulky pact was bogged down in the Senate, while the nation was drifting into confusion and apathy. He therefore decided to take his case to the country in a spectacular speechmaking tour. He would appeal over the heads of the Senate to the sovereign people—as he often had in the past.

The strenuous barnstorming campaign was undertaken in the face of protests by physicians and friends. **Wilson** had never been robust; he had entered the White House nearly seven years before with a stomach pump and with headache pills for his neuritis. His frail body had begun to sag under the strain of partisan strife, a global war, and a stressful peace conference. But he declared that he was willing to die, like the soldiers he had sent into battle, for the sake of the new world order.

The presidential tour, begun in September 1919, got off to a rather lame start. The Midwest received **Wilson** lukewarmly, partly because of strong German American influence. Trailing after him like bloodhounds came two “irreconcilable” senators, **Borah** and **Johnson**, who spoke in the same cities a few days later. Hat-tossing crowds answered their attacks on Wilson, crying, “Impeach him, impeach him!”

But the reception was different in the Rocky Mountain region and on the Pacific Coast. These areas, which had elected **Wilson** in 1916, welcomed him with heart-warming outbursts. The high point—and the breaking point—of the return trip was at Pueblo, Colorado, September 25, 1919. Wilson, with tears coursing down his cheeks, pleaded for the League of Nations as the only real hope of preventing future wars. That night he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion.

Wilson was whisked back in the “funeral train” to Washington, where several days later a stroke paralyzed one side of his body. During the next few weeks, he lay in a darkened room in the White House, as much a victim of the war as the unknown soldier buried at Arlington. For more than seven months, he did not meet with his cabinet.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-20 Defeat Through Deadlock

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-20 Defeat Through Deadlock

Senator Lodge, coldly calculating, was now at the helm. After failing to amend the treaty outright, he finally came up with fourteen formal reservations to it—a sardonic slap at Wilson's Fourteen Points. These safeguards reserved the rights of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine and the Constitution and otherwise sought to protect American sovereignty. Senator Lodge and other critics were especially alarmed by Article X of the League because it *morally* bound the United States to aid any member victimized by external aggression. A jealous Congress wanted to reserve for itself the constitutional war-declaring power.

Wilson, hating Lodge, saw red at the mere suggestion of the Lodge reservations. He was quite willing to accept somewhat similar reservations sponsored by his faithful Democratic followers, but he insisted that the Lodge reservations “emasculated” the entire pact.

Although too feeble to lead, **Wilson** was still strong enough to obstruct. When the day finally came for the voting in the Senate, he sent word to all true Democrats to vote *against* the treaty with the odious Lodge reservations attached. **Wilson** hoped that when these were cleared away, the path would be open for ratification without reservations or with

only some mild Democratic ones.

Loyal Democrats in the Senate, on November 19, 1919, blindly did Wilson's bidding. Combining with the “irreconcilables,” mostly Republicans, they rejected the treaty with the Lodge reservations appended, 55 to 39.

The nation was too deeply shocked to accept the verdict as final. About four-fifths of the senators professed to favor the treaty, with or without reservations, yet a simple majority could not agree on a single proposition. So strong was public indignation that the Senate was forced to act a second time. In March 1920 the treaty was brought up again, with the Lodge reservations tacked on.

There was only one possible path to success. Unless the Senate approved the pact with the reservations, the entire document would be rejected. But the sickly **Wilson**, still sheltered behind drawn curtains and blind to disagreeable realities, again sent word to all loyal Democrats to vote down the treaty with the obnoxious reservations. He thus signed the death warrant of the treaty as far as America was concerned. On March 19, 1920, the treaty netted a simple majority but failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority by a count of 49 yeas to 35 nays.

Who defeated the treaty? The Lodge-Wilson personal feud, traditionalism, isolationism, disillusionment, and partisanship all contributed to the confused picture. But **Wilson** himself must bear a substantial share of the responsibility. He asked for all or nothing—and got nothing. One Democratic senator angrily charged that the president had strangled his own brainchild with his own palsied hands rather than let the Senate straighten its crooked limbs.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-21 The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-21 The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

Wilson had his own pet solution for the deadlock, and this partly explains why he refused to compromise on Lodge's terms. He proposed to settle the treaty issue in the forthcoming presidential campaign of 1920 by appealing to the people for a “solemn referendum.” This was sheer folly, for a true mandate on the League in the noisy arena of politics was clearly an impossibility.

Jubilant Republicans gathered in Chicago in June 1920 with wayward bull moosers back in the corral (after Theodore Roosevelt's death in 1919) and the senatorial Old Guard back in the saddle. The convention devised a masterfully ambiguous platform that could appeal to both pro-League and anti-League sentiment in the party. The nominee would run on a teeter-totter rather than a platform.

As the leading presidential contestants jostled with one another, the political weathervane began to veer toward genial Senator **Warren G. Harding** of Ohio. A group of Senate bosses, meeting rather casually in the historic “smoke-filled” Room 404 of the Hotel Blackstone,

informally decided on the affable and malleable Ohioan. Their fair-haired boy was a prosperous, back-slapping, small-town newspaper editor of the “folksy” type, quite the opposite of **Wilson**, who had earlier noted the senator’s “disturbingly dull” mind. For vice president the party nominated frugal, grim-faced Governor Calvin (“Silent Cal”) Coolidge of Massachusetts, who had attracted conservative support by breaking a police strike in Boston.

Meeting in San Francisco, Democrats nominated earnest Governor **James M. Cox** of Ohio, who strongly supported the League. His running mate was Assistant Navy Secretary **Franklin D. Roosevelt**, a young, handsome, vibrant New Yorker.

Democratic attempts to make the campaign a referendum on the League were thwarted by Senator **Harding**, who issued muddled and contradictory statements on the issue from his front porch. Pro-League and anti-League Republicans both claimed that Harding’s election would advance their cause, while the candidate suggested that if elected he would work for a vague Association of Nations—a league but not *the* League.

With newly enfranchised women swelling the vote totals, **Harding** was swept into power with a prodigious plurality of over 7 million votes—16,143,407 to 9,130,328 for Cox, the largest victory margin to that date in a presidential election. The electoral count was 404 to 127. **Eugene V. Debs**, federal prisoner number 9653 at the Atlanta Penitentiary, rolled up the largest vote ever for the left-wing Socialist party—919,799.

Public desire for a change found vent in a resounding repudiation of “high-and-mighty” Wilsonism. People were tired of professional highbrowism, star-reaching idealism, bothersome do-goodism, moral over-strain, and constant self-sacrifice. Eager to lapse back into “normalcy,” they were willing to accept a second-rate president—and they got a third-rate one.

Although the election could not be considered a true referendum, Republican isolationists successfully turned Harding’s victory into a death sentence for the League. Politicians increasingly shunned the League as they would a leper. When the legendary Wilson died in 1924, admirers knelt in the snow outside his Washington home. His “great vision” of a league for peace had perished long before.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-22 The Betrayal of Great Expectations
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-22 The Betrayal of Great Expectations

America’s spurning of the League was tragically shortsighted. The Republic had helped to win a costly war, but it foolishly kicked the fruits of victory under the table. Whether a strong international organization would have averted World War II in 1939 will always be a matter of dispute. But there can be no doubt that the orphaned League of Nations was undercut at the start by the refusal of the mightiest power on the globe to join it. The Allies themselves were largely to blame for the new world conflagration that flared up in 1939, but they found a convenient justification for their own shortcomings by pointing an

accusing finger at Uncle Sam.

The ultimate collapse of the Treaty of Versailles must be laid, at least in some degree, at America's doorstep. This complicated pact, tied in with the four other peace treaties through the League Covenant, was a top-heavy structure designed to rest on a four-legged table. The fourth leg, the United States, was never put into place. This rickety structure teetered for over a decade and then crashed in ruins—a debacle that played into the hands of the German demagogue **Adolf Hitler**.

No less ominous events were set in motion when the Senate spurned the Security Treaty with France. The French, fearing that a new generation of Germans would follow in their fathers' goose steps, undertook to build up a powerful military force. Predictably resenting the presence of strong French armies, Germany began to rearm illegally. The seething cauldron of uncertainty and suspicion brewed an intoxicant that helped inflame the fanatical following of **Hitler**.

The United States, as the tragic sequel proved, hurt its own cause when it buried its head in the sand. Granted that the conduct of its Allies had been disillusioning, it had its own ends to serve by carrying through the Wilsonian program. It would have been well advised if it had forthrightly assumed its war-born responsibilities and had resolutely embraced the role of global leader proffered by the hand of destiny. In the interests of its own security, if for no other reason, the United States should have used its enormous strength to shape world-shaking events. Instead it permitted itself blithely to drift toward the abyss of a second and even more bloody international disaster.

Varying Viewpoints

Woodrow Wilson: Realist or Idealist?

As the first president to take the United States into a foreign war, **Woodrow Wilson** was obliged to make a systematic case to the American people to justify his unprecedented European intervention. His ideas have largely defined the character of American foreign policy ever since—for better or worse.

“Wilsonianism” comprised three closely related principles:

1. the era of American isolation from world affairs had irretrievably ended;
2. the United States must infuse its own founding political and economic ideas—including democracy, the rule of law, free trade, and national self-determination (or anticolonialism)—into the international order; and
3. American influence could eventually steer the world away from rivalry and warfare and toward a cooperative and peaceful international system, maintained by the League of Nations or, later, the United Nations.

Whether that Wilsonian vision constituted hard-nosed realism or starry-eyed idealism has excited scholarly debate for nearly a century. “Realists,” such as

George F. Kennan and **Henry Kissinger**, insist that **Wilson** was anything but a realist. They criticize the president as a naive, impractical dreamer who failed to understand that the international order was, and always will be, an anarchic, unruly arena, outside the rule of law, where only military force can effectively protect the nation's security. In a sharp critique in his 1950 study, *American Diplomacy*, **Kennan** condemned Wilson's vision as "moralism/legalism." In this view Wilson dangerously threatened to sacrifice American self-interests on the altar of his admirable but ultimately unworkable ideas.

Wilson's defenders, including his biographers **Arthur S. Link** and **Thomas J. Knock**, argue that Wilson's idealism was in fact a kind of higher realism, recognizing as it did that armed conflict on the scale of World War I could never again be tolerated and that some framework of peaceful international relations simply had to be found. The development of nuclear weapons in a later generation gave this argument more force. This "liberal" defense of Wilsonianism derives from the centuries-old liberal faith that, given sufficient intelligence and will-power, the world can be made a better place. Realists reject this notion of moral and political progress as hopelessly innocent, especially as applied to international affairs.

Some leftist scholars, such as William Appleman Williams, have argued that **Wilson** was in fact a realist of another kind: a subtle and wily imperialist whose stirring rhetoric cloaked a grasping ambition to make the United States the world's dominant economic power. Sometimes called "the imperialism of free trade," this strategy allegedly sought not to decolonize the world and open up international commerce for the good of peoples elsewhere, but to create a system in which American economic might would irresistibly prevail. Wilson's defenders, however, would claim that in a Wilsonian world, *all* parties would be better off because of free trade and international competition.

Still other scholars, especially **John Milton Cooper, Jr.**, have emphasized the absence of economic factors in shaping Wilson's diplomacy. Isolationism, so this argument goes, held such sway over American thinking precisely because the United States had such a puny financial stake abroad—no hard American economic interests were mortally threatened in 1917, nor for a long time thereafter. In these circumstances **Wilson**—and the Wilsonians who came after him, such as **Franklin D. Roosevelt**—had no choice but to appeal to abstract ideals and high principles. The "idealistic" Wilsonian strain in American diplomacy, in this view, may have been an unavoidable heritage of America's historically isolated situation. If so, it was Wilson's genius to make practical use of those ideas in his bid for popular support of his diplomacy.

Finally, a new generation of scholars has begun to explore the influence of Wilsonian ideals on social movements outside the United States and Europe. **Erez Manela** has argued that emerging anticolonial and nationalist movements appropriated Wilsonian ideals and adapted them to their own political ends, challenging forms of colonialism that **Wilson** himself failed to criticize. In this view the legacy of Wilsonian foreign policy may have been felt most strongly outside the United States.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-23 Chapter Review
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

30-23 Chapter Review

30-23a Key Terms

- **Zimmermann note** (German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman had secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance against the United States. When the note was intercepted and published in March 1917, it caused an uproar that made some Americans more willing to enter the war.)
- **Fourteen Points** (Woodrow Wilson's proposal to ensure peace after World War I, calling for an end to secret treaties, widespread arms reduction, national self-determination, and a new league of nations.)
- **Committee on Public Information** (A government office during World War I known popularly as the Creel Committee for its chairman George Creel, it was dedicated to winning everyday Americans' support for the war effort. It regularly distributed prowar propaganda and sent out an army of "four-minute men" to rally crowds and deliver "patriotic pep.")
- **Espionage Act** (A law prohibiting interference with the draft and other acts of national "disloyalty." Together with the Sedition Act of 1918, which added penalties for abusing the government in writing, it created a climate that was unfriendly to civil liberties.)
- **Schenck v. United States** (A Supreme Court decision that upheld the Espionage and Sedition Acts, reasoning that freedom of speech could be curtailed when it posed a "clear and present danger" to the nation.)
- **War Industries Board** (Headed by Bernard Baruch, this federal agency coordinated industrial production during World War I, setting production quotas, allocating raw materials, and pushing companies to increase efficiency and eliminate waste. Under the economic mobilization of the War Industries Board, industrial production in the United States increased 20 percent during the war.)
- **National War Labor Board** (This wartime agency was chaired by former President Taft and aimed to prevent labor disputes by encouraging high wages and an eight-hour day. While granting some concessions to labor, it stopped short of supporting labor's most important demand: a government guarantee of the right to organize into unions.)

- **Industrial Workers of the World** (The IWW, also known as the “Wobblies,” was a radical organization that sought to build “one big union” and advocated industrial sabotage in defense of that goal. At its peak in 1923, it could claim 100,000 members and could gain the support of 300,000. The IWW particularly appealed to migratory workers in agriculture and lumbering and to miners, all of whom suffered from horrific working conditions.)
- **Nineteenth Amendment** (This Constitutional amendment, finally passed by Congress in 1919 and ratified in 1920, gave women the right to vote over seventy years after the first organized calls for woman's suffrage in Seneca Falls, New York.)
- **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act** (Designed to appeal to new women voters, this act provided federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care and expanded the role of government in family welfare.)
- **Château-Thierry, Battle of** (The first significant engagement of American troops in World War I—and, indeed, in any European war. To weary French soldiers, the American doughboys were an image of fresh and gleaming youth.)
- **Meuse-Argonne offensive** (General John J. “Black Jack” Pershing led American troops in this effort to cut the German railroad lines supplying the western front. It was one of the few major battles that Americans participated in during the entire war, and was still underway when the war ended.)
- **League of Nations** (A world organization of national governments proposed by President Woodrow Wilson and established by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. It worked to facilitate peaceful international cooperation. Despite emotional appeals by Wilson, isolationists' objections to the League created the major obstacle to American signing of the Treaty of Versailles.)
- **irreconcilables** (Led by Senators William Borah of Idaho and Hiram Johnson of California, this was a hard-core group of militant isolationists who opposed the Wilsonian dream of international cooperation in the League of Nations after World War I. Their efforts played an important part in preventing American participation in the international organization.)
- **Versailles, Treaty of** (World War I concluded with this vengeful document, which secured peace but imposed sharp terms on Germany and created a territorial mandate system to manage former colonies of the world powers. To Woodrow Wilson's chagrin, it incorporated very few of his original Fourteen Points, although it did include the League of Nations that Wilson had long sought. Isolationists in the United States, deeply opposed to the League, led the opposition to the Treaty, which was never ratified by the Senate.)

Chapter Review

30-23b People to Know

**Arthur Zimmermann George Creel Eugene V. Debs William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood
Bernard Baruch Herbert C. Hoover Henry Cabot Lodge David Lloyd George**

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-23c To Learn More
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Review

30-23c To Learn More

A complete, annotated bibliography for this chapter—along with brief descriptions of the People to Know—may be found on the American Pageant website. The Key Terms are defined in a Glossary at the end of the text.

Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (2008)

John W. Chambers, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (1987)

Alan Dawley, *Changing the World: American Progressives in War and Revolution* (2003)

Ernest Freeberg, *Democracy's Prisoners: Eugene V. Debs, the Great War, and the Right to Dissent* (2008)

Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975)

Maurine W. Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work* (1980)

Ellis Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for Modern Order* (rev. ed., 1997)

Jennifer Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (2001)

David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (rev. ed., 2005)

Thomas J. Knock, *To End All Wars: Woodrow Wilson and the Quest for a New World Order* (1992)

Erez Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism* (2007)

Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (1979)

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-23d Chronology
Book Title: The American Pageant
Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)
© 2013 Wadsworth,

Chapter Review

30-23d Chronology

-
- 1915** Council of National Defense established
-
- 1917** Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare
Zimmermann note
Railroads placed under federal control
United States enters World War I
Espionage Act of 1917
Wilson calls for “peace without victory”
Bolshevik Revolution
-
- 1918** Wilson proposes Fourteen Points
Sedition Act of 1918
Battle of Château-Thierry
Second Battle of the Marne
Meuse-Argonne offensive
-
- 1918–1919** Armistice ends World War I
Worldwide influenza pandemic
-
- 1919** Paris Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles
Wilson's pro-League tour and collapse
Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition of alcohol) passed
First Senate defeat of Versailles Treaty
-
- 1920** Final Senate defeat of Versailles Treaty after reconsideration
Nineteenth Amendment (woman suffrage) passed
Harding defeats Cox for presidency
-

Go to the CourseMate website at www.cengagebrain.com for additional study tools and review materials—including audio and video clips—for this chapter.

Chapter 30: The War to End War 1917–1918: 30-23d Chronology

Book Title: The American Pageant

Printed By: Thea Britton (tbrittonoe@olatheschools.org)

© 2013 Wadsworth,

© 2015 Cengage Learning Inc. All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or used in any form or by any means - graphic, electronic, or mechanical, or in any other manner - without the written permission of the copyright holder.

