

# APUSH: Chapter 29

WILSON YEARS AND WORLD WAR I

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## I. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

- ▶ (Thomas) Woodrow Wilson:
  - ▶ Second Democratic president since 1861
    - ▶ First president from one of seceded southern states since Zachary Taylor, 64 years earlier
    - ▶ Wilson's admiration for Confederate attempt at independence inspired his ideal of self-determination
    - ▶ His ideal of faith in masses—if they were properly informed—came from Jeffersonian democracy
    - ▶ His inspirational political sermons reflected influence of his Presbyterian minister-father

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## I. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics (cont.)

- ▶ Wilson convinced that Congress could not function properly unless president provided leadership
- ▶ Repeatedly relied on his eloquence to appeal over heads of legislators to the sovereign people
- ▶ Wilson suffered from serious defects of personality:
  - ▶ Incapable of showmanship like Roosevelt, he lacked common touch

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## II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff

- ▶ Wilson's programs:
  - ▶ Called for assault on "the triple wall of privilege": the tariff, the banks, and the trusts
  - ▶ He tackled tariff first:
    - ▶ Summoned Congress into special session in early 1913
    - ▶ In precedent-shattering move, he did not send his message over to Capitol to be read
    - ▶ He appeared in person before a joint session of Congress and presented his appeal with stunning clarity and force
    - ▶ House soon passed major reductions in **Underwood Tariff**

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## II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff (cont.)

- ▶ When bill challenged in Senate by lobbyists:
  - ▶ Wilson issued message to public urging them to hold their elected representatives in line
  - ▶ Public opinion worked; in 1913 Senate approved bill Wilson wanted
  - ▶ Provided for a substantial reduction of import fees
  - ▶ Landmark in tax legislation:
    - ▶ Using recent 16<sup>th</sup> Amendment, Congress enacted graduated income tax beginning with moderate levy on incomes over \$3,000 (average wage earner's annual income only \$740)
    - ▶ By 1917, revenue from income tax shot ahead of revenue from tariffs

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## III. Wilson Battles the Bankers

- ▶ Antiquated and inadequate banking and currency system
  - ▶ Nation's financial structure creaked along under Civil War National Banking Act
    - ▶ Most glaring defect was inelasticity of currency (1907 panic)
    - ▶ Since most banks located in New York, hard to mobilize bank reserves elsewhere in times of panic
  - ▶ Calls for reform supported by Louis D. Brandeis in book: *Other People's Money and How the Bankers Use It* (1914)

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### III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

- ▶ Wilson in June 1913 appeared personally before Congress again and called for sweeping bank reform:
  - ▶ Endorsed Democratic proposal for decentralized bank in government hands
  - ▶ Opposed Republican demands for huge private bank with fifteen branches
- ▶ **Federal Reserve Act (1913):**
  - ▶ Wilson appealed to the sovereign people
  - ▶ Most important economic legislation between Civil War and New Deal

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### III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

- ▶ Federal Reserve Board:
  - Appointed by President
  - ▶ Would oversee nationwide system of twelve regional reserve districts
  - ▶ Each with its own central bank
  - ▶ Final authority of Federal Reserve Board guaranteed a substantial measure of public control
  - ▶ Board would be empowered to issue paper money
    - ▶ "Federal Reserve Notes"—backed by commercial paper
    - ▶ Thus amount of money in circulation could be swiftly increased as needed for legitimate requirements of business

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# IV. The President Tames the Trusts (cont.)

- ▶ **Clayton Anti-Trust (1914):**
  - ▶ Increased list of practices deemed objectionable:
    - ▶ Price discrimination and interlocking directorates (where same individual served as director of supposedly competing firms)
    - ▶ Achieved through **holding companies** (see Figure 29.1)
  - ▶ Conferred long-overdue benefits on labor:
    - ▶ Exempted labor and agricultural organization from anti-trust prosecution, while explicitly legalizing strikes and peaceful picketing
    - ▶ Samuel Gompers, Union leader, hailed act as Magna Carta of labor

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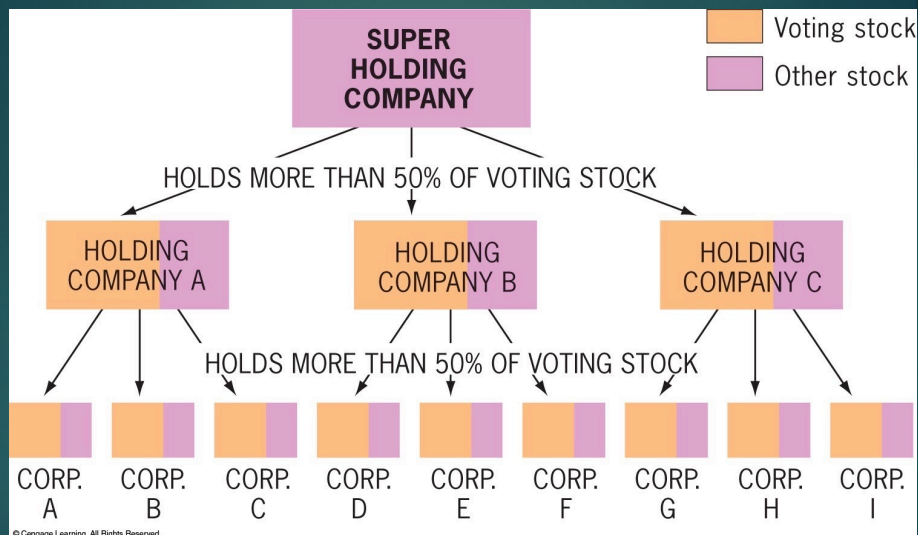


Figure 29-1 p665

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## V. Wilson at the Peak

- ▶ Other progressive legislation:
  - ▶ Federal Farm Loan Act (1916):
    - ▶ Made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest—long demanded by Populists
  - ▶ Warehouse Act (1916):
    - ▶ Authorized loans on security of staple crops—another Populist idea
  - ▶ Other laws benefited rural areas by providing for highway construction and establishment of agricultural extension work in state colleges
  - ▶ La Follette Seaman's Act (1915):
    - ▶ Required decent treatment and living wage on American merchant ships
  - ▶ **Workingmen's Compensation Act (1916):**
    - ▶ Granted assistance to federal civil-service employees during periods of disability
  - ▶ 1916: Wilson signed law restricting child labor on products flowing into interstate commerce (but Supreme Court later voided it)

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## VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy

- ▶ Wilson's reaction to earlier foreign policies:
  - ▶ In contrast to Roosevelt and Taft, he recoiled at first from aggressive foreign policy
  - ▶ Hating imperialism, he was repelled by TR's big-stickism
  - ▶ Suspicious of Wall Street, he detested Taft's dollar diplomacy
  - ▶ In office only a week, he declared war on dollar diplomacy:
    - ▶ Proclaimed government would not support American investors in Latin America and China

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## VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- ▶ Persuaded Congress to repeal Panama Canal Tolls Act of 1912 –
  - ▶ It had exempted American coastwide shipping from tolls
  - ▶ Thereby provoked sharp protests from injured Britain
- ▶ **Jones Act (1916):**
  - ▶ Granted Philippines territorial status and promised independence as soon as a “stable government” could be established
  - ▶ Wilson's racial prejudices did not expect this to happen for a long time
  - ▶ On July 4, 1946—30 years later—United States accepted Philippine independence

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## VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- ▶ Haiti's chaotic political situation caused Wilson to assume more active stance abroad
- ▶ Political turmoil climaxed in 1914-1915 when outraged populace literally tore to pieces brutal Haitian president
- ▶ Wilson dispatched marines to protect American lives and property
- ▶ Marines remained in Haiti for nineteen years making Haiti an American protectorate

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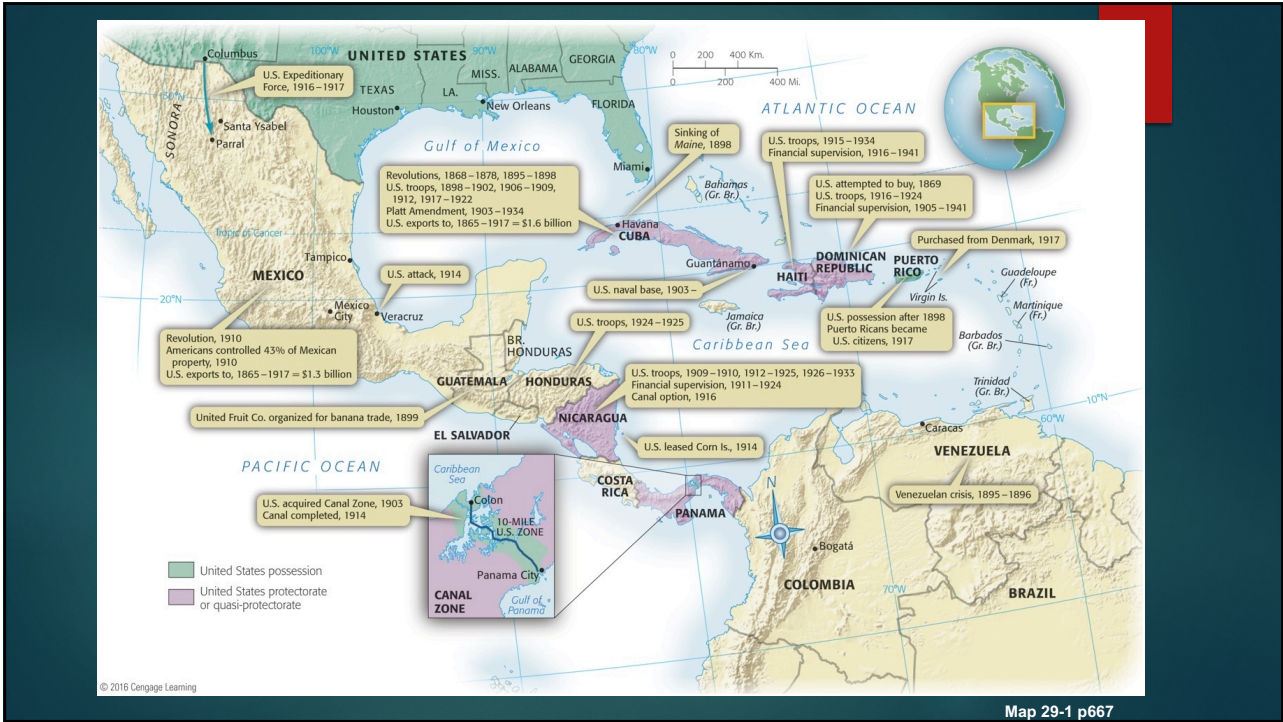
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## VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- ▶ In 1916, Wilson used Roosevelt's corollary to Monroe Doctrine and concluded treaty with Haiti:
  - ▶ Provided for U.S. supervision of finances and police
- ▶ In 1916, he sent marines to debt-cursed Dominican Republic
  - ▶ Came under American control for eight years
- ▶ In 1917, United States purchased the Virgin Islands from Denmark
  - ▶ Uncle Sam tightening its grip in Caribbean Sea, with its vital approaches to Panama Canal (see Map 29.1)

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Tropical Press Agency/Getty Images

Late in the Mexican Revolutionary years Venustiano Carranza took over, and who resented Wilson's military meddling "Pancho" Villa, chief rival to President Carranza,

Killed 16 American mining engineers traveling through northern Mexico in January 1916 One month later, Villa and his followers crossed border into Columbus, New Mexico and murdered another 19 Americans

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## VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- ▶ General John J. ("Black Jack") Pershing ordered to break up bandit band
  - ▶ His hastily organized force of several thousand mounted troops penetrated deep into Mexico
  - ▶ Clashed with Carranza's forces
  - ▶ Mauled Villistas but missed capturing Villa
  - ▶ As tensions with Germany mounted, Wilson withdrew Pershing from Mexico in January 1917

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## Road to War

- ▶ Most of us might already know that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand started the war, but we don't know how one man's death served as the trigger.
- ▶ Actually, there were several powerful forces already in motion, and they contributed to the outbreak of World War I.
- ▶ These forces were:
  - ▶ Imperialism
  - ▶ Militarism
  - ▶ Nationalism
  - ▶ Alliances

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## The Forces at Work:

Imperialism is the theory of global domination, meaning the desire to create an empire.

- In Europe, this created rivalries between the powerful nations.

Militarism is when a nation allows the production of a powerful army to serve as its own foreign policy.

- In this system, a large army has top priority, and has more authority in the government.

Nationalism is when a country believes in itself, and acts in its own interests.

- When this happens and another country does not like it, they may fight about the actions.

Alliances is the "I got your back" school of thought that got nations a false sense of security.

- With this false sense, they became more reckless.

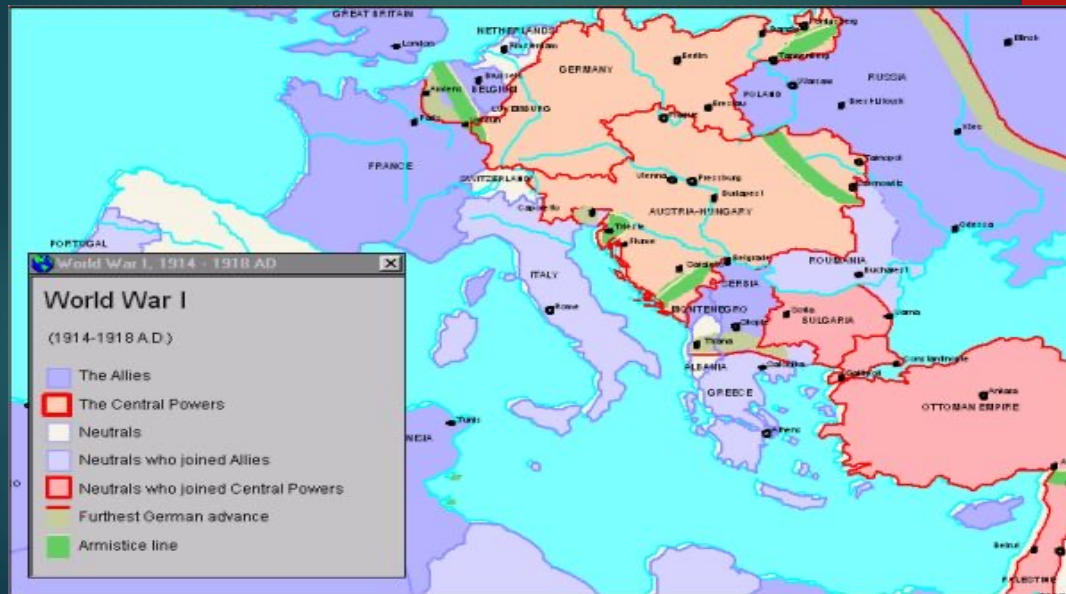
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## At the heart of it all...Bosnia

- ▶ After the assassination of the Archduke, Austria-Hungary used it as an excuse to wipe out Serbia, who was upset with Austria-Hungary's annexation of Bosnia.
- ▶ When Austria-Hungary declares war of Serbia, the alliances spring into action.
  - ▶ Russia (aligned with Serbia) begins to mobilize,
  - ▶ Germany (with A-H) demands that Russia stops.
  - ▶ Russia refuses, so Germany declares war on Russia.
- ▶ Germany wanted war for awhile. The Schlieffen Plan called for a quick sweep of France while Russia regrouped. This called for an invasion through Belgium.
- ▶ Great Britain (with Belgium) declares war on Germany, who did not expect this.
- ▶ So, in one week, all of Europe was at war.

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## The Powers at Work



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## VIII. Thunder Across the Sea

- ▶ Wilson issued neutrality proclamation and called on Americans to be neutral in thought and deed
- ▶ Both sides wooed U.S.A., great neutral in West
  - ▶ British enjoyed:
    - ▶ Cultural, linguistic, and economic ties with America
    - ▶ Advantage of controlling transatlantic cables
    - ▶ Their censors sheared away war stories harmful to Allies and drenched United States with tales of German bestiality
  - ▶ Germans and Austro-Hungarians:
    - ▶ Counted on sympathies of transplanted countrymen in America (some 11 million in 1914)

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## VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- ▶ Some of these recent immigrants expressed noisy sympathy for fatherland
- ▶ Most simply grateful to be distant from fray (see Table 29.1)
- ▶ Most Americans:
  - ▶ Anti-German from outset
  - ▶ Kaiser Wilhelm II seemed embodiment of arrogant autocracy
  - ▶ Impression strengthened by German's ruthless strike at neutral Belgium

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**TABLE 29.1** Principal Foreign Elements in the United States, Census of 1910

Country of Origin	Foreign-Born	Natives with Two Foreign-Born Parents	Natives with One Foreign-Born Parent	Total	
Central Powers	Germany	2,501,181	3,911,847	1,869,590	8,282,61
	Austria-Hungary	1,670,524	900,129	131,133	2,701,786
Allied Powers	Great Britain	1,219,968	852,610	1,158,474	3,231,052
	(Ireland)*	1,352,155	2,141,577	1,010,628	4,504,360
	Russia	1,732,421	949,316	70,938	2,752,675
	Italy	1,343,070	695,187	60,103	2,098,360
TOTAL (for all foreign countries, including those not listed)	13,345,545	12,916,311	5,981,526	32,243,282	
Percentage of total U.S. population (91,972,266)	14.5	14.0	6.5	35.0	

\*Ireland was not yet independent.

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Table 29-1 p669

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## VIII. Thunder Across the Sea

- ▶ German and Austrian agents further tarnished image of Central Powers when they resorted to violence in American factories and ports
- ▶ German operative in 1915 absentmindedly left his briefcase on New York elevated car:
  - ▶ Documents detailing plans for industrial sabotage discovered and quickly publicized
- ▶ Further inflamed American opinion against Kaiser
- ▶ Yet great majority of Americans earnestly hoped to stay out of horrible war

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## IX. America Earns Blood Money

- ▶ When war broke out in Europe, U.S.A. in midst of recession:
  - ▶ British and French war orders pulled U.S. industry onto peak of war-born prosperity (see Table 29.2)
  - ▶ Part of boon financed by American bankers
  - ▶ Notably Wall Street firm of J.P. Morgan and Company advanced to Allies enormous sum of \$2.3 million during period of American neutrality

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**TABLE 29.2 U.S. Exports to Belligerents, 1914–1916**

Belligerent	1914	1915	1916	1916 Figure as a Percentage of 1914 Figure
Britain	\$594,271,863	\$911,794,954	\$1,526,685,102	257%
France	159,818,924	369,397,170	628,851,988	393
Italy*	74,235,012	184,819,688	269,246,105	363
Germany	344,794,276	28,863,354	288,899	0.08

\*Italy joined the Allies in April 1915.

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## IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- ▶ Germany legally could have had same level of trade with United States
- ▶ Was prevented from doing so by British navy
- ▶ British imposed blockade with mines and ships across North Sea gateway to German ports
- ▶ Over protests from various Americans, British forced American vessels off high seas
- ▶ Harassment of American shippers highly effective as trade between Germany and United States virtually ceased

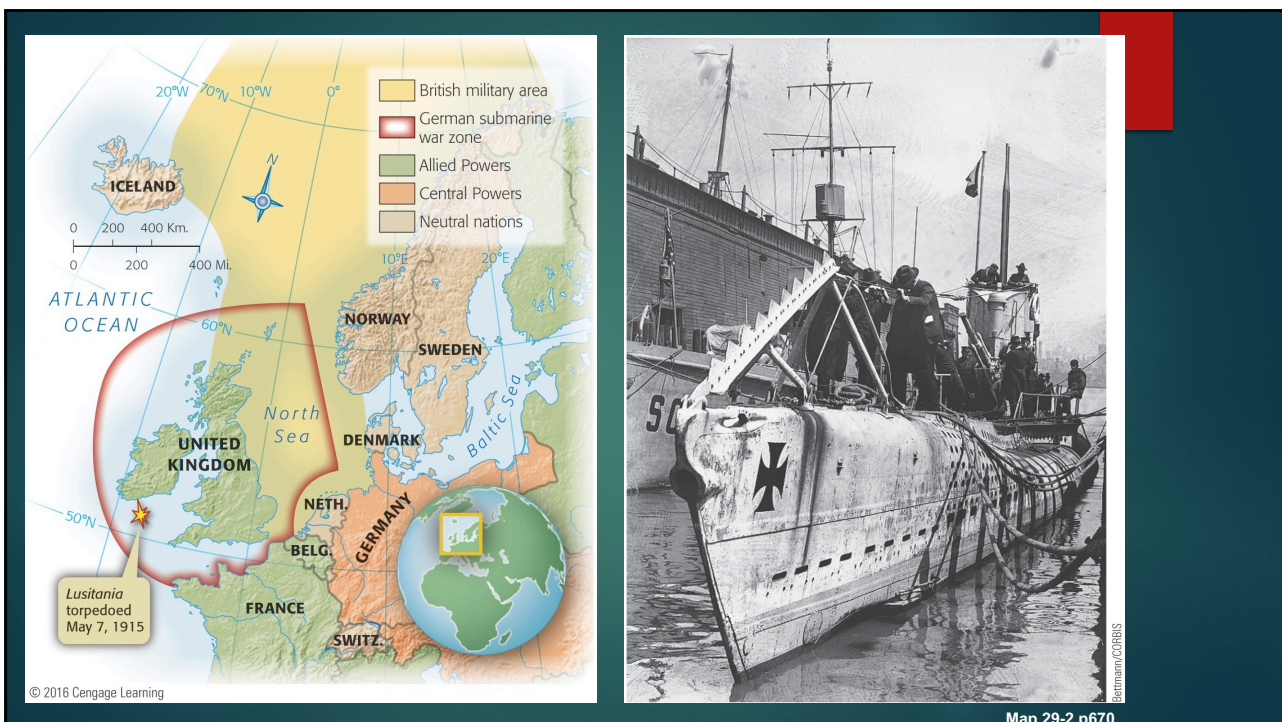
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## IX. America Earns Blood Money

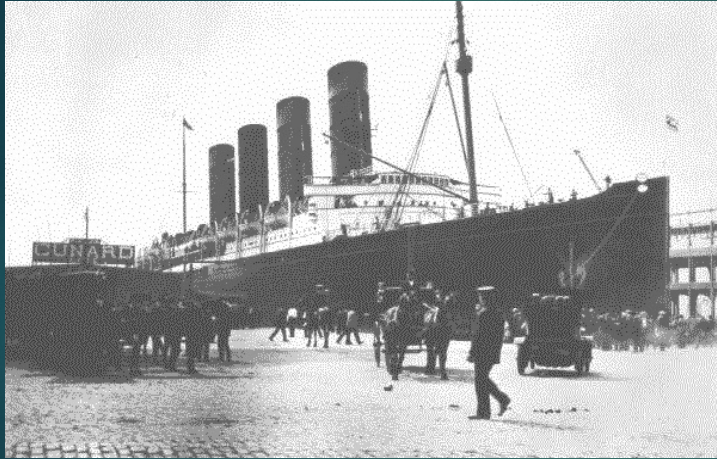
- ▶ Germany did not want to be starved out:
  - ▶ Berlin announced submarine war area around British Isles (see Map 29.2)
  - ▶ New submarines not fit existing international laws
  - ▶ Posed threat to United States—so long as Wilson insisted on maintaining America's neutral rights
    - ▶ Berlin officials declared they would try not to sink *neutral* shipping, but warned mistakes would probably occur
  - ▶ Wilson decided on calculated risk:
    - ▶ Claimed profitable neutral trading rights while hoping no incidents would cause war

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# Germany's warnings



OCEAN TRAVEL	OZEAN-REISEN
<b>NOTICE!</b>	<b>ZUR BEACHTUNG!</b>
<p>TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.</p>	<p>PASSAGIERE, die beabsichtigen, sich auf eine Atlantikfahrt zu begeben, werden daran erinnert, daß zwischen Deutschland und seinen Verbündeten und Großbritannien und seinen Verbündeten Kriegszustand herrscht; daß die Kampfzone auch das Meer um die britischen Inseln einschließt, daß, übereinstimmend mit der offiziellen Bekanntmachung der kaiserlich-deutschen Regierung, Schiffe, die die Flagge Großbritanniens oder seiner Verbündeten führen, in dieser Gegend zerstört werden können und daß Passagiere, die in der Kampfzone auf einem Schiff Großbritanniens oder seiner Verbündeten reisen, dies auf ihre eigene Gefahr tun.</p>
<b>IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY</b> WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22 1915	<b>KAISERLICH-DEUTSCHE GESANDTSCHAFT</b> WASHINGTON, 22. APRIL 1915.

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Here is the New York Times front page following the sinking.

The sinking of the Lusitania shocked Americans and illustrated the complexity and horror of modern warfare.

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## IX. America Earns Blood Money

- ▶ German submarines (**U-boats** “undersea boat”) began deadly work
  - ▶ In first months of 1915, sank 90 ships in war zone
  - ▶ British passenger liner **Lusitania** torpedoed and sank off coast of Ireland, May 7, 1915:
    - ▶ With loss of 1,198 lives, including 128 Americans
- ▶ *Lusitania* was carrying forty-two hundred cases of small-arms ammunition
  - ▶ A fact Germany used to justify sinking
  - ▶ Americans shocked and angered at act of “mass murder” and “piracy”

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## IX. America Earns Blood Money

- ▶ Talk of war from eastern United States, but not from rest of nation
  - ▶ Wilson did not want to lead disunited nation into war
    - ▶ By series of strong notes, Wilson attempted to take German warlords sharply to task
    - ▶ Policy too risky for Secretary of State Bryan who resigned
    - ▶ T. Roosevelt harshly criticized Wilson's measured approach
  - ▶ British liner, *Arabic*, sunk in August, 1915:
    - ▶ With loss of two American lives
    - ▶ Berlin reluctantly agreed not to sink unarmed and unresisting passenger ships *without warning*
  - ▶ Pledge appeared to be violated in March, 1916 when Germans torpedoed French passenger steamer, *Sussex*
    - ▶ Infuriated, Wilson informed Germans:
      - ▶ That unless they renounced inhuman practice of sinking merchant ships without warning, he would break diplomatic relations—almost certain prelude to war
  - ▶ Germany reluctantly knuckled under Wilson's *Sussex* ultimatum:
    - ▶ Germany agreed to not sink passenger and merchant ships without warning
    - ▶ Attached long string to their *Sussex* pledge

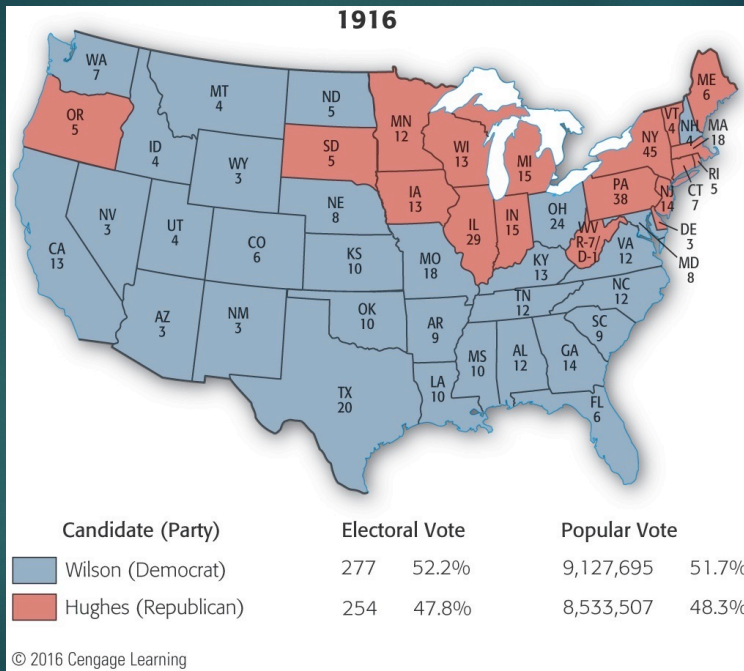
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Picture Research, Consultants & Archives

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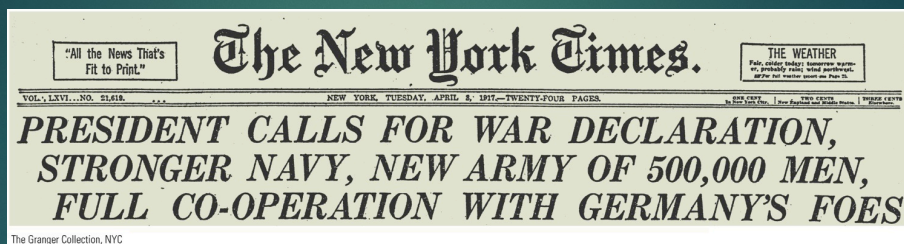
Map 29-3 p673

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## Wilson finally gets involved

- ▶ After his election in 1916, Wilson soon realizes that staying out of war will be close to impossible.
- ▶ First, the Germans resume unrestricted submarine warfare.
- ▶ Then the British intercepted a telegram from Arthur Zimmermann that was being sent to Mexico.
- ▶ It may sound small, but Zimmermann was Germany's foreign minister and he suggested to Mexico that by aligning with Germany, they could regain lands lost during the Mexican War.
- ▶ Mexico did not take this seriously, but the American public did, pushing for war.

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## XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

- ▶ For more than a century, Americans prided themselves on isolation from Old World
- ▶ Since 1914 that pride reinforced by bountiful profits gained through neutrality
  - ▶ Six senators and 50 representatives (including first congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, of Montana) voted against war resolution
  - ▶ Wilson could incite no enthusiasm by calling on nation to fight to make world safe from submarine attacks

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## XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- ▶ Wilsonian idealism:
  - ▶ Personality of president and necessities of history perfectly matched
  - ▶ He believed modern world could not afford hyper-destructive war used by industrial states
  - ▶ Probably no other argument could have worked to arouse Americans to unprecedented burden:
    - ▶ Americans could be either isolationists or crusaders, nothing in between
    - ▶ Wilson's appeal worked—perhaps too well
    - ▶ Holding torch of idealism, president fired up public mind to fever pitch
    - ▶ Lost was Wilson's earlier plea for "peace without victory"

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## XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

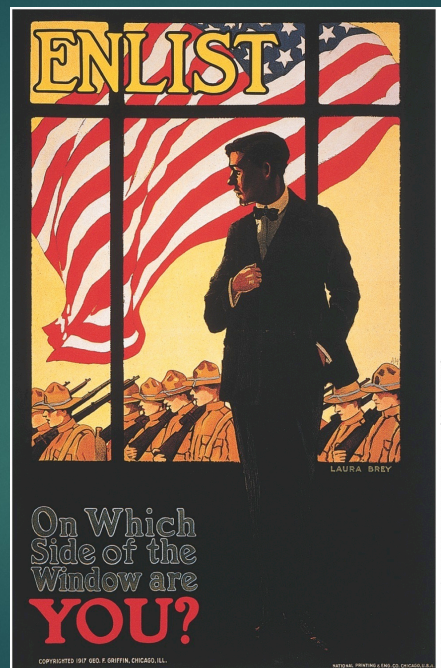
- ▶ Wilson soon recognized as moral leader of Allied cause
  - ▶ On January 8, 1918, he delivered to Congress famed **Fourteen Points**:
    - ▶ (1) proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries
    - ▶ (2) freedom of seas appealed to Germans and Americans who distrusted British sea power
    - ▶ (3) removal of economic barriers among nations had been goal of liberal internationalists everywhere
    - ▶ (4) reduction of armament burdens gratifying to taxpayers in all countries
    - ▶ (5) adjustment of colonial claims in interests of both native peoples and colonizers reassured anti-imperialists
- ▶ Wilson's pronouncement about colonies potentially revolutionary:
  - ▶ Helped to delegitimize old empires
  - ▶ Opened road to eventual independence for millions of "subject people"

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## XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points (cont.)

- ▶ Other points proved to be no less seductive:
  - ▶ Hope of independence ("self-determination") to oppressed minority groups (e.g., Poles)
- ▶ Capstone point (number fourteen):
  - ▶ Foreshadowed League of Nations:
    - ▶ International organization that would provide system of collective security
- ▶ Wilson's points not applauded everywhere:
  - ▶ Some Allied leaders wanted territorial gains
  - ▶ Republicans mocked fourteen Points

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## XIV. Germans in America

- ▶ German Americans—over eight million:
  - ▶ Most proved to be dependably loyal to United States
  - ▶ A few tarred, feathered, and beaten
  - ▶ Hysterical hatred of Germans and things Germanic swept nation:
    - ▶ Orchestras found it unsafe to present German-composed music
    - ▶ German books removed from library shelves
    - ▶ German classes canceled
    - ▶ Sauerkraut became “liberty cabbage”
    - ▶ Hamburger, “liberty steak”
- ▶ **Espionage Act** of 1917 and Sediton Act of 1918:
  - ▶ Reflected fears about Germans and antiwar Americans
- ▶ 1,900 prosecutions of antiwar Socialists and members of radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW):
  - ▶ Socialist Eugene Debs sentenced to ten years in federal penitentiary
  - ▶ IWW leader William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood and 99 associates also convicted
- ▶ Virtually any criticism of government could be censored and punished

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## XV. Forging a War Economy

- ▶ Wilson belatedly backed preparedness measures
  - ▶ Big obstacles confronted economic mobilizers:
    - ▶ Sheer ignorance among biggest roadblocks
      - ▶ No one knew precisely how much steel or explosive powder country capable of producing
    - ▶ Old ideas proved to be liabilities:
      - ▶ Traditional fear of big government hamstrung effort to orchestrate economy from Washington
      - ▶ Largely voluntary character of economic war organization
- ▶ Wilson eventually succeeded in imposing some order on economic confusion:
  - ▶ Wartime restrictions on foodstuffs for alcohol accelerated wave of prohibition
  - ▶ 1919: Eighteenth Amendment banned alcohol
- ▶ Wilson expanded federal government in size and power to meet needs of war:
  - ▶ WIB set production quotas; Allocated raw materials
  - ▶ Set prices for government purchases

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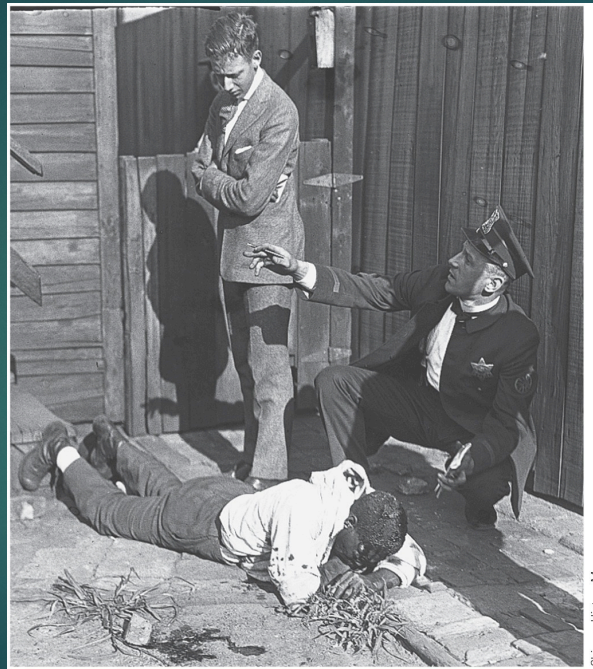
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Archives and Labor Collection, Archives Service Center, University of Pittsburgh

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Chicago History Museum

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## XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage

- ▶ Women heeded call of patriotism and opportunity:
  - ▶ Thousands entered factories and fields left by men going to frontline
  - ▶ War split women's movement deeply:
    - ▶ Many progressive-era feminists were pacifists
      - ▶ Found a voice in National Woman's party
      - ▶ Led by Quaker activist Alice Paul
      - ▶ Demonstrated against "Kaiser Wilson" with marches and hunger strikes

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# XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

## Larger part of suffrage movement:

- Represented by National American Woman Suffrage Association
- Supported Wilson's war
- Argued women must take part in war effort to earn role in shaping peace
- Fight for democracy abroad was women's best hope for winning true democracy at home

## War mobilization gave new momentum to suffrage fight:

- Wilson endorsed suffrage as "vitally necessary war measure"
- In 1917 New York voted for suffrage at state level
- Followed by Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota
- Whole U.S.A. followed with **Nineteenth Amendment** (1920)

# XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage

- ▶ Ratified 70 years after first call for suffrage at Seneca Falls
- ▶ Gave all American women right to vote (see Appendix and Table 29.3)
- ▶ Women's wartime economic gains fleeting:
  - ▶ Permanent Women's Bureau in Department of Labor created to protect women in workplace
  - ▶ Most women workers gave up wartime jobs

TABLE 29.3 A Chronology of Women to Vote in National Elections 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.gpa.org/english/issues/wmindocs/suffrage.htm>; About.com, *Women's History: International Woman Suffrage Timeline*, [http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/od/intl\\_timeline.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/od/suffrage/od/intl_timeline.htm).  
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## XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- ▶ America's early role in war:
  - ▶ Did not dream of sending large force to France
  - ▶ Assumed naval power and material support would suffice
  - ▶ By April/May 1917, Europeans running out of money and manpower
- ▶ Huge American army needed to be raised, trained, and transported quickly or whole western front would collapse

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## XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

- ▶ Conscription only answer to urgent need:
  - ▶ Wilson disliked draft, but eventually accepted conscription as disagreeable and temporary necessity
  - ▶ Immediately ran into problems with Congress
    - ▶ Later grudgingly passed conscription
  - ▶ Draft worked effectively overall
  - ▶ Army grew to over four million men
  - ▶ Women for first time admitted to armed forces:
    - ▶ 11,000 to navy and 269 to marines
    - ▶ Army refused to enlist women

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## XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

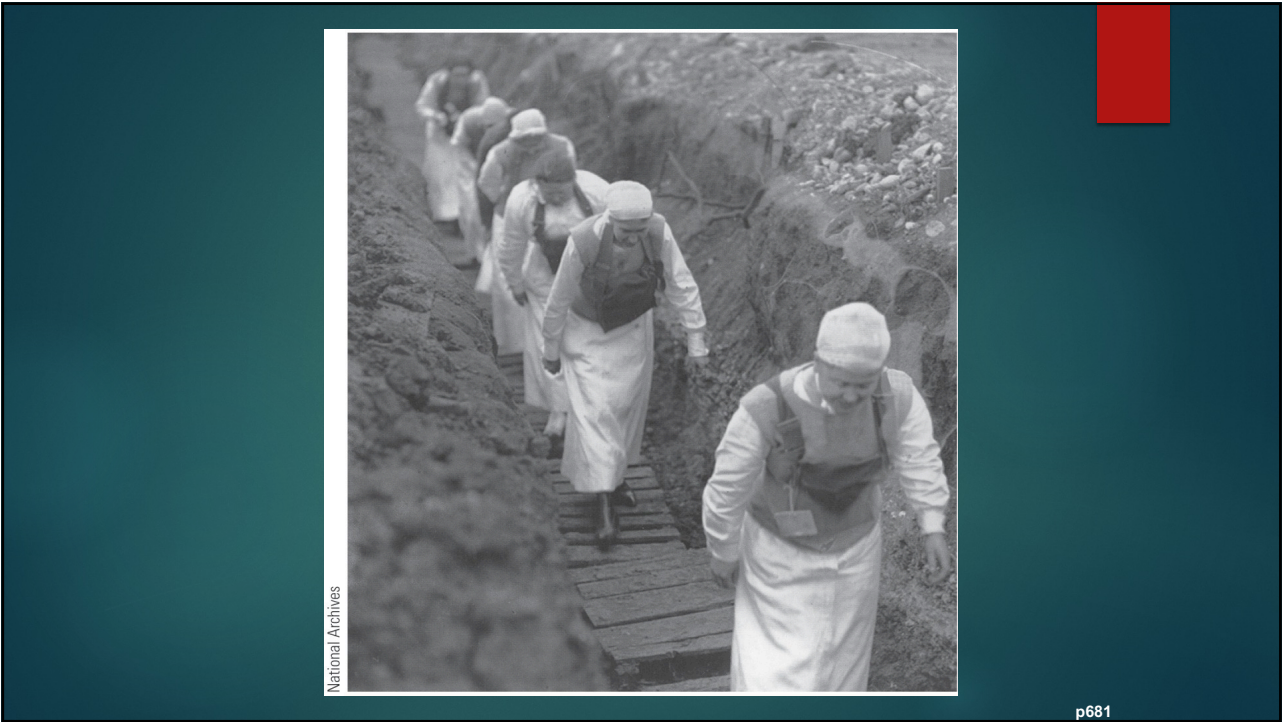
- ▶ Africans Americans served in strictly segregated units, usually under white officers
- ▶ Military authorities hesitated to train blacks for combat:
  - ▶ Thus majority assigned to “construction battalions” or put to work unloading ships
- ▶ Recruits suppose to receive six months of training in America and two more overseas
- ▶ because of urgency, many doughboys put more swiftly into battle

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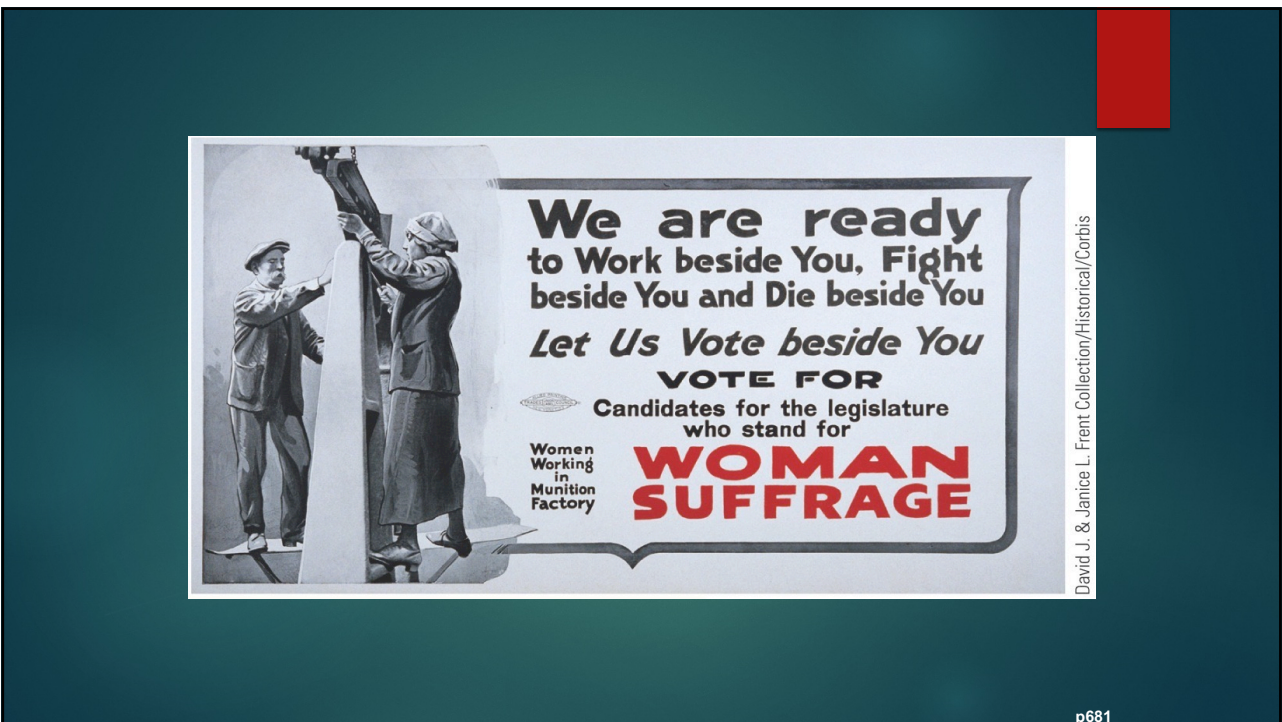
## XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- ▶ Russia:
  - ▶ Bolsheviks seized power in 1917
  - ▶ Withdrew from “capitalistic war” 1918
  - ▶ This released many Germans from eastern front in Russia for western front in France
- ▶ France:
  - ▶ Gradually began to bustle with U.S. doughboys (see Map 29.4):
    - ▶ First ones used for replacements or deployed in quiet sectors

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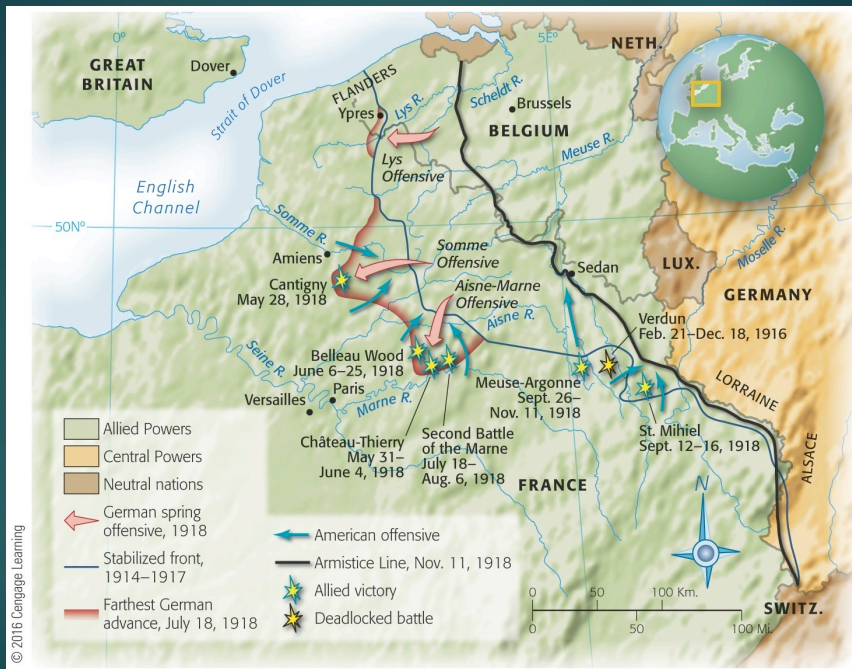


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## XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- ▶ Massive German drive of spring 1918:
  - ▶ Allies united under French marshal Foch
    - ▶ Germans smashed to within 40 miles of Paris, May 1918
    - ▶ Threatened to knock France out of war
    - ▶ 30,000 Americans sent to **Chateau-Thierry**, right in teeth of German advance
    - ▶ First significant engagement of American troops in a European war
    - ▶ America put decisive weight on scales (see Figure 29.2) to blunt German drive
    - ▶ Americans joined in Second Battle of the Marne (July)
    - ▶ Marked beginning of German withdrawal

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## XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- ▶ Americans now demanded and got separate army
- ▶ General John J. Pershing assigned a front of 85 miles northwestward from Swiss border to French line:
  - ▶ Pershing's army undertook **Meuse-Argonne offensive**:
    - ▶ From September 26 to November 11, 1918
    - ▶ Battle lasted 47 days
    - ▶ Engaged 1.2 million American troops
    - ▶ 120,000 Americans killed or wounded
    - ▶ Victory in sight

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## XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

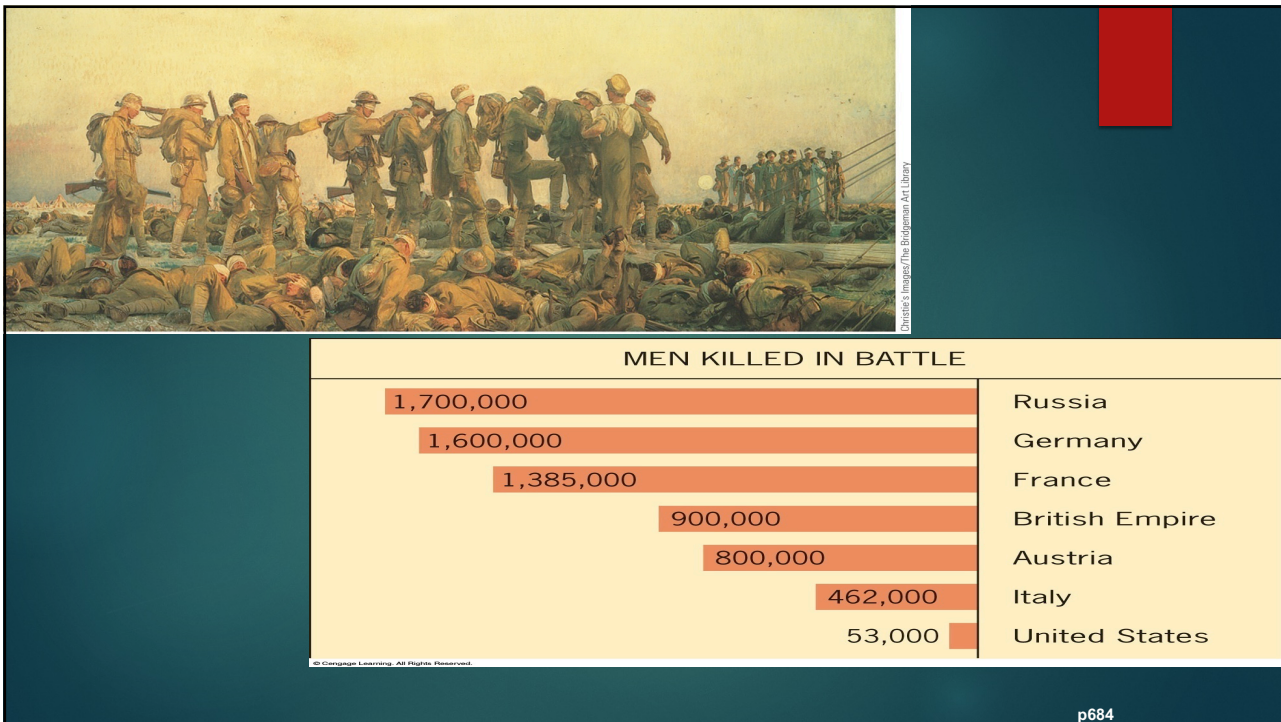
- ▶ Berlin ready to hoist white flag:
  - ▶ Looked to Wilson in October 1918 for peace based on Fourteen Points:
    - ▶ Wilson demanded Kaiser be removed before any armistice could be negotiated
      - ▶ War-weary Germans took hint
      - ▶ Kaiser fled to Holland, lived for his remaining 23 years "unwept, unhonored, and unhung"
  - ▶ Exhausted Germans laid down arms at 11:00 on 11<sup>th</sup> day of 11<sup>th</sup> month, 1918

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## XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- ▶ Costs exceeded comprehension:
  - ▶ 9 million soldiers died
  - ▶ 20 million suffered grievous wounds
  - ▶ 30 million people died in influenza pandemic of 1918-1919
  - ▶ more than 550,000 Americans—more than ten times number of U.S. combat casualties—died from flu
- ▶ U.S.'s main contributions to victory:
  - ▶ Foodstuffs, munitions, credits
  - ▶ Oil for first mechanized war
  - ▶ And manpower, but not battlefield victories
  - ▶ Yanks fought only two major battles—St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne, both in last two months of four-year war, and were still fighting in latter when war ended

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## XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- ▶ It was *prospect* of endless U.S. troop reserves, rather than America's actual military performances, that eventually demoralized Germans
- ▶ General Pershing's army:
  - ▶ Purchased more supplies in Europe than it shipped from United States
  - ▶ Most of its artillery and virtually all its aircraft provided by Britain and France
  - ▶ United States no arsenal of democracy in this war

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## XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

- ▶ Wilson's role in shaping peace?
  - ▶ President towered at summit of popularity and power:
    - ▶ No other man had ever occupied so dizzy a pinnacle as moral leader of world
    - ▶ At this moment, his sureness of touch deserted him, and he began to make series of tragic fumbles
    - ▶ He called for Democratic congressional victory in election of November, 1918:
      - ▶ Backfired, voters returned narrow Republican majority to Congress
      - ▶ Wilson went to Paris as diminished leader

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## XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus (cont.)

- ▶ Wilson's trip infuriated Republicans:
  - ▶ To that time, no president had traveled to Europe
    - ▶ Looked to critics like grandstanding
  - ▶ Snubbed Senate in assembling peace delegation
    - ▶ Neglected to include a single Republican senator in delegation
  - ▶ Logical choice would have been new chairman of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:
    - ▶ Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts
    - ▶ Wilson loathed Lodge, and feeling was reciprocated

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## XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

- ▶ Wilson received tumultuous welcomes:
  - ▶ From masses of France, England, Italy
  - ▶ Paris Conference (January 18, 1919):
    - ▶ Big Four: Wilson, Premier Orlando (Italy), Prime Minister George (Britain), Premier Clemenceau (France)
    - ▶ Wilson wanted to prevent vengeful parceling of colonies and protectorates of vanquished powers
    - ▶ Less attentive to fate of colonies belonging to victorious French and English

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National Archives

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## XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

Victors received conquered territory (Syria to France, Iraq to England) as trustees of League of Nations

- Basically prewar colonialism
- In future, anticolonial nationalists would wield Wilsonian ideal of self-determination against imperial occupiers

Wilson envisioned League as a world parliament:

- An assembly seat for all nations
- Council controlled by great powers

Signal victory—when diplomats made League integral part of final peace treaty

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## XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- ▶ Wilson's next battle with Japan:
  - ▶ During war, Japan seized China's Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula and German islands in Pacific
  - ▶ Japan received Pacific Islands under League mandate
  - ▶ Wilson strongly opposed Japanese control of Shandong as violation of self-determination for its 30 million Chinese
  - ▶ Wilson reluctantly accepted compromise:
    - ▶ Japan kept Germany's economic holdings in Shandong
    - ▶ Pledged to return peninsula to China at later date
    - ▶ Chinese outraged by imperialistic solution

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## XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- ▶ **Treaty of Versailles** handed to Germans in June 1919:
  - ▶ Had been excluded from negotiations in Paris
  - ▶ Hoped for peace based on Fourteen Points
  - ▶ Vengeance, not reconciliation, was treaty's dominant tone
  - ▶ Loud and bitter cries of betrayal burst from Germans
    - ▶ Charges Adolf Hitler would later use
- ▶ Wilson guilty of no conscious betrayal:
  - ▶ Allies torn by conflicting aims
  - ▶ Wilson had to compromise to get any agreement and especially to salvage League of Nations
  - ▶ Treaty had much to commend it:
    - ▶ Liberation of millions of minority peoples, e.g. Poles

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification

- ▶ Returning to America, Wilson sailed straight into political typhoon
  - ▶ Isolationists protested treaty:
    - ▶ Especially Wilson's commitment to usher U.S. into new League of Nations
    - ▶ Senators Williams Borah (Idaho), Hiram Johnson (California) and others were **irreconcilables**
      - ▶ Rejected any "entangling" alliance
  - ▶ Critics showered Treaty of Versailles with abuse
    - ▶ For Hun-haters, pact not harsh enough
    - ▶ Liberals thought it too harsh—a gross betrayal
    - ▶ "Hyphenated Americans" aroused because peace settlement not sufficiently favorable to native lands
      - ▶ Irish Americans feared League would empower England to crush any move for Irish independence

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ Strong majority of people favored Treaty
  - ▶ July 1919, Lodge had no real hope of defeating it
    - ▶ He wanted only to amend it
    - ▶ To "Americanize," "Republicanize," or "senatorialize" it
    - ▶ To divide public opinion, Lodge read entire 264-page treaty aloud in Senate Foreign Relations Committee and held protracted hearings to air grievances

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ Faced with such delaying tactics, Wilson decided to take case to nation:
  - ▶ Spectacular speechmaking tour undertaken despite protests of physicians and friends
  - ▶ Wilson's frail body began to sag under strains of:
    - ▶ Death of first wife in 1914
    - ▶ Partisan strife
    - ▶ Global war
    - ▶ Stressful peace conference

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ Tour began September 1919 with lame start in isolationist strongholds of Midwest
- ▶ Rocky Mountain region and Pacific Coast welcomed him:
  - ▶ High point—and breaking point—of return trip at Pueblo, Colorado, Sept. 25, 1919
  - ▶ With tears coursing down, Wilson pleaded for League as only hope of preventing future wars
  - ▶ That night he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ Whisked back to Washington, where several days later he suffered stroke
  - ▶ Laid in darkened room in White House for several weeks
  - ▶ For more than 7 months, he did not meet cabinet
- ▶ Senator Lodge now at helm:
  - ▶ Came up with fourteen formal reservations:
    - ▶ Reserved rights of United States under Monroe Doctrine and Constitution to protect U.S. sovereignty

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ Wilson still strong enough to obstruct:
  - ▶ Sent word to all true Democrats to vote *against* treaty with Lodge reservations attached
  - ▶ Wilson hoped that when these were cleared away, path would be opened for ratification
  - ▶ Loyal Democrats in Senate on November 19, 1919 did Wilson's bidding
  - ▶ Combining with "irreconcilables", they rejected treaty 55 to 39
- ▶ Nation deeply shocked by verdict

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## XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- ▶ In March 1920 treaty brought up again with Lodge reservations tacked on
- ▶ Wilson again sent word to loyal Democrats to vote down treaty with obnoxious reservations
- ▶ He thus signed death warrant of treaty as far as Americans were concerned
- ▶ On March 19, 1920, treaty netted simple majority but failed to get necessary two-thirds majority by count of 49 yeas to 35 nays
- ▶ Who defeated treaty?:
  - ▶ Lodge-Wilson personal feud, traditionalism, isolationism, disillusionment, and partisanship all contributed
  - ▶ Wilson must bear substantial share of responsibility
    - ▶ He asked for all or nothing—and got nothing

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## XXIV. The Betrayal of Great Expectations

- ▶ America's spurning of League short-sighted:
  - ▶ Republic had helped to win war, but foolishly kicked fruits of victory under table
  - ▶ League undercut by refusal of mightiest power on globe to join it
  - ▶ Ultimate failure lay at America's door-step
  - ▶ League designed, along with four other peace treaties, to rest upon United States
- ▶ Senate spurned Security Treaty with France:
  - ▶ France then undertook to build powerful military
  - ▶ Thus Germany began to rearm illegally
- ▶ United States hurt its own cause when it buried its head in sand
  - ▶ U.S. should have assumed war-born responsibilities and embraced role of global leader
  - ▶ Should have used its strength to shape world events.

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