


The American Pageant  
Seventeenth edition

Chapter 29  
Wilsonian Progressivism  
at Home and Abroad




CHAPTER 29  
Wilsonian  
Progressivism  
in Peace and War,  
1913–1920

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Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

- He was born and raised in the South who sympathized with the Confederacy's struggle to rule itself during the Civil War. This may have influenced his "self-determination" policy of post-WWI where the people chose their government.
- His father was a Presbyterian minister and Wilson was deeply religious himself as well as a superb speaker. It was noted that **he was born halfway between the bible and the dictionary and never strayed far from either.**



- Like Teddy Roosevelt, he believed the president should strike out and lead the country.
- BUT, Wilson's personality was very much *unlike* Roosevelt.
  - Wilson was an idealist, not a pragmatist like TR. He was completely stubborn at times, not budging an inch on his ideals or beliefs. Consequently, his stubbornness meant at times not getting anything done.
  - Wilson also was an intellectual who lacked the people's touch. Whereas TR had been loved by the people, Wilson was scholarly and arrogant. Or in other words, whereas TR might stop to have a chat with the people, Wilson might scoff at their ignorance and move on.

29-1 WILSON: THE IDEALIST IN POLITICS  
(SLIDE 1 OF 2)

- (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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Democrats looked to **Dr. Woodrow Wilson**, the governor of New Jersey.


Wilson had been a mild conservative but had turned become a strong progressive.

His background was in education as a history professor, then as president of Princeton Univ. As governor of NJ, he made a name for himself by standing up to the bosses, trusts, and as a liberal.

**At their convention, it took 46 votes to choose Wilson. The final vote was cast after William Jennings Bryan threw his support behind Wilson.**

The Democrats now had a candidate in Woodrow Wilson and they added a platform they named the "**New Freedom.**"


The New Freedom platform was **made up of liberal and progressive policies.**



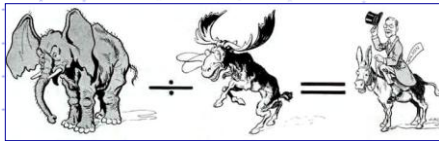
**Woodrow Wilson and Andrew Carnegie**

**The Election of 1912**

- The 1912 election offered Americans four main choices: Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt, and the socialist Eugene V. Debs.



## GOP Divided by Bull Moose Equals Democratic Victory!



## 1912 ELECTION



### Roosevelt's Campaign Slogan

**New Nationalism:** Favored an active government role in economic and social affairs.

- **Good vs. bad trusts** which were regulated by the U.S. Govt.
- Continuation of his **Square Deal** policies.

- **Direct Election of Senators**
- **Tariff reduction**
- **Presidential primaries**
- **Regulation of monopolies**
  - End child labor
  - Women's suffrage



## No Third-Term Principle

## 1912 ELECTION

### New Freedom

- Goal:**
- Favored an active role in economic and social affairs.
  - Favored small businesses and the free functioning and unregulated and unmonopolized markets.
  - Tackle the **triple wall of privilege**: the **rail, the banks, and the trusts**.
  - Similar to Roosevelt's New Nationalism

### New Nationalism

- Goal:**
- Continuation of his Square Deal which were reforms to help the common man.
  - Favored a more active govt role in economic and social affairs.
1. Good trusts vs. bad trusts
  2. **Direct election of senators**
  3. Tariff reduction
  4. Presidential primaries
  5. Regulation of monopolies
  6. **End child labor**
  7. **Initiative and referendum**
  8. **Women's suffrage**

# The Election of 1912

- The 1912 election offered Americans four main choices:
- Wilson, Taft, Roosevelt, and the socialist Eugene V. Debs.

DEMOCRATIC TICKET	REPUBLICAN TICKET	PROGRESSIVE TICKET	PROHIBITION TICKET	NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE TICKET	PROGRESSIVE TICKET
For President, WOODROW WILSON. For Vice-President, THOMAS E. MARSHALL	For President, WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. For Vice-President, JAMES SCHOUZCRAFT SHERMAN	For President, EUGENE V. DEBS. For Vice-President, EMIL SREDEL	For President, EDWINE WILDER CHAFFIN. For Vice-President, AARON S. WATKINS	For President, THEODORE ROOSEVELT. For Vice-President, HERMAN W. JOHNSON	For President, ARTHUR ELMER REIBEL. For Vice-President, AUGUST GILLHAUS

## 1912 ELECTION



29-1 WILSON: THE IDEALIST IN POLITICS (SLIDE 2 OF 2)

- 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



**29.1 Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), cover of Life, 1912** Before his election to the presidency of the United States in 1912, Wilson served as president of Princeton University (1902–1910) and governor of New Jersey (1910–1912). In all three offices, he earned a reputation as a moral idealist and reformer. In this Life magazine cover, he is depicted as a stern Roman consul. Wilson’s academic background is represented by the scholarly owl at his side.

29-2 WILSON TACKLES THE TARIFF (SLIDE 1 OF 2)

- 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

## 1912 ELECTION

### Wilson’s Slogan

- **New Freedom**: restore the free competition and equal opportunity but not through big government...
- Tackle the “**triple wall of privilege**”: the tariff, the banks, and the trusts.

• Wilson passes quite a bit of legislation which was similar to Roosevelt’s **New Nationalism**....

Progressive Movement ends in 1917 with US entrance into **WWI**

- Federal Trade Commission
- 16th Amendment
- Underwood Tariff Bill
- Federal Reserve Act
- Clayton Anti-Trust Act
- Keating-Owen Act

Wilson’s time is devoted to the **new** instead of the Progressive Reforms.

The  
GOP:

An  
Extinct  
Animal?

29-2 WILSON TACKLES THE TARIFF (SLIDE 2 OF 2)

- 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 Sixteenth 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

29-3 WILSON BATTLES THE BANKERS  
(SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- 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)



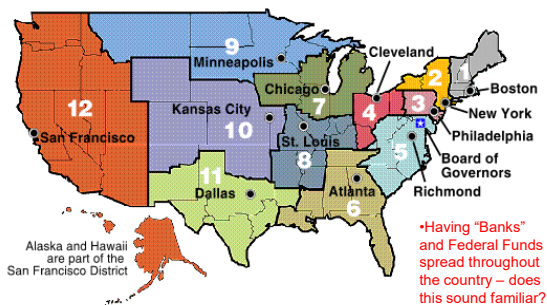
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29-3 WILSON BATTLES THE BANKERS  
(SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- 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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29-3 WILSON BATTLES THE BANKERS  
(SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- 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



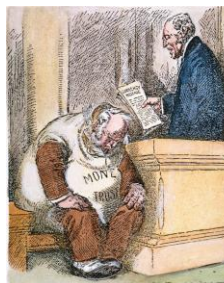
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29-4 . THE PRESIDENT TAMES THE TRUSTS  
(SLIDE 1 OF 2)

- Wilson's third appearance before Congress led to **Federal Trade Commission Act (1914):**
  - Presidentially appointed commission could research industries engaged in interstate commerce
  - Commission could crush monopoly at source by rooting out unfair trade practices:
    - Including unlawful competition, false advertising, mislabeling, adulteration, and bribery



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•29.2 Reading the Death Warrant This cartoon appeared in a New York newspaper soon after Woodrow Wilson called for dramatic reform of the banking system before both houses of Congress. With the "money trust" of bankers and businessmen cowed, Wilson was able to win popular and congressional support for the Federal Reserve Act of 1913.

•Trust Busting – How Progressive?

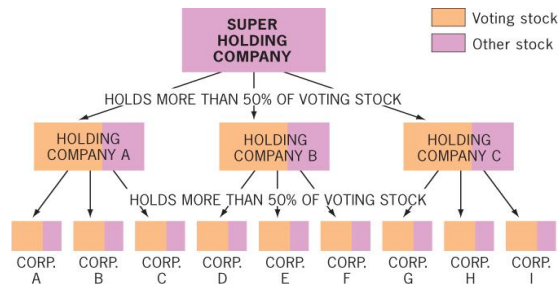
p677



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29-4 . THE PRESIDENT TAMES THE TRUSTS (SLIDE 2 OF 2)

- **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



29-5 WILSON AT THE PEAK (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

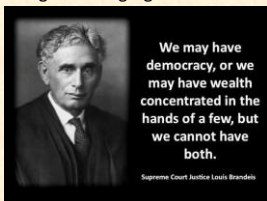
- Other progressive legislation:
  - **Federal Farm Loan Act (1916):**
    - Made credit available to farmers at low rates of interest—**long demanded by Populists**
  - **Warehouse Act (1916):**
    - Authorized loans on security of staple crops—**another Populist idea**
  - Other laws benefited rural areas by providing for highway construction and establishment of agricultural extension work in state colleges

29-5 WILSON AT THE PEAK (SLIDE 2 OF 3)

**Workers made gains under the Progressive-minded Wilson.**

- **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)

—Wilson named **Louis Brandeis** to the Supreme Court—the 1st Jew to sit on the bench. But, Wilson's Progressivism did *not* reach out to blacks in America. His policies actually moved toward greater segregation.



29-5 WILSON AT THE PEAK (SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- **Adamson Act (1916):**
  - Established eight hour day for all employees on trains in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime
- Supreme Court:
  - Wilson endeared himself to progressives when he nominated prominent reformer Louis D. Brandeis—first Jew to high court
- Limit on Wilson's progressivism:
  - Stopped well short of better treatment for blacks

29-6 NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY  
(SLIDE 1 OF 4)

- **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

29-6 NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY  
(SLIDE 2 OF 4)

- Persuaded Congress to repeal Panama Canal Tolls Act of 1912:
  - It had exempted American coastwise 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

### Emilio Aguinaldo



★ Leader of the Filipino Uprising.

★ July 4, 1946: Philippine independence



## Puerto Rico

### Puerto Rico: 1898

- ★ 1900 - **Foraker Act.**
  - PR became an "unincorporated territory."
  - Citizens of PR, not of the US.
  - Import duties on PR goods
- ★ 1901-1903 → **the Insular Cases.**
  - Constitutional rights were not automatically extended to territorial possessions.
  - Congress had the power to decide these rights.
  - Import duties laid down by the Foraker Act were legal

### Puerto Rico: 1898

- ★ 1917 - **Jones Act.**
  - Gave full territorial status to PR.
  - Removed tariff duties on PR goods coming into the US.
  - PRs elected their own legislators & governor to enforce local laws.
  - PRs could NOT vote in US presidential elections.
  - A resident commissioner was sent to Washington to vote for PR in the House.



29-6 NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY (SLIDE 3 OF 4)

- 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

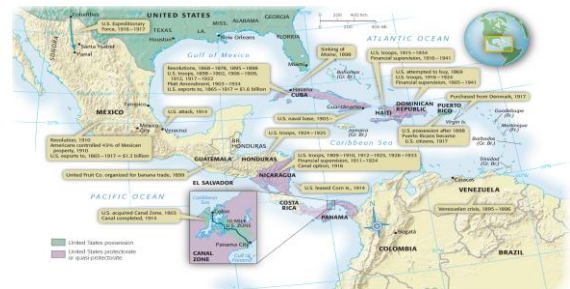


**29.3 U.S. Marines in Haiti, 1919** The United States sent the marines to Haiti in 1915 to protect American economic interests. They remained for nineteen years.

p678

29-6 NEW DIRECTIONS IN FOREIGN POLICY (SLIDE 4 OF 4)

- 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)



Map 29-1 p679



Santa Anna

- 1821 and 1829 he fought against the Spanish
- 1833 became president
- Switched sides on different issues



## The Texas Revolt

- Many Americans moved to Texas (Mexico) for cheap land
- As the Anglo population grew so did tension
- Stephen Austin encouraged a revolt in 1835
- The Alamo
  - ▣ Texas defeated
- Battle of San Jacinto
  - ▣ Santa Anna captured by Sam Houston but returned to Mexico



Battle of San Jacinto defeated Santa Anna and won Texas independence.



## Surrender of Santa Anna to Sam Houston



## War and Fall of Santa Anna

- Santa Anna returned to power
  - ▣ Fought the US over control of Texas
  - ▣ Lost after two years of war
  - ▣ 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

## Mexican Cession of 1848



## Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo - 1848 (Video)



- Mexico recognized the Texas-Mexico border as the Rio Grande.
- Mexico ceded the Mexican Cession to the United States.
- Today, the Mexican Cession includes the states of CA, NV, UT, and parts of AZ, NM, CO, and WY.
- The United States paid Mexico \$15 million.

### Gadsden Purchase

The United States bought southern New Mexico and Arizona for \$10 million.

## Juárez and La Reforma

- Benito Juárez
  - Political influence
  - Worked to serve the people
  - La Reforma, liberal reform movement
    - Redistribution of land, separation of church and state, increased educational opportunities
  - Liberals vs. Conservatives
    - Many battles led to a Liberal victory and Juárez as president



## The French Invade Mexico

- Conservatives conspired with the French
- Under Napoleon III, the French took over Mexico in 1862
- War proved to be too costly and so the French withdrew
- Juárez reappointed as President
  - Rebuilt, opened new roads, railroads, telegraph system, educational system



Napoleon III of France (above)

Maximilian I of Mexico (below)



## Porfirio Díaz and "Order and Progress"

- Served those that supported him, elections were not necessary
- Terrorized non supporters
- "Order and Progress"
- Railroads expanded, banks were built, currency stabilized
- Farmers did not put land to good use, poverty rose



## Revolutionary Leaders

### Francisco "Pancho" Villa



- Revolutionary general in the north.
- Immensely popular
- "Robin Hood" policy of taking from rich and giving to poor.

### Emiliano Zapata

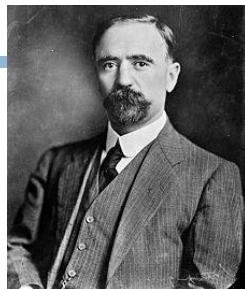


- Revolutionary general in the south.
- Determined to see land returned to peasants.
- Wanted laws reformed to protect rights of peasants.
- "Land of Liberty" his battle cry.
- His assassination brought an end to the civil war.

• Both came from poor families.  
• Both were assassinated

## Revolution and Civil War

- Francisco Madero
  - Educated in U.S. and France
  - Sought democracy
  - Presidential candidate in 1910
  - He was arrested and exiled to U.S. by Díaz.
  - In 1911, after Díaz agreed to step down, Madero was elected president.
  - He was considered too liberal for some and too conservative for others.
  - Villa and Zapata later opposed him after initially supporting him by force.
  - Madero resigned on February 19, 1913.
  - He was murdered, probably on the orders of General Victoriano Huerta, three days later.



## General Victoriano Huerta

- Unpopular with many people including Villa and Zapata



### The Mexican Revolution: 1910s

- ★ Victoriano Huerta seizes control of Mexico and puts Madero in prison where he was murdered.
- ★ Venustiano Carranza, Pancho Villa, Emiliano Zapata, and Alvaro Obregon fought against Huerta.
- ★ The U.S. also got involved by occupying Veracruz and Huerta fled the country.
- ★ Eventually Carranza would gain power in Mexico.

### The Mexican Revolution: 1910s



#### 29-7 MORALISTIC DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO (SLIDE 1 OF 5)

- Mexican revolution (1913):
  - Mexicans resented exploitation by foreign investors
  - In 1913 new revolutionary president murdered and replaced by General Victoriano Huerta:
  - Caused massive migration of Mexicans to United States
  - More than a million Spanish-speaking newcomers came and settled in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California
  - Built highways and railroads, followed fruit harvests as pickers
  - Segregated in Spanish-speaking enclaves:
    - Helped create unique borderland culture that blended Mexican and American folkways



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#### 29-7 MORALISTIC DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO (SLIDE 2 OF 5)

- Revolutionary bloodshed menaced American lives and property in Mexico:
  - Hearst called for intervention in Mexico
  - Wilson again refused to practice diplomacy of his predecessors:
    - Deemed it "perilous" to determine foreign policy "in terms of material interest"
    - Wilson tried to steer a moral course in Mexico
    - Refused to recognize Huerta's bloody-handed regime
    - In 1914 he allowed American arms to flow to Huerta's principal rivals, Venustiano Carranza and firebrand Francisco ("Pancho") Villa



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•29.4 Wilson Confronts Huerta A Mexican view of the tense standoff between Wilson and the Mexican president, Victoriano Huerta. The artist's rendering seems to reflect the famous observation of long-time Mexican leader Porfirio Diaz: "Poor Mexico! So far from God, so close to the United States."

p680



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#### 29-7 MORALISTIC DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO (SLIDE 3 OF 5)

- Tampico Incident:
  - Mexico volcano erupted at Atlantic seaport of Tampico in April, 1914:
    - Small party of American sailors arrested
    - Mexicans released captives and apologized
    - Refused demand by U.S. admiral for 21-gun salute
    - Determined to eliminate Huerta, Wilson asked Congress for authority to use force against Mexico
    - Before Congress could act, Wilson had navy seize port of Veracruz to block arrival of German weapons



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29-7 MORALISTIC DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO (SLIDE 4 OF 5)

- Shooting conflict avoided by offer of mediation from ABC powers— Argentina, Brazil, and Chile
- Huerta collapsed in July 1914 under pressure from within and without
- Succeeded by his archrival, Venustiano Carranza 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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•29.5 "Pancho" Villa with His Ragtag Army in Mexico, ca. 1916 His daring, impetuosity, and horsemanship made Villa a hero to the masses of northern Mexico. Yet he proved to be a violent and ineffective crusader against social abuses, and he was assassinated in 1923.

p680



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29-7 MORALISTIC DIPLOMACY IN MEXICO (SLIDE 5 OF 5)

- 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



General John J. Pershing with Pancho Villa in 1914.



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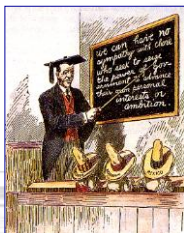
Mexican Constitution

- Adopted in 1917
  - Promoted education, land reforms, worker's rights
  - Carranza overthrown by Obregon in 1920
  - 1928, Obregon assassinated
  - Sought peace under the power of the Institutional Revolutionary Party



Reforms of Mexican Constitution of 1917			
Land	Religion	Labor	Social Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Breakup of large estates</li> <li>• Restrictions on foreign ownership of land</li> <li>• Government control of resources (oil)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• State takeover of land owned by the Church</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Minimum wage for workers</li> <li>• Right to strike</li> <li>• Institution of labor unions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Equal pay for equal work</li> <li>• Limited legal rights for women (spending money and bringing lawsuits)</li> </ul>

Wilson's "Moral Diplomacy"

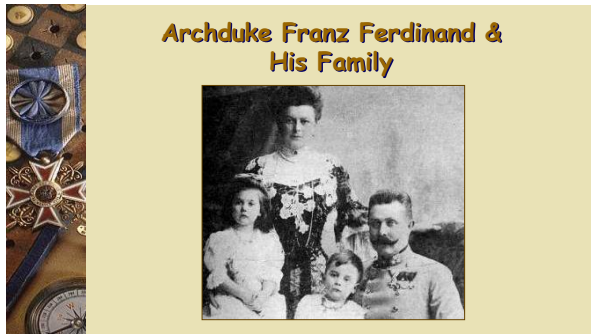


- ★ The U. S. should be the conscience of the world.
- ★ Spread democracy.
- ★ Promote peace.
- ★ Condemn colonialism.



29-8 THUNDER ACROSS THE SEA  
(SLIDE 1 OF 5)

- In Europe, Serb patriot killed heir to throne of Austria-Hungary in summer 1914:
  - Vienna, backed by Germany, presented ultimatum to Serbia
- Explosive chain reaction followed:
  - Serbia, backed by Russia, refused to back down
  - Russian czar began to mobilize military, menacing Germany on east
  - France confronted Germany on west
  - Germans struck suddenly at France through unoffending Belgium



**ASSASSINATION OF FRANZ FERDINAND**

**Franz Ferdinand's funeral procession**

**Gavrilo Princip, a Serbian nationalist assassinated the Archduke. He was trying to gain allowances for his fellow Serbs who lived under Austrian rule.**

**Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his family. Archduke was heir to the throne in the Austrian Hungarian Empire. His assassination June 28, 1914 eventually led to WWI.**

### Who's To Blame?

1914  
The Crime of the Ages—Who Did It?

#### 29-8 THUNDER ACROSS THE SEA (SLIDE 2 OF 5)

- Great Britain, its coastline jeopardized by assault on Belgium, pulled into conflagration on side of France
- Now Europe locked in fight to the death
- **Central Powers:** Germany, Austria-Hungary, later Turkey and Bulgaria
- **Allies:** France, Britain, and Russia, later Japan and Italy
- Americans thanked God for ocean and congratulated themselves on having ancestors wise enough to have abandoned hell pits of Europe
- America felt strong, snug, smug, and secure—but not for long

### Two Armed Camps!

**Allied Powers**

Great Britain  
France  
Russia

**Central Powers**

Germany  
Austrian-Hungarian Empire  
Turkey

Italy

### ALLIANCES LEAD TO WWI

1. June 28  
Assassination at Sarajevo
2. July 28  
Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia
3. July 30  
Russia began mobilization
4. August 1  
Germany declared war on Russia

Legend:  
■ Central Powers (Triple Alliance, except Italy, and allies)  
■ Allied Powers (Triple Entente and allies)  
■ Neutral nations

### ALLIANCES LEAD TO WWI

5. August 3  
Germany declared war on France
6. August 3  
Great Britain declared war on Germany
7. August 6  
Russia and Austria/Hungary at war.
8. August 12  
Great Britain declared war on Austria/Hungary

Legend:  
■ Central Powers (Triple Alliance, except Italy, and allies)  
■ Allied Powers (Triple Entente and allies)  
■ Neutral nations

Legend:  
■ Central Powers (Triple Alliance, except Italy, and allies)  
■ Allied Powers (Triple Entente and allies)  
■ Neutral nations

29-8 THUNDER ACROSS THE SEA  
(SLIDE 3 OF 5)

- 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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29-8 THUNDER ACROSS THE SEA  
(SLIDE 4 OF 5)

- 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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29-8 THUNDER ACROSS THE SEA  
(SLIDE 5 OF 5)

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

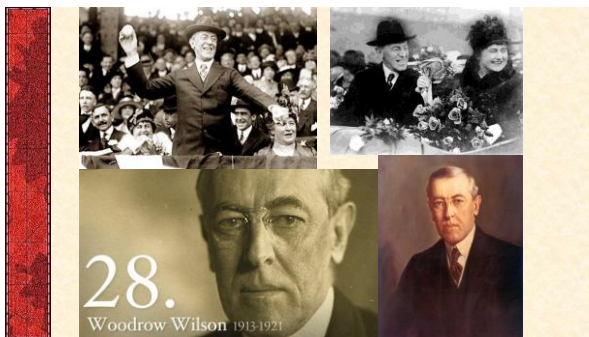
Country of Origin	Foreign-Born	Natives with Two Foreign-Born Parents	Natives with One Foreign-Born Parent	Total	
Central Powers	Germany Austria-Hungary	2,501,181 1,670,524	3,911,847 900,129 852,610 2,144,577 949,316 695,187	1,869,590 131,133	8,282,618 2,701,786
Allied Powers	Great Britain (Ireland)* Russia Italy	1,219,968 1,352,155 1,732,421 1,343,070		1,158,474 1,030,628 70,938 60,103	3,231,052 4,504,360 2,752,675 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.



Table 29-1 p681

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**US IN 1914**

- Panama Canal was completed in August of 1914 just a week before WWI began in Europe.
- Woodrow Wilson became President in 1912.
- Americans were shocked by the outbreak of war but.....it was in Europe.
- US was officially **NEUTRAL**

## WILSON'S NEUTRALITY

The *effect of the war upon the United States* will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man who loves America will act and speak in the *truest* sense of duty, which is the spirit of *impartiality* and *freedom*.

The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the *English-speaking* world. It is *natural and inevitable* that they should have the *most variety of sympathy*. So long as they are *united* in their *struggle*, to succeed in the *momentous* struggle.

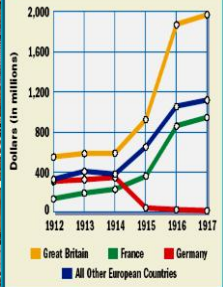
Therefore, my *fellow countrymen*, the United States must be *neutral* in fact, as well as in name, during these days that are to try men's souls.

## US POLICY BEFORE WWI



- US believed
  - It had the right to trade with the *warring nations*
  - Warring nations must respect our *neutrality*
  - in the *freedom of the seas*
- German submarine warfare and British blockade violated our *neutrality*

### U.S. Exports to Europe, 1912-1917



#### Effects of Allied blockade

- 1914, \$70 million in trade with *Central powers*
- 1916, trade reduced to \$1.3 million

#### Allied trade

- Grew from \$825 million to \$3.2 billion in same time period
- WWI transformed the US from a *debtor* to a *creditor* nation

### 29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY (SLIDE 1 OF 7)

- 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

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.

### 29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY (SLIDE 2 OF 7)

- 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

29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY  
(SLIDE 3 OF 7)

- 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

## SUBMARINE WARFARE

- The Germans could not match Great Britain's superior navy.
- Germans introduced unrestricted submarine warfare with U-Boats
- Germans warned the world they would sink any ship they believed was carrying contraband to Great Britain.

### U-Boats




**Two types**

- small subs with a crew of 24
- larger subs with a crew of 60
- 44 by 1918

•By 1918, Germans had sunk 6,500 allied ships.


### U-Boats



Legend:

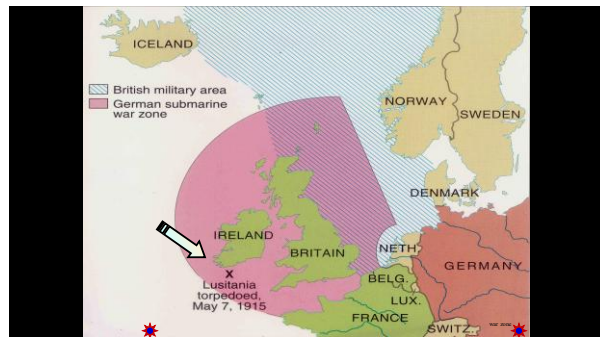
- British military area
- German submarine war zone
- Allied Powers
- Central Powers
- Neutral nations



p682

29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY  
(SLIDE 4 OF 7)

- 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"



**SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA**

- May 7, 1915, the Germans sunk the Lusitania which was British passenger liner.
- Germans believed it was carrying contraband (weapons) to the British.
- Killed 1,198 civilians including 128 Americans.
- U.S. and other countries outraged towards Germany because of **“unrestricted submarine warfare”**.
- US believed the Germans had violated international law of targeting civilians



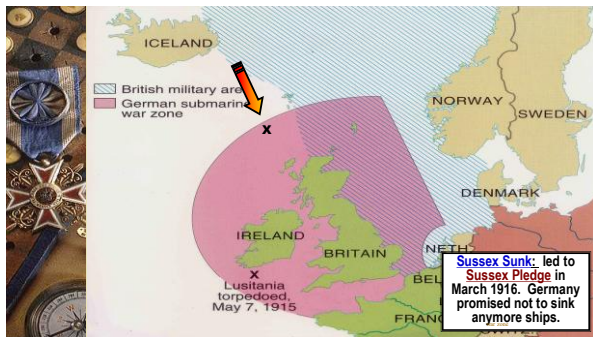
**SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA**

- **After the sinking of the Lusitania, public opinion of most Americans was to go to war with Germany.**
- Germany **promised** they would not sink anymore ships unless **warning** them first and providing safety for civilians.
- **BUT, President Wilson was able “keep us out of war” ...**

**29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY (SLIDE 5 OF 7)**

- 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*

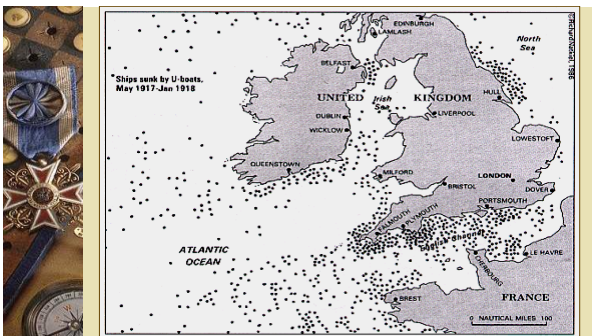
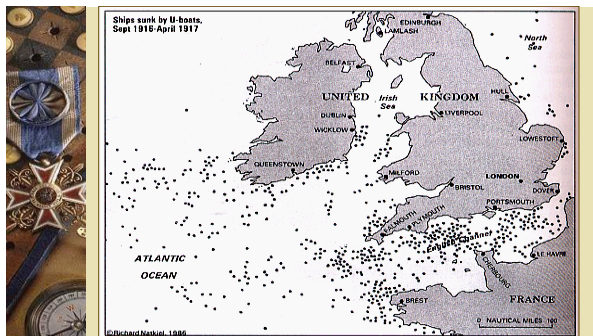




**29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY (SLIDE 6 OF 7)**

- 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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**29-9 AMERICA EARNS BLOOD MONEY (SLIDE 7 OF 7)**

- **German *Sussex* pledge:**
  - United States would have to persuade Allies to modify what Berlin regarded as illegal blockade
  - This obviously, was something that Washington could not do
  - Wilson promptly accepted pledge, without accepting "string"
  - Wilson won temporary but precarious diplomatic victory—precarious because:
    - Germany could pull string whenever it chose
    - And president might suddenly find himself tugged over cliff of war

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•29.8 "Here's Money for Your Americans. I May Drown Some More." German expressed "profound regret" for the deaths of 128 Americans aboard the torpedoed passenger liner *Lusitania* in 1915, but the incident helped feed a mounting anti-German sentiment in the United States.

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29-10 WILSON WINS REELECTION IN 1916  
(SLIDE 1 OF 4)

- **Presidential campaign of 1916**
  - **Bull moose Progressives and Republicans met in Chicago:**
    - **Progressives nominated Theodore Roosevelt:**
      - **TR, who loathed Wilson, had no intention of splitting Republicans again**
      - **With his refusal, TR sounded death knell of Progressive party**
    - **Republicans drafted Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes, who had been governor of New York**



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29-10 WILSON WINS REELECTION IN 1916  
(SLIDE 2 OF 4)

- **Republican platform condemned Wilson's:**
  - Tariff
  - Assault on trusts
  - Wishy-washiness in dealing with Mexico and Germany
- **Wilson realized his 1912 win caused by Taft-TR split**
  - Used his first term to identify himself as candidate of progressivism and to woo bull moose voters into Democratic fold
- Wilson, nominated by acclamation at Democratic convention in St. Louis
- **His campaign slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War"**



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29-10 WILSON WINS REELECTION IN 1916  
(SLIDE 3 OF 4)

- On election day:
  - Hughes swept East
  - Wilson went to bed prepared to accept defeat but rest of nation turned tide:
    - Midwestern and westerners, attracted by Wilson's progressive reforms and antiwar policies, flocked to him
    - **Final result, in doubt for several days, hinged on California which Wilson carried with 3,800 votes out of about a million**



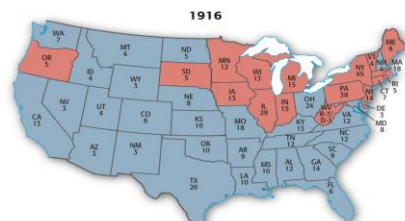
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29-10 WILSON WINS REELECTION IN 1916  
(SLIDE 4 OF 4)

- **Final count:**
  - Wilson: 277 to 254 in Electoral College
  - 9,127,695 to 8,533,507 in popular column (see Map 29.3)
  - Pro-labor Wilson received strong support from working class and from renegade bull moosers
  - Wilson did not specifically promise to keep country out of war



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Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Wilson (Democrat)	277 52.2%	9,127,695 51.7%
Hughes (Republican)	254 47.8%	8,533,507 48.3%



p685

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29-11 WAR BY ACT OF GERMANY (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- Wilson tried to mediate between two warring sides:
  - **January 22, 1917:** restated U.S. commitment to neutral rights and called for "peace without victory"
- **Germany responded with mailed fist:**
  - Announced **unrestricted** sub warfare on Jan. 31
  - Hoped to defeat Allies before U.S.A. entered war
- Wilson broke diplomatic relations, but moved no closer to war unless "overt" by Germans

29-11 WAR BY ACT OF GERMANY (SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- President asked Congress for authority to arm merchant ships, but blocked by Senate filibuster
- **Zimmermann note:**
  - Intercepted and published on March 1, 1917
  - German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman secretly proposed German-Mexican alliance
  - Tempted anti-Yankee Mexico with promises of recovering Texas, New Mexico, Arizona
- Long-dreaded "overt" act in Atlantic:
  - German U-boats sank four unarmed American merchant vessels in first two weeks of March, 1917

**ZIMMERMANN NOTE**



*Berlin, January 19, 1917*  
 On the first of **February** we intend to begin **unrestricted submarine warfare**. In spite of this, it is our intention to endeavor to keep **neutral** the United States of America.

If this attempt is not successful, we propose an **alliance** on the following basis with Mexico: That we shall make war together and together make peace. We shall give general financial support, and it is understood that **Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona.** The details are left to you for settlement....

You are instructed to inform the President of Mexico of the above in the greatest confidence as soon as it is certain that there will be an outbreak of war with

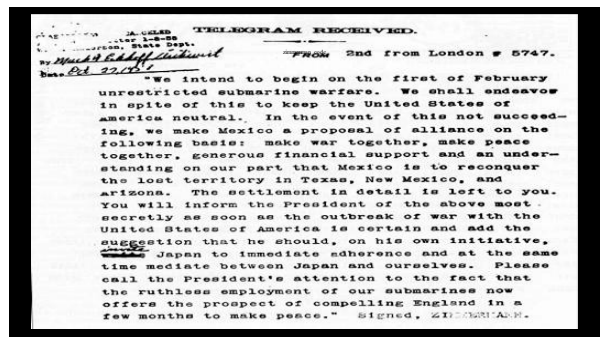
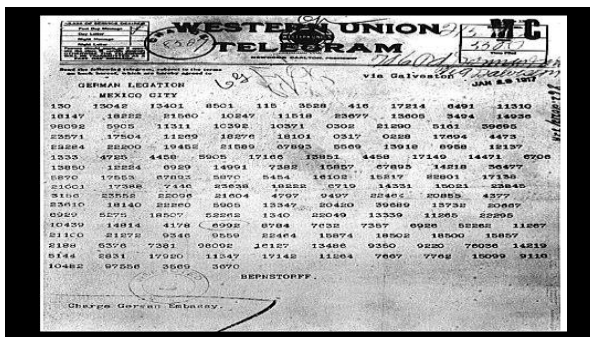
**ZIMMERMANN NOTE**

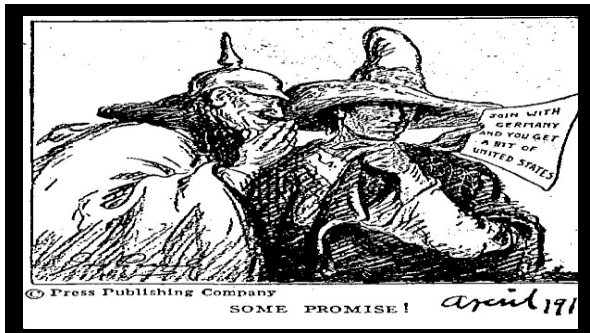


with the United States and suggest that the President of Mexico, on his own initiative, should communicate with Japan suggesting adherence at once to this plan;

at the same time, offer to mediate between Germany and Japan. Please call to the attention of the President of Mexico that the employment of **ruthless submarine warfare now promises to compel England to make peace in a few months.**

**Zimmerman (Secretary of State)**





## WILSON'S WAR SPEECH

When German submarines sank three American merchant ships in March 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war.

29-11 WAR BY ACT OF GERMANY (SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- **Revolution in Russia toppled cruel regime of tsars:**
  - America could now fight for democracy on Allies' side, without Russian despotism in Allied fold
- Wilson, before joint session of Congress on April 2, 1917, asked for declaration of war:
  - British harassment of U.S. commerce had been galling but endurable
  - Germany had resorted to mass killing of civilians
  - Wilson had drawn clear line against depredations of submarine
- In figurative sense, war declaration on April 6, 1917, bore unambiguous trademark "Made in Germany"



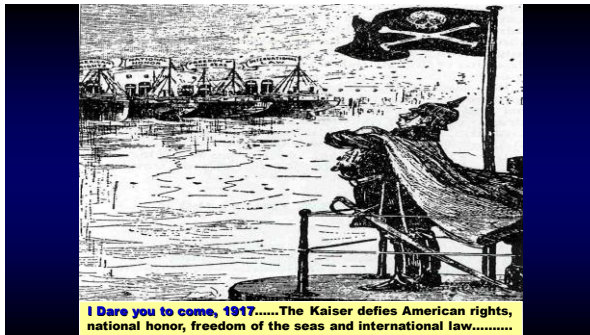
- For more than a century, Americans prided themselves on isolation from Old World
- Since 1914 that pride reinforced by bountiful profits gained through neutrality
  - **Six senators and 50 representatives (including first congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, of Montana) voted against war resolution**
-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

29-12 WILSONIAN IDEALISM ENTHRONED (SLIDE 2 OF 4)

- Wilson needed to proclaim more glorified aims:
  - Supremely ambitious goal of crusade "to make the world safe for democracy"
- Wilson virtually hypnotized nation with lofty ideals:
  - Contrasted selfish war aims of other belligerents with America's shining altruism
  - Preached America did not fight for sake of riches or territorial conquest
  - Republic sought to shape international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of power-crazed autocrats and militarists

29-12 WILSONIAN IDEALISM ENTHRONED (SLIDE 3 OF 4)

- **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**



29-12 WILSONIAN IDEALISM ENTHRONED (SLIDE 4 OF 4)

**The Yanks Are Coming!**

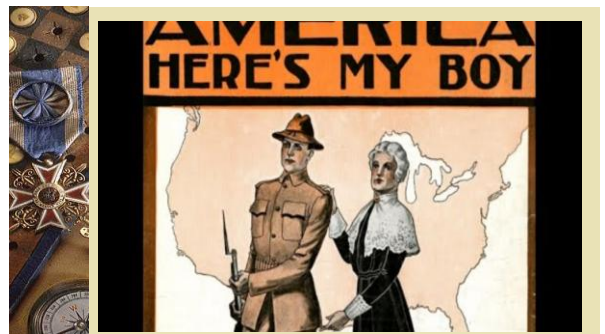
**PERSHING'S CRUSADERS**  
UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT  
THE FIRST OFFICIAL AMERICAN WAR PICTURE  
DISTRIBUTED BY COLUMBIA PICTURES

- 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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**AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES**

**General John J. Pershing**, commanding general of the **AEF**. Referred to as the **Doughboys** and **Yanks**.  
2 million in France by Sept. 1918



**Americans in the Trenches**

29-13 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POTENT POINTS (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- 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

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**President Wilson's 14 Points**

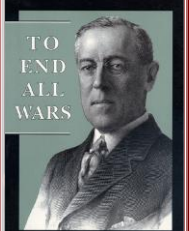
1. AN END TO ALL SECRET DIPLOMACY
2. FREEDOM OF THE SEAS IN PEACE AND WAR
3. REMOVAL OF TRADE BARRIERS AMONG NATIONS
4. GENERAL REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS
5. THE ADJUSTMENT OF COLONIAL CLAIMS IN THE INTEREST OF THE INHABITANTS AS WELL AS OF THE COLONIAL POWER
6. THE EVACUATION OF RUSSIAN TERRITORY AND THE INDEPENDENT DETERMINATION BY RUSSIA OF ITS OWN NATIONAL POLICIES
7. THE RESTORATION OF BELGIUM
8. THE EVACUATION OF ALL FRENCH TERRITORY AND RETURN OF ALSACE-LORRAINE
9. THE READJUSTMENT OF ITALIAN BOUNDARIES AMONG CLEARLY RECOGNIZABLE LINES OF NATIONALITY
10. INDEPENDENCE FOR VARIOUS NATIONAL GROUPS IN AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
11. THE RESTORATION OF THE BALKAN NATIONS AND FREE ACCESS TO THE SEA FOR SERBIA
12. PROTECTION FOR MINORITIES IN TURKEY AND THE FREE PASSAGE OF ALL SHIPS THROUGH THE DARDANELLES
13. INDEPENDENCE FOR POLAND, INCLUDING ACCESS TO THE SEA
14. A GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS TO PROTECT "MUTUAL GUARANTEES OF POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY TO GREAT AND SMALL NATIONS ALIKE"

29-13 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POTENT POINTS  
(SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- (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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**Wilson's Foreign Policy**




- Wilson was obsessed with establishing a new world order.
- He believed the US should promote democracy around the world in order to insure peace.
- Believed that all nations could work together to end war
- AND, a country's foreign policy decisions should be based on honesty and unselfishness...
- Events around the world, however, kept him from ever realizing his dream.

**Wilson's Fourteen Points**

PRINCIPLES:

1. Freedom of the Seas
2. Reduction of Arms
3. Open Treaty Negotiations
4. Self Determination of Peoples
5. League of Nations



29-13 WILSON'S FOURTEEN POTENT POINTS  
(SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- 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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**WILSON'S 14 POINTS**

President Wilson's **14 Points** were his ideas to **"end all war"**. These are a summary of his ideas for world peace. **Are they realistic or based on idealism?**

- Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.
- Freedom of the seas.
  - Free trade.
- Countries reduce colonies and weapons
- International control of colonies.....

➔

- Formation of new countries with self-government as a goal. (**Democracy**)
- **MOST IMPORTANT:** A "**league of nations**" to guarantee peace among nations. (**Collective Security**)



**US ENTRY INTO WWI**  
**Selective Service Act**

- May of 1917, President Wilson and Congress pass into legislation a draft or conscription.
- 21 to 30 yrs. and later extended to 40 yrs. of age.

**Contradiction?**

**US ENTRY INTO WWI**  
**1917 – Selective Service Act**

- 24,000,000 men registered for the draft by the end of 1918.
  - 2,810,296 drafted and served in WWI
- 3.7 million men served in WW1 (2,000,000 saw active combat)
  - Volunteers and draftees
- 400,000 African-Americans served in segregated units.
- 15,000 Native-Americans served as scouts, messengers, and snipers in non-segregated units.

**US ENTRY INTO WWI**

**First Call**  
I Need You in the Navy this Minute!  
Our Country will always be proudest of those who answered the **FIRST CALL**.

Navy Recruiting Stations:  
34 East 23rd Street New York      115 Flatbush Ave. Brooklyn

**US ENTRY INTO WWI**


**Financing the war:**

- Sale of war bonds.
- Liberty and victory loans raised \$21 billion.
- Raised income taxes



29-14 MANIPULATING MINDS AND STIFLING DISSENT (SLIDE 1 OF 5)


- **Committee on Public Information:**
  - Purpose—mobilize people's mind for war
  - Headed by young journalist, **George Creel**
  - His job to sell America on war and sell world on Wilsonian war aims
  - Employed 150,000 workers at home and abroad
    - Sent out **75,000 "four-minute men"** who delivered countless speeches containing much "patriotic pep"
  - Creel's propaganda took varied forms:
    - Posters splashed on billboards:
      - "Battle of the Fences"



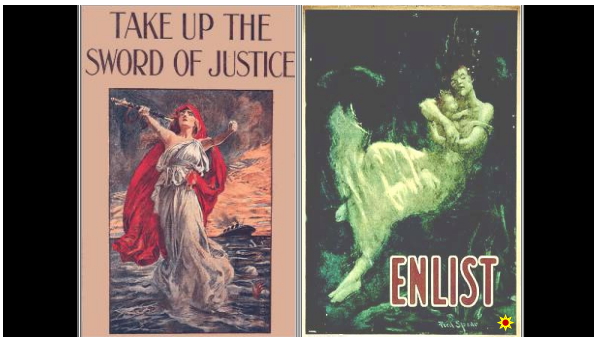
### US ENTRY INTO WWI

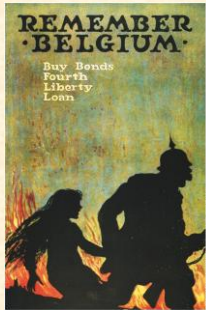
**Committee on Public Information**

- ✓ Creel Committee, headed by **George Creel**, told Americans what the war was about and to publicize the American aims.
- ✓ Propaganda posters to get Americans to support the war effort.



### Committee on Public Information





•9.10 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.

p675

29-14 MANIPULATING MINDS AND STIFLING DISSENT (SLIDE 2 OF 5)



- Millions of leaflets and pamphlets contained most pungent Wilson-isms
- Hang-the-Kaiser movies
- Songs poured scorn on enemy and glorified “boys” in uniform
- Extensive use of songs, esp. **George Cohan’s “Over There”**
- Creel typified American war mobilization:
  - Relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws
  - Oversold ideals of Wilson and led world to expect too much
  - Result was eventual disillusionment at home and abroad

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29-14 MANIPULATING MINDS AND STIFLING DISSENT (SLIDE 3 OF 5)

- **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”**

RENAMED GERMAN AND AMERICAN WORDS	
Original German Name	Renamed “Patriotic” Name
Hamburger	Salisbury steak, Liberty Steak, Liberty Sauerbrisk
Sauerkraut	Liberty Cabbage
Hamburg Avenue, NYC	Wilson Avenue, NYC
Germanatown, Nebraska	Garland Nebraska
East Germantown, Indiana	Pennings, Indiana
Spinn, Iowa	Lincoln, Iowa
Pinocchio	Liberty
German Sheppard	Alaskan Sheppard
Kaiser Street	Maine Way

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29-14 MANIPULATING MINDS AND STIFLING DISSENT (SLIDE 4 OF 5)

- **Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition 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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**National Security vs. Civil Liberties**

**Espionage Act – 1917**

- forbade actions that obstructed recruitment or efforts to promote insubordination in the military.
- ordered the Postmaster General to remove Leftist materials from the mail.
- fines of up to \$10,000 and/or up to 20 years in prison.

## US ENTRY INTO WWI

### Espionage & Sedition Act, 1918

- Provided for up to \$10,000 in fines and 20 years in prison for interfering with the war effort or using disloyal language.
  - *At least 1,597 persons were arrested, and 41 received prison sentences; newspapers criticizing the government lost mailing privileges.*
- Congress and President Wilson enacted this law to promote patriotism, nationalism and protect the National Security of the US during WWI.

congress action



## National Security vs. Civil Liberties

### Sedition Act – 1918

- It was a crime to speak against the purchase of war bonds or *willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language* about this form of US Govt.,
- the US Constitution, or the US armed forces or to *willfully urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production of things necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war...with intent of such curtailment to cripple or hinder, the US in the prosecution of the war.*
- *Have we seen actions like this before? – Think John Adams*



## 29-14 MANIPULATING MINDS AND STIFLING DISSENT (SLIDE 5 OF 5)

- In *Schenk v. United States* (1919):
  - Supreme Court affirmed legality of restrictions
    - Freedom of speech could be revoked when such speech posed “clear and present danger” to nation
  - Prosecutions formed ugly chapter in history of American civil liberty:
    - With peace—presidential pardons granted, including President Harding’s to Debs in 1921
    - A few victims remained in jail into 1930s

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## Schenk vs. United States, 1919



- In 1917 the United States was at War with Germany. WWI
- **Charles Schenk**, a member of the Socialist Party, handed out leaflets condemning the war and urging young men to resist the military draft.

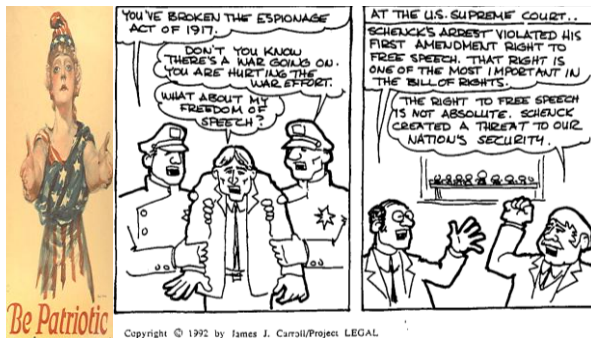
- He was arrested and convicted for violating the **Espionage and Sedition Act of 1917.**
- Schenk took his case to the United States Supreme Court arguing that his constitutional right to freedom of speech had been violated.

## Schenk vs. United States, 1919

### Issue

Can **“free speech”** be censored or restricted during war time?





## Schenk vs. United States, 1919

**SC ruling:** Disagreed with Schenk


### Majority opinion

**BUT**, every act of speech must be judged according to the circumstances in which it was spoken.

The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

*"Words can be weapons . . . The question in every case is whether the words used in such circumstances are of such nature as to create a **clear and present danger** that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has the right to prevent."*

## Schenk vs. United States, 1919



- Under **normal circumstances**, his actions would have been protected by 1<sup>st</sup> amendment
- The country was at war, Schenk's freedom of speech was not protected.
- SC ruling meant there were limits to freedom of speech in war time.
- From the ruling, the Court established the **"clear and present danger"** principle to decide whether or not certain kinds of speech are protected.

### 29-15 FORGING A WAR ECONOMY (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- 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:

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•29.12 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.

# Expansion of the Federal Government



29-15 FORGING A WAR ECONOMY  
(SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- **War Industries Board:**
  - March 1918; **Bernard Baruch** the head
  - Set precedent for federal government to take central role in economic planning in a crisis
- **Herbert Hoover headed Food Administration:**
  - Relied on voluntary compliance with propaganda, not compulsory edicts (i.e., ration cards)
  - Thanks to wartime spirit, Hoover's voluntary approach worked as farm production increased

**Council of National Defense**

- War Industries Board
  - Bernard Baruch
- Food Administration
  - Herbert Hoover
- Railroad Administration
  - William McAdoo
- National War Labor Board
  - William Howard Taft



**War Industries Board**

- **To build weapons for the war, US industry would undergo a massive change.**
- **From a peacetime industry to a war time industry.....**
- **Led by Bernard Baruch, the WIB set prices and determined what goods should be produced by private industry....**
- **US Govt. controlled the economy**
- **Contradiction?**



**War Industries Board**

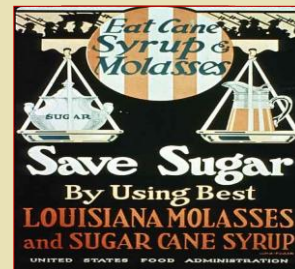


**US ENTRY INTO WWI**

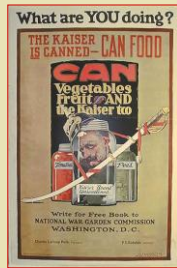
- **Food Administration:** Herbert Hoover heads effort to conserve food and boost agricultural output
- **US feeds the world from the farms and ranches in the Great Plains... "Bread basket of the World"**
  - Liberty and victory gardens
  - Meatless and wheatless days



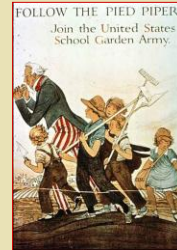
**U. S. Food Administration**



### National War Garden Commission



### U. S. School Garden Army



### U. S. Fuel Administration



### Results of This New Organization of the Economy

#### Is it a move towards socialism?

1. Unemployment virtually disappeared.
2. Expansion of "big government."
3. Excessive govt. regulations in eco.
4. Some gross mismanagement --> overlapping jurisdictions.
5. Close cooperation between public and private sectors.
6. Unprecedented opportunities for disadvantaged groups.



•29.13 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.

### SOCIAL JUSTICE



**18<sup>th</sup> Amendment: Prohibition (1919)**  
 Banned manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages

- Movement begins at the local, state levels and eventually effects the national level....
- WCTU or Women's Christian Temperance Union founded in 1874 in Cleveland, Ohio
- Frances Willard
- Carrie Nation
- Anna Howard Shaw
- Anti-Saloon League

29-15 FORGING A WAR ECONOMY (SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- Wartime restrictions on foodstuffs for alcohol accelerated wave of prohibition
- **1919: Eighteen 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



29-16 WORKERS IN WARTIME (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- **“Labor Will Win the War:”**
  - American workers sweated way to victory:
    - **Driven by War Department’s “work or fight” rule:**
      - Threatened any unemployed male with immediate draft; powerful discouragement to strike
    - Government tried to treat labor fairly
  - **Samuel Gompers and American Federation of Labor (AF of L)** loyally supported war:
    - Loyalty rewarded as membership doubled and real wages for many unionized workers rose more than 20%

29-16 WORKERS IN WARTIME (SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- Recognition of right to organize not won and workers hit by wartime inflation:
  - 6,000 strikes broke out in war years
  - **Industrial Workers of the World (“Wobblies”)** engineered damaging industrial sabotage because
    - Victims of shabbiest working conditions
  - **1919 greatest strike in U.S. history rocked steel industry as more than 250,000 struck:**
    - Wanted right to bargain collectively, but management refused to negotiate

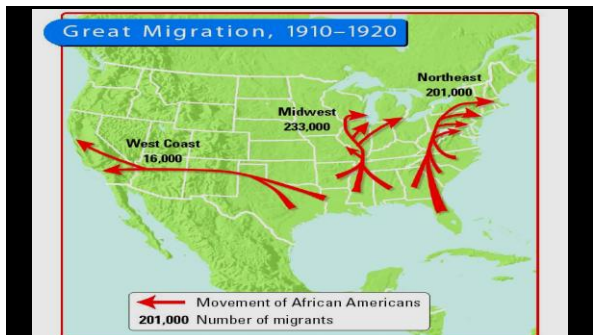


29-14 Suppressing the Steel Strike, Pittsburgh, 1919 The big steel producers ferociously resisted the unionization of their industry. In Pittsburgh compliant local officials bent to the steel makers’ will and banned all outdoor meetings. Here billy-club wielding police arrest a suspected striker. Such strong-arm tactics ensured that the strike eventually failed, leaving the steel industry un-unionized until the New Deal championed labor’s cause in the Depression decade of the 1930s.

29-16 WORKERS IN WARTIME (SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- Eventually steel strike collapsed after more than a dozen strikers killed
- Setback crippled union movement for more than a decade
- **Black workers entered steel mills in 1919**
- **Tens of thousands of southern blacks drawn to North to war-industry employment**
- **Interracial violence** resulted, esp. in Chicago in July 1919
  - 15 whites and 23 blacks killed during two weeks of terror





29-17 SUFFERING UNTIL SUFFRAGE (SLIDE 1 OF 4)

- 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

29-17 SUFFERING UNTIL SUFFRAGE (SLIDE 2 OF 4)

- 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)**

**19<sup>th</sup> Amendment:** Women's Suffrage (1920) Women won the right to vote....Called the "**Susan B. Anthony**" amendment.

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 descent only until 1930), 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

Table 29-3 p680

29-17 SUFFERING UNTIL SUFFRAGE (SLIDE 3 OF 4)

- 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

29-17 SUFFERING UNTIL SUFFRAGE  
(SLIDE 4 OF 4)

- Congress supported traditional role as mothers:
  - Passed **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act 1921**:
    - Provided federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care
    - Expanded responsibility of federal government for family welfare
- WWI foreshadowed future when women's wage-labor and political power would reshape American way of life

The Frem Collection/Getty Images

**We are ready to Work beside You, Fight beside You and Die beside You**  
*Let Us Vote beside You*  
**VOTE FOR**  
 Candidates for the legislature who stand for  
**WOMAN SUFFRAGE**

Women Working in Munition Factory

p693

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**29.16A 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.

29-18 MAKING PLOWBOYS INTO DOUGHBOYS (SLIDE 1 OF 3)

- 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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29-18 MAKING PLOWBOYS INTO DOUGHBOYS (SLIDE 2 OF 3)

- **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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29-18 MAKING PLOWBOYS INTO DOUGHBOYS (SLIDE 3 OF 3)

- 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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29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 1 OF 7)

- 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



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**RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**



**Vladimir Lenin**

VS



**Czar Nicholas**

**Czar Nicholas and the Romanov Family would be overthrown by Lenin who eventually would start the first Communist state.....**

**RUSSIAN REVOLUTION**



**CAUSES**

- Food and fuel shortages
- Striking workers
- Terrible loses in WWI
- Czar was a weak ruler
- Marxist (communist) propaganda spread by Lenin

**EFFECTS**

- King overthrown
- Russia pulls out of the war
- Russia becomes a communist country
- Germany sends Zimmerman Note to Mexico



•German offensive in the summer of 1918 to capture Paris, France and win the war.

•With the help of the U.S., the French and British were able to stop the German advance.

•Germans surrender and sign an armistice on Nov. 11, 1918 to end the war.

**29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 2 OF 7)**

- France:
  - Gradually began to bustle with U.S. doughboys (see Map 29.4):
  - First ones used for replacements or deployed in quiet sectors
  - American soldiers suffered high rates of venereal disease

Map 29.4 shows the Western Front from the English Channel to the Swiss border. It details the German spring offensive of 1918, the American offensive at Chateau-Thierry (July 18, 1918), the Second Battle of the Marne (June 18, 1918), and the final German advance (May 27, 1918). It also marks the armistice line of November 11, 1918, and the location of the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

**You kept fit and defeated the Hun**

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 ?

**29.17 Battling Venereal Disease** The American military waged a half-hearted war on rampant venereal disease.

Source: From John A. Lounsbury and Alan Lounsbury, *American Ballads and Folk Songs*, pp. 558-560. Reprinted by permission of Oldworld Productions, Inc.

**29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 3 OF 7)**

- 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

**29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 4 OF 7)**

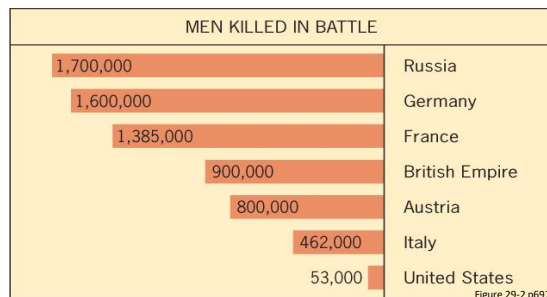
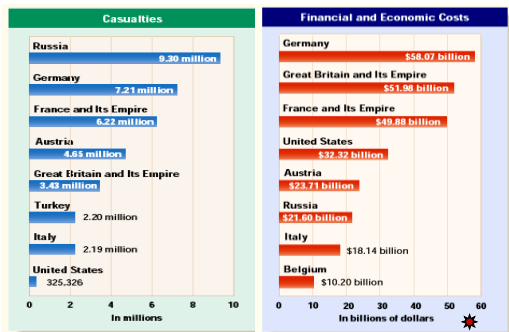
- Americans now demanded and got separate army
- General John J. Pershing assigned a front of 85 miles northwestward from Swiss border to French line:
  - Pershing's army undertook **Meuse-Argonne offensive**:
    - From September 26 to November 11, 1918
    - Battle lasted 47 days
    - Engaged 1.2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

29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 5 OF 7)

- 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 the 11th day of 11th month, 1918

29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 6 OF 7)

- 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



**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.

29-19 AMERICA HELPS HAMMER THE HUN (SLIDE 7 OF 7)

- 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



**29-19 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.

p698


**29-20 WILSON STEPS DOWN FROM OLYMPUS (SLIDE 1 OF 2)**

- 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

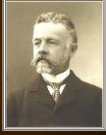
**29-20 WILSON STEPS DOWN FROM OLYMPUS (SLIDE 2 OF 2)**

- 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

## THE SHOWDOWN



**WILSON VS LODGE**



- President of Princeton
- Democrat
- Believed in the League of Nations as the only way to end all war
- Would only accept his ideas and not Congress's

- Graduate of Harvard
- Republican
- Believed League of Nations would take away Congress's power to declare war
- Made additions to the League of Nations, Wilson would not accept them



**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.

p696

**29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 1 OF 6)**

- 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

## TREATY OF VERSAILLES



- When President Wilson went to Paris, France, he was welcomed like he was a God.
- Countries were convinced that his 14 points could “end all war”.
- But, the hatred of the Allied nations led to the Treaty of Versailles to be a “Treaty of Revenge” against Germany.
- The Final provision was:
  - Would Morgan Wolfhart go to prom with Dustin Phan?
  - PS this is Dustin asking, not the actually treaty committee

## TREATY OF VERSAILLES

### BIG FOUR



### Wilson Forced to Compromise

- Although Wilson claimed that he was not interested in the spoils, or rewards, of war, his Allied colleagues were interested in making the Central Powers pay for war damages.
- Wilson was forced to compromise on his 14 Points so he could negotiate for the League of Nations.

David Lloyd George Great Britain	Vittorio Orlando Italy	George Clemenceau France	Woodrow Wilson U.S.
-------------------------------------	---------------------------	-----------------------------	------------------------

## WILSON'S 14 POINTS

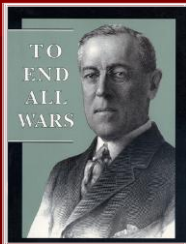
President Wilson's 14 Points were his ideas to “end all war”. These are a summary of his ideas for world peace. Are they realistic or based on idealism?

- Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.
- Freedom of the seas.
  - Free trade.
- Countries reduce colonies and weapons
- International control of colonies.....

➔

- Formation of new countries with self-government as a goal. (Democracy)
- A “league of nations” to guarantee peace among nations. (Collective Security)

## Wilson's Foreign Policy




- Wilson was obsessed with establishing a new world order.
- He believed the US should promote democracy around the world in order to insure peace.
- Believed that all nations could work together to end war
- AND, a country's foreign policy decisions should be based on honesty and unselfishness...
- Events around the world, however, kept him from ever realizing his dream.

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 2 OF 6)

- 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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## LEAGUE OF NATIONS



- ❖ One of Wilson's ideas, the formation of a League of Nations.
- ❖ The League of Nations was designed to bring the nations of the world together to ensure peace and security.
- ❖ Collective Security of larger nations to keep world peace.

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 3 OF 6)

- Clemenceau pressed Wilson with French demands for rich coal area of Saar Valley
  - France finally settled for compromise:
  - Saar Valley would remain under League for 15 years
  - Then popular vote would determine its fate
- Wilson's next battle with Italy over Fiume, a valuable seaport to Italy and Yugoslavia:
  - Wilson wanted Fiume to go to Yugoslavia and appealed over heads of Italian leaders
  - Maneuver fell flat

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 4 OF 6)

- 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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 5 OF 6)

- **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

### TREATY OF VERSAILLES

•Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.	Not included
•Freedom of the seas.	Not included
•Removal of tariff and other economic barriers or free trade.	Not included
•Reduction of land and weapons	Germany disarmed and forced to pay reparations of \$53 billion
•International control of colonies, with self-government as the goal.	Germany loses colonies were given to Allied victors.
•Self-determination of ethnic groups to decide in which country they wish to live.	New countries form democracies based on ethnic groups
•A "general association of nations" to guarantee peace and the independence of all nations.	League of Nations Organization of larger nations to maintain world peace

### WILSON'S 14 POINTS

President Wilson's **14 Points** were his ideas to **"end all war"**. These are a summary of his ideas for world peace. **Are they realistic or based on idealism?**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.</li> <li>•Freedom of the seas.                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Free trade.</li> </ul> </li> <li>•Countries reduce colonies and weapons</li> <li>•International control of colonies.....</li> </ul>	➔	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Formation of new countries with self-government as a goal. (<i>Democracy</i>)</li> <li>•<b>MOST IMPORTANT:</b> A "<b>league of nations</b>" to guarantee peace among nations. (<i>Collective Security</i>)</li> </ul>
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## TREATY OF VERSAILLES



REAR VIEW

- Wilson believed he could “end all war” with his 14 points for world peace.
- But, Allied countries had their own self-interest and agendas in mind.
- Wilson had to compromise most of his 14 points to get his “league of nations”

•Wilson warned Allies not to be too harsh on Germany because it could lead to future problems.

### 29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 6 OF 6)

- 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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### 29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 1 OF 9)

- 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

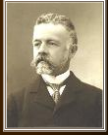
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## THE SHOWDOWN

### WILSON VS LODGE



•President of Princeton  
•Democrat



•Graduate of Harvard  
•Republican

- Believed in the League of Nations as the only way to end all war
- Would only accept his ideas and not Congress’s
- Believed League of Nations would take away Congress’s power to declare war
- Made additions to the League of Nations, Wilson would not accept them

### 29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 2 OF 9)

- 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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•29-21 Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and the Badly Battered Versailles Treaty Led by Massachusetts Senator Lodge, powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, traditional isolationists refused to ratify the treaty, burying Woodrow Wilson's visionary dream of ending America's aloofness from world affairs.

p700

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 3 OF 9)



- 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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 4 OF 9)

- 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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 5 OF 9)

- 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



29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 6 OF 9)

- 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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS (SLIDE 7 OF 9)

- **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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS  
(SLIDE 8 OF 9)

- 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

29-21 AN IDEALIST AMID THE IMPERIALISTS  
(SLIDE 9 OF 9)

- 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

**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**  
**ARTICLE 10**

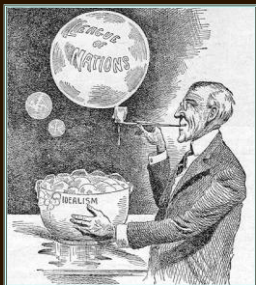
*The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.*

**Problems Senator Lodge Had With LON**

- Power of Congress to declare war
- Get US involved in a war with no self-interest
- How would it effect the Monroe Doctrine Policy?
- Will the LON guarantee a just and lasting peace?
- Goes against our policy of no “foreign alliances”



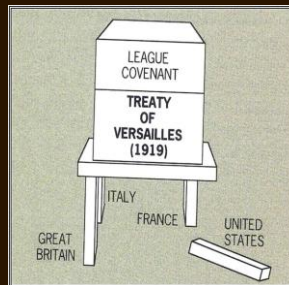
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**



- Was Wilson’s League of Nations and his belief in “ending all war” based on idealism or reality?
- Could the world eliminate war?



**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**



- Without the assistance of the of the United States the League of Nations was doomed to failure.



## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Afghanistan—1934	Albania—1920 (taken over by Italy in 1939)	Argentina	Austria (taken over by Germany in 1938)	Belgium	Bolivia	Brazil (withdrew, 1926)	Bulgaria—1920	Canada	Chile (withdrew, 1938)	China	Colombia	Costa Rica—1920, withdrew, 1925	Cuba	Czechoslovakia	Denmark	Dominican Republic—1924	Ecuador—1934	Egypt—1927	El Salvador (withdrew, 1937)	Estonia—1921	Ethiopia—1923	Finland—1920	France	Germany—1926, withdrew, 1933	Greece	Guatemala (withdrew, 1936)	Haiti (withdrew, 1942)	Honduras, (withdrew, 1936)	Hungary—1922, withdrew, 1939	India	Iraq—1923	Ireland—1923	Italy (withdrew, 1937)	Japan (withdrew, 1933)	Latvia—1921	Liberia	Lithuania—1921	Luxembourg—1920	Mexico—1930	Netherlands	New Zealand	Nicaragua (withdrew, 1936)	Norway	Panama	Paraguay (withdrew, 1936)	Persia	Peru (withdrew, 1939)	Poland	Portugal	Romania (withdrew, 1940)	Siam	Spain (withdrew, 1939)	Sweden	Switzerland	Turkey—1932	Union of South Africa	USSR—1934, expelled, 1939	United Kingdom	Uruguay	Venezuela (withdrew, 1938)	Yugoslavia
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## POSTWAR ADJUSTMENTS

- Return to a peacetime industry and economy
- War boosted American economy and industry.
- United States became a world power, largest creditor and wealthy nation.
- Soldiers were hero's but found that jobs were scarce.
  - African American soldiers, despite their service returned to find continued discrimination.
- The Lost Generation of men who were killed in WWI.
  - US returned to **neutrality** and **isolation**.
- Did not accept the responsibility of a world power that President Wilson believed the US should take on.

### 29-23 THE "SOLEMN REFERENDUM" OF 1920 (SLIDE 1 OF 4)

- "Solemn Referendum"—Wilson's solution to deadlock Treaty was to decide issue in presidential campaign of 1920
  - **Republicans** gathered in Chicago, June:
    - Senate bosses decided on **Senator Warren G. Harding, Ohio** as candidate
    - For vice-president nominated **Calvin ("Silent Cal") Coolidge** of Massachusetts



### 29-23 THE "SOLEMN REFERENDUM" OF 1920 (SLIDE 2 OF 4)

- **Democrats** meet in San Francisco:
  - Nominated **Governor James M. Cox of Ohio**:
    - Strong supporter of League
    - **Running mate Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt**
  - Democrats attempted to make election a referendum on League
  - Effort muddled by contradictory statements by Harding



### 29-23 THE "SOLEMN REFERENDUM" OF 1920 (SLIDE 3 OF 4)

- Election returns:
  - Newly enfranchised women swelled vote totals
  - Harding had prodigious plurality of over seven million votes—16,143,407 to 9,130,328 for Cox
  - Largest victory margin to date in presidential election
  - Electoral count was 404 to 127
  - Debs, federal prisoner #9653 at Atlanta Penitentiary rolled up largest Socialist vote ever with 919,799



