Chapter 30

The War to End War, 1917–1918
I. War by Act of Germany

– President asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships

– **Zimmermann note:**
  • Intercepted and published on March 1, 1917
  • Secretly proposed a German-Mexican alliance by German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman
  • Tempting anti-Yankee Mexico with promises of recovering Texas, New Mexico, Arizona

– The long-dreaded “overt” act in the Atlantic:
  • German U-boats sank four unarmed American merchant vessels first two weeks of March, 1917.
I. War by Act of Germany (cont.)

- News of a revolution in Russia that toppled the cruel regime of the tsars
  - America could now fight foursquare for democracy on the Allies' side, without Russian despotism in the Allied fold
- Wilson, before a joint session of Congress on April 2, 1917, asked for a declaration of war:
  - American commerce had been galling but endurable
  - Germany had resorted to mass killing of civilians
  - Wilson had drawn a clear line against the depredations of the submarine
- In a figurative sense, America’s war declaration on April 6, 1917 bore the unambiguous trademark “Made in Germany.”
PRESIDENT CALLS FOR WAR DECLARATION, STRONGER NAVY, NEW ARMY OF 500,000 MEN, FULL CO-OPERATION WITH GERMANY’S FOES

Text of the President’s Address

MUST EXERT ALL OUR POWER
To Bring a “Government That Is Running Amuck to Terms.”
II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

• Shattering one of the most sacred traditions:
  – By entangling Americans in a distant European war
    • For more than a century, Americans prided themselves on their isolationism
    • Since 1914 their pride had been reinforced by the bountiful profits gained through neutrality
    • Six senators, fifty representatives (including the first congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, of Montana) voted against the war resolution
    • Wilson could whip up no enthusiasm by calling on the nation to fight to make the world safe for democracy.
II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

– Wilson would need to proclaim more glorified aims:
  
  • The supremely ambitious goal of a crusade “to make the world safe for democracy”
  
  • Wilson virtually hypnotized the nation with his lofty ideals
  
  • He contrasted the selfish war aims of the other belligerents with America’s shining altruism
  
  • He preached America did not fight for the sake of riches or territorial conquest
  
  • The Republic sought to shape an international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of power-crazed autocrats and militarists.
II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- Wilsonian idealism:
  - The personality of the president and the necessities of history were perfectly matched
  - He believed that the modern world could not afford the hyper-destructive war advanced by industrial states
  - Wilson’s vision was prophetic:
    - Americans could be either isolationists or crusaders,
    - But nothing in between.
II. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- His appeal worked—perhaps too well
- Holding the torch of idealism:
  - The president fired up the public mind to a fever pitch
  - Lost on the gale was Wilson’s earlier plea for “peace without victory.”
III. Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points

• Wilson was soon recognized as the moral leader of the Allied cause:
  – On January 8, 1918, he delivered to the Congress his famed Fourteen Points:
    • (1) a proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries
    • (2) freedom of the seas appealed to the Germans, and the Americans who distrusted British sea power
    • (3) a removal of economic barriers among nations that had been the goal of liberal internationalists everywhere
III. Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points (cont.)

- (4) a reduction of armament burdens was gratifying to taxpayers in all countries
- (5) an adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of both native peoples and the colonizers was reassuring to the anti-imperialists.

- Wilson’s pronouncement about colonies was potentially revolutionary:
  - It helped to delegitimize the old empires
  - Opened the road to eventual national independence for millions of “subject people”
III. Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points (cont.)

– Other points proved to be no less seductive:
  • The hope of independence ("self-determination") to oppressed minority groups

– Capstone point (number fourteen):
  • Foreshadowed the League of Nations:
    – An international organization that would provide a system of collective security
    – He hope that this scheme would effectively guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of all countries whether large or small
    – Was not applauded everywhere
IV. Creel Manipulates Minds

– **Committee on Public Information:**
  - Purpose—to mobilize the people’s mind for war
  - Headed by a young journalist, George Creel
  - His job to sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims
  - The organization:
    - Employed 150,000 workers at home and abroad
    - Sent out an army of 75,000 “four-minute men”
      » Who delivered countless speeches containing much “patriotic pep.”
IV. Creel Manipulates Minds (cont.)

• Creel’s propaganda took varied forms:
  – Posters were splashed on billboards:
    » “Battle of the Fences”
  – Millions of leaflets and pamphlets contained the most pungent Wilsonisms
  – Propaganda booklets with red-white-blue covers were printed by the millions
  – Hang-the-kaiser movies
  – Arm-waving conductors of songs that poured scorn on the enemy and glorified the “boys” in uniform.
  – Creel typified American war mobilization:
    » Relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws
    » Oversold the ideals of Wilson and led the world to expect too much.
REMEMBER
BELGIUM

Buy Bonds
Fourth
Liberty
Loan
ENLIST

On Which Side of the Window are YOU?

LAURA Brey

COPYRIGHTED 1917Geo. F. Griffin, Chicago, I11.

NATIONAL PRINTING & ENG. CO., CHICAGO, I11.
V. Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

– German Americans—over 8 million:
  • Most proved to be dependably loyal to the United States
  • Some were tarred, feathered, and beaten
  • Hysterical hatred of Germans and things Germanic swept the nation
  • Orchestras found it unsafe to present German-composed music
  • German books were removed from library shelves
  • German classes were canceled
  • Sauerkraut became “liberty cabbage”
  • Hamburger, “liberty steak”
V. Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- The **Espionage Act** of 1917 and the **Sedition Act** of 1918:
  - Reflected current fears about Germans and antiwar Americans
  - 19,000 prosecutions of antiwar Socialists and members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW):
    - Kingpin Socialist Eugene V. Debs was convicted and sentenced to ten years in a federal penitentiary
    - IWW leader William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood and 99 associates were convicted.
V. Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

– Virtually any criticism of the government could be censored and punished.

• In *Schenk v. United States* (1919):
  – The Supreme Court affirmed their legality
    • Arguing that freedom of speech could be revoked
    • When such speech posed a “clear and present danger” to the nation.
  – These prosecutions form an ugly chapter in the history of American civil liberty:
    • The dawn of peace—presidential pardons were granted, including President Harding’s to Debs in 1921.
VI. The Nation’s Factories Go to War

– Wilson backed preparedness measures:
  • The creation of a civilian Council of National Defense to study problems of economic mobilization
  • Launched a shipbuilding program
  • Endorsed a modest beefing-up of the army.

– Obstacles confronted by economic mobilizers:
  • Sheer ignorance was among the biggest roadblocks
    – No one knew precisely how much steel or explosive powder the country was capable of producing
  • Old ideas proved to be liabilities:
    – Traditional fear of big government to orchestrate the economy from Washington.
VI. The Nation’s Factories Go to War (cont.)

– Democrats and businesspeople balked at federal economic controls.

• Wilson eventually succeeded in imposing some order on the economic confusion:
  – War Industries Board:
    • March 1918; Bernard Baruch the head
    • It set a precedent for the federal government to take a central role in the economic planning in crisis
    • Disbanded days before the armistice:
      – Americans returned to their laissez-faire
      – And a weak central government.
VII. Workers in Wartime

• “Labor Will Win the War:”
  – American workers sweated their way to victory:
    • Driven by the War Department’s “work or fight” rule:
      – Threatening any unemployed male with immediate draft; powerful discouragement to go on strike
      – Government tried to treat labor fairly.
  – The National War Labor Board:
    • Headed by former president Taft
    • Exerted itself to head off labor disputes that might hinder the war effort
    • Pressed employers to grant concessions to labor: high wages, eight-hour day
VII. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

- Stopped short of a government guarantee of the right to organize into unions.

  - Samuel Gompers and his American Federation of Labor (AF of L) loyally supported the war:

    - The Industrial Workers of the World did not:

      - Known as the “Wobblies;” engineered the most damaging industrial sabotage
      - The Wobblies were victims of the shabbiest working conditions
      - When they protested, they were viciously beaten, arrested, or run out of town.

- Mainstream labor’s loyalty was rewarded.
VII. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

• The long struggle for the union movement:
  – Recognition of the right to organize was not won:
    – 6,000 strikes broke out in the war years
    – In 1919 the greatest strike in American history rocked the steel industry
      » Eventually the steel strike collapsed
      » A grievous setback that crippled the union movement for more than a decade

• Black workers entered the steel mills in 1919:
  – Ten of thousands of southern blacks were drawn to the North in wartime to war-industry employment
  – Riots and gangs resulted
VIII. Suffering Until Suffrage

• Women also heeded the call of patriotism and opportunity:
  – Thousands entered the factories and fields left by men going to the frontline
  – War split the women’s movement deeply:
    • Many progressive-era feminists were pacifists
      – Found a voice in the National Woman’s party
      – Led by Quaker activist Alice Paul
      – Demonstrated against “Kaiser Wilson” with marches and hunger strikes:
VIII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

• Larger part of the suffrage movement:
  – Represented by the National American Woman Suffrage Association
  – Supported Wilson’s war
  – Argued that women must take part in the war effort to earn a role in shaping peace
  – The fight for democracy abroad was women’s best hope for winning true democracy at home.

• War mobilization gave new momentum to the suffrage fight:
  – Wilson endorsed woman suffrage as “a vitally necessary war measure”
  – In 1917 New York voted for suffrage at the state level:
  – Followed by Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota; the United States followed suit.
VIII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

— The Nineteenth Amendment (1920):
  • Was ratified 70 years after the first call for suffrage at Seneca Falls:
  • It gave all American women the right to vote (see Appendix and Table 30.1)

— Women’s wartime economic gains were fleeting:
  • A permanent Women’s Bureau in the Department of Labor to protect women in the workplace
  • Most women workers gave up their war jobs
  • Congress supported the traditional role as mothers:
    — When it passed the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act 1921:
      » Provided federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care.
VIII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

– This act expanded the responsibility of the federal government for family welfare.

• Feminists continued to press for more laws to protect women in the workplace and prohibit child labor

• The developments of the World War I era foreshadowed a future when
  – Women’s wage-labor, political power would reshape the American way of life.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nation(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Australia (white women only until Aborigines included in 1962)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>Denmark, Iceland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Austria, Canada (women of British and French extraction only until 1950), Germany, Hungary, Poland, Russian Federation, United Kingdom (only women who were married, householders, or university graduates age 30 or over until 1928)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Netherlands, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>United States, Czechoslovakia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Mongolia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>South Africa (whites only until 1994), Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Spain (but women lost the vote under the dictator Francisco Franco, 1936–1976)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Brazil, Cuba</td>
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<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>France</td>
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<td>1945</td>
<td>Italy, Japan</td>
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<td>1946</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>Argentina, Mexico, Pakistan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Israel, South Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>China, Syrian Arab Republic</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Haiti, India</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Greece, Lebanon</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Afghanistan (revoked under Taliban rule, 1996–2001)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
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<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30.1: A Chronology of Women’s Right to Vote in National Elections in Selected Nations
The Woman's Hour has Struck

WOMAN SUFFRAGE is COMING
IX. Forging a War Economy

– Government took greater command of the nation’s resources to secure an Allied victory:

  • Food Administration headed by Quaker-humanitarian Herbert C. Hoover
    – A hero because of his successfully-led massive charitable drive to feed the starving people of war-racked Belgium
    – Preferred to rely on voluntary compliance rather than on compulsory edicts
    – Deliberately rejected issuing ration cards
    – Waged a whirlwind propaganda campaign through posters, billboards, newspapers, pulpits, and movies
    – To save food for export, he proclaimed wheatless Wednesdays and meatless Tuesdays—all on a voluntary basis.
IX. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

– The country broke out in a rash of vegetable “victory gardens”

• Congress restricted:
  – The use of foodstuffs for manufacturing alcohol beverages
  – The war-spawned spirit of self-denial accelerated the wave of prohibition
  – Led to the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in 1919 prohibiting all alcoholic drinks

– Success of Hoover’s voluntary approach:
  • Farm production increased 25%
  • Food exports to the Allies tripled in volume
IX. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

• Hoover’s methods were widely imitated in other war agencies:
  – The Fuel Administration:
    • “heatless Monday,” “lightless nights,” “gasless Sundays.”
  – The Treasury Department:
    • Sponsored huge parades, slogans “Halt the Hun” to promote four great Liberty Loan drives,
    • Followed by a Victory Loan campaign in 1919
    • $21 billion was raised with the remaining coming from taxes—obligatory.
    • The ultimate bill was $112 billion.
IX. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

• Pressure was used to sell the bonds.
• Wilson’s administration’s preference was:
  – For voluntary means to mobilize the economy
  – Over the course of the war the federal government expanded in size and power
  – War Industries Board:
    • Issued production quotas,
    • Allocated raw materials,
    • Set prices for government purchase,
    • Time was controlled after orders to observe day-light saving time to extend the workday/save on fuel.
X. Making Plowboys into Doughboys

• America’s early role in the war:
  – Did not dream of sending a force to France
  – Used its navy to uphold freedom of the seas
  – Supply loans money at total of $10 billion

• By April/May 1917 Europeans were:
  – Scraping the bottom of their money chests
  – Also scraping their manpower barrels.

• A huge American army needed to be raised, trained, and transported or the whole western front would collapse.
X. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

– Conscription was the answer:
  • Wilson disliked the draft
  • He eventually accepted and supported conscription as a disagreeable and temporary necessity
  • Immediately ran into problems with the Congress, later grudgingly passed conscription:
    – Required all man between 18 and 45 to register
    – No “draft dodger” could purchase his exemption or hire a substitute
      » Did exempt men in key industries—shipbuilding
    – The draft worked effectively on the whole
    – Some 337,000 “slackers” escaped the draft
    – Some 4,000 conscientious objectors were excused.
X. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

- The army grew to over 4 million men.
- First time for women admitted to the armed forces
  - 11,000 to the navy and 269 to the marines.
- Africans Americans also served in strictly segregated unions and under white officers.
- Military authorities hesitated to train blacks for combat
  - Thus many were assigned to “construction battalions” or put to work unloading ships.
- Recruits were to receive six months of training in America and two more overseas.
- So great was the urgency that many doughboys were swept swiftly into battle.
XI. Fighting in France—Belatedly

• Russia:
  – Collapse after Bolsheviks seized power in 1917
    • Ultimately withdrew from the “capitalistic war” 1918
    • This released Germans from the eastern front—Russia, for the western front—France.

• Germany:
  – Counted on knocking out Britain in six months,
    • After resuming submarine warfare and before America could get into the struggle
    • American tardiness didn’t help
XI. Fighting in France—Belatedly (cont.)

• France:
  – Gradually began to bustle with American doughboys (see Map 30.1):
    • First ones used for replacements
    • Some deployed in the quiet sectors
    • Newcomers made friends with the French girls
    • American soldiers suffered from high rates of venereal disease.
  – American operations were not confined solely to France:
    • Small detachments fought in Belgium, Italy and notably in Russia.
XI. Fighting in France—Belatedly (cont.)

• Contributed 5,000 troops to an Allied invasion of northern Russia at Archangel
  – To keep stores of munitions from falling to the Germans when Bolshevik Russia quit fighting

• Wilson sent 10,000 troops to Siberia, included 70,000 Japanese

  – Major American purposes:
    • To prevent Japan from getting a stranglehold on Siberia
    • To rescue some 45,000 marooned Czechoslovak troops
    • To snatch military supplies from Bolshevik control.
XI. Fighting in France—Belatedly (cont.)

• Fighting at Archangel and Siberia:
  • Involved casualties on both sides, including several hundred Americas
  • The Bolsheviks long resented these “capitalistic” interventions—
    – They regarded as high-handed efforts to suffocate their infant communist revolution in its cradle.
You kept fit and defeated the Hun

Now—set a high standard
A
CLEAN
AMERICA

STAMP OUT VENEREAL DISEASES—
XII. America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

– German drive of 1918:
  • Allies united under French marshal Foch—“To make war is to attack.”
    – Allies had been fighting imperfectly coordinated actions
    – Germans smashing to within 40 miles of Paris, May 1918
    – American with 30,000 troops landed at Chateau-Thierry, right in the teeth of the German advance
    – Historical moment—the first significant engagement of American troops in a European war
    – American weight was now being felt on both sides (see Figure 30.1)
    – Keyed-up American men participated in a Foch counter-offensive in the Second Battle of the Marine.
XII. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

– This engagement marked the beginning of a German withdrawal
– September 1919 nine American divisions (about 243,000) joined four French divisions to push back the Germans.
– The Americans were now demanding a separate army

• General John J. (“Black Jack”) Pershing assigned a front of 85 miles northwestward from the Swiss border to the French line:
  – Pershing’s army undertook the **Meuse-Argonne offensive:**
    » From September 26 to November 11, 1918
    » To cut the German railroad lines feed the western front
    » Battle lasted 47 days, engaged 1.2 million American troops
XII. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

» Killed or wounded mounted 120,000 or 10% of the Americans involved

» Alvin C. York, member of an antiwar religious sect, killed 20 German and captured 132 more

» Victory was in sight.
Oh, landlord, have you a daughter fair, parley-voo?
Oh, landlord, have you a daughter fair, parley-voo?
Oh, landlord, have you a daughter fair, parley-voo?

To wash a soldier's underwear?

Hinky-dinky, parley-voo?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Men Killed in Battle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>1,700,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1,600,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1,385,000</td>
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<td>British Empire</td>
<td>900,000</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>462,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>53,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XIII. The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

• Berlin was ready to hoist the white flag:
  – Looked to Wilson in October 1918-seeking a peace based on his Fourteen Points:
    • The kaiser must be thrown overboard before an armistice could be negotiated
      – War-weary Germans took the hint
      – The kaiser fled to Holland lived for 23 years—“unwept, unhonored, and unhung.”
  – The Germans were through:
    • Laid down their arms at 11:00 on the 11th day of the 11th month, 1918.
XIII. The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany (cont.)

• The cost exceeded comprehension:
  – 9 million soldiers had died
  – 20 million suffered grievous wounds
  – 30 million people perished in a worldwide influenza pandemic in 1918-1919
  – 550,000 Americans—more than ten times the number of U.S. combat casualties—died from the flu.

• The U.S.’s main contributions to the ultimate victory:
  – Foodstuffs, munitions, credits
  – Oil for this first mechanized war
  – And manpower, but not battlefield victories
  – Yanks found only two major battles—at St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne, both in the last two months of the four-year war, and were still fighting when the war ended.
XIII. The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany (cont.)

• It was the prospect of endless U.S. troop reserves, rather than America’s actual military performances, that eventually demoralized the Germans.

• General Pershing:
  – Depended more on the Allies than they depended on him
  – His army purchased more supplies in Europe than shipping it from the United States
  – Fewer than 500 artillery were of American make
  – Virtually all aircraft provided by Britain and France
  – Britain and France transported a majority of doughboys to Europe
  – The United States was no arsenal of democracy in this war.
VELL, IT DIDN'T PAY

NOT THIS TIME
XIV. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

• Wilson’s role in shaping peace?
  • The American president towered at the peak of his popularity and power:
    – No other man had ever occupied so dizzy a pinnacle as moral leader of the world
    – He had the prestige of victory and the economic resources of the mightiest nation on earth
    – At this moment, his sureness of touch deserted him, and he began to make a series of tragic fumbles.
    – He called for a Democratic congressional victory in the election of November, 1918
      » Backfired, voters returned a narrow Republican majority to Congress
      » Wilson went to Paris as a diminished leader.
XIV. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus (cont.)

– Wilson’s trip infuriated the Republicans:
  • At that time no president had traveled to Europe
  • Looked to his critics like flamboyant grandstanding
  • Snubbed the Senate in assembling his peace delegation
  • Neglected to include a single Republican senator in his official party
  • Local choice would have been the new chairman of the Senate Committee of Foreign Relations:
    – Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts
    – Wilson loathed him, and the feeling was reciprocated
    – The two men were at daggers drawn, personally and politically.
XV. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

- Wilson received tumultuous welcomes:
  - From masses of France, England, Italy
  - Saw his idealism promise of a better world
  - Paris Conference (January 18, 1919):
    - In the hands of the Big Four: Wilson, Premier Vittorio Orlando—Italy, Prime Minister David Lloyd George—Britain, Premier Georges Clemenceau—France
    - **League Of Nations:** Wilson’s ultimate goal of a world parliament
    - Wanted to prevent the vengeful parceling out of the former colonies and protectorates of vanquished powers
XV. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

• Less attentive to the fate of colonies belonging to the victorious French and English
• Victors would receive the conquered territory as trustees of the League of Nations
  – Some saw this as prewar colonialism
  – The future—anticolonial independence movements would wield the Wilsonian ideal of self-determination against their imperial occupiers.
• Envisioned the League as an assembly seat for all nations
• Council controlled by the great powers
• A signal victory—when the diplomats made the League an integral part of the final peace treaty.
XVI. Hammering Out the Treaty

– Wilson had to make a quick trip to America:
  • Certain Republicans were sharpening their knives for Wilson
  • Known as *irreconcilables* or “the Battalion of Death”
    – 39 Republican senators or senators-elect; enough to defeat the treaty
    – Proclaimed they would not approve the League of Nations in its existing imperfect form
    – Now Wilson would have to beg them for changes in the covenant

– Wilson back in Europe:
  – Clemenceau pressed French demands for the German-inhabited Rhineland and the rich coal area of the Saar Valley.
XVI. Hammering Out the Treaty (cont.)

– France settled for a compromise:
  » Saar Valley would remain under the League for 15 years
  » Then a popular vote would determine its fate
  » France dropped its demands for the Rhineland

• France received the Security Treaty:
  – Both Britain and America pledged to come to aid if there was another German invasion
  – However, France felt betrayed when the Senate pigeonholed the Pact—shied away from all entangling alliances.

• Wilson’s next battle was with Italy
  – Over Fiume, a valuable seaport to Italy and Yugoslavia
  – Wilson wanted Fiume to go to Yugoslavia and appealed over the heads of the Italian leaders
  – The maneuver fell flat.
XVI. Hammering Out the Treaty (cont.)

- Wilson’s third battle:
  - Was with Japan over China’s Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula and the German island in the Pacific
  - Japan was conceded the Pacific Islands under a League of Nations mandate
  - Wilson strongly opposed Japanese control of Shandong as a » Violation of self-determination for its 30 million Chinese
  - Again Wilson reluctantly accepted a compromise:
    » Japan kept Germany’s economic holdings in Shandong
    » Pledge to return the peninsula to China at a later date
    » Chinese outraged by this imperialistic solution.
XVII. The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

• Treaty of Versailles:
  – Handed to the Germans in June 1919:
    • Germany was excluded from the settlement at Paris
    • Had hope they would be granted a peace based on the Fourteen Points
    • Only four of the original 23 points were honored
    • Vengeance, not reconciliation, was the treaty’s dominant tone
    • Loud and bitter cries of betrayal burst from the Germans
    • Charges that Adolf Hitler would later use.
XVII. The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War (cont.)

• Wilson was guilty of no conscious charges:
  – He had to compromise to save the League of Nations:
  – Later reactions to Wilson:
    • He was now a fallen idol
    • Condemned by disillusioned liberals and frustrated imperialists
    • He hoped that the League of Nations would iron out the inequities
XVII. The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War (cont.)

• The treaty had much to commend it:
  – Its liberation of millions of minority people
  – Almost certainly a fairer one because Wilson had gone to Paris
XVIII. The Domestic Parade of Prejudice

• Returning to America, Wilson sailed straight into a political typhoon:
  – Isolationists protested the treaty
    • Especially Wilson’s commitment to usher the U.S. into his newfangled League of Nations
  – Critics showered the Treaty of Versailles
    • For the Hun-haters the pact was not harsh enough
    • Liberals thought it too harsh—a gross betrayal
    • “Hyphenated Americans” were aroused because the peace settlement was not sufficiently favorable to their native lands
XVIII. The Domestic Parade of Prejudice (cont.)

• Irish Americans denounced the League:
  – They felt that with the additional votes of the five overseas British dominions, it gave Britain undue influence
  – They feared it could be used to force the United States to crush any rising for Irish independence.
  – Crowds of Irish American zealots hissed and booed Wilson’s name.
IF ANY MAN CAN SHOW JUST CAUSE,
WHY THEY MAY NOT LAWFULLY BE
JOINED TOGETHER,
LET HIM NOW SPEAK.
XIX. Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

• Wilson had reason to feel optimistic:
  – A strong majority of the people favored it
  – July 1919, Lodge had no real hope of defeating it
    • He wanted only to amend it
    • To “Americanize,” “Republicanize,” or “senatorialize” it
    • The Republicans could then claim political credit for the changes
    • He read the entire 264-page treaty along in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and held protracted hearings
XIX. Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (cont.)

• Wilson’s responses:
  – Decided to take his case to the country:
    • In a spectacular speechmaking tour
    • Would appeal over the heads of the Senate to the sovereign people—as he had often in the past
    • Tour undertaken at the protests of physicians and friends
    • His frail body began to sag:
      – Under the strain of partisan strife
      – A global war
      – A stressful peace conference
XIX. Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (cont.)

– Tour began September 1919:
  • Off to a rather lame start
  • The Midwest received him lukewarmly—partly because of the strong German American influence
  • Behind him came two “irreconcilable” senators, Borah and Johnson, speaking later in the same cities
  • Crowds responded with “Impeach him, impeach him”
  • Rocky Mountain region and Pacific Coast welcomed him with heart-warming outbursts
  • The high point—and the breaking point—of the return trip was at Pueblo, Colorado, Sept. 25, 1919.
XIX. Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (cont.)

- With tears coursing down his cheeks, pleaded for the League of Nations as the only hope of preventing future wars

- That night he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion
  - He was whisked back to Washington in the “funeral train”
  - Where several days later he suffered a stroke
  - He laid in a darkened room in the White House for several weeks
  - For more than seven months, he did not meet with his cabinet.
XX. Defeat Through Deadlock

• Senator Lodge was now at the helm:
  – Amended the treaty with fourteen reservations:
    • Reserved the rights of the United States under the Monroe Doctrine and Constitution
    • To protect American sovereignty
    • Alarmed by Article X of the League:
      – Because it *morally* bound the US to aid any member victimized by external aggression
      – A jealous Congress wanted to reserve for itself the constitutional war-declaring power
XX. Defeat Through Deadlock (cont.)

– Wilson was strong enough to obstruct:
  • He sent word to all true Democrats to vote against the treaty with the odious Lodge reservations
  • Wilson hoped that when these were cleared away, the path would be opened for ratification
  • Loyal Democrats in the Senate, November 19, 1919, did Wilson’s bidding
  • Combining with the “irreconcilables”, they rejected the treaty with the Lodge reservations; appended 55 to 39.

– The nation was too deeply shocked to accept the verdict as final.
XX. Defeat Through Deadlock (cont.)

- In March 1920 the treaty was brought up again, with the Lodge reservations attached.
- Wilson again sent word to the loyal Democrats to vote down the treaty with the obnoxious reservations.
- He thus signed the death warrant of the treaty as far as Americans were concerned.
- On March 19, 1920, the treaty netted a simple majority but failed to get the necessary two-thirds majority by a count of 49 yeas to 35 nays.
XX. Defeat Through Deadlock (cont.)

• Who defeated the treaty?:
  – The Lodge-Wilson personal feud, traditionalism, isolationism, disillusionment, and partisanship all contributed
  – Wilson must bear a substantial share of the responsibility
    • He asked for all or nothing—and got nothing
XXI. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

• “Solemn Referendum”—
  – Wilson’s solution to the deadlock Treaty:
    • The presidential campaign of 1920
    • Republicans gathered in Chicago, June 1920:
      – An appeal to both the pro-League and anti-League sentiment
      – The nominee would run in a teeter-totter rather than a platform
      – Decided Senator Warren G. Harding, Ohio as candidate
      – For vice-president nominated Calvin (“Silent Cal”) Coolidge of Massachusetts
XXI. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920 (cont.)

– Democrats meet in San Francisco:

• Nominated Governor James M. Cox of Ohio:
  – Strong supporter of the League

• Running mate Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt

• Democrats attempted to make the campaign a referendum on the League
  – Was muddled by Senator Harding
  – Pro-League and anti-League Republicans that Harding’s election would advance their cause
  – While the candidate suggested that if elected he would work for a vague Association of Nations—a league but not the League.
XXI. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920 (cont.)

– Election returns:
  • Newly enfranchised women swelled the vote totals:
  • Harding had a prodigious plurality of over 7 million votes—16,143,407 to 9,130,328 for Cox
  • The largest victory margin to that date in a presidential election
  • Electoral count was 404 to 127.
  • Eugene V. Debs, federal prisoner (9653) as the Atlantic Penitentiary rolled up the largest left-wing Socialist party—919,799.
XXI. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1912 (cont.)

• Public desire:
  – For a change in a resounding repudiation of “high-and-mighty” Wilsonism
  – People were eager to go back to “normalcy”:
    • Willing to accept a second-rate president—
    • But got a third-rate one.
    • Harding’s victory was a death sentence for the League
    • Politicians increasingly shunned the League as they would a leper
  – When he died in 1924—his “great vision” of a league for peace had perished long before.
XXII. The Betrayal of Great Expectations

– America’s spurning of the League was tragically short-sighted:

• The Republic had helped to win a war, but it foolishly kicked the fruits of victory under the table.
• The League was undercut by the refusal of the mightiest power on the globe to join it
• Ultimate failure lay at America’s door-step
• It was designed, along with four other peace treaties, to rest upon the United States
XXII. The Betrayal of Great Expectations (cont.)

• The French:
  – The Senate spurned the Security Treaty with France:
    • France undertook to build a powerful military force
    • Thus Germany began to rearm illegally
    • The seething cauldron of uncertainty and suspicion brewed a future war situation.
  – The United States hurt its own cause:
    • When it buried its head in the sand
      – U.S. should have assumed its war-born responsibilities and resolutely embraced the role of global leader
      – It should have used its strength to shape world events.
## CHRONOLOGY

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