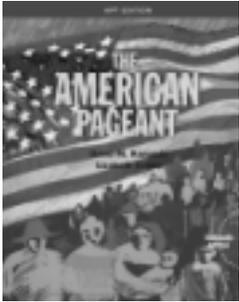


Chapter 29
Wilsonian
Progressivism in
Peace and War,
1913–1920

Presented by:
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I. Wilson: The Idealist in Politics

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



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

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

II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff

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

II. Wilson Tackles the Tariff (cont.)

- When bill challenged in Senate by lobbyists:
 - Wilson issued message to public urging them to hold their elected representatives in line
 - Public opinion worked; in 1913 Senate approved bill Wilson wanted
 - Provided for a substantial reduction of import fees
 - Landmark in tax legislation:
 - Using recent 16th 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

III. Wilson Battles the Bankers

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

III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

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

III. Wilson Battles the Bankers (cont.)

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

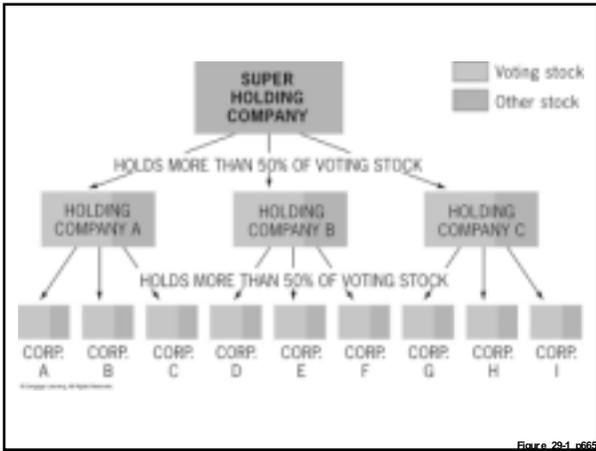
IV. The President Tames the Trusts

- 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



IV. The President Tames the Trusts (cont.)

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



V. Wilson at the Peak

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

V. Wilson at the Peak (cont.)

- 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)

V. Wilson at the Peak (cont.)

- **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

VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy

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

VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

- 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

VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

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



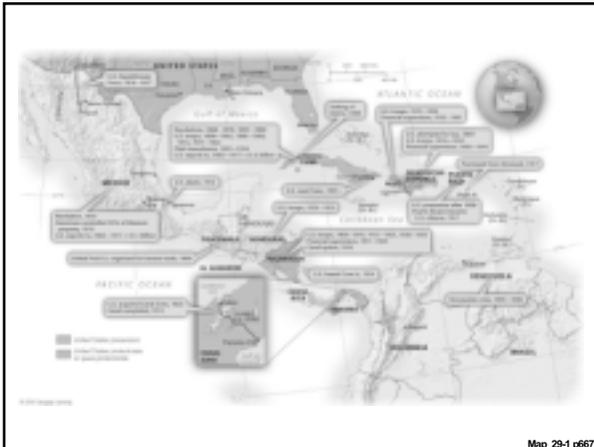
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VI. New Directions in Foreign Policy (cont.)

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

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico

- 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



VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- 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



VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- **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

VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

- 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 archival, 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



VII. Moralistic Diplomacy in Mexico (cont.)

– General John J. (“Black Jack”) Pershing ordered to break up bandit band

- His hastily organized force of several thousand mounted troops penetrated deep into Mexico
- Clashed with Carranza's forces
- Mauled Villistas but missed capturing Villa
- As tensions with Germany mounted, Wilson withdrew Pershing from Mexico in January 1917

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea

- 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

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea
(cont.)

- 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

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea
(cont.)

- 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)

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea
(cont.)

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

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

Country of Origin	Foreign-Born	Natives with Two Foreign-Born Parents	Natives with One Foreign-Born Parent	Total
Central Powers				
Germany	2,507,331	3,071,847	1,888,390	6,288,417
Austria-Hungary	1,676,529	969,129	101,133	2,795,796
Other Powers				
Great Britain	1,219,968	851,619	1,118,474	3,211,063
Ireland*	1,832,155	2,141,377	1,079,628	4,996,940
Russia	1,733,427	948,216	79,938	2,752,583
Italy	1,343,079	495,187	48,110	2,086,380
TOTAL (See all foreign countries, including Mexican-born)	12,345,540	12,895,211	5,287,326	32,240,222
Percentage of total U.S. population (91,272,286)	14.0	14.0	6.0	34.0

*Includes men and women independent of race or color of their fathers.

Table 29.1, p.669

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- 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

IX. America Earns Blood Money

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

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	\$1,526,885,182	257%
France	158,818,024	368,197,172	628,811,598	395
Italy*	74,235,012	184,879,688	289,346,185	389
Germany	344,794,276	28,863,354	288,899	0.88

*Italy joined the Allies in April 1915.

Table 29.2, p.670

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

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

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

– 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





IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- 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”



IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- 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*

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- 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

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- 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



X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916

- 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

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

- 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”

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

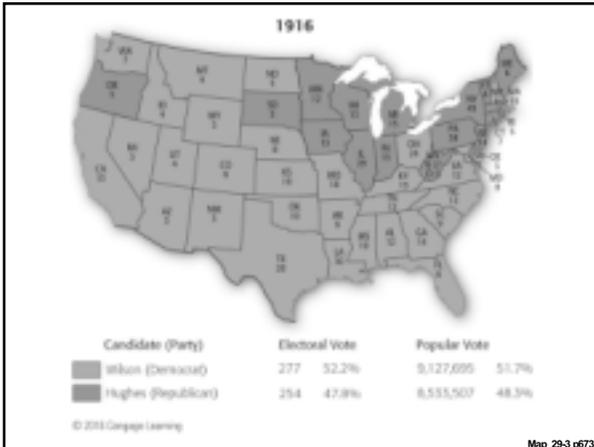
- On election day:
 - Hughes swept East
 - Wilson went to bed prepared to accept defeat but rest of nation turned tide:
 - Midwestern and westerners, attracted by Wilson's progressive reforms and antiwar policies, flocked to him
 - Final result, in doubt for several days, hinged on California which Wilson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

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

- 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

XI. War by Act of Germany

- 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



XI. War by Act of Germany (cont.)

- 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

XI. War by Act of Germany (cont.)

- 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"



XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

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

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- 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

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- Wilsonian idealism:
 - Personality of president and necessities of history perfectly matched
 - He believed modern world could not afford hyper-destructive war used by industrial states
 - Probably no other argument could have worked to arouse Americans to unprecedented burden:
 - Americans could be either isolationists or crusaders, nothing in between

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- 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”

XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

- Wilson soon recognized as moral leader of Allied cause
 - On January 8, 1918, he delivered to Congress famed **Fourteen Points**:
 - (1) proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries
 - (2) freedom of seas appealed to Germans and Americans who distrusted British sea power
 - (3) removal of economic barriers among nations had been goal of liberal internationalists everywhere

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

- (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"

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

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

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent

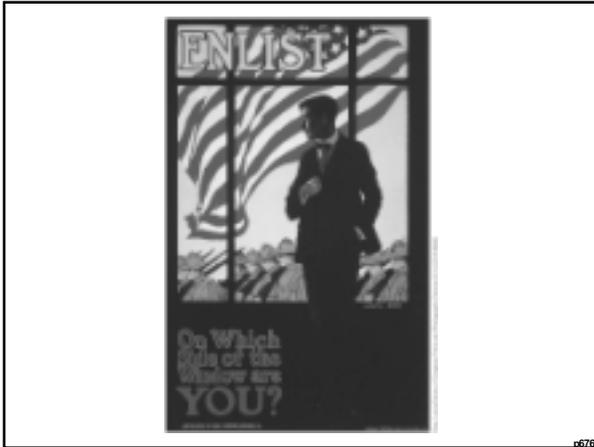
– Committee on Public Information:

- 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”



XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- 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



XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- 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"

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- **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

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- 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

XV. Forging a War Economy

- Wilson belatedly backed preparedness measures
- Big obstacles confronted economic mobilizers:
 - Sheer ignorance among biggest roadblocks
 - No one knew precisely how much steel or explosive powder country capable of producing
 - Old ideas proved to be liabilities:
 - Traditional fear of big government hamstrung effort to orchestrate economy from Washington
 - Largely voluntary character of economic war organization
- Wilson eventually succeeded in imposing some order on economic confusion:



XV. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

- **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



XV. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

- Wartime restrictions on foodstuffs for alcohol accelerated wave of prohibition
- 1919: Eighteenth Amendment banned alcohol
- Wilson expanded federal government in size and power to meet needs of war:
 - WIB set production quotas
 - Allocated raw materials
 - Set prices for government purchases

XVI. Workers in Wartime

- “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%



XVI. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

- 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

XVI. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

- 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



XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage

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

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- Larger part of suffrage movement:
 - Represented by National American Woman Suffrage Association
 - Supported Wilson's war
 - Argued women must take part in war effort to earn role in shaping peace
 - Fight for democracy abroad was women's best hope for winning true democracy at home
- War mobilization gave new momentum to suffrage fight:
 - Wilson endorsed suffrage as "vital necessary war measure"
 - In 1917 New York voted for suffrage at state level
 - Followed by Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota
 - Whole U.S.A. followed with **Nineteenth Amendment** (1920)

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- 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

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- 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

Year	Event
1914	Outbreak of World War I
1915	Armed neutrality act
1916	Proclamation of neutrality
1917	Declaration of war on Germany
1918	Armistice
1919	Treaty of Versailles
1920	League of Nations
1921	Return to neutrality
1930	Neutrality Act
1937	Neutrality Act
1941	Attack on Pearl Harbor
1945	End of World War II
1948	Marshall Plan
1950	Korean War
1954	Neutrality Act
1964	Civil Rights Act
1968	Vietnam War
1973	End of Vietnam War
1975	Paris Peace Accords
1980	Iranian Revolution
1981	AIDS
1989	End of Cold War
1991	Gulf War
1993	Clinton
1994	NATO
1997	Clinton
1998	Clinton
1999	Clinton
2001	9/11
2002	Afghanistan
2003	Iraq
2008	Financial Crisis
2009	Obama
2011	Obama
2012	Obama
2013	Obama
2014	Obama
2015	Obama
2016	Trump
2017	Trump
2018	Trump
2019	Trump
2020	COVID-19
2021	Biden
2022	Biden
2023	Biden
2024	Biden

Table 29-3, p.680

XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys

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

XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

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

XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

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

XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

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





XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

- American soldiers suffered high rates of venereal disease





XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

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



XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

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

XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

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

XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

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





XIX. America Helps Hammer the “Hun” (cont.)

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



XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

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

XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus (cont.)

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

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

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



XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- Victors received conquered territory (Syria to France, Iraq to England) as trustees of League of Nations
 - Basically prewar colonialism
 - In future, anticolonial nationalists would wield Wilsonian ideal of self-determination against imperial occupiers
- Wilson envisioned League as a world parliament:
 - An assembly seat for all nations
 - Council controlled by great powers
- Signal victory—when diplomats made League integral part of final peace treaty

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- 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

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

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

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- **Treaty of Versailles** handed to Germans in June 1919:
 - Had been excluded from negotiations in Paris
 - Hoped for peace based on Fourteen Points
 - Vengeance, not reconciliation, was treaty's dominant tone
 - Loud and bitter cries of betrayal burst from Germans
 - Charges Adolf Hitler would later use

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- 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

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification

- Returning to America, Wilson sailed straight into political typhoon
 - Isolationists protested treaty:
 - Especially Wilson's commitment to usher U.S. into new League of Nations
 - Senators Williams Borah (Idaho), Hiram Johnson (California) and others were **irreconcilables**
 - Rejected any "entangling" alliance

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

- 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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- In March 1920 treaty brought up again with Lodge reservations tacked on
- Wilson again sent word to loyal Democrats to vote down treaty with obnoxious reservations
- He thus signed death warrant of treaty as far as Americans were concerned
- On March 19, 1920, treaty netted simple majority but failed to get necessary two-thirds majority by count of 49 yeas to 35 nays

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

- 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

XXIII. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

- “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

XXIII. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920 (cont.)

- 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

XXIII. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920 (cont.)

- 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

XXIII. The “Solemn Referendum” of 1912 (cont.)

- Public desire for change resulted in repudiation of “high-and-mighty” Wilsonism
 - People eager to go back to “normalcy”:
 - Willing to accept second-rate president—
 - Got third-rate one
 - Harding’s victory death sentence for League
 - Politicians increasingly shunned League as a leper
 - When Wilson died in 1924—his “great vision” of league for peace had perished long before

XXIV. The Betrayal of Great Expectations

– America's spurning of League short-sighted:

- Republic had helped to win war, but foolishly kicked fruits of victory under table
- League undercut by refusal of mightiest power on globe to join it
- Ultimate failure lay at America's door-step
- League designed, along with four other peace treaties, to rest upon United States

XXIV. The Betrayal of Great Expectations (cont.)

– Senate spurned Security Treaty with France:

- France then undertook to build powerful military
- Thus Germany began to rearm illegally

– United States hurt its own cause when it buried its head in sand

- U.S. should have assumed war-born responsibilities and embraced role of global leader
- Should have used its strength to shape world events

CHRONOLOGY	
1913	Underwood Tariff Act Sixteenth Amendment (income tax) Federal Reserve Act Harris takes power in Mexico
1914	Clayton-Knox Anti-Trust Act Federal Trade Commission established U.S. enters part of Veracruz, Mexico World War I begins in Europe
1915	La Follette Seaman's Act Condition suggested and sunk by German U-boat Germany declares submarine war area around British Isles
1916	Neutrality Act U.S. exports to European belligerents prohibited Workmen's Compensation Act Federal Home Loan Act Warrenton Act Admission Act Pancho Villa raids New Mexico Roosevelt appointed to Supreme Court Harris Act Wilson elects Hughes for presidency
1917	Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare Zimmerman note Espionage Act of 1917 Wilson calls for "peace without victory" Bolshevik Revolution
1918	Wilson proposes Fourteen Points Sedition Act of 1918 Battle of Chateau-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 loss and collapse Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition of alcohol) passed First Senate debate of Versailles Treaty
1920	Final Senate debate of Versailles Treaty after reconsideration Nineteenth Amendment (women suffrage) passed Harding defeats Cox for presidency
