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## The War to End War, 1917-1918

### PART I: Reviewing the Chapter

#### A. Checklist of Learning Objectives

After mastering this chapter, you should be able to

1. explain what caused America to enter World War I.
2. describe how Wilsonian idealism turned the war into an ideological crusade that inspired fervor and overwhelmed dissent.
3. discuss the mobilization of America for war.
4. explain the consequences of World War I for labor, women, and African-Americans.
5. describe America's economic and military role in the war.
6. analyze Wilson's attempt to forge a peace based on his Fourteen Points and explain why developments at home and abroad forced him to compromise.
7. discuss the opposition of Lodge and others to Wilson's League and show how Wilson's refusal to compromise doomed the Treaty of Versailles.

#### B. Glossary

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms.

1. **isolationism** In American diplomacy, the traditional belief that the United States should refrain from involvement in overseas politics, alliances, or wars, and confine its national security interest to its own borders (sometimes along with the Caribbean and Central America). **Internationalism** or **Wilsonianism** is the contrasting belief that America's national security requires involvement and sometimes diplomatic or military alliances overseas. "But their obstruction was a powerful reminder of the continuing strength of American isolationism." (p. 706)
2. **collective security** In international affairs, reliance on a group of nations or an international organization as protection against aggressors, rather than on national self-defense alone. "... an international organization that Wilson dreamed would provide a system of collective security." (p. 707)
3. **mobilization** The organization of a nation and its armed forces for war. "Creel typified American war mobilization. . . ." (p. 708)
4. **pardon** The official release of a person from punishment for a crime. "... presidential pardons were rather freely granted. . . ." (p. 709)
5. **ration** A fixed allowance of food or other scarce commodity. "He deliberately rejected issuing ration cards. . . ." (p. 713)
6. **conscientious objector** A person who refuses to participate in war on grounds of conscience or belief. "... about 4,000 conscientious objectors were excused." (p. 715)
7. **Bolshevik** The radical majority faction of the Russian Socialist party that seized power in the October 1917 revolution; they later took the name *Communist*. (Bolshevik is the Russian word

- for “majority,” their rivals for power were **Mensheviks**, or minority.) “The Bolsheviks long resented these ‘capitalistic’ interventions. . . .” (p. 716)
8. **salient** A portion of a battle line that extends forward into enemy territory. “. . . nine American divisions . . . joined four French divisions to push the Germans from the St. Mihiel salient. . . .” (p. 717)
  9. **parliamentary** Concerning political systems in which the government is constituted from the controlling party’s members in the legislative assembly. “Unlike all the parliamentary statesmen at the table, [Wilson] did not command a legislative majority at home.” (p. 719)
  10. **protectorate** In international affairs, a weaker or smaller country held to be under the guidance or protection of a major power; the arrangement is a weaker form of imperialism or colonialism. (A **colony** is a territory owned outright by a more powerful nation.) “. . . preventing any vengeful parceling out of the former colonies and protectorates of the vanquished powers.” (p. 720)
  11. **trustee** A nation that holds the territory of a former colony as the conditional agent of an international body under defined terms. “The victors would . . . receive the conquered territory . . . only as trustees of the League of Nations.” (p. 720)
  12. **mandate** Under the League of Nations (1919–1939), a specific commission that authorized a trustee to administer a former colonial territory. “Japan was conceded the strategic Pacific islands under a League of Nations mandate. . . .” (p. 720)
  13. **self-determination** The Wilsonian doctrine that each people should have the right to freely choose its own political affiliation and national future, e.g., independence or incorporation into another nation. “Faced with fierce Wilsonian opposition to this violation of self-determination. . . .” (p. 721)
  14. **reservation** A portion of a deed, contract, or treaty that places conditions or restrictions on the general obligations. “. . . he finally came up with fourteen formal reservations. . . .” (p. 723)
  15. **demagogue** A politician who arouses fervor by appealing to the lowest emotions of a mass audience, such as fear, hatred, and greed. “. . . a debacle that played into the hands of the German demagogue Adolf Hitler.” (p. 725)

## PART II: Checking Your Progress

### A. True-False

Where the statement is true, mark **T**. Where it is false, mark **F**, and correct it in the space immediately below.

- \_\_\_ 1. Germany responded to Wilson’s call for “peace without victory” by proposing a temporary armistice.
- \_\_\_ 2. Wilson’s proclamation of the war as a crusade to end all war and spread democracy around the world inspired intense ideological enthusiasm among Americans.
- \_\_\_ 3. Among Wilson’s Fourteen Points were freedom of the seas, national self-determination for minorities, and an international organization to secure peace.
- \_\_\_ 4. The Committee on Public Information used an aroused American patriotism more than formal laws and censorship to promote the war cause.
- \_\_\_ 5. The primary targets of prosecution under the Espionage and Sedition Acts were German and Austrian agents in the United States.
- \_\_\_ 6. Even during the war mobilization, Americans were extremely reluctant to grant the federal government extensive powers over the economy.

- \_\_\_ 7. Despite bitter and sometimes violent strikes, American labor made economic and organizational gains as a result of World War I.
- \_\_\_ 8. War-inspired black migration into northern cities led to major racial riots in 1917–1919.
- \_\_\_ 9. The passage of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women's suffrage guaranteed the permanence of women's wartime economic gains.
- \_\_\_ 10. American troops actually played only a small role in the Allies' final victory.
- \_\_\_ 11. Before he would negotiate an armistice, President Wilson insisted that the Germans overthrow Kaiser Wilhelm II.
- \_\_\_ 12. Wilson's skillful handling of Republican political opposition strengthened his hand at the Paris Peace Conference.
- \_\_\_ 13. Other Allied leaders forced Wilson to make serious compromises in his Fourteen Points in order to keep the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles.
- \_\_\_ 14. Wilson's unwillingness to compromise and accept Republican reservations to the Treaty of Versailles sent the whole treaty down to defeat.
- \_\_\_ 15. In the election of 1920, Republican Harding supported the League of Nations while Democrat Cox tried to evade the issue.

## B. Multiple Choice

Select the best answer and write the proper letter in the space provided.

- \_\_\_ 1. The immediate cause of American entry into World War I was
  - a. German support for a possible Mexican invasion of the southwestern United States.
  - b. Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.
  - c. the German defeat of France.
  - d. desire of American munitions makers for large profits.
- \_\_\_ 2. Wilson aroused the somewhat divided American people to fervent support of the war by
  - a. seizing control of the means of communication and demanding national unity.
  - b. declaring the German people to be immoral Huns and barbarians.
  - c. proclaiming an ideological war to end war and make the world safe for democracy.
  - d. proclaiming the war a religious crusade.
- \_\_\_ 3. The capstone "Fourteenth Point" of Wilson's declaration of war aims called for
  - a. the establishment of parliamentary democracies throughout Europe.
  - b. guarantees of basic human rights for all people in the world.
  - c. an international organization to guarantee collective security.
  - d. freedom of travel without restrictions.

- \_\_\_ 4. The purpose of George Creel's Committee on Public Information was
- to develop information on American wartime industrial production.
  - to whip up public support for the war and promote anti-German propaganda.
  - to develop counterintelligence information on German spies and saboteurs in the United States.
  - to recruit volunteers for the armed forces.
- \_\_\_ 5. The two key laws aimed at enforcing loyalty and suppressing antiwar dissent were
- the War Mobilization Act and the National Defense Act.
  - the Selective Service Act and the Public Information Act.
  - the Eighteenth Amendment and the Anti-German Language Act.
  - the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act.
- \_\_\_ 6. Among the primary victims of the prowar propaganda campaign to enforce loyalty were
- German-Americans and socialists.
  - Russian-Americans and communists.
  - Mexican-Americans and immigrants.
  - African-Americans and feminists.
- \_\_\_ 7. Among the political changes the war helped bring about was
- a constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote.
  - a law granting labor unions the right to strike.
  - a constitutional amendment guaranteeing African-Americans the right to travel freely.
  - a constitutional amendment prohibiting child labor.
- \_\_\_ 8. Particularly violent strikes erupted during and after World War I in the
- shipping and railroad industries.
  - mining and steel industries.
  - textile and clothing manufacturing industries.
  - factories employing women war workers.
- \_\_\_ 9. During World War I, African-American military men served primarily in
- segregated, non-combat support units.
  - the navy and the coast guard.
  - the most dangerous trenches in northern France.
  - in northern cities where their presence did not threaten the system of segregation.
- \_\_\_ 10. A major difference between the World War I Selective Service Act and the Civil War draft was that
- in World War I women as well as men were drafted.
  - in World War I it was not possible to purchase an exemption or to hire a substitute.
  - in World War I draftees were sent immediately into front line combat.
  - in World War I draftees received the same training as professional soldiers.
- \_\_\_ 11. American soldiers were especially needed in France in the spring of 1918 because
- the Allied invasion of Germany was faltering short of its goal.
  - Britain had moved many of its soldiers from the western front to Russia.
  - a renewed German offensive was threatening to break through to Paris.
  - the Russians were threatening to enter the war on the Germans' side.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Most of the military supplies for General Pershing's expeditionary force came from
- America's European allies.
  - factories in the United States.
  - captured German matériel.
  - Britain's colonies in Africa.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. Wilson blundered when choosing the American peace delegation by failing to
- have a set of clear diplomatic goals.
  - include any Republicans in the delegation.
  - consult with his key Allies, Britain and France.
  - include experts who would understand the intricate politics of Europe.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. The European powers and Japan weakened Wilson at the peace conference by
- refusing to support his proposed League of Nations.
  - supporting the Republicans who were criticizing Wilson at home.
  - demanding continuing American aid and involvement in European affairs.
  - forcing him to compromise his ideals on matters of self-determination and punishment of Germany.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Wilson bore considerable responsibility for the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations because
- he linked the League too closely to European politics.
  - he ordered Democratic senators to defeat the pro-League treaty with the Lodge reservations.
  - he failed to take the case for the League to the American public.
  - he had agreed that America would pay most of the cost of the League.

### C. Identification

Supply the correct identification for each numbered description.

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. Wilson's appeal to all the belligerents in January 1917, just before the Germans resumed submarine warfare
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Message that contained a German proposal to Mexico for an anti-American alliance
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Wilson's idealistic statement of American war aims in January 1918 that inspired the Allies and demoralized their enemies
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. American government propaganda agency that aroused zeal for Wilson's ideals and whipped up hatred for the kaiser
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Radical antiwar labor union whose members were prosecuted under the Espionage and Sedition Act
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Weak federal agency designed to organize and coordinate U.S. industrial production for the war effort
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. Constitutional provision endorsed by Wilson as a war measure whose ratification achieved a long-sought goal for American women
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Treasury Department bond-selling drives that raised about \$21 billion to finance the American war effort

- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. The nations that dominated the Paris Peace Conference—namely, Britain, France, Italy, and the United States
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. Wilson's proposed international body that constituted the key provision of the Versailles treaty
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Controversial peace agreement that compromised many of Wilson's Fourteen Points but retained his League
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. Senatorial committee whose chairman used delaying tactics and hostile testimony to develop opposition to Wilson's treaty and League of Nations
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. A hard core of isolationist senators who bitterly opposed any sort of league; also called the "Battalion of Death"
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Amendments to the proposed Treaty of Versailles, sponsored by Wilson's hated senatorial opponent, that attempted to guarantee America's sovereign rights in relation to the League of Nations
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. Wilson's belief that the presidential election of 1920 should constitute a direct popular vote on the League of Nations

#### D. Matching People, Places, and Events

Match the person, place, or event in the left column with the proper description in the right column by inserting the correct letter on the blank line.

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| _____ 1. George Creel              | A. Inspirational leader of the Western world in wartime who later stumbled as a peacemaker                                    |
| _____ 2. Eugene V. Debs            | B. Senatorial leader of the isolationist "irreconcilables" who absolutely opposed all American involvement in Europe.         |
| _____ 3. Bernard Baruch            | C. Climactic final battle of World War I  |
| _____ 4. Herbert Hoover            | D. The "tiger" of France, whose drive for security forced Wilson to compromise at Versailles                                  |
| _____ 5. John J. Pershing          | E. Head of the American propaganda agency that mobilized public opinion for World War I                                       |
| _____ 6. Alice Paul                | F. Folksy Ohio senator whose 1920 presidential victory ended the last hopes for U.S. participation in the League of Nations   |
| _____ 7. Meuse-Argonne             | G. Hated leader of America's enemy in World War I   |
| _____ 8. Kaiser Wilhelm II         | H. Head of the Food Administration who pioneered successful voluntary mobilization methods                                    |
| _____ 9. Woodrow Wilson            | I. Leader of the pacifist National Women's Party who opposed U.S. involvement in World War I                                  |
| _____ 10. Henry Cabot Lodge        | J. Site where state police killed 39 striking miners and their families in 1917   |
| _____ 11. Georges Clemenceau       | K. Commander of the overseas American Expeditionary Force in World War I  |
| _____ 12. William Borah            | L. Site of one of the largest World War I-era race riots.   |
| _____ 13. Ludlow, Colorado         | M. Wilson's great senatorial antagonist who fought to keep America out of the League of Nations                               |
| _____ 14. East St. Louis, Illinois | N. Head of the War Industries Board, which attempted to impose some order on U.S. war production                              |
| _____ 15. Warren G. Harding        | O. Socialist leader who won nearly a million votes as a presidential candidate while in federal prison for antiwar activities |

**E. Putting Things in Order**

Put the following events in correct order by numbering them from 1 to 5.

- \_\_\_ Germany's resumption of submarine warfare forces the United States onto a declaration of war.
- \_\_\_ The Senate's final defeat of the Versailles treaty and a Republican election victory end Wilson's last hopes for American entry into the League of Nations.
- \_\_\_ The United States takes the first hesitant steps toward preparedness in the event of war.
- \_\_\_ The effectiveness of American combat troops in crucial battles helps bring about an Allied victory in World War I.
- \_\_\_ Wilson struggles with other Allied leaders in Paris to hammer out a peace treaty and organize the postwar world.

**F. Matching Cause and Effect**

Match the historical cause in the left column with the proper effect in the right column by writing the correct letter on the blank line.

Cause	Effect
___ 1. Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare	A. Led to major racial violence in Chicago and East St. Louis, Illinois
___ 2. Wilson's Fourteen Points	B. Forced Democrats to vote against a modified treaty and killed American participation in the League of Nations
___ 3. The wartime atmosphere of emotional patriotism and fear	C. Stopped the final German offensive and turned the tide toward Allied victory
___ 4. Women's labor in wartime factories	D. Allowed domestic disillusionment and opposition to the treaty and League to build strength
___ 5. The migration of African-Americans to northern cities	E. Finally pushed the United States into World War I
___ 6. American troops' entry into combat in the spring and summer of 1918	F. Weakened the president's position during the peacemaking process
___ 7. Wilson's political blunders in the fall of 1918	G. Caused harsh attacks on German-Americans and other Americans who opposed the war
___ 8. The strong diplomatic demands of France, Italy, and Japan	H. Lifted Allied and American spirits and demoralized Germany and its allies
___ 9. Senator Lodge's tactics of delaying and proposing reservations in the Versailles treaty	I. Forced Wilson to compromise his Fourteen Points in order to keep the League as part of the peace treaty
___ 10. Wilson's refusal to accept any reservations supported by Lodge	J. Helped pass the Nineteenth Amendment but did not really change society's emphasis on the maternal role

## G. Developing Historical Skills

### Analyzing Visual Propaganda

This exercise involves analyzing visual propaganda designed to make emotional appeals on behalf of a cause. In this case, the propaganda was designed to enlist the American public's support for the war effort against Germany. The kinds of propaganda used on behalf of a cause can tell the historian a great deal about what issues were perceived to be at stake and what public values were being appealed to.

Answer the following questions about the cartoons and drawings in this chapter.

1. *Anti-German Propaganda* (p. 708): How do the words and image of this poster work together to persuade an American audience to buy liberty loans? Besides the specific message, what general portrait of Germany, the war, and America's reasons for fighting are conveyed?
2. *A Universal Draft, 1917*: How do the visual and verbal symbols in this cartoon convey the combination of invitation and threat implied in the War Department's 1918 wartime manpower rules? How would you characterize the depiction of "Uncle Sam's" mood here?
3. *Food for Thought* (p. 713): How does this poster visually make the connection between the patriotic war effort and gardens? What specific words or phrases create the link between women's food-growing effort and military service on fields of combat? What specific appeal is this image making to women?



### PART III: Applying What You Have Learned

1. What caused American entry into World War I, and how did Wilson turn the war into an ideological crusade?
2. Did World War I substantially alter American society and culture (e.g., ethnic, class, gender, and race relations), or were its effects primarily an “affair of the mind,” i.e., altering American ideas and world views?
3. What was America’s military and ideological contribution to the Allied victory?
4. How were the goals of the war presented to the American public? What does the text mean when it says that the war and Wilson’s ideals may have been “oversold?” (p. 708)
5. How was Wilson forced to compromise during the peace negotiations, and why did America in the end refuse to ratify the treaty and join the League of Nations?
6. Apart from such immediate factors as the Lodge-Wilson antagonism, what general features of earlier American history worked against American involvement in European affairs and participation in the League of Nations?