

The Artios Home Companion Series

Unit 15: A World at War

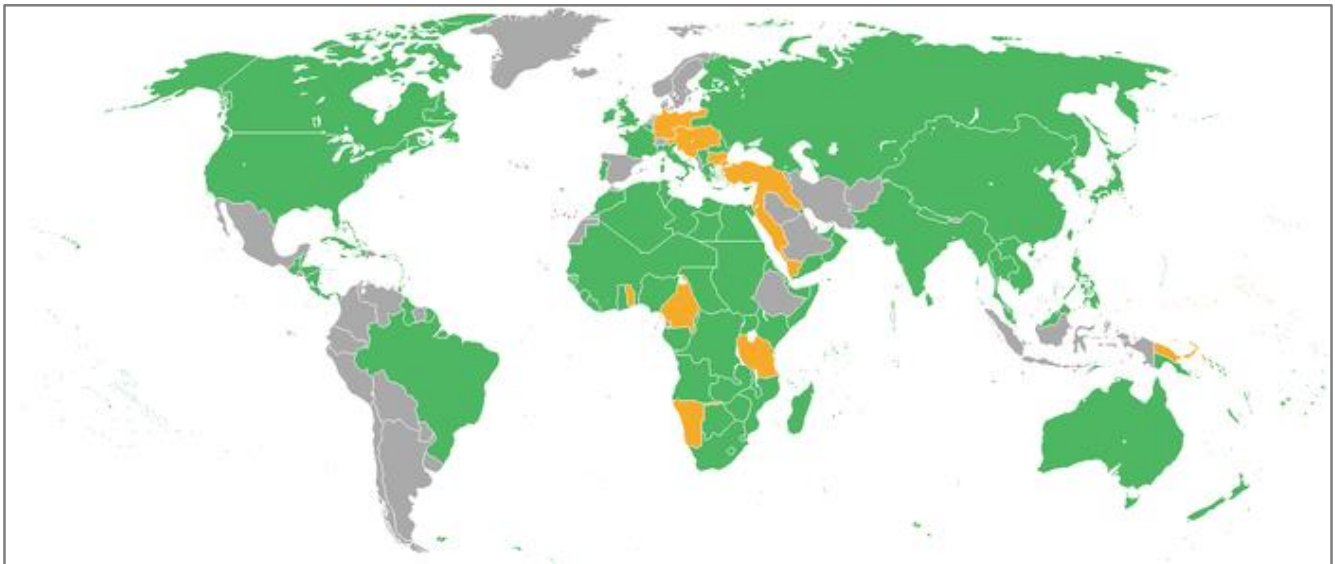
Teacher Overview

After long and patient negotiations, President Wilson in 1917 called upon the nation to take up arms against an assailant that had in effect declared war upon America. The answer was swift and firm. The national resources, human and material, were mobilized. The Navy was enlarged, a draft army created, huge loans floated, heavy taxes laid, and the spirit of sacrifice called forth in a titanic struggle against an autocratic power that threatened to dominate Europe and the World.



"In Flanders fields the poppies blow ~ Between the crosses, row on row, ~ That mark our place; and in the sky ~ The larks, still bravely singing, fly ~ Scarce heard amid the guns below. ~ We are the dead. Short days ago ~ We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow, ~ Loved, and were loved, and now we lie ~ In Flanders fields. ~ Take up our quarrel with the foe: ~ To you from failing hands, we throw ~ The torch; be yours to hold it high. If ye break faith with us who die ~ We shall not sleep, though poppies grow ~ In Flanders fields."

- John McCrae memorialized his comrades who died in the Battle of Ypres in this most famous poem of World War I.



Map of the world with the participants in World War I. The Allies are depicted in green, the Central Powers in orange, and neutral countries in gray

Reading and Assignments

In this unit, students will:

- Complete two lessons in which they will learn about **America in the First World War**, journaling and answering discussion questions as they read.
- Define vocabulary words.
- Visit www.ArtiosHCS.com for additional resources.

Leading Ideas

The Bible provides the ethics upon which to judge people and nations.

— Exodus 20:1-17

God is sovereign over the affairs of men.

From one man he made all the nations, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he marked out their appointed times in history and the boundaries of their lands.

— Acts 17:26

Key People, Places, and Events

President Woodrow Wilson
The Sedition Act
General John J. Pershing
Georges Clemenceau
The Paris Peace Conference
The League of Nations

The Espionage Act
The Department of Labor
David Lloyd George
Vittorio Orlando
The Treaty of Versailles

Vocabulary

Lesson 1:

munition
sedition


armistice
proletarian

espionage
salient

Lesson 2:

tutelage
referendum
assailant

ORIGIN OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

<p>January 8th, 1918. Fourteen Points laid down by President Wilson as the basis of world peace. (*)</p> <p>January 25th, 1919. League accepted in principle.</p> <p>April 28th, 1919. Covenant adopted.</p> <p>January 10th, 1920. League came into being; Secretariat established in London.</p>	 <small>Woodrow WILSON</small>	<p>January 16th, 1920. First meeting of Council at Paris.</p> <p>November 1st, 1920. League Headquarters moved from London to Geneva.</p> <p>November 15th, 1920. First Meeting of Assembly at Geneva.</p>
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(*) THE FOURTEENTH POINT :

" A General Association of Nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike."

A commemorative card depicting the President of the United States Woodrow Wilson and the "Origin of the League of Nations"

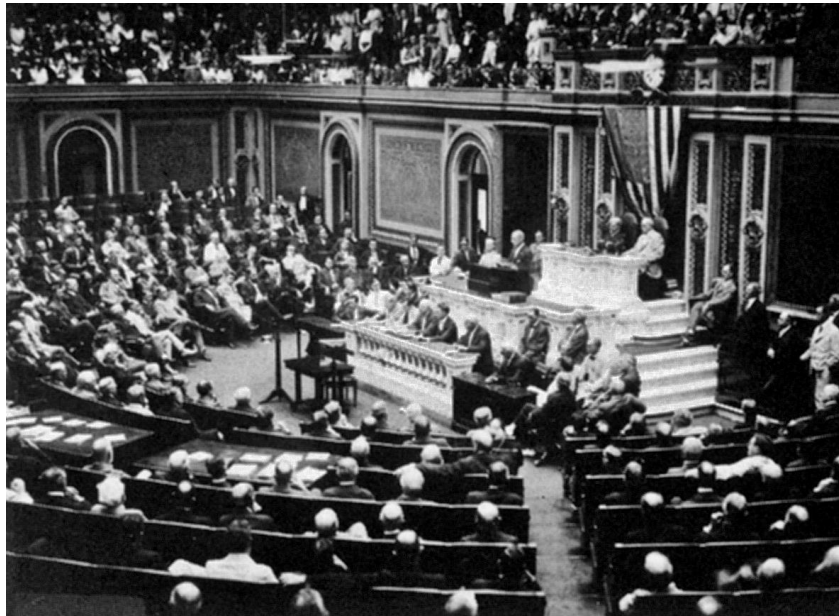
Lesson One

History Overview and Assignments The United States at War

President Wilson considered our involvement in World War I a war of self-defense. Proof of that lay on every hand. Agents of the German imperial government had destroyed American lives and American property on the high seas. They had filled our communities with spies. They had planted bombs in ships and munition works. They had fomented divisions among American citizens.

“The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.”

– Wilson’s War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917



President Wilson before Congress, announcing the break in official relations with Germany on 3 February 1917

Reading and Assignments

- Review the discussion questions and vocabulary, then read the article: *The United States at War*.
- Narrate about today’s reading using the appropriate notebook page. Be sure to answer the discussion questions and include key people, events, and dates within the narration.
- Define the vocabulary words in the context of the reading and put the word and its definition in the vocabulary section of your history notebook.
- Be sure to visit www.ArtiosHCS.com for additional resources.

Vocabulary

munition
armistice
espionage
sedition
proletarian
salient

Key People, Places, and Events

President Woodrow Wilson
The Espionage Act
The Sedition Act
The Department of Labor
General John J. Pershing

Discussion Questions

1. What caused President Wilson to sever ties with Germany?
2. What was contained in President Wilson's Fourteen Points? Be specific.
3. Describe the selective draft.
4. How did President Wilson call upon the nation to support the war financially?
5. What types of power and reach did The Espionage and Sedition Acts give the American government?
6. How did President Wilson secure the support of the labor unions?
7. What role did the U.S. Navy play in the First World War?
8. What role did General John J. Pershing play in the First World War?
9. How many American lives were lost during the First World War?

Adapted for High School from the book:

History of the United States

by: Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard

The United States at War

Steps Toward War

Three days after the receipt of the news that the German government intended to return to its former submarine policy, President Wilson severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire. At the same time he explained to Congress that he desired no conflict with Germany and would await an "overt act" before taking further steps to preserve American rights. "God grant," he concluded, "that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the government of Germany." Yet the challenge came. Between February 26 and April 2, six American

merchant vessels were torpedoed, in most cases without any warning and without regard to the loss of American lives. President Wilson therefore called upon Congress to answer the German menace. The reply of Congress on April 6 was a resolution, passed with only a few dissenting votes, declaring the existence of a state of war with Germany. Austria-Hungary at once severed diplomatic relations with the United States; but it was not until December 7 that Congress, acting on the president's advice, declared war also on that "vassal of the German government."

American War Aims

In many addresses at the beginning and during the course of the war, President Wilson stated the purposes which actuated our government in taking up arms. He first made it clear that it was a war of self-defense. “The military masters of Germany,” he exclaimed, “denied us the right to be neutral.” Proof of that lay on every hand. Agents of the German imperial government had destroyed American lives and American property on the high seas. They had filled our communities with spies. They had planted bombs in ships and munition works. They had fomented divisions among American citizens.

Though assailed in many ways and compelled to resort to war, the United States sought no material rewards. “The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves.”

In a very remarkable message read to Congress on January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down his famous “Fourteen Points” summarizing the ideals for which we were fighting. They included open treaties of peace, openly arrived at; absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas; the removal, as far as possible, of trade barriers among nations; reduction of armaments; adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the populations concerned; fair and friendly treatment of Russia; the restoration of Belgium; righting the wrong done to France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine; adjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality; more liberty for the peoples of Austria-Hungary; the

restoration of Serbia and Romania; the readjustment of the Turkish Empire; an independent Poland; and an association of nations to afford mutual guarantees to all states great and small. On a later occasion President Wilson elaborated the last point, namely, the formation of a league of nations to guarantee peace and establish justice among the powers of the world. Democracy, the right of nations to determine their own fate, a covenant of enduring peace—these were the ideals for which the American people were to pour out their blood and treasure.

The Selective Draft

The World War became a war of nations. The powers against which the U.S. arrayed had every able-bodied man in service and all their resources, human and material, thrown into the scale. For this reason, President Wilson summoned the whole people of the United States to make every sacrifice necessary for victory. Congress by law decreed that the national army should be chosen from all male citizens and males who were not enemy aliens and had declared their intention of becoming citizens. By the first act of May 18, 1917, it fixed the age limits at twenty-one to thirty-one inclusive. Later, in August, 1918, it extended them to eighteen and forty-five. From the men of the first group so enrolled were chosen by lot the soldiers for the World War who, with the regular army and the National Guard, formed the American Expeditionary Force upholding the American cause on the battlefields of Europe. “The whole nation,” said the president, “must be a team in which each man shall play the part for which he is best fitted.”



The “most famous poster in the world” by James Montgomery Flagg – Library of Congress

Liberty Loans and Taxes

In order that the military and naval forces should be stinted in no respect, the nation was called upon to place its financial resources at the service of the government. Some urged the “conscription of wealth as well as men,” meaning the support of the war out of taxes upon great fortunes; but more conservative counsels prevailed. Four great Liberty Loans were floated, all the agencies of modern publicity being employed to enlist popular interest. The first loan had four and a half million subscribers; the fourth more than twenty million. Combined with loans were heavy taxes. A progressive tax was laid upon incomes beginning with four percent on incomes in the lower ranges and rising to sixty-three percent of that part of any income above \$2,000,000. A progressive tax was levied upon inheritances. An excess profits tax was laid upon all corporations and partnerships, rising in amount to sixty percent of the net income in excess of thirty-three percent on the invested capital.

“This,” said a distinguished economist, “is the high-water mark in the history of taxation. Never before in the annals of civilization has an attempt been made to take as much as two-thirds of a man’s income by taxation.”

Mobilizing Material Resources

No stone was left unturned to provide the arms, munitions, supplies, and transportation required in the gigantic undertaking. Between the declaration of war and the armistice, Congress enacted law after law relative to food supplies, raw materials, railways, mines, ships, forests, and industrial enterprises. No power over the lives and property of citizens, deemed necessary to the prosecution of the armed conflict, was withheld from the government. The farmer’s wheat, the housewife’s sugar, coal at the mines, labor in the factories, ships at the wharves, trade with friendly countries, the railways, banks, stores, private fortunes—all were mobilized and laid under whatever obligations the government deemed imperative. Never was a nation more completely devoted to a single cause.

A law of August 10, 1917, gave the president power to fix the prices of wheat and coal and to take almost any steps necessary to prevent monopoly and excessive prices. By a series of measures enlarging the principles of the shipping act of 1916, ships and shipyards were brought under public control and the government was empowered to embark upon a great shipbuilding program. In December, 1917, the government assumed for the period of the war the operation of the railways under a presidential proclamation which was elaborated in March, 1918, by act of

Congress. In the summer of 1918 the express, telephone, and telegraph business of the entire country passed under government control. By war risk insurance acts allowances were made for the families of enlisted men, compensation for injuries was provided, death benefits were instituted, and a system of national insurance was established in the interest of the men in service. Never before in the history of the country had the government taken such a wise and humane view of its obligations to those who served on the field of battle or on the seas.



WWI-era U.S. victory poster

The Espionage and Sedition Acts

By the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917 and the amending law, known as the Sedition Act, passed in May of the following year, the government was given a drastic

power over the expression of opinion. The first measure penalized those who conveyed information to a foreign country to be used to the injury of the United States; those who made false statements designed to interfere with the military or naval forces of the United States; those who attempted to stir up insubordination or disloyalty in the Army and Navy; and those who willfully obstructed enlistment. The Sedition Act was still more severe and sweeping in its terms. It imposed heavy penalties upon any person who used “abusive language about the government or institutions of the country.” It authorized the dismissal of any officer of the government who committed “disloyal acts” or uttered “disloyal language,” and empowered the Postmaster General to close the mails to persons violating the law. This measure, prepared by the Department of Justice, encountered vigorous opposition in the Senate, where twenty-four Republicans and two Democrats voted against it. Senator Johnson of California denounced it as a law “to suppress the freedom of the press in the United States and to prevent any man, no matter who he is, from expressing legitimate criticism concerning the present government.” The constitutionality of the acts was attacked; but they were sustained by the Supreme Court and stringently enforced.

Labor and the War

In view of the restlessness of European labor during the war and especially the proletarian (or working class) revolution in Russia in November, 1917, some anxiety was early expressed as to the stand which organized labor might take in the United States. It was, however, soon dispelled. Samuel Gompers, speaking for the

American Federation of Labor, declared that “this is labor’s war,” and pledged the united support of all the unions. There was some dissent. The Socialist Party denounced the war as a capitalist quarrel; but all the protests combined were too slight to have much effect. American labor leaders were sent to Europe to strengthen the wavering ranks of trade unionists in war-worn England, France, and Italy. Labor was given representation on the important boards and commissions dealing with industrial questions. Trade union standards were accepted by the government and generally applied in industry. The Department of Labor became one of the powerful war centers of the nation. In a memorable address to the American Federation of Labor, President Wilson assured the trade unionists that labor conditions should not be made unduly onerous by the war and received in return a pledge of loyalty from the Federation. Recognition of labor’s contribution to winning the war was embodied in the treaty of peace, which provided for a permanent international organization to promote the worldwide effort of labor to improve social conditions. “The league of nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace,” runs the preamble to the labor section of the treaty, “and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice....The failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries.”

The American Navy in the War

As soon as Congress declared war the fleet was mobilized, American ports were

thrown open to the warships of the Allies, immediate provision was made for increasing the number of men and ships, and a contingent of war vessels was sent to cooperate with the British and French in their life-and-death contest with submarines. Special effort was made to stimulate the production of “submarine chasers” and “scout cruisers” to be sent to the danger zone. Convoys were provided to accompany the transports conveying soldiers to France. Before the end of the war more than three hundred American vessels and 75,000 officers and men were operating in European waters. Though the German fleet failed to come out and challenge the sea power of the Allies, the battleships of the United States were always ready to do their full duty in such an event. As things turned out, the service of the American Navy was limited mainly to helping in the campaign that wore down the submarine menace to Allied shipping.



The Launching of a Ship
at the Great Naval Yards, Newark, N.J.

The War in France

Owing to the peculiar character of the warfare in France, it required a longer time for American military forces to get into action; but there was no unnecessary delay.

Soon after the declaration of war, steps were taken to give military assistance to the Allies. The regular army was enlarged and the troops of the National Guard were brought into national service. On June 13, General John J. Pershing, chosen head of the American Expeditionary Forces, reached Paris and began preparations for the arrival of our troops. In June, the vanguard of the army reached France. A slow and steady stream followed. As soon as the men enrolled under the draft were ready, it became a flood. During the period of the war the army was enlarged from about 190,000 men to 3,665,000, of whom more than 2,000,000 were in France when the armistice was signed.



General John J. Pershing

Although American troops did not take part on a large scale until the last phase of the war in 1918, several battalions of infantry were in the trenches by October, 1917 and had their first severe encounter with the Germans early in November. In January, 1918, they took over a part of the front line as an American sector. In March,

General Pershing placed our forces at the disposal of General Foch, commander-in-chief of the Allied armies. The first division, which entered the Montdidier salient in April, soon was engaged with the enemy, “taking with splendid dash the town of Cantigny and all other objectives, which were organized and held steadfastly against vicious counterattacks and galling artillery fire.”

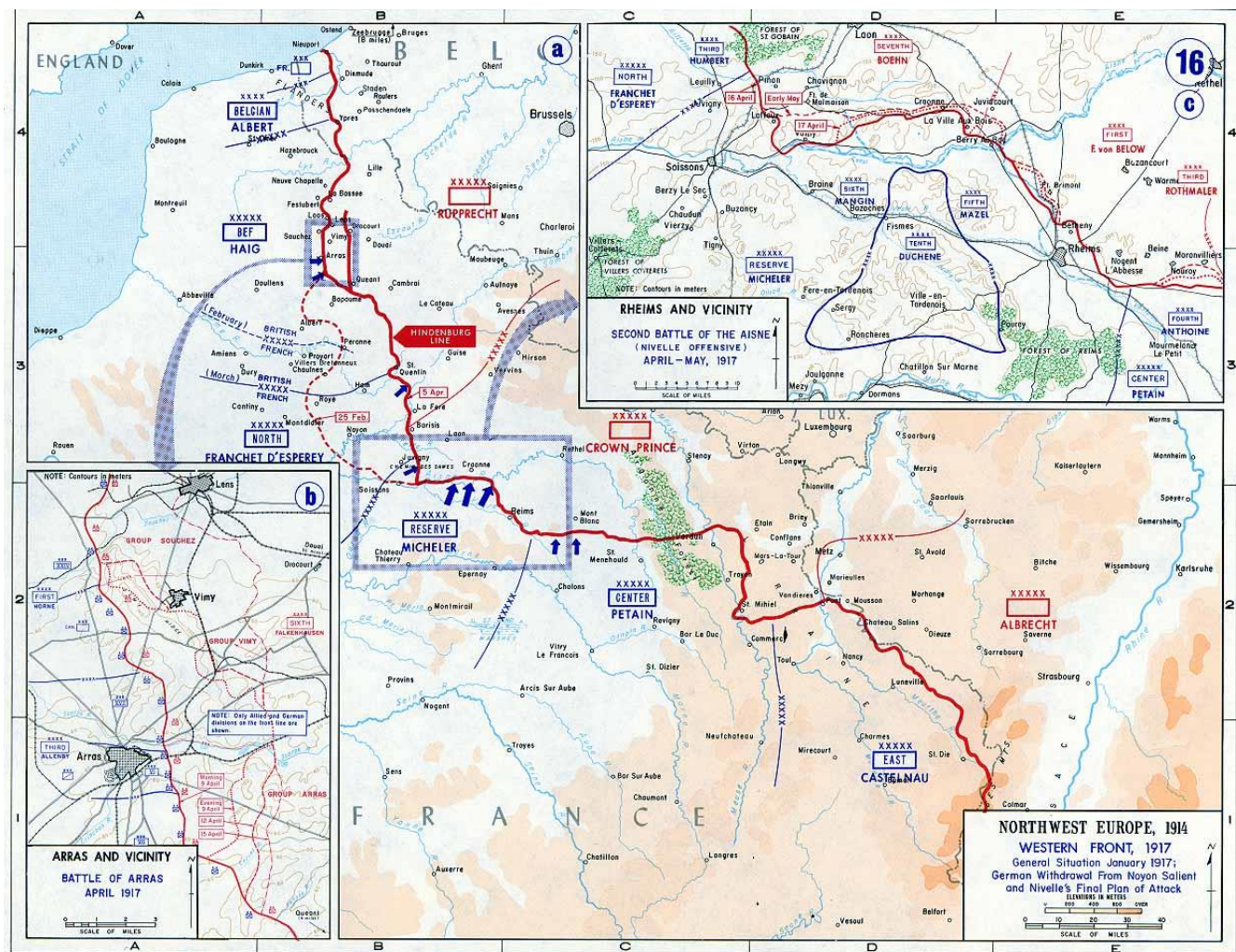
When the Germans launched their grand drives toward the Marne and Paris, in June and July, 1918, every available man was placed at General Foch’s command. At Belleau Wood, at Château-Thierry, and other points along the deep salient made by the Germans into the French lines, American soldiers distinguished themselves by heroic action. They also played an important role in the counterattack that “smashed” the salient and drove the Germans back.

In September, American troops, with French aid, “wiped out” the German salient at St. Mihiel. By this time General Pershing was ready for the great American drive to the northeast in the Argonne forest, while he also cooperated with the British in the assault on the Hindenburg Line. In the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, our soldiers encountered some of the most severe fighting of the war and pressed forward steadily against the most stubborn resistance from the enemy. On the 6th of November, reported General Pershing, “a division of the first corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy’s main line of communications and nothing but a surrender or an armistice could save his

army from complete disaster.” Five days later the end came. On the morning of November 11, the order to cease firing went into effect. The German army was in rapid retreat and demoralization had begun. The kaiser had abdicated and fled into Holland. The Hohenzollern dreams of empire were shattered. In the fifty-second month, World War I, involving nearly every civilized nation on the globe, was brought to a close. More than 75,000 American soldiers and sailors had given their lives. More than 250,000 had been wounded or were missing or in German prison camps.



Troops returning from France

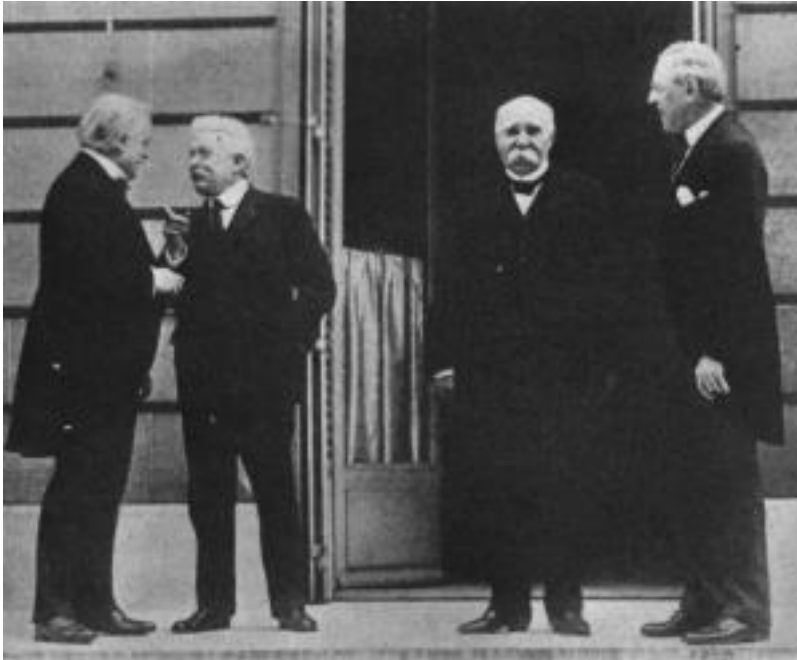


Map of the Western Front 1917

Lesson Two

History Overview and Assignments The Settlement at Paris

When victory crowned the arms of the powers united against Germany, President Wilson in person took part in the peace council. He sought to redeem his pledge to end wars by forming a League of Nations to keep the peace. In the treaty drawn at the close of the war the first part was a covenant binding the nations in permanent association for the settlement of international disputes. The president offered this treaty to the United States Senate for ratification and to his country for approval.



Premiers Lloyd George, Orlando, and Clémenceau and President Wilson at Paris

Reading and Assignments

- Review the vocabulary and discussion questions then read the article: *The Settlement at Paris*.
- Narrate about today's reading using the appropriate notebook page. Be sure to answer the discussion questions and include key people, events, and dates within the narration.
- Define the vocabulary words in the context of the reading and put the word and its definition in the vocabulary section of your history notebook.
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Vocabulary

tutelage referendum assailant

Key People, Places, and Events

President Woodrow Wilson
Georges Clemenceau
The Paris Peace Conference
The League of Nations

David Lloyd George
Vittorio Orlando
The Treaty of Versailles

Discussion Questions

1. Who were the members of the Council of Four—also known as The Big Four—on the Supreme Council at the Paris Peace Conference?
2. What treaty was developed at this Conference?
3. What were the terms of this treaty? Be specific.
4. What was the purpose of the formation of the League of Nations?
5. How did American citizens feel about the League of Nations?
6. In your opinion, should the U.S. have joined the League of Nations, or was the Senate wise in rejecting it?
7. How did America's position on isolationism change as a result of World War I?

Adapted for High School from the book:

History of the United States

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The Settlement at Paris

The Paris Peace Conference

On January 18, 1919, a conference of the Allied and Associated Powers assembled to pronounce judgment upon the German empire and its defeated satellites: Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. It was a moving spectacle. Seventy-two delegates spoke for thirty-two states. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan had five delegates each. Belgium, Brazil, and Serbia were each assigned three. Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, China, Greece, Hedjaz, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Siam, and Czechoslovakia were allotted two apiece. The remaining states of New Zealand, Bolivia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, and Uruguay each had one delegate. President Wilson spoke in person for the United States. England, France, and Italy were represented by their prime ministers: David

Lloyd George, Georges Clémenceau, and Vittorio Orlando.

The Supreme Council

The real work of the settlement was first committed to a Supreme Council of ten representing the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. This was later reduced to five members. Then Japan dropped out, leaving only President Wilson and the prime ministers, Lloyd George, Clémenceau, and Orlando—the “Big Four,” who assumed the burden of mighty decisions together. On May 6, their work was completed and in a secret session of the full conference, the Treaty of Versailles was approved, though a few of the powers made reservations or objections. The next day the treaty was presented to the Germans who, after prolonged protests, signed on the last day of grace, June 28. This German treaty was followed by agreements with Austria,

Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Collectively these great documents formed the legal basis of the general European settlement.

The Terms of the Settlement

The combined treaties make a huge volume. The German treaty alone embraces about 80,000 words. Collectively they cover an immense range of subjects which may be summarized under five headings: (1) The territorial settlement in Europe; (2) the destruction of German military power; (3) reparations for damages done by Germany and her allies; (4) the disposition of German colonies and protectorates; and (5) the League of Nations.

Germany was reduced by the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the loss of several other provinces. Austria-Hungary was dissolved and dismembered. Russia was reduced by the creation of new states on the west. Bulgaria was stripped of her gains in the recent Balkan wars. Turkey was dismembered. Nine new independent states were created: Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Armenia, and Hedjaz. Italy, Greece, Romania, and Serbia were enlarged by cessions of territory and Serbia was transformed into the great state of Yugoslavia.

The destruction of German military power was thorough. The entire navy, with minor exceptions, was turned over to the Allied and Associated Powers; Germany's total equipment for the future was limited to six battleships and six light cruisers, with certain small vessels but no submarines. The number of enlisted men and officers for the army was fixed at not more than 100,000; the General Staff was dissolved;

and the manufacture of munitions restricted.

Germany was compelled to accept full responsibility for all damages; to pay five billion dollars in cash and goods, and to make certain other payments which might be ordered from time to time by an inter-allied reparations commission. She was also required to deliver to Belgium, France, and Italy millions of tons of coal every year for ten years; while by way of additional compensation to France the rich coal basin of the Saar was placed under inter-allied control to be exploited under French administration for a period of at least fifteen years. Austria and the other associates of Germany were also laid under heavy obligations to the victors. Damages done to shipping by submarines and other vessels were to be paid for on the basis of ton for ton.

The disposition of the German colonies and the old Ottoman Empire presented knotty problems. It was finally agreed that the German colonies and Turkish provinces which were in a backward stage of development should be placed under the tutelage of certain powers acting as "mandatories" holding them in "a sacred trust of civilization." An exception to the mandatory principle arose in the case of German rights in Shantung, all of which were transferred directly to Japan. It was this arrangement that led the Chinese delegation to withhold their signatures from the treaty.

The League of Nations

High among the purposes which he had in mind in summoning the nation to arms, President Wilson placed the desire to put an

end to war. All through the United States the people spoke of the “war to end war.” No slogan called forth a deeper response from the public. The president himself repeatedly declared that a general association of nations must be formed to guard the peace and protect all against the ambitions of the few. “As I see it,” he said in his address on opening the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, “the constitution of the League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself.”

Nothing was more natural, therefore, than Wilson’s insistence at Paris upon the formation of an international association. Indeed he had gone to Europe in person largely to accomplish that end. Part One of the treaty with Germany, the Covenant of the League of Nations, was due to his labors more than to any other influence. Within the League thus created were to be embraced all the Allied and Associated Powers and nearly all the neutrals. By a two-thirds vote of the League Assembly, the excluded nations might be admitted.

The agencies of the League of Nations were to be three in number: (1) a permanent secretariat located at Geneva; (2) an Assembly consisting of one delegate from each country, dominion, or self-governing colony (including Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India); (3) and a Council consisting of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, and four other representatives selected by the Assembly from time to time.

The duties imposed on the League and the obligations accepted by its members were numerous and important. The Council was to take steps to formulate a scheme for the reduction of armaments and to submit a

plan for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. The members of the League (Article X) were to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the associated nations. They were to submit to arbitration or inquiry by the Council all disputes which could not be adjusted by diplomacy and in no case to resort to war until three months after the “award,” or judgment, was made. Should any member disregard its covenants, its action would be considered an act of war against the League, which would accordingly cut off the trade and business of the hostile member and recommend through the Council to the several associated governments the military measures to be taken. In case the decision in any arbitration of a dispute was unanimous, the members of the League affected by it were to abide by it.

Such was the settlement at Paris and such was the association of nations formed to promote the peace of the world. They were quickly approved by most of the powers, and the first Assembly of the League of Nations met at Geneva late in 1920.

The Treaty in the United States

When the treaty was presented to the United States Senate for approval, a violent opposition appeared. In that chamber the Republicans had a slight majority, and a two-thirds vote was required for ratification. The sentiment for and against the treaty ran mainly along party lines; but the Republicans were themselves divided. The major portion, known as “reservationists,” favored ratification with certain conditions respecting American

rights; while a small though active minority rejected the League of Nations in its entirety, announcing themselves to be “irreconcilables.” The grounds of this Republican opposition lay partly in the terms of peace imposed on Germany and partly in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Exception was taken to the clauses which affected the rights of American citizens in property involved in the adjustment with Germany, but the burden of criticism was directed against the League. Article X guaranteeing the political independence and territorial integrity of the members of the League against external aggression was subjected to especially heavy fire; while the treatment accorded to China and the sections affecting American internal affairs were likewise seen as “unjust and dangerous.” As an outcome of their deliberations, the Republicans proposed a long list of reservations which touched upon many of the vital parts of the treaty. These were rejected by President Wilson as amounting in effect to a “nullification of the treaty.” As a deadlock ensued the treaty was definitively rejected, owing to the failure of its sponsors to secure the requisite two-thirds vote.

The League of Nations in the Campaign of 1920

At this juncture the presidential campaign of 1920 opened. The Republicans, while condemning the terms of the proposed League, endorsed the general idea of an international agreement to prevent war. Their candidate, Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio, maintained a similar position without saying definitely whether the League devised at Paris could be recast in such a manner as to meet his

requirements. The Democrats, on the other hand, while not opposing limitations clarifying the obligations of the United States, demanded “the immediate ratification of the treaty without reservations which would impair its essential integrity.” The Democratic candidate, Governor James M. Cox, of Ohio, announced his firm conviction that the United States should “go into the League,” without closing the door to mild reservations; he appealed to the country largely on that issue. The election of Senator Harding, in an extraordinary “landslide,” coupled with the return of a majority of Republicans to the Senate, made American participation in the League of Nations uncertain.

The United States and International Entanglements

Whether America entered the League or not, it could not close its doors to the world and escape perplexing international complications. It had ever-increasing financial and commercial connections with all other countries. Our associates in World War I were heavily indebted to our government. The prosperity of American industries depended to a considerable extent upon the recovery of the impoverished and battle-torn countries of Europe.

There were other complications no less specific. The United States was compelled by force of circumstances to adopt a Russian policy. The government of the czar had been overthrown by the Russian Revolution of 1917, which in turn had been succeeded by an extreme, communist “dictatorship.” The Bolsheviks, or majority faction of the socialists, had obtained control of the

councils of peasants, working men, and soldiers which sprang up across the country—called soviets—and inaugurated a radical régime. They had made peace with Germany in March, 1918. Thereupon the United States joined England, France, and Japan in an unofficial war upon the new Soviet Union. After the general settlement at Paris in 1919, the U.S. government, while withdrawing troops from Siberia and Arkhangelsk, continued in its refusal to recognize the Bolsheviks or to permit unhampered trade with them. President Wilson repeatedly denounced them as enemies of civilization and undertook to lay down for all countries the principles which should govern intercourse with Russia.

Further international complications were created in connection with World War I, wholly apart from the terms of peace or the League of Nations. The United States

had participated in a general European conflict which changed the boundaries of countries, called into being new nations, and reduced the power and territories of the vanquished. Accordingly, it was bound to face the problem of how far it was prepared to cooperate with the victors in any settlement of Europe's difficulties. By no conceivable process, therefore, could America be disentangled from the web of world affairs. Isolation, if desirable, had become impossible. Within three hundred years from the founding of the tiny settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth, America, by virtue of its institutions, its population, its wealth, and its commerce, had become first among the nations of the earth. By moral obligations and by practical interests its fate was thus linked with the destiny of all mankind.



Map of territorial changes in Europe after World War I (as of 1923)

SUMMARY OF DEMOCRACY AND WORLD WAR I

The astounding industrial progress that characterized the period following the Civil War bequeathed to the new generation many perplexing problems connected with the growth of trusts and railways, the accumulation of great fortunes, the increase of poverty in the industrial cities, the exhaustion of the free land, and the acquisition of dominions in distant seas. As long as there was an abundance of land in the West any able-bodied man with initiative and industry could become an independent farmer. People from the cities and immigrants from Europe had always before them that gateway to property and prosperity. When the land was all gone, American economic conditions inevitably became more like those of Europe.

Though the new economic questions had been vigorously debated in many circles before his day, it was President Roosevelt who first discussed them continuously from the White House. The natural resources of the country were being exhausted; he advocated their conservation. Huge fortunes were being made in business, creating inequalities in opportunity; he favored reducing them by income and inheritance taxes. Industries were disturbed by strikes; he pressed arbitration upon capital and labor. The free land was gone; he declared that labor was in a less favorable position to bargain with capital and therefore should organize into unions for collective bargaining. There had been wrongdoing on the part of certain great trusts; those responsible should be punished.

The spirit of reform was abroad in the

land. The spoils system was attacked. It was alleged that the political parties were dominated by “rings and bosses.” The United States Senate was called “a millionaires’ club.” Poverty and misery were observed in the cities. State legislatures and city governments were accused of corruption.

In answer to the charges, remedies were proposed and adopted. Civil service reform was approved. The Australian ballot, popular election of senators, the initiative, referendum, and recall, commission and city manager plans for cities, public regulation of railways, compensation for those injured in industries, minimum wages for women and children, pensions for widows, the control of housing in the cities—these and a hundred other reforms were adopted and tried out. The national watchword became: “America, Improve Thyself.”

The spirit of reform broke into both political parties. It appeared in many statutes enacted by Congress under President Taft’s leadership. It disrupted the Republicans temporarily in 1912 when the Progressive Party entered the field. It led the Democratic candidate in that year, Governor Wilson, to make a “progressive appeal” to the voters. It inspired a considerable program of national legislation under President Wilson’s two administrations.

In the age of change, four important amendments to the federal constitution, the first in more than forty years, were adopted. The sixteenth empowered Congress to lay an income tax. The seventeenth assured popular election of senators. The eighteenth made Prohibition national. The nineteenth, following upon the adoption of women’s

suffrage in many states, enfranchised the women of the nation.

In the sphere of industry, equally great changes took place. The major portion of the nation's business passed into the hands of corporations. In all the leading industries of the country labor was organized into trade unions and federated in a national organization. The power of organized capital and organized labor loomed upon the horizon. Their struggles, their rights, and their place in the economy of the nation raised problems of the first magnitude.

While the country was engaged in a heated debate upon its domestic issues, World War I broke out in Europe in 1914. As a hundred years before, American rights upon the high seas became involved at once. These rights were invaded on both sides; but Germany, in addition to assailing American ships and property, ruthlessly destroyed American lives. She set at naught the rules of civilized warfare upon the sea. Warnings from President Wilson were without avail. Nothing could stay the hand of the German war party.

After long and patient negotiations, President Wilson in 1917 called upon the nation to take up arms against an assailant that had in effect declared war upon America. The answer was swift and firm. The national resources, human and material, were mobilized. The navy was enlarged, a draft army created, huge loans floated, heavy taxes laid, and the spirit of sacrifice called forth in a titanic struggle against an autocratic power that threatened to dominate Europe and the World.

In the end, American financial, naval, and military assistance counted heavily in the scale. American sailors scoured the seas searching for the terrible submarines. American soldiers took part in the last great drives that broke the might of Germany's army. Such was the nation's response to the President's summons to arms in a war "for democracy" and "to end war."

When victory crowned the arms of the powers united against Germany, President Wilson in person took part in the peace council. He sought to redeem his pledge to end wars by forming a League of Nations to keep the peace. In the treaty drawn at the close of the war the first part was a covenant binding the nations in a permanent association for the settlement of international disputes. The president offered this treaty to the United States Senate for ratification and to his country for approval.

Once again, as in the days of the Napoleonic wars, the people seriously discussed the place of America among the powers of the earth. The Senate refused to ratify the treaty. World politics then became an issue in the campaign of 1920. Though some Americans talked as if the United States could close its doors and windows against all mankind, the victor in the election, Senator Harding of Ohio, knew better. The election returns were hardly announced before he began to ask the advice of his countrymen on the pressing theme that would not be downed: "What part shall America—first among the nations of the earth in wealth and power—assume at the council table of the world?"