## AN AMERICAN STORY

**GEORGE “BROWNIE” BROWNE WAS ONE OF TWO MILLION SOLDIERS who crossed the Atlantic during World War I to serve in the American Expeditionary Force in France. The twenty-three-year-old civil engineer from Waterbury, Connecticut, volunteered in July 1917, three months after the United States entered the war, serving with the 117th Engineers Regiment, 42nd Division. Two-thirds of the “doughboys” (American soldiers in Europe) saw action during the war, and few white troops saw more than Brownie did.**

**When the 42nd arrived at the front, veteran French troops taught Brownie’s regiment of engineers how to build and maintain trenches, barbed wire entanglements, and artillery and machine-gun positions. Although Brownie came under German fire each day, he wrote Martha Johnson, his girlfriend back home, “the longer I’m here the more spirit I have to ‘stick it out’ for the good of humanity and the U.S. which is the same thing.”**

**Training ended in the spring of 1918 when the Germans launched a massive offensive in the Champagne region. The German bombardment made**

**the night “as light as daytime, and the ground … was a mass of flames and whistling steel from the bursting shells.” One doughboy from the 42nd remembered, “Dead bodies were all around me. Americans, French, Hun [Germans] in all phases and positions of death.” Another declared that soon “the odor was something fierce. We had to put on our gas masks to keep from getting sick.” Eight days of combat cost the 42nd nearly 6,500 dead, wounded, and missing, 20 percent of the division.**

**After only ten days’ rest, Brownie and his unit joined in the first major American offensive, an attack against German defenses at Saint-Mihiel. On September 12, 3,000 American artillery launched more than a million rounds against German positions. This time the engineers preceded the advancing infantry, cutting through or blasting any barbed wire that remained. The battle cost the 42nd another 1,200 casualties, but Brownie was not among them.**

**At the end of September, the 42nd shifted to the Meuse-Argonne region, where it participated in the most brutal American fighting of the war. And it was there that Brownie’s war ended. The Germans fired thousands of poison gas shells, and the gas, “so thick you could cut it with a knife,” felled Brownie.**

**When the war ended on November 11, 1918, he was recovering at a camp behind the lines. Discharged from the army in February 1919, Brownie returned home, where he and Martha married. Like the rest of the country, they were eager to get on with their lives.**

**When the Great War, as the Europeans called it, erupted in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson declared America's absolute neutrality. But trade and principle entangled the United States in Europe's troubles and gradually drew the nation into the conflict. Wilson claimed that America's participation would serve grand purposes and uplift both the United States and the entire world.**

**At home, the war helped progressives finally achieve their goals of national prohibition and woman suffrage, but it also promoted a vicious attack on Americans' civil liberties. Hyperpatriotism meant intolerance, repression, and vigilante violence. In 1919, Wilson sailed for Europe to secure a just peace. Unable to dictate terms to the victors, he accepted disappointing compromises. Upon his return to the United States, he met a crushing defeat that marked the end of Wilsonian internationalism abroad. Crackdowns on dissenters, immigrants, racial and**

**ethnic minorities, and unions also signaled the end of the Progressive Era at home.**

# What was Woodrow Wilson’s foreign policy agenda?

Shortly after winning election to the presidency in 1912, Woodrow Wilson confided to a friend: “It would be an irony of fate if my administration had to deal with foreign affairs.” Indeed, Wilson had focused his life and career on domestic concerns. In his campaign for the presidency, Wilson had hardly mentioned the world abroad.

Wilson, however, could not avoid the world and the rising tide of militarism, nationalism, and violence that beat against American shores. Trade and economic interests compelled the nation outward. Moreover, Wilson was drawn abroad by his own progressive political principles. He believed that the United States had a moral duty to champion peaceful free trade, national self-determination, and political democracy. “We have no selfish ends to serve,” he proclaimed. “We desire no conquest, no dominion.… We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.” Yet as president, Wilson was as ready as any American president to apply military solutions to problems of foreign policy. This readiness led Wilson and the United States into military conflict in Mexico and then in Europe.

# Taming the Americas

When he took office, Wilson sought to distinguish his foreign policy from that of his Republican predecessors. To Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt's "big stick" and William Howard Taft's "dollar diplomacy" appeared as crude flexing of military and economic muscle (see chapter 21). To signal a new direction, Wilson appointed William Jennings Bryan, a pacifist, as secretary of state.

But Wilson and Bryan, like Roosevelt and Taft, also believed that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States special rights and responsibilities in the Western Hemisphere. Issued in 1823 to warn Europeans not to attempt to colonize the Americas again, the doctrine had become a cloak for U.S. domination. Wilson thus authorized U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, paving the way for U.S. banks and corporations to take financial control. All the while, Wilson believed that U.S. actions were promoting order and democracy (**Map 22.1**).


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**MAP 22.1 U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1895–1941**

Victory against Spain in 1898 made Puerto Rico an American possession and Cuba a protectorate. The United States later gained control of the Panama Canal Zone. The nation protected its expanding economic interests with military force by propping up friendly, though not necessarily democratic, governments.

**Description**

The map highlights the prominent regions and the corresponding callouts read as follows:

U. S. possessions in 1900: The United States; Puerto Rico, Ceded to U.S by Spain, 1898; U. S. Virgin Islands, Purchased from Denmark for 25 million dollars, 1917.

U. S. protectorates or areas of temporary occupation: Nicaragua, U. S. intervention, 1909 to 1910, Occupied, 1912 to 1925, 1926 to 1933;

Panama, Independent from Colombia, 1903, Protectorate, 1903 to 1939; Canal Zone, Leased 1903, Completed 1914; Cuba, Protectorate, 1898 to 1934, Occupied, 1898 to 1902; 1906 to 1909; 1912; 1917 to 1922; Haiti, Protectorate, 1915 to 1936, Occupied, 1915 to 1934; Dominican Republic, Protectorate, 1905 to 1941, Occupied, 1916 to 1924.

Mexico–U. S. border, Border dispute, January 1916 to February 1917; Veracruz in Mexico, U. S. intervention, April to November 1914; Honduras, U. S. intervention, 1912; Venezuela, U. S. intervention in border dispute, 1895 to 1896, U. S. intervention in monetary dispute, 1902.

A globe in the inset highlights the region discussed here.

Wilson’s most serious involvement in Latin America came in Mexico. When General Victoriano Huerta seized power by violent means in 1913, most European nations promptly recognized Mexico’s new government, but Wilson refused, declaring that he would not support a “government of butchers.” In April 1914, Wilson sent eight hundred Marines to seize the port of Veracruz to prevent the unloading of a large shipment of arms for Huerta. Huerta fled to Spain, and the United States welcomed a new government.

But a rebellion erupted among desperately poor farmers, who believed that the new government, aided by U.S. business interests, had betrayed the revolution’s promise to help the common people. In January 1916, the rebel army, commanded by Francisco “Pancho” Villa, seized a train carrying gold to Texas from an American-owned mine in

Mexico and killed the seventeen American engineers aboard. In March, Villa’s men crossed the border for a predawn raid on Columbus, New Mexico, where they killed eighteen Americans.

Wilson promptly dispatched twelve thousand troops, led by Major General John J. Pershing. But Villa avoided capture, and in January 1917, Wilson recalled Pershing so that he might prepare the army for the possibility of fighting in the Great War.

## The European Crisis

Before 1914, Europe had enjoyed decades of peace, but just beneath the surface lay the potentially destructive forces of nationalism and imperialism. The consolidation of the German and Italian states into unified nations and the similar ambition of Russia to create a Pan-Slavic union initiated new rivalries throughout Europe. As the conviction spread that colonial possessions were a mark of national greatness, competition expanded onto the world stage. Most ominously, Germany’s efforts under Kaiser Wilhelm II to challenge Great Britain’s world supremacy by creating industrial muscle at home, an empire abroad, and a mighty navy threatened the balance of power and thus the peace.

European nations sought to avoid an explosion by developing a complex web of military and diplomatic alliances. By 1914, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (the **Triple Alliance**) stood opposed to Great Britain, France, and Russia (the **Triple Entente**, also known as “the Allies”). But in their effort to prevent war through a balance of power, Europeans had actually magnified the possibility of large-scale conflict (**Map 22.2**). Treaties, some of them secret, obligated members of the alliances to come to the aid of another member if attacked.


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**MAP 22.2 European Alliances after the Outbreak of World War I**

With Germany and Austria-Hungary wedged between their Entente rivals and all parties fully armed, Europe was poised for war when Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary was assassinated in Sarajevo in June 1914.

**Description**

"The areas marked on the map are:

Central Powers (Triple Alliance, except Italy, and allies): Germany; Austria-Hungary including Sarajevo (June 28, 1914 Assassination of

Archduke Ferdinand triggers World War I); Bulgaria; and the Ottoman Empire in the southeast.

Allied Powers (Triple Entente and allies): Russia; Romania; Serbia; Greece; Montenegro; Italy; France; Portugal; Luxembourg; Belgium; and Great Britain.

Neutral nations: Norway, Sweden, and Denmark on the north the Netherlands on the northwest; Switzerland in the central region; Spain on the southwest; and Albania on the southeast.

The map also shows the Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea, Adriatic Sea, Atlantic Ocean, North Sea, and the Baltic Sea."

The fatal sequence began on June 28, 1914, in the city of Sarajevo, when a Bosnian Serb terrorist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne. On July 18, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. Russia announced that it would back the Serbs. Compelled by treaty to support Austria-Hungary, on August 3 Germany attacked Russia and France. In response, on August 4 Great Britain, upholding its pact with France, declared war on Germany. Within weeks, Europe was engulfed in war. The conflict became a world war when Japan, seeing an opportunity to rid itself of European competition in China, joined the cause against Germany.

The evenly matched alliances would fight a disastrous war lasting more than four years, at a cost of 8.5 million

soldiers’ lives. A war that started with a solitary murder proved impossible to stop.

## The Ordeal of American Neutrality

Woodrow Wilson promptly announced that because the war engaged no vital American interest and involved no significant principle, the United States would remain neutral. Neutrality entitled the United States to trade safely with all nations at war, he declared. Unfettered trade, Wilson believed, was not only a right under international law but also a necessity, because in 1913, the U.S. economy had slipped into a recession that wartime disruption of European trade could drastically worsen.

Although Wilson proclaimed neutrality, his sympathies, like those of most Americans, lay with Great Britain and France. Americans gratefully remembered crucial French assistance in the American Revolution and shared with the British a language, a culture, and a commitment to liberty. Germany, by contrast, was a monarchy with strong militaristic traditions. Still, Wilson insisted on neutrality, in part because he feared the conflict’s effects on the United States as a nation of immigrants. As he told the German ambassador, “We definitely have to be neutral, since otherwise our mixed populations would wage war on each other.”

Britain’s powerful fleet controlled the seas and quickly set up an economic blockade of Germany. The United States vigorously protested, but Britain refused to give up its naval advantage. The blockade actually had little economic impact on the United States. Between 1914 and the spring of 1917, while U.S. trade with Germany evaporated, war-related exports to Britain — food, clothing, steel, and munitions — escalated by some 400 percent, enough to pull the American economy out of its slump. Although the British blockade violated American neutrality, the Wilson administration gradually accepted it, thus beginning the fateful process of alienation from Germany.

Germany retaliated with a submarine blockade of British ports. German *Unterseebooten*, or U-boats, threatened notions of civilized warfare. Unlike surface warships that could harmlessly stop freighters and prevent them from entering a war zone, submarines relied on sinking their prey. And once they sank a ship, the tiny U-boats could not pick up survivors. Nevertheless, in February 1915, Germany announced that it intended to sink on sight enemy ships heading to the British Isles. On May 7, 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner ***Lusitania***, killing 1,198 passengers, 128 of them U.S. citizens.

American newspapers featured drawings of drowning women and children, and some demanded war. Calmer

voices pointed out that the *Lusitania* carried millions of rounds of ammunition and thus was a legitimate target. Secretary of State Bryan resisted the hysteria, declaring that a ship carrying war materiel “should not rely on passengers to protect her from attack — it would be like putting women and children in front of an army.” He counseled Wilson to warn American citizens that they traveled on ships of warring countries at their own risk.

A peace coalition grew rapidly, promising a “war against war.” Sickened by the struggle in Europe that had already cost millions their lives, antiwar Americans vowed to hold Wilson to his word — America must remain neutral. They had many reasons to fight for peace, but they believed fervently that Germany posed no threat to the American homeland. One peace advocate declared that it would be a “crime” to “send thousands of husbands and fathers and sons to a useless slaughter.” The most popular song in 1915 was “I didn’t raise my boy to be a soldier.” Former president Theodore Roosevelt denounced the peace movement as “absolutely futile,” as well as “silly.” He claimed that it was motivated by “physical cowardice.”

Wilson sought a middle course that would retain his commitment to peace and neutrality without condoning German attacks on passenger ships. On May 10, 1915, he announced that any further destruction of ships would be

regarded as “deliberately unfriendly” and might lead the United States to break diplomatic relations with Germany, essentially demanding that Germany abandon unrestricted submarine warfare. Bryan resigned, predicting that the president had placed the United States on a collision course with Germany. Wilson replaced Bryan with Robert Lansing, who believed that Germany’s antidemocratic character and goal of “world dominance” meant that it “must not be permitted to win this war.”

After Germany apologized for the civilian deaths on the *Lusitania*, tensions eased. In 1916, Germany went further, promising no more submarine attacks without warning and without provisions for the safety of civilians. Wilson’s supporters celebrated the success of his middle-of-the-road strategy.

Wilson’s diplomacy proved helpful in his bid for reelection in 1916. In the contest against Republican Charles Evans Hughes, the Democratic Party ran Wilson under the slogan “He kept us out of war.” Wilson felt uneasy with the claim, protesting that “they talk of me as though I were a god. Any little German lieutenant can push us into the war at any time by some calculated outrage.” But the Democrats’ case for Wilson gave him the victory, though only by the razor-thin margins of 600,000 popular and 23 electoral votes.

# The United States Enters the War

Step by step, the United States backed away from “absolute neutrality.” The consequence of protesting the German blockade of Great Britain but accepting the British blockade of Germany was that by 1916, the United States was supplying the Allies with 40 percent of their war materiel. When France and Britain ran short of money to pay for U.S. goods and asked for loans, Wilson argued that “loans by American bankers to any foreign government which is at war are inconsistent with the true spirit of neutrality.” But rather than jeopardize America’s wartime prosperity, he allowed billions of dollars in loans that kept American goods flowing to Britain and France.

In January 1917, Germany decided that it could no longer afford to allow American shipping to reach Great Britain while Britain’s blockage gradually starved Germany. It announced that its navy would resume unrestricted submarine warfare and sink without warning any ship, enemy or neutral, found in the waters off Great Britain. Germany understood that the decision would probably bring the United States into the war, but gambled that its submarines would strangle the British economy and allow German armies to win a military victory in France before American troops arrived in Europe.

Resisting demands for war, Wilson only broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. On February 25, 1917, British authorities informed Wilson of a secret telegram sent by the German foreign secretary, Arthur Zimmermann, to the German minister in Mexico. It promised that in the event of war between Germany and the United States, Germany would see that Mexico regained its “lost provinces” of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona if Mexico would declare war against the United States. Wilson angrily responded to the Zimmermann telegram by asking Congress to approve a policy of “armed neutrality” that would allow merchant ships to fight back against attackers.

In March, German submarines sank five American vessels off Britain, killing 66 Americans. On April 2, the president asked Congress to issue a declaration of war. He accused Germany of “warfare against all mankind.” Still, he called for a “war without hate” and declared that America fought only to “vindicate the principles of peace and justice.” He promised a world made “safe for democracy.” On April 6, 1917, by majorities of 373 to 50 in the House and 82 to 6 in the Senate, Congress voted to declare war.

Wilson feared what war would do at home. He said despairingly, “Once lead this people into war, and they’ll forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance. To fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless

brutality will infect Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street.”

REVIEW

Why did President Wilson fail to maintain U.S. neutrality during World War I?

# What role did the United States play in World War I?

Americans soldiers sailed for France eager to do their part in making the world safe for democracy. Some doughboys maintained their idealism to the end. Although black soldiers eventually won respect under the French command, they faced discrimination under American commanders. The majority of American soldiers found little that was noble in rats, lice, and poison gas and, despite the progressives' hopes, little to elevate the human soul in a landscape of utter destruction and death.

# The Call to Arms

When America entered the war, Britain and France were nearly exhausted after almost three years of conflict. Millions of soldiers had perished; food and morale were dangerously low. Another Allied power, Russia, was in turmoil. In March 1917, a revolution had forced Czar Nicholas II to abdicate, and one year later, in a separate peace with Germany, the **Bolshevik** revolutionary government withdrew Russia from the war. Peace with Russia allowed Germany to withdraw hundreds of thousands of its soldiers from the eastern front and to deploy them against the Allies on the western front in France.

On May 18, 1917, Wilson signed a sweeping Selective Service Act, authorizing a draft of all young men into the armed forces. Conscription transformed a tiny volunteer military of 80,000 men into a vast army and navy. Draft boards eventually inducted 2.8 million men into the armed services, in addition to the 2 million who volunteered. Among the 4.8 million men under arms, 370,000 were black Americans. Nearly 64,000 men became conscientious objectors, and remarkably, 3 million simply evaded service.

Training camps sought to transform raw white recruits into fighting men. Progressives in the government were also determined that the camps turn out soldiers with the highest moral and civic values. To provide recruits with “invisible armor,” YMCA workers and veterans of the settlement house and playground movements led them in games, singing, and college extension courses. The army asked soldiers to stop thinking about sex, explaining that a “man who is thinking below the belt is not efficient.” Wilson’s choice to command the army on the battlefields of France, Major General John “Black Jack” Pershing, was as morally upright as he was militarily uncompromising. Described by one observer as “lean, clean, keen,” he gave progressives perfect confidence.

## The War in France

At the front, the **American Expeditionary Force (AEF)** discovered a desperate situation. The war had degenerated into a stalemate of armies dug into hundreds of miles of trenches that stretched across France. Huddling in the mud among the corpses and rats, soldiers were separated from the enemy by only a few hundred yards of no-man’s-land. When ordered “over the top,” troops raced desperately toward the enemy’s trenches, only to be entangled in barbed wire, enveloped in poison gas, and mowed down by machine guns. The three-day battle of the Somme in 1916 cost the French and British forces 600,000 dead and wounded, and the Germans 500,000. The deadliest battle of the war allowed the Allies to advance their trenches only a few meaningless miles.

Photo: © The Print Collector/Heritage/The Image Works.

**Life in the Trenches** One U.S. soldier in a rat-infested trench watches for danger, while three others sit or lie in exhausted sleep. This trench is dry for the moment, but with the rains came mud so deep that wounded men drowned in it. Barbed wire, machine-gun nests, and mortars backed by heavy artillery protected the trenches. Trenches with millions of combatants stretched from French ports on the English Channel all the way to Switzerland. Such holes were miserable, but a decent shave with a Gillette safety razor and a friendly game of checkers offered doughboys temporary relief. Inevitably, however, the whistles would blow, sending the young men rushing toward enemy lines.

**Description**

A U. S. soldier leans across the walls of the trench, watching for enemies. A game of trench checkers is at the bottom right corner, and a Gillette Khaki set with compartments holding Gillette blue blades and a razor stem at the top left corner.

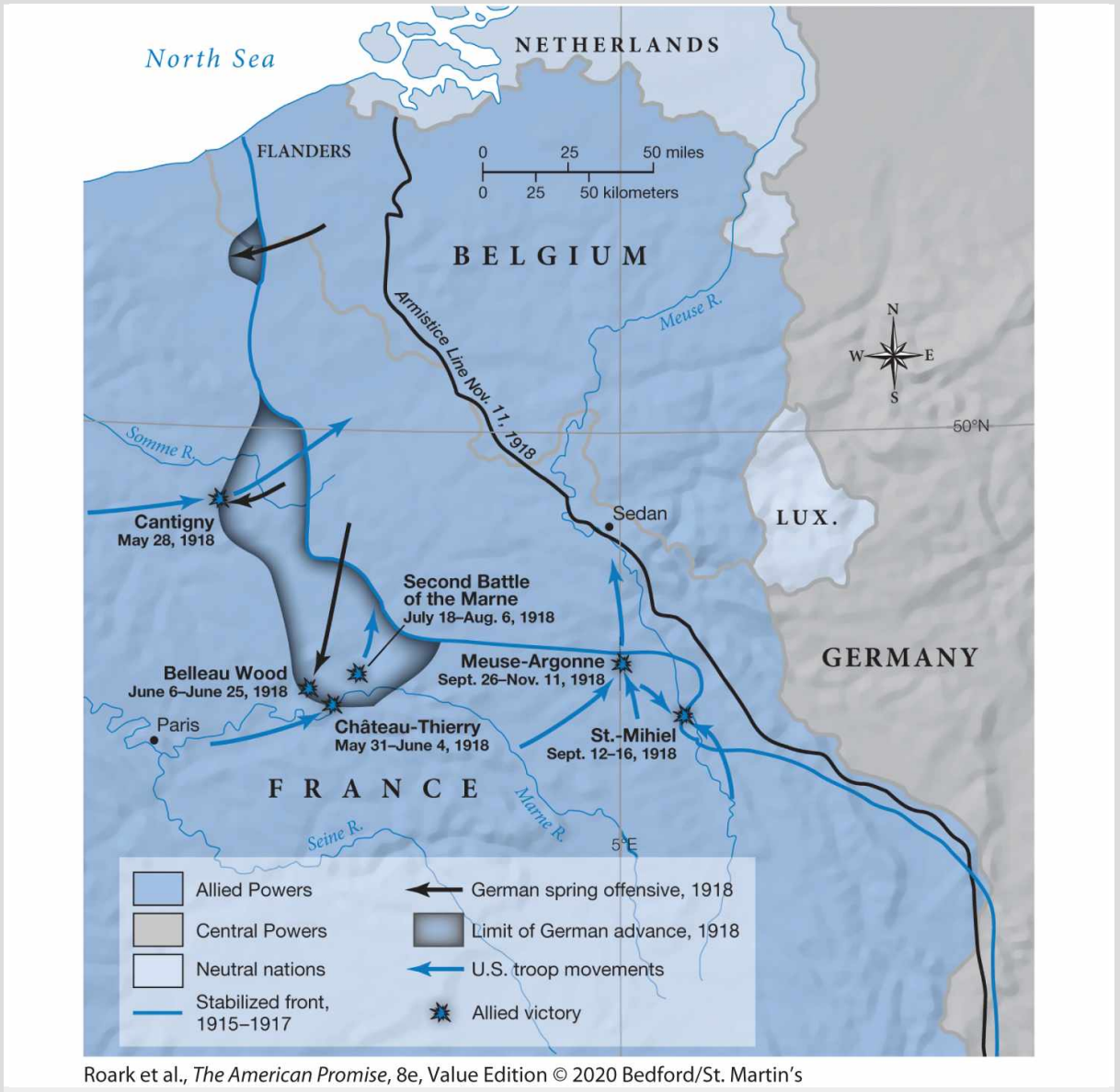
Still, U.S. troops saw almost no combat in 1917. Troops continued to train and used much of their free time to explore places that most of them could otherwise never hope to see. True to the crusader image, American officials allowed only uplifting tourism. The temptations of Paris were off-limits. French premier Georges Clemenceau's offer to supply American troops with licensed prostitutes was declined with the half-serious remark that if Wilson found out, he would stop the war.

African American soldiers had a different experience. Separate treatment by race began during training. Blacks were rigidly segregated, were usually assigned to labor battalions, and faced crude abuse and miserable living conditions. When black troops arrived in Europe, white commanders insisted on maintaining American racial standards and warned the French against "spoiling the Negroes."

In February 1918, General Pershing received an urgent call from the French for help on the front lines. Pershing sent what he considered less valuable black regiments from the 92nd Division. At the front, they were integrated into the French army. The black 369th Regiment spent 191 days in battle, longer than any other American outfit, and won more medals than any other American combat unit. Black soldiers

recognized the irony of having to serve with the French to gain respect.

The vacation for white soldiers ended abruptly in March 1918 when a million German soldiers punched a hole in the Allied lines. Pershing finally committed the AEF to combat. In May and June, at Cantigny and then at Château-Thierry, the eager but green Americans checked the German advance with a series of assaults (**Map 22.3**). Then they headed toward the forest stronghold of Belleau Wood. After charging through a wheat field against withering machine-gun fire, the Marines plunged into hand-to-hand combat. Victory came hard, but a German report praised the enemy's spirit, noting that "the Americans' nerves are not yet worn out." Indeed, it was German morale that was on the verge of cracking.

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**MAP 22.3 The American Expeditionary Force, 1918**

In the last year of the war, the AEF joined the French army on the western front to respond to the final German offensive and pursue the retreating enemy until surrender.

**Description**

"The map highlights Germany, the prominent among the central powers; France and Belgium, the Allied Powers; Netherlands and Luxemburg, the neutral nations. The Armistice Line (November 11,

1918) extended from the south of Germany–France border to Belgium¬–Netherland border on the north, crossing the Meuse River near Sedan in France. The stabilized front (1915 to 1917) ran from the German–France border on the south, westward across the Meuse River by St. Mihiel, and then northward to Flanders in Belgium via the Somme River.

The German spring offensive along the limits of German advance, 1918 took place across the stabilized fronts near the Belgium–France border on the north; across the Somme River to Cantigny; and on the northwestern front of the Marne River. From the west, the U. S. troops moved to Cantigny, and then went northeastward across the Somme River and the stabilized front; from Paris to Château-Thierry and toward the stabilized front; from around the Marne River and St. Mihiel to Meuse-Argonne and northward across the stabilized front; and from Meuse-Argonne and the southern region of the Meuse River to St. Mihiel.

Allied victories took place in Cantigny (May 28, 1918); Bellau Wood (June 6 to June 25, 1918); Château-Thierry (May 31 to June 4, 1918); To the north of the Marne River, Second Battle of Marne (July 18 to August 6, 1918); Meuse-Argonne (September 26 to November 11, 1918); and St. Mihiel (September 12 to 16, 1918). A globe in the inset highlights the region discussed here.”

In the summer of 1918, the Allies launched a massive counteroffensive that would end the war. One-quarter of a million U.S. troops joined in the rout of German forces along the Marne River. In September, more than one million Americans took part in the assault that threw the Germans back from positions along the Meuse River. In four brutal days, the AEF sustained 45,000 casualties. In November, a revolt against the German government sent Kaiser Wilhelm II fleeing to Holland. On November 11, 1918, a delegation

from the newly established German republic met with the French high command to sign an armistice that brought the fighting to an end.

The history of the AEF was brief, bloody, and victorious. When Germany had resumed unrestricted U-boat warfare in 1917, it had been gambling that it could defeat Britain and France before the Americans could raise and train an army and ship it to France. The German military had miscalculated badly. By the end, 112,000 AEF soldiers perished from wounds and disease, while another 230,000 Americans suffered casualties but survived. Only the Civil War, which lasted much longer, had cost more American lives. European nations, however, suffered much greater losses: 1.7 million Germans, 1.7 million Russians, 1.4 million French, and 700,000 Britons (**Figure 22.1**). Where they had fought, the landscape was as blasted and barren as the moon.

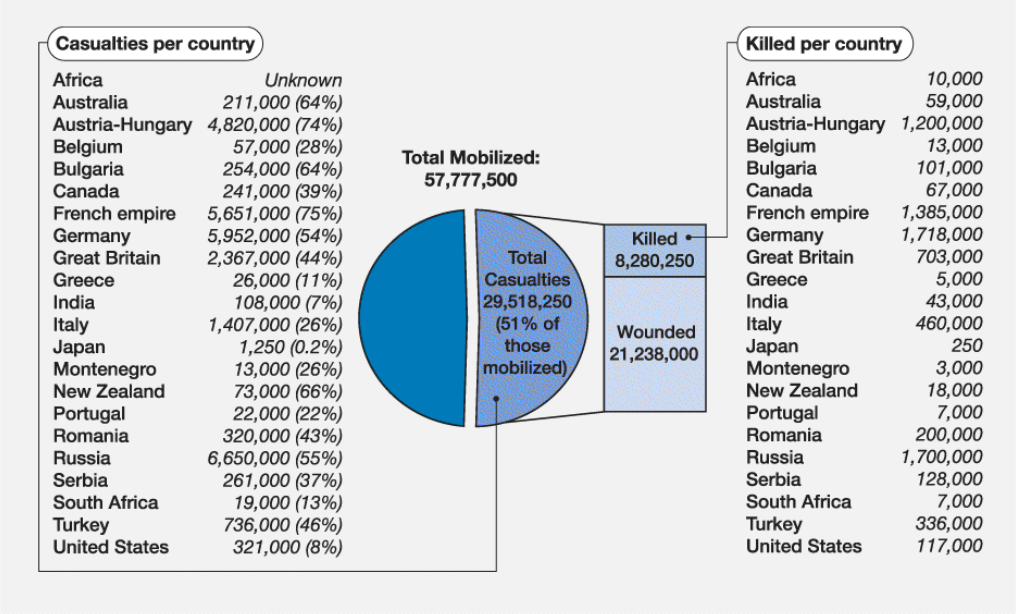




**FIGURE 22.1 Global Comparison: Casualties of the First World War**

Historians disagree about the number of casualties in World War I. Record keeping in many countries was poor. The destructive nature of the war meant that countless soldiers were wholly obliterated or instantly buried. This chart shows estimates of casualties (the combined number of wounded and killed soldiers) per country. The percentage listed with each casualty figure represents the portion of soldiers mobilized who became casualties. However approximate, these figures make clear that the conflict that raged from 1914 to 1918 was a truly catastrophic world war. Although soldiers came from almost every part of the globe, the human devastation was not evenly distributed. Which country suffered the most casualties? Which country suffered the greatest percentage of casualties? What do you think was the principal reason that the United States suffered a smaller percentage of casualties than most other nations?

**Description**

"The pie chart shows the following:

Total mobilized: 57,777,500; Total casualties 29,518,250 (51 percent of those mobilized). Out of the total casualties, 8,280,250 were killed and

21,238,000 wounded.

Casualties per country: Africa, Unknown; Australia, 211,000 (64 percent); Austria-Hungary, 4,820,000 (74 percent); Belgium, 57,000 (28 percent); Bulgaria, 254,000 (64 percent); Canada, 241,000 (39 percent); French Empire, 5,651,000 (75 percent); Germany, 5,952,000 (54 percent); Great Britain, 2,367,000 (44 percent); Greece, 26,000 (11 percent); India, 108,000 (7 percent); Italy, 1,407,000 (26 percent); Japan, 1,250 (0.2 percent); Montenegro, 13,000 (26 percent); New Zealand, 73,000 (66 percent); Portugal, 22,000 (22 percent); Romania, 320,000 (43 percent); Russia, 6,650,000 (55 percent); Serbia, 261,000 (37 percent); South Africa, 19,000 (13 percent); Turkey, 736,000 (46 percent); and the United States, 321,000 (8 percent).

Killed per country: Africa, 10,000; Australia, 59,000; Austria-Hungary, 1,200,000; Belgium, 13,000; Bulgaria, 101,000; Canada, 67,000; French Empire, 1,385,000; Germany, 1,718,000; Great Britain, 703,000; Greece, 5,000; India, 43,000; Italy, 460,000; Japan, 250; Montenegro, 3,000; New Zealand, 18,000; Portugal, 7,000; Romania, 200,000; Russia, 1,700,000; Serbia, 128,000; South Africa, 7,000; Turkey, 336,000; and the United States, 117,000.”

REVIEW

How did the AEF contribute to the defeat of Germany?

# What impact did the war have on the home front?

Many progressives hoped that the war would improve the quality of American life as well as free Europe from tyranny and militarism. Mobilization helped propel the crusades for woman suffrage and prohibition to success. Progressives enthusiastically channeled industrial and agricultural production into the vast war effort. Labor shortages caused by workers entering the military provided new opportunities for women in the booming wartime economy. With labor at a premium, unionized workers gained higher pay and shorter hours. To instill loyalty in Americans whose ancestry was rooted in the belligerent nations, Wilson launched a campaign to foster patriotism, but fanning patriotism led to suppressing dissent. When the government launched a harsh assault on civil liberties, mobs gained license to attack those whom they considered disloyal. As Wilson feared, democracy took a beating at home when the nation undertook its crusade for democracy abroad.

# The Progressive Stake in the War

Progressives embraced the idea that the war could be an agent of national improvement. The Wilson administration, realizing that the federal government would have to assert

greater control to mobilize the nation’s human and physical resources, created new agencies to manage the war effort. Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street stockbroker, headed the War Industries Board, charged with stimulating and directing industrial production. Baruch brought management and labor together into a team that produced everything from boots to bullets and made U.S. troops the best-equipped soldiers in the world.

Herbert Hoover, a self-made millionaire engineer, headed the Food Administration. He led remarkably successful “Hooverizing” campaigns for “meatless” Mondays and “wheatless” Wednesdays and other ways of conserving resources. Guaranteed high prices, the American heartland not only supplied the needs of U.S. citizens and armed forces but also became the breadbasket of America’s allies.

Wartime agencies multiplied: The Railroad Administration directed railroad traffic, the Fuel Administration coordinated the coal industry and other fuel suppliers, the Shipping Board organized the merchant marine, and the National War Labor Policies Board resolved labor disputes. Their successes gave most progressives reason to believe that, indeed, war and reform marched together. Still, skeptics like Wisconsin senator Robert La Follette declared that Wilson’s promises of permanent peace and democracy were a case of “the blind leading the blind.”

Industrial leaders found that wartime agencies enforced efficiency, which helped corporate profits triple. Some working people also had cause to celebrate: Mobilization meant high prices for farmers and plentiful jobs at high wages in the new war industries (**Figure 22.2**). Because increased industrial production required peaceful labor relations, the National War Labor Policies Board enacted the eight-hour day, a living minimum wage, and collective bargaining rights in some industries. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) saw its membership soar from 2.7 million to more than 5 million.

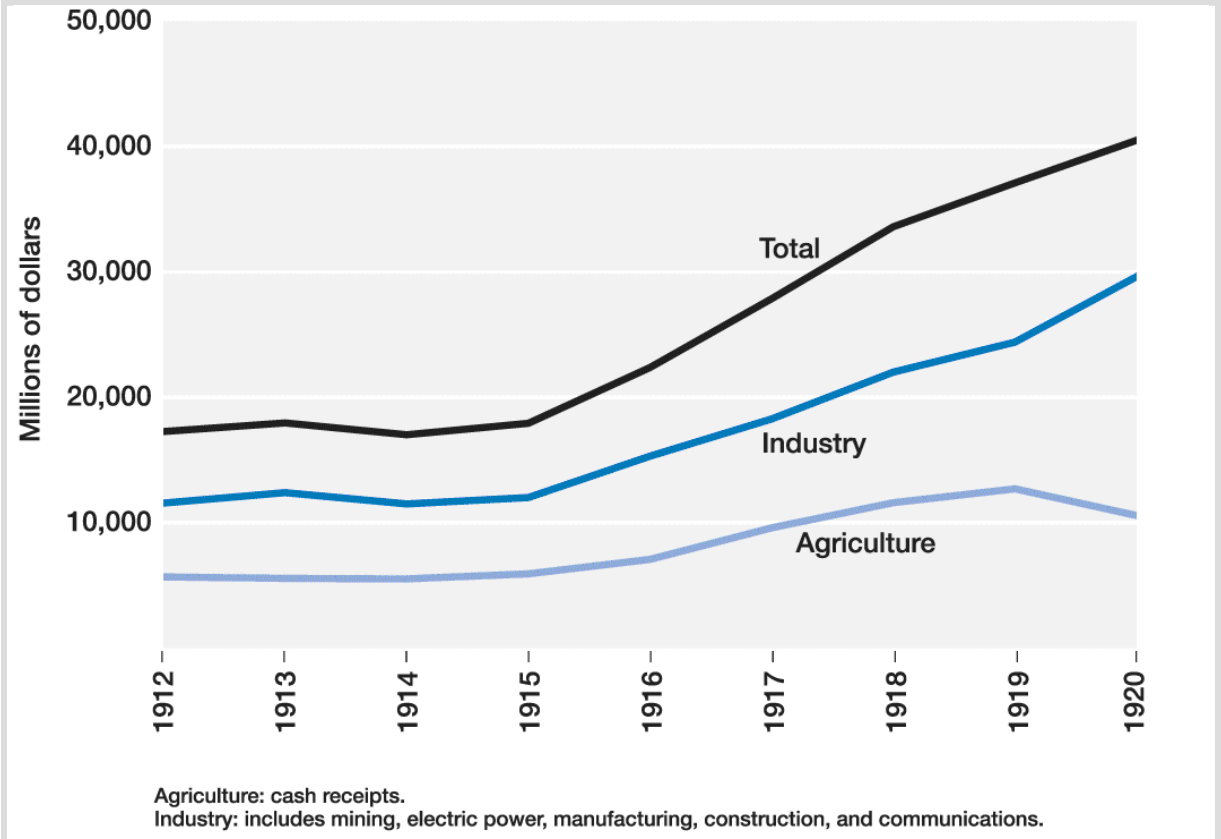


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**FIGURE 22.2 Industrial Wages, 1912–1920**

With help from unions and progressive reformers, wageworkers gradually improved their economic condition. The entry of millions of young men into the armed forces during World War I caused labor shortages and led to a rapid surge in industrial wages.

**Description**
“The horizontal axis shows years along the horizontal axis and wages in millions of dollars along the vertical axis. The agricultural workers’ wages were 7,000 million dollars in 1912 and continued along the same until mid-1916 after which it increased to cross 10,000 million dollars by 1917. By 1919, the wages reached 11,000 million dollars but dipped to 10,000 million dollars by 1920. Industrial wages, on the other hand, stood at 11,000 million dollars in 1912 and rose to 15,000 by the latter half of 1915 with minor fluctuations in between. It hit 20,000 by mid-1917 and surged further during 1918 and 1919 to reach 30,000 million dollars in 1920.

The total wages stood at 18,000 million dollars in 1912 and reached 20,000 million dollars during mid-1915. By 1917, the wages crossed 27,000 million and hit 33,000 in 1918. It continually increased and was accounted to be 40,000 million in 1920.

All data are approximate.”

The war also provided a huge boost to the crusade to ban alcohol. By 1917, prohibitionists had convinced nineteen states to go dry. Liquor’s opponents now argued that banning alcohol would make the cause of democracy powerful and pure. At the same time, shutting down the distilleries would save millions of bushels of grain that could

feed the United States and its allies. “Shall the many have food or the few drink?” the drys asked. Prohibition received an additional boost because many of the breweries had German names — Schlitz, Pabst, and Anheuser-Busch, for example. In December 1917, Congress passed the **Eighteenth Amendment**, which banned the manufacture, transportation, and sale of alcohol. After swift ratification by the states, the prohibition amendment went into effect on January 1, 1920.

## Women, War, and the Battle for Suffrage

Women had made real strides during the Progressive Era, and war presented new opportunities. More than 25,000 women served in France. About half were nurses. The others drove ambulances; ran canteens for the Salvation Army, Red Cross, and YMCA; worked with French civilians in devastated areas; and acted as telephone operators and war correspondents. Like men who joined the war effort, they believed that they were taking part in a great national crusade. “I am more than willing to live as a soldier and know of the hardships I would have to undergo,” one canteen worker declared when applying to go overseas, “but I want to help my country…. I want … to do the *real* work.” And like men, women struggled against disillusionment in France. One woman explained: “Over in

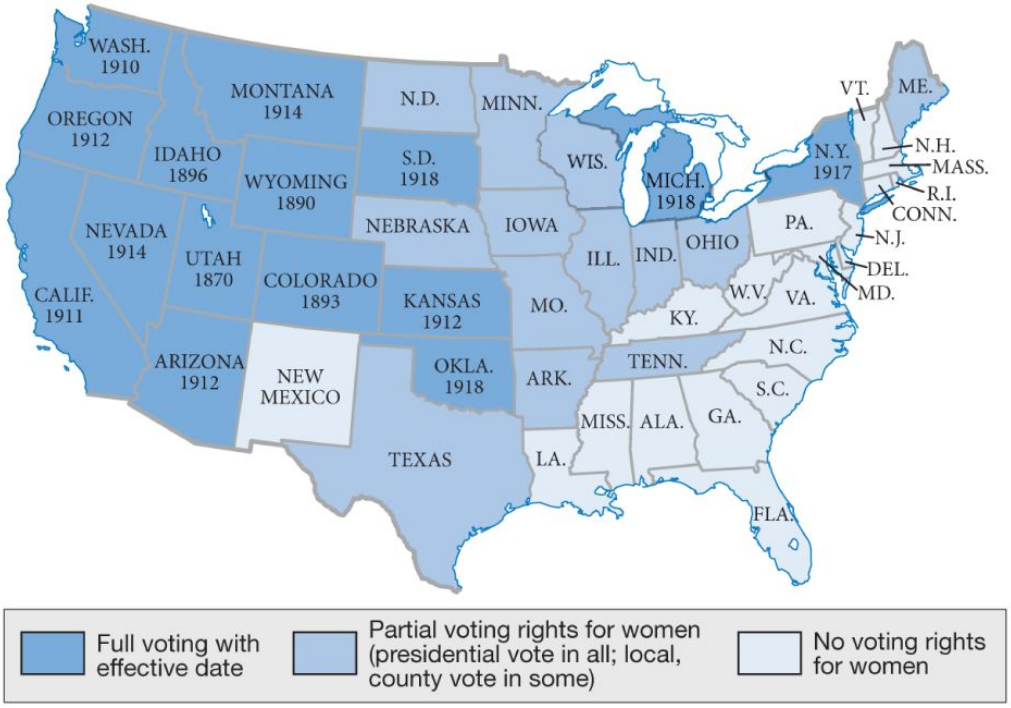
America, we thought we knew something about the war … but when you get here the difference is [like the one between] studying the laws of electricity and being struck by lightning.”

Nora Saltonstall, daughter of a prominent Massachusetts family, was one of the American women who volunteered with the Red Cross and sailed for France. Attached to a mobile surgical hospital that followed closely behind the French armies, she became a driver, chauffeuring personnel, transporting the wounded, and hauling supplies. Soon she was driving on muddy, shell-pocked roads in the dark without lights. Her life, she said, consisted of “choked carburetors, broken springs, long hours on the road, food snatched when you can get it, and sleep.” She “hated the war,” but she told her mother, “I love my job.” She was proud of “doing something necessary here.”

At home, long-standing barriers against hiring women fell when millions of workingmen became soldiers and few new immigrant workers crossed the Atlantic. Tens of thousands of women found work with the railroads and in defense plants as welders, metalworkers, and heavy machine operators. A black woman, a domestic before the war, celebrated her job as a laborer in a railroad yard: “We … do not have to work as hard as at housework which requires us to be on duty from six o’clock in the morning until nine or

ten at night, with might[y] little time off and at very poor wages.” Other women found white-collar work. Between 1910 and 1920, the number of women clerks doubled. Before the war ended, more than a million women had found work in war industries. One women’s rights advocate exaggerated when she declared, “At last … women are coming into the labor and festival of life on equal terms with men,” but women had made real economic strides.

The most dramatic advance for women came in the political arena. Adopting a state-by-state approach before the war, suffragists had achieved some success (**Map 22.4**). More commonly, voting rights for women met strong hostility and defeat. After 1910, suffrage leaders added a federal campaign to amend the Constitution to the traditional state-by-state strategy for suffrage.

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**MAP 22.4 Women's Voting Rights before the Nineteenth Amendment**

The long campaign for women's voting rights reversed the pioneer epic that moved from east to west. From its first successes in the new democratic West, suffrage rolled eastward toward the entrenched, male-dominated public life of the Northeast and South.

**Description**

"The map shows the following data:

Full voting with effective date: New York (1917); Michigan (1918); northern part of Wisconsin; South Dakota (1918); Kansas (1912); Oklahoma (1918); Montana (1914); Wyoming (1890); Colorado (1893); Utah (1870); Idaho (1896); Arizona (1912); California (1911); Nevada (1914); Oregon (1912); and Washington (1910).

Partial voting rights for women (presidential vote in all; local, county vote in some): Maine; Ohio; Indiana; Illinois; Tennessee; Wisconsin; Iowa;

Missouri; Arkansas; Texas; Minnesota; North Dakota; and Nebraska.

No voting rights for women: New Hampshire; Vermont; Massachusetts; Rhode Island; Connecticut; New Jersey; Delaware; Pennsylvania; Maryland; Virginia; West Virginia; North Carolina; Kentucky; South Carolina; Georgia; Alabama; Mississippi; Florida; Louisiana; and New Mexico."

The radical wing of the suffragists, led by Alice Paul, picketed the White House, where the marchers unfurled banners that proclaimed "America Is Not a Democracy. Twenty Million Women Are Denied the Right to Vote." They chained themselves to fences and went to jail, where many engaged in hunger strikes. "They seem bent on making their cause as obnoxious as possible," Woodrow Wilson declared. His wife, Edith, detested the idea of "masculinized" voting women. But membership in the mainstream organization, the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), led by Carrie Chapman Catt, soared to some two million. Seeing the handwriting on the wall, the Republican and Progressive parties endorsed woman suffrage in 1916.

In 1918, Wilson finally gave his support to suffrage, calling the amendment "vital to the winning of the war." He conceded that it would be wrong not to reward the wartime "partnership of suffering and sacrifice" with a "partnership of privilege and right." By linking their cause to the wartime

emphasis on national unity, the advocates of woman suffrage finally triumphed. In 1919, Congress passed the **Nineteenth Amendment**, granting women the vote, and by August 1920 the required two-thirds of the states had ratified it.

## Rally around the Flag — or Else

When Congress committed the nation to war, only a handful of peace advocates resisted the tide of patriotism. A group of professional women, led by settlement house leader Jane Addams and economics professor Emily Greene Balch, denounced what Addams described as “the pathetic belief in the regenerative results of war.” But after America entered the conflict, advocates for peace were labeled cowards and traitors.

To suppress criticism of the war, Wilson stirred up patriotic fervor. In 1917, the president created the Committee on Public Information under the direction of George Creel, a journalist who became the nation’s cheerleader for war. Creel sent “Four-Minute Men,” a squad of 75,000 volunteers, around the country to give brief pep talks that celebrated successes on the battlefields and in the factories. Posters, pamphlets, and cartoons depicted brave American soldiers and sailors defending freedom and democracy against the

evil “Huns,” the derogatory nickname applied to German soldiers.

America rallied around Creel’s campaign. The film industry cranked out pro-war melodramas and taught audiences to hiss at the German kaiser. Colleges and universities generated war propaganda in the guise of scholarship. When Professor James McKeen Cattell of Columbia University urged that America seek peace with Germany short of victory, university president Nicholas Murray Butler fired him on the grounds that “what had been folly is now treason.”

A firestorm of anti-German passion erupted. Across the nation, “100% American” campaigns enlisted ordinary people to sniff out disloyalty. German, the most widely taught foreign language in 1914, practically disappeared from the nation’s schools. Targeting German-born Americans, the *Saturday Evening Post* declared that it was time to rid the country of “the scum of the melting pot.” Anti-German action reached its extreme with the lynching of Robert Prager, a German-born baker with socialist leanings. Persuaded by the defense lawyer who praised what he called a “patriotic murder,” the jury at the trial of the killers took only twenty-five minutes to acquit.

As hysteria increased, the campaign reached absurd levels. Menus across the nation changed German toast to French toast and sauerkraut to liberty cabbage. In Milwaukee, vigilantes mounted a machine gun outside the Pabst Theater to prevent the staging of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, a powerful protest against tyranny. The fiancée of one of the war's leading critics, caught dancing on the dunes of Cape Cod, was held on suspicion of signaling to German submarines.

The Wilson administration's zeal in suppressing dissent contrasted sharply with its war aims of defending democracy. In the name of self-defense, the Espionage Act (June 1917), the Trading with the Enemy Act (October 1917), and the Sedition Act (May 1918) gave the government sweeping powers to punish any opinion or activity it considered "disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive." When Postmaster General Albert Burleson blocked mailing privileges for dissenting publications, dozens of journals were forced to close down. Of the 1,500 individuals eventually charged with sedition, all but a dozen had merely spoken words the government found objectionable.

One of them was Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the Socialist Party, who was convicted under the Espionage Act and sentenced to ten years. In a speech on June 16, 1918, Debs declared that the United States was not fighting a noble war

to make the world safe for democracy but had joined greedy European imperialists seeking to conquer the globe. The government claimed that Debs had crossed the line between legitimate dissent and criminal speech. From the Atlanta penitentiary, Debs argued that he was just telling the truth, like hundreds of his friends who were also in jail.

The president hoped that national commitment to the war would silence partisan politics, but his Republican rivals used the war as a weapon against the Democrats. The trick was to oppose Wilson’s conduct of the war, but not the war itself. Republicans outshouted Wilson on the nation’s need to mobilize for war but then complained that Wilson’s War Industries Board was a tyrannical agency that crushed free enterprise. As the war progressed, Republicans gathered power against the Democrats, who had narrowly reelected Wilson in 1916.

In 1918, Republicans gained a narrow majority in both the House and the Senate. The end of Democratic control of Congress not only halted further domestic reform but also meant that the United States would advance toward military victory in Europe with political power divided between a Democratic president and a Republican Congress likely to challenge Wilson’s plans for international cooperation.

REVIEW

How did progressive ideals fare during wartime?

# What part did Woodrow Wilson play at the Paris peace conference?

Wilson decided to reaffirm his noble war ideals by announcing his peace aims before the end of hostilities. He hoped the victorious Allies would adopt his plan for international democracy, but he was sorely disappointed. America's allies understood that Wilson's principles jeopardized their own postwar plans for the acquisition of enemy territory, new colonial empires, and reparations. Wilson also faced strong opposition at home from those who feared that his enthusiasm for international cooperation would undermine American independence.

# Wilson's Fourteen Points

On January 8, 1918, ten months before the armistice in Europe, President Wilson revealed to Congress his **Fourteen Points**, his blueprint for a new democratic world order. The first five points affirmed basic liberal ideals: an end to secret treaties, freedom of the seas, removal of economic barriers to free trade, reduction of weapons of war, and recognition of the rights of colonized peoples. The next eight points supported the right to self-determination of European peoples who had been dominated by Germany or its allies. Wilson's fourteenth point called for a "general association of

nations” — a **League of Nations** — to provide “mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.” A League of Nations reflected Wilson’s lifelong dream of a “parliament of man.” Only such an organization of “peace-loving nations,” he believed, could justify the war and secure a lasting peace.

## The Paris Peace Conference

From January 18 to June 28, 1919, the eyes of the world focused on Paris. Inspired by his mission, Wilson decided to head the U.S. delegation. He said he owed it to the American soldiers. “It is now my duty,” he announced, “to play my full part in making good what they gave their life’s blood to obtain.” A dubious British diplomat retorted that Wilson was drawn to Paris “as a debutante is entranced by the prospect of her first ball.” The decision to leave the country at a time when his political opponents challenged his leadership was risky enough, but his stubborn refusal to include prominent Republicans in the delegation proved foolhardy and eventually cost him his dream of a new world order.

After four terrible years of war, the common people of Europe almost worshipped Wilson, believing that he would create a safer, more decent world. When the peace conference convened at Louis XIV’s magnificent palace at

Versailles, however, Wilson encountered a different reception. To the Allied leaders, Wilson appeared a naive and impractical moralist. His desire to gather former enemies within a new international democratic order showed how little he understood hard European realities. Georges Clemenceau, premier of France, claimed that Wilson “believed you could do everything by formulas” and “empty theory.” Disparaging the Fourteen Points, he added, “God himself was content with ten commandments.”

The Allies wanted to fasten blame for the war on Germany, totally disarm it, and make it pay so dearly that it would never threaten its neighbors again. The French demanded retribution in the form of territory containing Germany’s richest mineral resources. The British made it clear that they were not about to give up the powerful weapon of naval blockade for the vague principle of freedom of the seas.

The Allies forced Wilson to make drastic compromises. In return for France’s moderating its territorial claims, he agreed to support Article 231 of the peace treaty, assigning war guilt to Germany. Though saved from permanently losing Rhineland territory to the French, Germany was outraged at being singled out as the instigator of the war and being saddled with more than $33 billion in damages. Many Germans felt that their nation had been betrayed. After agreeing to an armistice in the belief that peace terms

would be based in Wilson’s generous Fourteen Points, they faced hardship and humiliation instead.

Wilson had better success in establishing the principle of national self-determination. But from the beginning, Secretary of State Robert Lansing knew that the president’s concept of self-determination was “simply loaded with dynamite.” Lansing wondered, “What unit has he in mind? Does he mean a race, a territorial area, or a community?” Even Wilson was vague about what self-determination actually meant. “When I gave utterance to those words,” he admitted, “I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed, which are coming to us day after day.” Lansing suspected that the notion “will raise hopes which can never be realized. It will, I fear, cost thousands of lives. In the end it is bound to be discredited, to be called the dream of an idealist who failed to realize the danger until it was too late.”

Yet partly on the basis of self-determination, the conference redrew the map of Europe and parts of the rest of the world. Portions of Austria-Hungary were ceded to Italy, Poland, and Romania, and the remainder was reassembled into Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia — independent republics whose boundaries were drawn with attention to concentrations of major ethnic groups.

More arbitrarily, the Ottoman empire was carved up into small mandates (including Palestine) run by local leaders but under the control of France and Great Britain. The conference reserved the mandate system for those regions it deemed insufficiently “civilized” to have full independence. Thus, the reconstructed nations — each beset with ethnic and nationalist rivalries — faced the challenge of making a new democratic government work (**Map 22.5**). Many of today’s bitterest disputes — in the Balkans and Iraq, between Greece and Turkey, between Arabs and Jews — have roots in the decisions made in Paris in 1919.


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**MAP 22.5 Europe after World War I**

The post–World War I settlement redrew boundaries to create new nations based on ethnic groupings. Within defeated Germany and Russia, the outcome left bitter peoples who resolved to recover the territory taken from them.

**Description**

The map highlights Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland as new and reconstituted nations. Danzig in Poland is labeled Free City. The region along the western border of Germany including Rhineland and Saar, and the

Turkey– Greece border regions are shaded as Demilitarized or Allied occupation zone.

Wilson hoped that self-determination would also dictate the fate of Germany’s colonies in Asia and Africa. But the Allies, who had taken over the colonies during the war, went no further than allowing the League of Nations a mandate to administer them. Technically, the mandate system rejected imperialism, but in reality it allowed the Allies to maintain control. Thus, while denying Germany its colonies, the Allies retained and added to their own empires.

The cause of democratic equality suffered another setback when the peace conference rejected Japan’s call for a statement of racial equality in the treaty. Wilson’s belief in the superiority of whites, as well as his apprehension about how white Americans would respond to such a declaration, led him to oppose the clause. To soothe hurt feelings, Wilson agreed to grant Japan a mandate over the Shantung Peninsula in northern China, which had formerly been controlled by Germany. The gesture mollified Japan’s moderate leaders, but the military faction preparing to take over the country used bitterness toward racist Western colonialism to build support for expanding Japanese power throughout Asia.

Closest to Wilson’s heart was finding a new way to manage international relations. In Wilson’s view, war had discredited the old strategy of balance of power. Instead, he proposed a League of Nations that would provide collective security. The league would establish rules of international conduct and resolve conflicts between nations through rational and peaceful means. When the Allies agreed to the league, Wilson was overjoyed. He believed that the league would rectify the errors his colleagues had forced on him in Paris.

To some Europeans and Americans, the **Versailles treaty** came as a bitter disappointment. Wilson’s admirers were shocked that the president dealt in compromise like any other politician. But without Wilson’s presence, the treaty that was signed on June 28, 1919, surely would have been more vindictive. Wilson returned home in July 1919 consoled that, despite his frustrations, he had gained what he most wanted — a League of Nations. In Wilson’s judgment, “We have completed in the least time possible the greatest work that four men have ever done.”

VCG Wilson/Corbis via Getty Images.

***The Signing of Peace in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles, 28th June 1919*, by Sir William Orpen** Set in the dazzling Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, built for Louis XIV as a symbol of his power, this painting captures the moment when the treaty was signed in June 1919. The leaders in charge of putting the world back together after the Great War are gathered at the table. Wilson is seated fifth from the left, dignified but seemingly isolated, while the French premier Georges Clemenceau and the British prime minister David Lloyd George are huddled together at Wilson's left.

**Description**

The dignitaries are seated at a long table with several standing behind the table. In front of the long table, Doctor Johannes Bell of Germany signs the treaty while Herr Hermann Muller leans over him. Opposite them, Georges Clemenceau and David Lloyd George are sitting close to

each other while Woodrow Wilson is seated to their left, holding a sheet of paper.

# The Fight for the Treaty

The tumultuous reception Wilson received when he arrived home persuaded him, probably correctly, that the American people supported the treaty. When the president submitted the treaty to the Senate in July 1919, he warned that failure to ratify it would “break the heart of the world.” By then, however, criticism of the treaty was mounting, especially from Americans convinced that their countries of ethnic origin — Ireland, Italy, and Germany — had not been given fair treatment. Others worried that the president’s concessions at Versailles had jeopardized the treaty’s capacity to provide a workable plan for rebuilding Europe and to guarantee world peace.

In the Senate, the treaty confronted Republican “irreconcilables,” a group that was unalterably opposed to the treaty because it entangled the United States in world affairs. A larger group of Republicans did not object to American participation in world politics but feared that membership in the League of Nations would jeopardize the nation’s ability to act independently. No Republican, in any case, was eager to hand Wilson and the Democrats a

foreign policy victory with the 1920 presidential election little more than a year away.

At the center of Republican opposition was Wilson's archenemy, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Lodge was no isolationist, but he thought that much of the Fourteen Points was a "general bleat about virtue being better than vice." Lodge expected the United States' economic and military power to propel the nation into a major role in world affairs. But he insisted that membership in the League of Nations, which would require collective action to maintain peace, threatened the nation's independence in foreign relations.

With Lodge as its chairman, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee produced several amendments, or reservations, that sought to limit the consequences of American membership in the league. For example, several reservations required approval of both the House and the Senate before the United States could participate in league-sponsored economic sanctions or military action.

It gradually became clear that ratification of the treaty depended on acceptance of the Lodge reservations. Democratic senators, who overwhelmingly supported the treaty, urged Wilson to accept Lodge's terms, arguing that they left the essentials of the treaty intact. Wilson, however,

insisted that the reservations cut “the very heart out of the treaty.”

Wilson decided to take his case directly to the people. On September 3, 1919, still exhausted from the peace conference, he set out by train on the most ambitious speaking tour ever undertaken by a president. On September 25 in Pueblo, Colorado, Wilson collapsed and had to return to Washington. There, he suffered a massive stroke that partially paralyzed him. From his bedroom, Wilson sent messages instructing Democrats in the Senate to hold firm against any and all reservations. Wilson commanded enough loyalty to ensure a vote against the Lodge reservations. But when the treaty without reservations came before the Senate in March 1920, the combined opposition of the Republican irreconcilables and reservationists left Wilson six votes short of the two-thirds majority needed for passage.

The nations of Europe organized the League of Nations at Geneva, Switzerland. Although Woodrow Wilson received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1920 for his central role in creating the league, the United States never became a member. Whether American membership could have prevented the world war that would begin in Europe in 1939 is highly unlikely, but the United States’ failure to join certainly weakened the league from the start. In refusing to accept

relatively minor compromises with Senate moderates, Wilson lost his treaty and American membership in the league.

REVIEW

Why did the Senate fail to ratify the Versailles treaty?