

▲ "Over There" sheet music



▲ American troops disembark in France.

WITNESS HISTORY**War Enthusiasm**

Although the first American troops arrived in France in 1917, American soldiers did not reach France in great numbers until 1918. George M. Cohan's song "Over There" was used effectively to recruit troops and raise morale.

"Over there, over there.
Send the word, send the word over there,
That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming . . .
So prepare, say a pray'r,
Send the word, send the word to beware.
We'll be over, we're coming over,
and we won't come back till it's over
Over there."

—From the song "Over There," written by George M. Cohan in 1917

Wilson, War, and Peace

Objectives

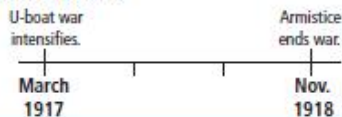
- Understand how the United States military contributed to the Allied victory in the war.
- Describe the aims of the Fourteen Points.
- Analyze the decisions made at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Explain why the United States Senate refused to ratify the treaty ending World War I.

Terms and People

convoy	League of Nations
Vladimir Lenin	Henry Cabot Lodge
John J. Pershing	reparations
Fourteen Points	"irreconcilables"
self-determination	"reservationists"

NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Sequence As you read, sequence the events leading to the end of World War I in a timeline.



Why It Matters When the United States entered World War I in the spring of 1917, the conflict had become a deadly, bloody stalemate. The war would be won or lost on the Western Front in France. Since 1914, both sides had tried desperately to break the stalemate there—and failed. The American entry into the war would play a key role in the Allied victory. **Section Focus Question:** How did Americans affect the end of World War I and its peace settlements?

America Gives the Allies the Edge

To European leaders, the United States was a great unknown. Ethnic divisions in America raised questions about how committed American troops would be in combat. Some doubted that the United States could raise, train, equip, and transport an army fast enough to influence the outcome of the war. Desperate German military leaders renewed unrestricted submarine warfare, hoping to end the conflict before the Americans could make a difference.

Allied Convoys Protect Shipping The Allies immediately felt the impact of the renewed unrestricted submarine warfare. German U-boats sank merchant ships in alarming numbers, faster than replacements could be built. As one merchant ship after another sank to the bottom of the sea, the Allies lost crucial supplies.

Together, the Allies addressed the problem of submarine warfare by adopting an old naval tactic: convoying. In a **convoy**, groups of

Vocabulary Builder

mutual—(MYOO choo uhl) *adj.*
shared

merchant ships sailed together, protected by warships. The arrangement was designed to provide **mutual** safety at sea. Convoys made up of British and American ships proved to be an instant success. Shipping losses from U-boat attacks fell as sharply as they had risen. Germany's gamble had failed.

The Allies Struggle Meanwhile, the situation on land began to swing in favor of the Central Powers. The Allies were exhausted by years of combat. Russia was torn by revolutions. In March 1917, a moderate, democratic revolution overthrew Czar Nicholas II but kept Russia in the war. In November 1917, radical communists led by **Vladimir Lenin** (LEHN ihn) staged a revolution and gained control of Russia. Russia stopped fighting in mid-December, and on March 3, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ended the war between Russia (soon to become the Soviet Union) and Germany. The end of the war on the Eastern Front allowed Germany to send more soldiers to the Western Front.

In the spring of 1918, Germany launched an all-out offensive on the Western Front. The fierce attacks threatened to break through Allied defenses and open a path to Paris. The hard-pressed Allies organized a joint command under French General Ferdinand Foch (fawsh).

American Troops Join the Fight General **John J. Pershing**, the commander of American forces in Europe, arrived in France in June 1917, with a small American force. However, it was not until early 1918 that American troops began arriving in larger numbers. At about the same time, the German offensive

began to stall. By the end of March 1918, Allied counterattacks and German exhaustion ended the great German offensive.

More fighting followed, and with each passing week, American troops assumed more of the burden on the battlefield. Germany launched several more offensives. Allied defenses buckled and stretched but did not break. Each failed offensive weakened Germany a bit more and raised Allied hopes.

American Troops Distinguish Themselves

American troops called “doughboys,” saw significant action in the late spring and summer of 1918. Americans fought on the defensive along with the French at the Second Battle of the Marne and on the offensive at the Battle of Cantigny (kahn tee NYEE), where they dislodged a large German force from fortified positions. They battled valiantly at Château-Thierry (sha TOH tir EE) and Belleau (beh LOH) Wood, Meuse-Argonne (myooz ahr GAHN) and Saint-Mihiel (mee YEHL). Although it took some time, American troops

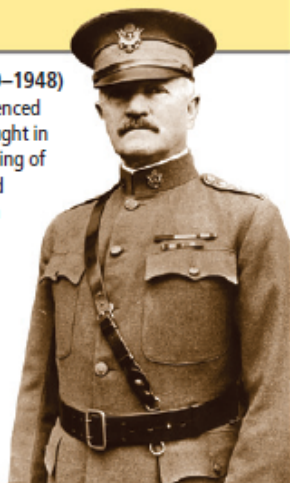
learned quickly and fought bravely.

One of America's greatest war heroes was Alvin York of Tennessee. On October 8, 1918, York was one of thousands of Americans fighting in the Meuse-Argonne region of northeastern France. Trapped behind enemy lines, York and 16 other Americans took cover from blistering machine-gun fire. As half of the American force fell to German bullets, York took aim with his rifle and silenced a nearby German machine-gun nest. He then dodged a flurry of bullets to attack several other machine gunners and even charged one German position with only a pistol! When the firefight died down, York and the surviving Americans had taken the German position against amazing odds. York's battlefield heroics earned him a Congressional Medal of Honor.

HISTORY MAKERS

John J. Pershing (1860–1948)

John J. Pershing was an experienced soldier and leader who had fought in several wars before the beginning of World War I. After the U.S. declaration of war, Pershing guided the creation of the American Expeditionary Force. He faced the difficult task of turning millions of untrained men into an effective fighting force. He then led this force in France. His skill in doing so helped the Allies win the war.



American Involvement in World War I, 1918

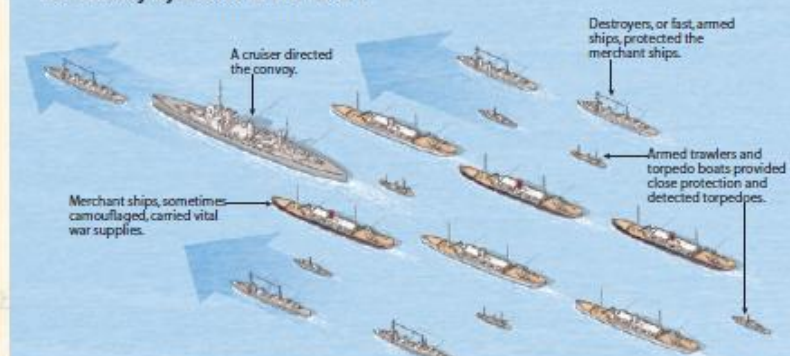
Geography Interactive
 For: Interactive map
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When the American General Pershing reached France, he is said to have remarked "Lafayette, we are here!" He was referring to the French General Marquis de Lafayette, who aided the American cause during the Revolutionary War. Now was the time for America to repay that debt.

- Map Skills** American troops helped their allies stop the German offensive and launch successful counteroffensives.
- Locate:** (a) Allied front line, (b) Second Battle of the Marne, (c) armistice line
 - Region** In what region of France did American troops have their greatest impact?
 - Summarize** Describe the American contribution to the Allied victory on the Western Front.

The Convoy System in World War I



Alvin York was only one of thousands of heroes, many of whom died and most of whom were never recognized for their deeds. They followed orders, fought bravely, and made great sacrifices. Although African American soldiers often faced discrimination in the United States Army, they demonstrated their patriotism in dozens of engagements. For example, an entire African American unit, the 369th Infantry Regiment, received the *Croix de Guerre*, a French award for bravery, for its members' actions in the Meuse-Argonne campaign. By the end of the war, 1.3 million American soldiers had served on the front, more than 50,000 had lost their lives, and about 230,000 had been wounded.

The War Ends The American troops, added to those of France, Britain, and Italy, gave the Allies a military advantage. By the fall of 1918, the German front was collapsing. Both the German and Austro-Hungarian armies had had enough. Some men deserted, others mutinied, and many refused to fight. Their leaders faced little choice but to surrender. On November 11, 1918, Germany surrendered to the Allies in a railway car in Compiègne (kohn PYEHN), France.

The war was over. Of the millions of soldiers who mobilized to fight, almost 5 million Allied and 8 million Central Power troops were dead. Nearly 6.5 million civilians were also dead, victims of the terrible conflict. It was left to the peacemakers to determine whether the results would justify the costs.

✔ **Checkpoint** How did American involvement help the Allies win World War I?

● INFOGRAPHIC



▲ American doughboy helmet, worn by a member of the first U.S. division in France

American Voices From the Western Front

In 1918, Americans fought alongside other Allied troops in several key battles on the Western Front, including Belleau Wood, Château-Thierry, the Second Battle of the Marne, Saint-Mihiel, and Argonne Forest. Although all of these battles were Allied victories, they were nonetheless deadly. Machine-gun barrages and exploding artillery shells filled with shrapnel or deadly gas killed or wounded thousands of American troops. One soldier wrote home to his mother: "Don't worry. I am alright and it is worthwhile...we are blocking the road to Paris. So we don't die in vain."

"Our division, which went into action yesterday morning at practically full strength, has lost half its men. ...I am just beginning to realize what war really is."

—John Clark, fighting in the Second Battle of the Marne, July 19, 1918



American machine-guns at Belleau Wood

Wilson Promotes Peace Without Victory

Vladimir Lenin, leader of the communist revolution in Russia, maintained that the entire war was nothing more than an imperialistic land-grab. Once in power, he exposed secret treaties that Russia had made with the other Allies in which they agreed to divide among themselves the empires of their enemies. These revelations undercut the morality of the Allied cause in the war.

For President Woodrow Wilson, however, the war was not about acquisitions and imperialism—it was about peace and freedom. In January 1917, Wilson had introduced the idea of a “peace without victory” in an address to Congress:

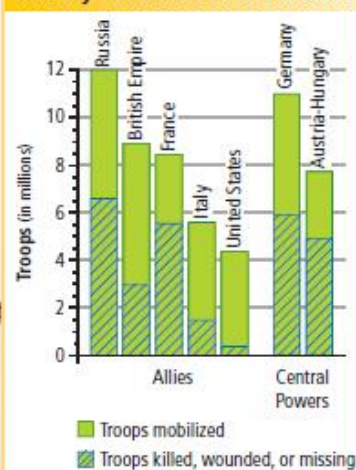
Primary Source “Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. . .

[There] must be a peace without victory. . . Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor’s terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation . . . and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.”

—Woodrow Wilson, “Peace Without Victory” speech, January 22, 1917

In another address to Congress in January 1918, Wilson answered Lenin’s charges about the nature of the conflict by outlining America’s war aims in what became known as the **Fourteen Points**. At the heart of the Fourteen Points was his idea of “peace without victory.” Wilson proposed a peace inspired by noble ideals, not greed and vengeance.

Military Casualties of World War I



SOURCE: Encyclopædia Britannica Online



Private Martin P. Coogan
75th Field Artillery

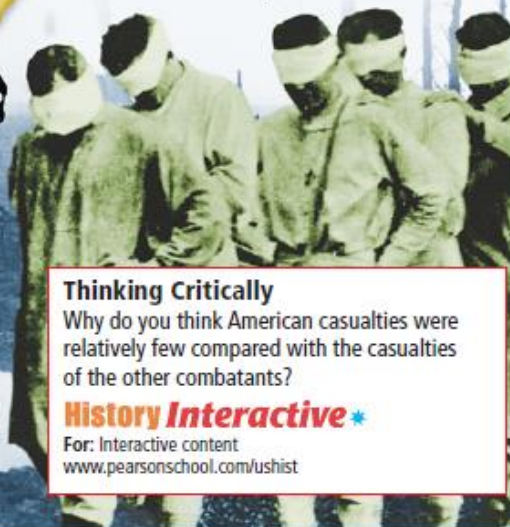
“Sept 29 at 8.50 A.M. Several men were gassed before we went over. Advanced to top of ridge. Capt. Smith killed. 1st Lt. McKory and 2nd Lt. Kerr killed later. No officers left. Piece of shrapnel hit helmet and went through canister of my gas mask.”

—Corporal Wilfred H. Allen,
fighting in late September 1918

Gas mask ▶



American soldiers bandaged after a gas attack ▼



Thinking Critically

Why do you think American casualties were relatively few compared with the casualties of the other combatants?

History Interactive *

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Devastated battlefield near Ypres



NoteTaking

Reading Skill: Summarize As you read, summarize Wilson's goals for peace and whether or not each goal was fulfilled.

Wilson's Ideas for Peace	Decision Made at Paris Peace Conference
Peace without victory	Great Britain and France make Germany pay reparations.
Open diplomacy	
Freedom of seas and free trade	
Move toward ending colonialism	
Self-determination	
League of Nations	

The Fourteen Points sought to fundamentally change the world by promoting openness, encouraging independence, and supporting freedom. Critical of all secret treaties, Wilson called for open diplomacy. He insisted on freedom of the seas, free trade, a move toward ending colonialism, and a general reduction of armaments. He also championed national **self-determination**, or the right of people to choose their own form of government. This would lead to the creation of several new, independent states but also raised many questions of which populations would achieve statehood and under what circumstances. Finally, he asked for a **League of Nations** to secure "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

In early 1919, the victorious Allies held a peace conference in Versailles (ver sĕ), a suburb of Paris, in the former palace of Louis XIV. President Wilson believed that the peace conference was too important to be left to career diplomats and lesser politicians, so he crossed the Atlantic Ocean himself to represent the United States at the conference, something no President had ever done.

Wilson did not invite any leading Republicans to join him in his peace delegation. Senator **Henry Cabot Lodge**, a Republican foreign policy expert, was left behind because Wilson disliked him intensely. Wilson's decision angered Republicans, who had won control of Congress in the 1918 elections. However, when the American President arrived in France, adoring crowds greeted him. "Never has a king, never has an emperor received such a welcome," wrote one journalist.

✔ **Checkpoint** Why did Wilson believe that a "peace without victory" would help avoid future wars?

Wilson at the Paris Peace Conference

Wilson's idealism did not inspire the other Allied leaders at the peace conference. They blamed Germany for starting the war, reminded Wilson that they had suffered more in the war than the United States, and insisted that Germany make **reparations**, or payment for war damages. They wanted to weaken Germany so that it would never threaten Europe again.

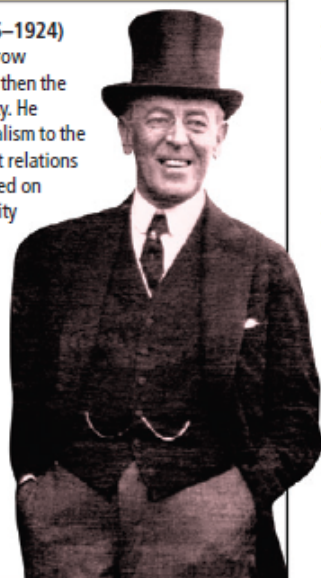
Allied Leaders Reject Wilson's Ideas British prime minister David Lloyd-George and French premier Georges Clemenceau (klay mahn SOH) knew that the citizens of their countries expected both peace and victory. Lloyd-George insisted on protecting the existing colonial status quo and punishing Germany. Clemenceau wanted to make Germany pay dearly for what it had done to France. In addition to reparations, he demanded the return of Alsace-Lorraine and several key German colonies. Besides Britain and France, other Allies also had goals of their own and were skeptical of Wilson's grand vision.

Allies Create a League of Nations Once the Versailles conference began, Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, Italian Premier Vittorio Orlando, and other Allied leaders started to chip away at Wilson's Fourteen Points. Onto the scrap heap of failed proposals they piled freedom of the seas, free trade, the liberation of colonial empires, a general disarmament, and several other ideas.

HISTORY MAKERS

Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924)

Before entering politics, Woodrow Wilson was first a professor and then the president of Princeton University. He brought his intellect and his idealism to the presidency. Wilson believed that relations between nations should be based on the principles of collective security and the common good. During the Paris Peace Conference, he urged other nations to form an international organization that could be used to promote peace. Although the League of Nations was ultimately unable to ensure peace in Europe, it laid the groundwork for the United Nations, which the United States took an active role in creating after World War II.





Wilson lost a number of battles but kept fighting to salvage a League of Nations, a world organization where countries could gather and peacefully resolve their quarrels. On this point, Wilson refused to compromise. The other delegates finally voted to make the League of Nations part of the treaty.

Problems With the Peace In the end, the various peace treaties created almost as many problems as they solved. In the new map that emerged from the conference, national self-determination was violated almost as often as it was confirmed. In Europe, several populations of Germans found themselves attached to non-German nations. The same was true of several Austrian populations.

Furthermore, in the Middle East, the breakup of the Ottoman Empire led to new states in which ethnic groups were clustered together randomly. To form Iraq, for example, the Versailles peacemakers threw together three provinces of the defeated Ottoman Empire—Basra, Baghdad, and Mosul. But Basra had natural links to the Persian Gulf and India, Baghdad to Persia, and Mosul to Turkey and Syria. The various regions had no sense of Iraqi nationalism. In addition, Iraq, like other holdings in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, was not allowed to practice self-determination. It was attached to Britain as a mandate, or territory overseen by another nation.

Checkpoint How did the decisions at the Paris Peace Conference violate the Fourteen Points?

Decision Point

Should the United States Join the League of Nations?

After the Paris Peace Conference, the United States had to decide whether to join the League of Nations. The League's purpose was to help maintain peace in the world. In the political cartoon below, Wilson overloads a dove, a symbol of peace, with a large, heavy branch representing the League of Nations. Read the options below. Then you make the call.

President Wilson Favors Joining

Primary Source

"A general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. . . . It is the principle of justice to all peoples . . . and their right to live on equal terms . . . with one another, whether they be strong or weak."

—President Woodrow Wilson,
January 8, 1918



Senator Borah Opposes Joining

Primary Source

"Mr. President, there is another reason . . . why I shall record my vote against this treaty. It imperils what I conceive to be the underlying, the very first principles of this Republic. It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers. It challenges every tenet of my political faith."

—Senator William Borah,
November 19, 1919

You Decide

1. Why did Wilson favor joining the League of Nations?
2. Why did Borah oppose joining?
3. What decision would you have made? Why?

America Rejects the Treaty

When Wilson left Versailles to return to the United States, he knew the treaty was not perfect. But he believed that over time the League could correct its problems. He still thought that a lasting peace could emerge.

Wilson Faces Troubles at Home Wilson did not leave his problems in France when he boarded a ship bound for the United States. German Americans thought the treaty was too harsh toward Germany, especially the "war guilt clause" that suggested that Germany had caused the war. Irish Americans criticized the failure to create an independent Ireland. Most importantly, however, the treaty would need to be submitted to the Republican-controlled Senate Foreign Relations Committee and then ratified, or approved, by the Republican-controlled Senate. In both bodies, as well as in his own Democratic Party, Wilson faced stiff opposition.

A handful of senators believed that the United States should not get entangled in world politics or involved in world organizations. Known as "**irreconcilables**," these isolationist senators opposed any treaty that had a League of Nations folded into it. They particularly disliked Article 10 of the League covenant. Article 10 called for mutual defense by the signers of the treaty, a pledge that each nation would "respect and preserve . . . the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all the Members of the League."

A larger group of senators, led by Henry Cabot Lodge and known as "**reservationists**," were opposed to the treaty as it was written. Some wanted only small changes, while others demanded larger ones. For example, many felt

Article 10 could lead the United States into a war without the consent of Congress, which was unconstitutional. Reservationists believed that the language of the article was too vague and demanded that it not contradict the power of Congress to declare war. But with some changes, the reservationists were prepared to vote for the Treaty of Versailles. They knew that polls indicated that the American people favored the League of Nations.

Wilson had compromised in Versailles, but he was not ready to compromise in Washington, D.C. When the Senate delayed its ratification vote, Wilson took his case directly to the people. The League of Nations had become his personal crusade. Even though he was ill and weak, he set himself the grueling task of crossing the country and giving 32 addresses in 33 days. But his health failed on September 25, 1919, in Pueblo, Colorado. He was rushed back to Washington, D.C., but suffered a debilitating stroke a few days later. As the Senate prepared to vote on the treaty, Wilson lay close to death, barely able to speak.

The Senate Rejects the Versailles Treaty In November 1919, one year after the war ended, a treaty revised to eliminate the complaints of the reservationists reached the Senate for a vote. Wilson would not compromise and told his Democratic supporters to vote with the irreconcilables against it. They did, and it was defeated. Next, the Senate voted on the treaty without any changes. The Democrats voted for it, but the combined strength of the irreconcilables and reservationists defeated it. Once more it was voted on, this time with only modest changes. Again, Wilson told his followers to vote against it. Although some Democrats voted for it, the combination of Wilson Democrats and irreconcilables defeated the treaty.

The problem was not that most of the Senate was isolationist. Except for the irreconcilables, most senators wanted the United States to participate in world affairs. They differed slightly on what form that participation would take. However, at a moment that demanded compromise, Wilson and his opponents refused to put aside personal and political differences for the good of the country. The tragedy of the failed votes was that without full American support, the League of Nations proved unable to maintain peace among nations.

✓ **Checkpoint** What reservations did Henry Cabot Lodge and his followers have about the peace treaty?

Vocabulary Builder
contradict—(kahn truh DIHKT) *v.*
to go against

SECTION 3 Assessment

Progress Monitoring Online

For: Self-test with vocabulary practice
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Comprehension

- 1. Terms and People** For each item below, write a sentence explaining why it is significant to the end of World War I.
 - convoy
 - Fourteen Points
 - self-determination
 - League of Nations
 - Henry Cabot Lodge
 - reparations
 - "irreconcilables"
 - "reservationists"

2. NoteTaking Reading Skill:

Sequence Use your timeline and chart to answer the Section Focus Question: How did Americans affect the end of World War I and its peace settlements?

Writing About History

- 3. Quick Write: Create an Effects Diagram** Predict at least three problems that could stem from the Treaty of Versailles. Create a diagram showing these effects.

Critical Thinking

- 4. Summarize** Describe America's contributions to the Allied war effort.
- 5. Express Problems Clearly** What problems did the peace treaties solve? What problems did they create?
- 6. Draw Conclusions** Why did the United States Senate ultimately reject the peace treaty and the League of Nations?