Part Instructional Objectives

After you have taught Part Five, your students should be able to answer the following questions:

1. How and why did the United States fight in World War I? How did the settlement of the war affect the next two decades?
2. What were the dramatic changes and upheavals experienced by the American economy?
3. How and why did the federal government increase its power and expand its authority in response to domestic economic, political, and social challenges?
4. How and why did a mass national culture in America emerge?
5. How and why did America transform from an isolationist state to leader of the Allied coalition in World War II?
6. How and why did the Allied Powers execute and win World War II?
In the 1930s journalist Mark Sullivan described World War I as a "fundamental alteration, from which we would never go back." Sullivan was correct in viewing the war as a pivotal point in world history, but many of the important factors that were transforming America were in place before the war. By 1914 industrialization, massive immigration, and the growth of cities had set the foundations for distinctly modern American society: diverse, prosperous, and urban. This new society was also more organized, more bureaucratic, and more complex. And by 1945, after having mobilized its resources to fight two world wars and the Great Depression, it was more wealthy and powerful, with a much larger national government. The edifice of the new society was largely complete.

**Government**

An essential feature of modern American society was a strong national state. This state came late and haltingly to the United States compared with those of the industrialized countries of western Europe. American participation in World War I called forth an unprecedented mobilization of the domestic economy, but policymakers quickly dismantled the centralized wartime bureaucracies in 1919. During the 1920s the Harding and Coolidge administrations embraced a philosophy of business-government partnership, believing that corporate capitalism would provide for the welfare of the American people. It took the Great Depression, with its countless business failures and unprecedented levels of unemployment, to overthrow that long-cherished idea. Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal dramatically expanded federal responsibility for the economy and the welfare of ordinary citizens. An even greater expansion of the national state resulted from the massive mobilization following America’s entry into World War II. Unlike the experience after World War I, the new state apparatus remained in place when the war ended.

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Diplomacy

A second defining feature of modern America was its slow but steady movement toward a position of world political leadership, which it continues to hold today. World War I provided the first major impetus: Before 1914 the world had been dominated by European nations, but from that point on the United States grew increasingly influential in international economic and political affairs. In 1918 American troops provided the margin of victory for the Allies, and President Wilson helped to shape the treaties that ended the war. Although the United States refused to join the League of Nations, its dominant economic position meant that it played an active role in world affairs in the 1920s and 1930s. America’s global presence accelerated in 1941, when the nation threw all its energies into a second world war waged against fascist nations in Europe and Asia. Of all the major powers, only the United States emerged physically unscathed from that devastating global conflagration. The country was also the only one to possess a dangerous new weapon—the atomic bomb. Within wartime decisions and strategies lay the roots of the Cold War that followed.

Economy

The dominant world position of modern America was the result of a robust domestic economy. Between 1914 and 1945 the nation boasted the world’s most productive economic system. Even the Great Depression, which hit the United States harder than any other industrialized nation, did not permanently undermine America’s global economic standing. American businesses successfully competed in world markets, and American financial institutions played the leading role in international economic affairs. Large-scale corporate organizations replaced smaller family-run businesses. The automobile industry symbolized the ascendancy of mass-production techniques. Many workers shared in the general prosperity but also bore the brunt of economic downturns. These uncertainties fueled the dramatic growth of the labor movement in the 1930s.

Society

The character of modern American society was shaped by the great wave of European immigration between 1880 and 1914 and the movement of native-born Americans from farms to cities. The growth of metropolitan areas gave the nation an increasingly urban tone, and geographical mobility broke down regional differences. Many old-stock white Americans viewed these processes with alarm; in 1924 they secured legislation limiting immigration to countries in the Western Hemisphere. Migration across the border from Mexico continued to shape the West and Southwest. And the internal movement of people continued: African Americans moved north and west to take factory jobs, dust bowl farmers migrated to the Far West, and Appalachian whites took jobs in World War II defense plants around the country.

Culture

Finally, modern America saw the emergence of a mass national culture. By the 1920s advertising and the new entertainment media—movies, radio, and magazines—disseminated the new values of consumerism, and the Hollywood movie industry exported this vision of the American experience worldwide. Not even the Great Depression could divert Americans from their desire for leisure, self-fulfillment, and consumer goods. The emphasis on consumption and a quest for a rising standard of living would define the American experience for the rest of the twentieth century.
Chapter 22
War and the American State
1914–1920

Teaching Resources

Chapter Instructional Objectives
After you have taught this chapter, your students should be able to answer the following questions:
1. How and why did World War I begin?
2. Why did President Woodrow Wilson decide to bring the United States into the war in 1917?
3. Why and in what ways was World War I considered a "total war"?
4. How did the war affect economic affairs and social relationships in America?
5. How and why did President Wilson attempt to shape the Treaty of Versailles?
6. Why did the Settlement of 1919–20 fail to achieve a lasting peace in America and Europe?

Chapter Annotated Outline

I. The Great War, 1914–1918
   A. War in Europe
      1. When war erupted, most Americans saw no reason to involve themselves in the struggle among Europe’s imperialist powers; the United States had a good relationship with both sides.
      2. Many Americans believed in “U.S. exceptionalism,” the feeling that democratic values and institutions made their country immune from the corruption and chaos of other nations.
      3. Almost from the moment the Triple Entente was formed in 1907 to counter the Triple Alliance, European leaders began to prepare for an inevitable conflict.
      4. Austria’s seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908 enraged Russia and Serbia; Serbian terrorists recruited Bosnians to agitate against Austrian rule.
      5. On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian, assassinated Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife in the town of Sarajevo.
      6. After the assassination, the complex European alliance system drew all of the major powers into war within a few days.
      7. The two rival blocs faced off: Great Britain, France, Japan, Russia, and Italy formed the Allied Powers, while Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria formed the Central Powers.
      8. Because the alliance system encompassed competing imperial powers, the conflict spread to parts of the world far beyond Europe, including the Middle East, Africa, and China. The worldwide scope of the conflict came to be known as “the Great War,” or later, World War I.
      9. World War I utilized new military technology, much of it from the United States, which made armies more deadly than before.
      10. Trench warfare produced unprecedented numbers of casualties; between February and December of 1916, the French suffered 550,000 casualties and the Germans 450,000.
   B. The Perils of Neutrality
      1. After the war began in Europe, President Woodrow Wilson made it clear that America would remain neutral; he believed that if America kept aloof from the quarrel, he could arbitrate and influence a European settlement.
2. The United States had divided loyalties concerning the war; many Americans felt deep cultural ties to the Allies, while others, especially Irish and German immigrants, had strong pro-German sentiments.

3. Progressive leaders opposed American participation in the European conflict, new pacifist groups mobilized popular opposition, the political left condemned the war as imperialistic, and some industrialists, like Henry Ford, bankrolled antiwar activities.

4. African American leaders saw the war as a conflict of the white race only.

5. The British imposed a naval blockade that in effect prevented neutral nations, including the United States, from trading with Germany and its Allies.

6. The resulting trade imbalance translated into closer U.S. economic ties with the Allies, despite America’s official posture of neutrality.

7. The German navy launched a devastating new weapon, the U-boat, and issued a warning to civilians that all ships flying the flags of Britain or its Allies were liable to be destroyed.

8. On May 7, 1915, the British luxury liner Lusitania was torpedoed by a German U-boat off the coast of Ireland; 128 Americans were among the 1,198 people killed.

9. In September 1915, Germany announced that its U-boats would no longer attack passenger ships without warning.

10. Despite repeated attempts to mediate an end to the European conflict through his aide, Colonel Edward House, Wilson worried that the United States might be drawn into the conflict; in the fall of 1915, he endorsed a $1 billion buildup of the army and navy.

11. Public opposition to entering the war made the election of 1916 a contest between two anti-war candidates—Wilson and Charles Evans Hughes; Wilson won by only a slim margin that limited his options in mobilizing the nation for war.

12. The events of early 1917 diminished Wilson’s lingering hopes of staying out of the conflict. The resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, in conjunction with the Zimmermann telegram, inflamed anti-German sentiment in America.

13. The Zimmermann telegram was an intercepted communication from Germany’s foreign secretary to the German minister in Mexico City, in which Arthur Zimmermann urged Mexico to join the Central Powers in the war, in return for which Germany promised to help Mexico recover “the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.”

14. Throughout March 1917, German U-boats attacked and sank American ships without warning; on April 2, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war based on U.S. self-interest and Americans’ long-standing sense of their exceptionalism. Many Americans accepted Wilson’s claim that America had no selfish aims and that U.S. participation in the war would make the world “safe for democracy.”

15. The United States formally declared war on Germany on April 6, 1917, although the vote was far from unanimous.

C. “Over There”

1. Many Americans assumed that their participation in the war would be limited to military and economic aid and were surprised to find that American troops would be sent to Europe.

2. To field an adequate fighting force, the American government conscripted almost 4 million men with the passage of the Selective Service Act in May 1917; women joined as navy clerks or army nurses.

3. The Selective Service system combined central direction from Washington with local administration and civilian control; thus it preserved individual freedom and local autonomy.

4. General John J. Pershing was head of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), but the new recruits had to be trained before being transported across the submarine-infested Atlantic.

5. The government countered the U-boats by sending armed convoys across the Atlantic; the plan worked: no American soldiers were killed on the way to Europe.

6. Pershing was reluctant to put his men under foreign commanders; thus, until May 1918, the French and the British still bore the brunt of the fighting.

7. Their burden increased when the Eastern Front collapsed after the Russian Revolution in November 1917. Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the new Bolshevik
regime surrendered about a third of Russia’s territories in return for peace with the Central Powers.

8. At the request of Allied leaders, Pershing committed about 60,000 Americans to help the French repel the Germans in the battles of Château-Thierry and Belleau Wood.

9. American and Allied forces brought the German offensive to a halt in mid-July; by mid-September 1918, American and French troops had forced the Germans to retreat at St. Mihiel.

10. The Meuse-Argonne campaign pushed the enemy back across the Selle River near Verdun and broke the German defenses, at the cost of over 26,000 American lives.

11. German and Allied representatives signed an armistice on November 11, 1918, ending World War I.

12. America’s decisive contribution shifted international power: European dominance declined, and the United States emerged as a world leader.

13. The United States lost 48,000 American servicemen in the fighting, and another 27,000 died from other causes; the Allies and Central Powers lost 8 million soldiers.

14. The ethnic diversity of the American military worried some observers, but most optimistically predicted that service in the armed forces would promote the Americanization of immigrants.

15. The Americanization of the army was imperfect at best; African Americans were in segregated units under the control of white officers and were assigned to the most menial tasks.

16. Racial violence erupted at several camps. The worst incident occurred in Houston in August 1917, when 15 white soldiers were killed by black soldiers in retaliation for a string of racial incidents. The army quickly disbanded the black battalion, but the legacy of racial mistrust lingered throughout the rest of the war.

17. A group of former AEF soldiers formed the first American Legion in 1919 in order to preserve the “memories and incidents” of their association in the Great War.

II. War on the Home Front

A. Mobilizing Industry and the Economy

1. The cost of the war to America eventually reached $33 billion. The government paid for the war by using the Federal Reserve System to expand the money supply, by enacting the War Revenue Bills of 1917 and 1918, and by collecting excess-profits taxes from corporations.

2. The central agency for coordinating wartime production, the War Industries Board (WIB) under Bernard Baruch, epitomized an unparalleled expansion of the federal government’s powers.

3. Despite higher taxes, corporate profits soared, aided by the suspension of anti-trust laws and the institution of price guarantees for war work.

4. To ease a fuel shortage in the winter of 1917–18, the Fuel Administration ordered the temporary closing of factories, and the Railroad War Board took temporary control of the railroads when traffic slowed troop movement.

5. The Food Administration encouraged farmers to expand production and encouraged housewives to conserve food; at no time was it necessary for the government to contemplate domestic food rationing.

6. With the signing of the armistice in 1918, the WIB was disbanded; most Americans could tolerate government planning power during an emergency but not permanently.

7. The United States’ participation in the war lasted just eighteen months, but it left an enduring legacy: the modern bureaucratic state.

B. Mobilizing American Workers

1. The National War Labor Board (NWLB) and acute labor shortages helped to improve labor’s position with eight-hour days, time-and-a-half pay for overtime, and the endorsement of equal pay for women.

2. After the war, the NWLB quickly disbanded; wartime inflation ate up most of the wage hikes, and a postwar anti-union movement caused a decline in union membership.

3. During the war emergency, northern factories actively recruited African Americans, spawning the “Great Migration” from the South. More than 400,000 African Americans from the South moved to northern industrial cities, where despite discrimination, they found new opportunities and an escape from the repressive southern agricultural system.
4. Wartime labor shortages prompted many Mexican Americans to leave farm labor for industrial jobs in southwestern cities. At least 100,000 Mexicans entered the United States between 1917 and 1920, often settling in segregated neighborhoods (barrios) in urban areas, meeting discrimination similar to that faced by African Americans.

5. About 1 million women joined the labor force for the first time, and many of the 8 million already working switched from low-paying fields to higher-paying industrial work.

C. Wartime Reform: Woman Suffrage and Prohibition

1. Members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) felt that women's patriotic service could advance the cause of woman suffrage.

2. Members of the National Woman's Party (NWP) were arrested and jailed for picketing the White House; they became martyrs through their hunger strike and drew attention to the issue of woman suffrage.

3. In January 1918, Wilson withdrew his opposition to a federal woman suffrage amendment. The amendment quickly passed the House but took eighteen months to get through the Senate, followed by another year of hard work for ratification by the states. On August 26, 1920, the goal of woman suffrage was finally achieved with the Nineteenth Amendment.

4. Throughout the mobilization period, advocates pushed for social reforms: addressing children’s welfare, launching a campaign against sexually transmitted diseases, and lobbying for the prohibition of alcohol.

5. Prohibition met with resistance in the cities because alcoholic beverages played an important role in the social life of certain ethnic cultures.

6. Many states already had Prohibition laws, but World War I offered the impetus for national action, as beer drinking became unpatriotic in many people's minds.

7. In December 1917, Congress passed the Eighteenth Amendment prohibiting the “manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors.” Ratified in 1919 and made effective on January 16, 1920, the Eighteenth Amendment demonstrated the widening influence of the state in matters of personal behavior.

8. Federal agencies were quickly disbanded after the war, reflecting the unease most Americans felt about a strong bureaucratic state.

9. The wartime collaboration between government and business gave corporate leaders more, rather than less, influence in shaping the economy and government policy.

D. Promoting National Unity

1. Formed in 1917, the Committee on Public Information (CPI) promoted public support for the war and acted as a nationalizing force by promoting the development of a national ideology.

2. During the war, the CPI touched the lives of practically every American, and in its zeal, it often ventured into hate-mongering.

3. Many Americans found themselves targets of suspicion as self-appointed agents of the American Protective League spied on neighbors and coworkers.

4. The CPI encouraged ethnic groups to give up their Old World customs in the spirit of “One Hundred Percent Americanism,” an insistence on conformity and an intolerance of dissent. German Americans bore the brunt of this campaign owing to the hostility generated by propaganda about German militarism and outrages.

5. Law enforcement officials tolerated little criticism of established values and institutions; legal tools for curbing dissent included the Espionage Act of 1917, which imposed stiff penalties for antiwar activities, and the Sedition Act of 1918, which focused on disloyal speech, writing, and behavior.

6. The acts, which defined treason and sedition loosely, led to the conviction of more than one thousand people and focused particularly on socialists and radical groups such as the IWW (the Wobblies).

7. Courts rarely resisted wartime legal excesses. In Schenck v. United States, the Supreme Court upheld limits on freedom of speech that would not have been acceptable in peacetime.

III. An Unsettled Peace, 1919–1920

A. The Treaty of Versailles

1. The Allies accepted Wilson’s Fourteen Points as the basis for the peace negotia-
tions for the Treaty of Versailles that began in January 1919.

2. Wilson called for open diplomacy, freedom of navigation upon the seas, arms reduction, the removal of trade barriers, and an international commitment to national self-determination.

3. Essential to Wilson’s vision was the creation of a multinational organization “for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.” The League of Nations became Wilson’s obsession.

4. The Fourteen Points were imbued with the spirit of progressivism, but the lofty goals and ideals for world reformation proved too far reaching to be practical or attainable.

5. According to Article X of the peace treaty, the League of Nations would curb aggressor countries through collective military action and mediate disputes to prevent future wars.

6. Representatives from twenty-seven countries attended the peace conference in Versailles, but representatives from Germany and Russia were excluded.

7. France, Italy, and Great Britain wanted to punish Germany and treat themselves to the spoils of war by demanding heavy reparations; they had also made secret agreements to divide up the German colonies.

8. National self-determination bore fruit in the creation of the independent states of Austria, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia.

9. The creation of the new nations of Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia upheld the principle of self-determination, while also isolating Soviet Russia from the rest of Europe.

10. Wilson won only limited concessions regarding the colonial empires. The Central Powers’ colonial empires in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East were dismantled, but instead of becoming independent countries, the colonies were assigned to victorious Allied nations to administer as mandates.

11. Certain topics, such as freedom of the seas and free trade, never even appeared on the agenda because of Allied resistance.

12. Wilson had only partial success in scaling back French and British demands for reparations from Germany, which eventually were set at $33 billion.

13. Wilson consoled himself with the negotiators’ commitment to his proposed League of Nations. He acknowledged that the peace treaty had defects but expressed confidence that they could be resolved by a permanent international organization dedicated to the peaceful resolution of disputes.

14. A peace treaty was signed in Versailles on June 28, 1919, but when Wilson presented the treaty to the U.S. Senate, it did not receive the necessary two-thirds vote for ratification.

15. Progressive senators felt that the treaty was too conservative, “irreconcilables” disapproved of permanent U.S. participation in European affairs, and Republicans wanted to amend Article X because they thought it would restrict Congress’s constitutional authority to declare war and would limit the freedom of the United States to pursue a unilateral foreign policy.

16. In September of 1919, Wilson went on a speaking tour to defend the treaty, but the tour was cut short when he collapsed; a week later he suffered a severe stroke.

17. Wilson remained inflexible in his refusal to compromise, but the treaty was not ratified when it came up for a vote in the Senate in 1919 and again in 1920.

18. The United States never ratified the Versailles treaty or joined the League of Nations. Many wartime issues were only partially resolved; some unresolved problems played a major role in the coming of World War II, and some, like the competing ethnic nationalism in the Balkans, remain unsolved today.

B. Racial Strife, Labor Unrest, and the Red Scare

1. Many African Americans emerged from the war determined to stand up for their rights and contributed to a spirit of resistance to oppression that characterized the early 1920s.

2. Blacks who had migrated to the North and blacks who had served in the war had high expectations that exacerbated white racism; lynching nearly doubled in the South, and race riots broke out in the North.
3. A variety of tensions were present in northern cities where violence erupted: black voters determined the winners of close elections, and blacks competed with whites for jobs and housing.

4. Workers of all races had hopes for a better life, but after the war employers resumed attacks on union activity, and rapidly rising inflation threatened to wipe out wage increases.

5. As a result of workers’ determination and employers’ resistance, one in every five workers went on strike in 1919; strikes were held by steelworkers, shipyard workers in Seattle, and policemen in Boston.

6. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts fired the entire Boston police force, and that strike failed; Coolidge was rewarded with the Republican vice presidential nomination in 1920.

7. A crucial factor in organized labor’s failure to win many of its strikes in the post-war period was the pervasive fear of radicalism in America, which coincided with a long-standing anxiety about unassimilated immigrants, an anxiety that had been made worse by the war.

8. The Russian Revolution of 1917 so alarmed the Allies that Wilson sent several thousand troops to Russia in hopes of weakening the Bolshevik regime.

9. American fears of communism were deepened as the labor unrest coincided with the founding of the Bolsheviks’ Third International (or Comintern) to export Communist doctrine and revolution to the rest of the world.

10. Ironically, as public concern about domestic Bolshevism increased, the U.S. Communist party and the Communist Labor party were rapidly losing members and political power.

11. Tensions mounted with a series of bombings in the early spring of 1919; in November, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer staged the first of what were known as “Palmer raids,” in which federal agents stormed the headquarters of radical organizations.

12. Lacking the protection of U.S. citizenship, thousands of aliens who had committed no crime but were suspect because of their anarchist or revolutionary beliefs or their immigrant backgrounds faced deportation without formal trial or indictment.

13. Palmer predicted that a conspiracy attempt to overthrow the government would occur on May Day in 1920; when the incident never occurred, the hysteria of the Red Scare began to abate.

14. At the height of the Red Scare, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti—alien draft evaders—were arrested for robbery and murder, were denied a new trial even though evidence surfaced that suggested their innocence, and were executed in 1927.

15. The war left racial, ethnic, and class tensions in its wake. With few casualties and no physical destruction at home, the positive legacy was that America emerged from the war stronger than ever—a major international power with exceptional industrial productivity.

Key Terms

armistice A temporary cession of military hostilities. World War I ended when the armistice of November 1918 simply continued because both sides had lost their will to fight further. (679)

war of attrition A military strategy of small-scale attacks used, usually by the weaker side, to sap the resources and morale of the stronger side. Examples include the attacks carried out by Patriot militias in the South during the War of Independence and the guerrilla tactics of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. (679)

Fourteen Points President Woodrow Wilson proposed these principles as a basis for peace negotiations at Versailles in 1919. Included in the points were open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, territorial integrity, arms reduction, national self-determination, and establishment of the League of Nations. (694)

national self-determination This concept holds that nations have the right to be sovereign states with political and economic autonomy. A central component of Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points for a World War I peace treaty, this concept challenged the existing colonial empires. The right of national self-determination continues to be invoked by nationalist, usually ethnic groups, such as the Basques in Spain, the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, and the Palestinians in Israel. (695)

temperance, temperance movement A long-term series of activities by reform organizations to encourage individuals and governments to limit the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Leading tem-
perance groups include the American Temperance Society of the 1830s, the Washingtonian Association of the 1840s, the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the late nineteenth century, and Alcoholics Anonymous, which was founded in the 1930s. (692)

Prohibition Law dictated by the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution that banned the manufacture and sale of alcohol in the United States. Prohibition took effect in January of 1920, but public resistance was intense. “Speakeasies” (illegal saloons) sprang up around the country, and bootleggers (illegal alcohol providers) supplied alcohol smuggled from Canada and Mexico. Organized crime invested heavily in bootlegging, and gang war slayings generated much publicity. Public pressure led to the repeal of prohibition by the Twenty-First Amendment in 1933. (688)

Lecture Strategies

1. The American decision to go to war is a natural lecture topic. Several points can be developed, including the Eurocentric nature of the United States; the cultural influence of Great Britain and, to a lesser degree, France; the negative image of imperial Germany; the impact of Allied propaganda in this country; the economic relationship of the United States with the Allies; American conceptions of international law and neutrality rights; and the impact of President Wilson’s vision of a cooperative postwar world.

2. The American military’s role in World War I may interest students. American unpreparedness—owing to tradition, Mexican border problems, and the assumption that troops would not have to be sent abroad—could be part of the lecture. A second part could examine the buildup of the army through conscription, the screening of recruits, segregation, and training. The third part of the lecture could focus on the American Expeditionary Force in action and could include a timeline, numbers, battles, casualties, and the role American forces played in securing the victory.

3. Another lecture subject is the war’s impact on U.S. industry: a quarter of the gross national product went for war production. With an eye toward the 1920s, the government’s cozy relationship with business through takeovers and regulation should be explored. Similarly, the government’s brief honeymoon with labor should be described.

4. Focusing on civil liberties during and after the war is useful. Topics to explore in a lecture include the pressure used to generate support for the war and the treatment of “slackers,” government as an engine of oppression through the Committee on Public Information and the Sedition Act, and the activities of the Wilson administration during the Red Scare. The Sacco-Vanzetti case can be used to finish the lecture.

5. The defeat of the Treaty of Versailles constitutes an important subject for a lecture to the students regarding the end of World War I. Although it is tempting to dwell on the adversarial relationship between President Wilson and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, it would be better to articulate other reasons for the Senate’s refusal to approve the League of Nations. A major stumbling block was fear that an international organization would limit American sovereignty. Many people believed that the war had been won and that America’s job had been completed. Wilson’s haughtiness and arrogance toward the Senate also hurt his chances of securing approval of membership in the league. The treatment of Germany at the peace conference also stirred Senate opposition to the league.

6. The war’s consequences for the nation should be examined. The United States became a creditor nation and replaced Great Britain as the leader in global finance. The negative impact of the war—the Allies squabbling among themselves and perpetuating power politics—should be probed. The yearning for “normalcy” that followed eight years of progressivism and war must be explained. The war’s costs in money and lives should be emphasized.

7. Write a lecture about racial unrest on the home front. Topics to touch on include the effect of black migration to the North, prevailing racism, the black experience in the armed forces, the black experience in the military abroad, and the race riots of 1919. Expanded subjects could address the movement of Mexican Americans into industrial jobs and the creation of segregated neighborhoods in urban areas. Ask students to question the origins and resilience of racial stereotypes.

8. The progress of women, who also sought to take advantage of wartime opportunities, might interest students. Many women joined the labor force in large numbers for the first time, and others switched to higher-paying work in the industrial sector, although men and women often viewed this transformation as only a temporary, wartime measure. Ask students to question the origins and resilience of gender stereotypes.
Reviewing the Text

These questions are from the textbook and follow each main section of the narrative. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

The Great War, 1914–1918 (pp. 674–683)

1. What were the causes of World War I? Why is the conflict considered a “world” war?
   - Causes: Geopolitical rivalries between European powers, formation of Triple Entente by France, Russia, and Britain in 1907, Austria’s seizure of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne), and loyalties of alliance system drew European nations into war to support their allies.
   - World War I is considered a world war based on the large number of European nations involved in the conflict, which drew their colonies as well into the war, making it global in scope.

2. Why did America become involved in the war? How did President Wilson justify his decision to enter the war in 1917? How did Americans respond?
   - The U.S. joined the war due to the sinking of the Lusitania passenger ship by a German submarine. Germany had unleashed unrestricted submarine warfare against allied shipping. The U.S. had declared its right of neutrality to trade with both sides during the war. Germany also attempted to solicit the aid of Mexico against the United States, prompting the U.S. to further break off ties with Germany and declare war the following month.
   - Wilson justified U.S. entrance into the war by stating that the rights of the nation had been trampled and its trade and citizens’ lives imperiled. He also stated that the U.S. was an exceptional nation that would bring democracy to Europe.
   - Americans responded by splitting public opinion on entering the war. Six senators and fifty congressmen voted against the United States entering the war. Americans supported the war but some viewed the conflict as a European affair that did not require the use of American troops to end the conflict. A sizable antiwar movement developed led by labor unions and U.S. radical organizations.

3. How did the fighting in Europe differ from previous wars? What was the experience like for soldiers on the front lines?
   - The fighting differed in the use of trench warfare, the use of industrial weapons such as mustard gas and machine gun, and the mobilization of vast numbers of men to fight for several years duration.
   - The experience of the war was psychologically and physically terrible for troops, which resulted in many psychological disorders for troops, included the use of poison chemicals as weapons, perpetuated segregation based on race for African Americans, and caused a high casualty rate due to industrial weaponry.

War on the Home Front (pp. 684–694)

1. How did the nation mobilize its industrial base and manpower to fight World War I? What were the main challenges?
   - The United States mobilized its industrial base by suspending antitrust laws to encourage cooperation and promote efficiency, turned to business executives to run the wartime administration, created new agencies such as the War Industries Board, instituted price guarantees for war work, and temporarily nationalizing key wartime industries.
   - The United States mobilized manpower by creating a draft and also cultivating a relationship with labor unions that promoted worker’s rights through the National War Labor Board.
   - Main challenges included adapting wartime economic needs to progressive-minded society, finding enough workers to fill key positions in agriculture and industry, finding enough soldiers to fill the ranks of the armed forces, and creating workable relationships with the diversity of labor unions in the United States.

2. What was the impact of World War I on racial and ethnic minorities? On women?
   - Blacks but not Indians were segregated in the U.S. armed forces.
   - Employers recruited minorities for industrial jobs that excluded them before the war.
   - Women were the largest group to take advantage of wartime opportunities. Factory jobs opened for them for the first time. Women also used the war as a public rationale to lobby successfully for the passage of a constitutional amendment granting women the right to vote in federal elections. The climate of moral reform during the war also helped women to successfully campaign for a constitutional amendment to halt alcohol consumption.
• Lure of war work brought thousands of blacks and Mexicans to industrial cities, many in the Midwest and Southwest.

3. In what ways did the government limit civil liberties during the war, and with what justification?
• The government emphasized “One Hundred Percent Americanism” as a policy emphasizing conformity and intolerance for antiwar dissent. A repressive spirit hostile to reform developed within all branches of government. Wartime propaganda vilified Germans and created a climate of suspicion against all foreigners who refused to immediately assimilate.
• Passage of the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 imposed stiff penalties for antiwar activities and allowed the federal government to ban treasonous materials from the mails. The Postmaster General revoked mailing privileges of many groups, shutting them down effectively. Socialists and the IWW suffered tremendously on an organizational and individual level. The Supreme Court upheld most convictions.

An Unsettled Peace, 1919–1920 (pp. 694–702)

1. Describe the peace conference at Versailles. What nations attended? What nations did not? Who became the primary decision makers?
• Twenty-seven countries attended the conference. The allies excluded the new Russian communist regime and Germany.
• The Big Four: Wilson, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, Premier George Clemenceau of France, and Prime Minister Vitorio Orlando of Italy made the decisions.
• The allies wanted to punish Germany and sought a peace plan that differed radically from Wilson’s more lax Fourteen Points. The division of German colonies among the allies and the payment of heavy reparations by Germany became the basis of the punitive treaty.

2. What was President Wilson’s vision of the postwar world, and how specifically did he propose to achieve it? How did other participants at the peace conference react to Wilson’s ideas?
• Wilson promoted a League of Nations and the Fourteen Points as cornerstones of his postwar program for peace. He wanted a “peace without victory” and a balance of power that would create peace in the future. Open diplomacy, free navigation of the seas, arms reduction, the removal of trade barriers, international commitment to national self-determination, and a multinational organization for providing mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity formed the basis of his proposal.
• The Fourteen Points proposed to extend the ideal of America—democracy, freedom and peaceful economic expansion—to the rest of the world.
• The League of Nations would supervise disarmament and curb aggressor nations through collective military action.
• Other participants wanted a punitive peace, created a reparations clause, and sought to divide the former German colonies. Wilson had little success in achieving his goals, such as dismantling the African, Asian, and Middle Eastern colonies but not granting independence. Freedom of the seas and free trade were stymied at the conference by the Allies. Wilson scaled back reparations to 33 billion dollars, a large sum, despite Allied resistance.

3. What were the main components of the final treaty, and how do you explain the refusal of the United States to ratify it?
• Treaty components: $33 billion reparations payment by Germany to allies, division of German colonies among allies, and the formation of the League of Nations.
• U.S. refusal: Some progressive senators felt that the treaty was too conservative, some Republican senators balked at Wilson’s failure to include a Republican on the treaty commission, some felt that the United States should remain isolated from European affairs, some wanted the United States to remain more independent in pursuing a unilateral foreign policy.

4. What were the main causes and results of postwar social conflicts within the United States?
• Causes: War left social tensions in its wake. These were inflamed by postwar economic recession, increase of unemployment rate, wartime migration of blacks to northern cities, rise of xenophobic and anti-immigrant movement (nativism), fear of European political radicals and Soviet communists influence in the United States, jingoism, rise of the Ku Klux Klan, labor strikes for better working conditions, and new attitude of African Americans to resist white violence with violence.
• Results: Race riots (Chicago 1917), bombings of blacks and labor unions, Palmer raids, Sacco and Vanzetti case.
Chapter Writing Assignments

These questions appear at the end of Chapter 22 in the textbook. They are provided in the Computerized Test Bank with suggested responses, for your convenience.

1. How did World War I change America—both its standing in the world and at home? Why is the war important enough for the authors of this textbook to give it a full chapter?

- A nationalistic emphasis on conformity increased power of police state and assimilation in the United States
- It resulted in the consolidation of the United States as major diplomatic power and policeman of the world.
- The United States becomes a creditor rather than debtor nation with Europe, increasing value of U.S. dollar on world market.
- The United States becomes more entangled in European alliances, leading to less isolation and great role in military affairs.
- War helped to increase technological and industrial development and productivity, making the United States an industrial giant.

2. Is it fair to say that progressivism shaped America’s involvement in World War I—why the United States entered the war, how the nation fought, and Wilson’s plan for peace? Why or why not?

- Progressivism influenced the experience of the United States during World War I in profound ways: Many progressive reformers had been active in the mobilization for war, hoping to keep alive the progressive spirit by pushing for a wide range of social reforms. They anticipated that the wartime expansion of federal power would lead to a more dramatic governmental activism in the postwar era.
- Entering the war was a symbol of the Progressive spirit of moral reform led by an exceptional people to instill the American values of democracy and freedom in feudal Europe.
- The nation fought using segregated armed forces, reflecting the progressive spirit of racial discrimination prevalent in white progressive reform circles. The teaching of Christian white middle class values to troops reflected the Progressive spirit of cultural reform and assimilation. The U.S. government also expanded the scope and size of its bureaucracy to fight the war, a reflection of Progressive beliefs in the use of big government to solve social problems.
- Wilson’s plan for peace reflected progressivism by its moral tone of instilling the American values of democracy and freedom throughout Europe through a just peace with Germany.

3. In what ways did World War I contribute to the growth of the American state?

- World War I contributed to the growth of the American state by making the country the dominant diplomatic and world power, by increasing the size and scope of the federal bureaucracy, by increasing the police powers of the government, adding two amendments to the Constitution, and making the United States a creditor rather than a debtor nation with Europe, and thereby strengthening the national economy.

Class Discussion Starters

1. Why did the United States enter World War I?
   Possible answers
   a. Germany’s unrestricted submarine warfare and the threat it posed to neutrality rights.
   b. American economic interests.
   c. Cultural ties with Great Britain and France.
   d. The Zimmermann telegram.
   e. The sinking of the Lusitania.

2. How did the United States help the Allies win World War I?
   Possible answers
   a. American entry into the war gave the Allies an enormous psychological boost.
   b. The United States Navy helped to suppress the U-boat menace in the North Atlantic so that an expeditionary force could be dispatched safely to Europe.
   c. The rapid buildup of American troop strength in the summer of 1918 helped to halt the final German offensive and then permitted the Allies to begin a ground offensive that brought the war to an end.

3. What was the economic legacy of World War I?
   Possible answers
   a. Internationally, the United States became a creditor nation.
b. Reduced international trade led to the War Revenue Bills of 1916 and 1917, which established the first income taxes in American history.

c. With the war’s cost at $33 billion, the national debt increased to previously unseen heights.

4. How did the federal government’s powers expand during World War I?

Possible answers

a. The federal government exercised control over the citizenry through the draft.

b. The federal government intervened in the economy on a massive scale through agencies such as the War Industries Board and the National War Labor Board.

c. The federal government curbed civil liberties.

5. What were some of the war’s social effects?

Possible answers

a. More than 400,000 southern blacks moved to northern cities to fill the increasing demand for labor.

b. There were more job opportunities for Mexican Americans in industry.

c. The war helped the woman suffrage movement because women made significant contributions to the victory.

d. The war helped to speed the passage of Prohibition as supporters pointed to the benefits of a sober labor force.

6. Why were there large-scale violations of civil liberties during World War I?

Possible answers

a. The government’s attempt to promote a “national ideology” fanned public fears through the activities of the Committee on Public Information.

b. The wartime atmosphere contributed to the organization of quasi-vigilante groups such as the American Protective League, which enforced support for the war.

c. Measures such as the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 were passed.

d. An ocean away from the real fighting, civilians directed their aggression at targets that they could see: local dissenters.

7. What were some of the changes in Europe after World War I?

Possible answers

a. Europe experienced the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian, German, Ottoman, and Russian empires, and absorbed new independent states.

b. Europe had to contend with the isolation of the Soviet Union owing to its Communist revolution.

c. Europe saw the reorganization of the former German colonies by Britain and France under a protectorate rubric.

8. What caused racial clashes in the United States from 1917 to 1919?

Possible answers

a. The migration northward of thousands of blacks to previously white areas caused racial tension.

b. Blacks and whites began competing for jobs and housing.

c. Black soldiers were treated as inferiors to white soldiers within the American military, despite fighting for the nation. Blacks also discovered that they were being treated more equally abroad than they were in the United States.

9. What were the origins of the Red Scare?

Possible answers

a. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia had brought to power a regime that called for worldwide revolution.

b. Some of the origins were derived from the racial and labor strife associated with the war and suspicions that “Reds” were behind those occurrences.

c. A series of attempted bombings in 1919 exacerbated fears that Communists were trying to destroy the government of the United States.

d. Overzealousness on the part of federal officials, as exemplified by the “Palmer raids” of Wilson’s attorney general, increased the suspicion of American citizens toward Communists.

10. Why was the Eighteenth Amendment adopted?

Possible answers

a. Prohibition had historical roots; many states were already enforcing it.
b. There was strong support for the measure in rural areas and in certain Protestant churches.

c. Prohibition was regarded as a progressive measure: for example, it would aid the fight against urban poverty.

d. There was an anti-German tone to the drive, as several major brewers had German names.

e. Prohibition would help to conserve food such as wheat and barley to feed Europe’s population and win the war.

Classroom Activities

1. Re-create in class the debate in the U.S. Senate over the Treaty of Versailles. One part of the class should form an argument based on the Wilsonian viewpoint, while another should focus on the Republican critique of the treaty. After the debate is over, ask the students why the U.S. Senate defeated the treaty.

2. Bring in a series of wartime propaganda posters and give copies to each student. Then ask a series of questions designed to help students more closely understand the images’ meaning and the power of government-sponsored propaganda during times of war.

Oral History Exercise

- Who are the last surviving soldiers of World War I? Ask the students to research this question and also locate a source or oral history information from surviving soldiers at any time after the war. How do the interviews shed light on the war? What limitations do they possess as sources?

Working with Documents

Comparing American Voices

The Great Migration (p. 686)

1. When historians analyze historical events, they seek to uncover their causes. What explanation do the migrants’ letters give for the Great Migration? Is it the same as that given by Dwight Thompson Farnham? How do you explain the difference?

- The migrants state that better jobs with higher pay, better and nonsegregated schools, the ability to be promoted and to vote, and the lack of Jim Crow laws and customary racial discrimination motivated them to leave.

- Farnham states that higher wages and ideal living conditions brought blacks northward. He does not cite any social differences owing to his biased racial outlook.

2. In addition to the violence of the postwar race riots discussed on page 698, urban African Americans suffered from unemployment as factories cut back production. After reading Farnham’s selection, suggest several reasons why southern black migrants were often “the last hired and the first fired.”

- Black migrants faced racism from white employers who were opposed to hiring blacks.
- Black migrants had to contend with racist beliefs that blacks are lazy, violent, childlike, and inefficient workers owing to origins in Africa
- Black migrants also experienced racism from white employees who did not like working with black workers.

3. Do the migrants’ letters give any clues as to why migration out of the South continued after World War I, despite the problems blacks encountered in the North?

- Higher pay, the ability to vote, and better living conditions continued to entice blacks north despite the racism of white northerners.

Voices from Abroad

A German Propaganda Appeal to Black Soldiers (p. 682)

1. Are there any statements in this tract that are not true? If it makes truthful claims, is it accurate to call it “propaganda”?

- Blacks were discriminated against in Germany, but not as much as in the United States, where a system of racial apartheid existed.
- The document is definitely based on propaganda. Propaganda contains both truths and untruths and is a system of using information to persuade people to believe a truth or untruth.

2. According to Charles Williams, black soldiers accepted the validity of this harsh description of African American life in the United States. How do you explain their decision to remain loyal to a country that oppressed them and their people?

- They were loyal to the ideals of democracy and freedom on which the republican nation was
founded. They wanted to improve existing circumstances for blacks according to constitutional protections for American citizenry.

Reading American Pictures

“Over Here”: Women’s Wartime Opportunities (p. 689)

1. Look carefully at the picture. What had the women been doing when they were asked by the photographer to pose for this shot? What clues indicate the work activities of the women?
   • They had just been working in a shipyard and are holding buckets for rivets and other tools associated with shipbuilding.

2. Why do you imagine that the photograph was taken? If this photograph had been published in a Seattle newspaper, how might viewers have responded to it?
   • The photograph was most likely taken as a propaganda effort by the federal government or private industry to showcase the importance and moral nature of the war through the increased role of women in the war effort.

3. Although the women are posed, the men in the background seem to be acting in a spontaneous fashion. How might we interpret their behavior?
   • The men are not posed and watch the women as spectators and fellow workers, mostly likely amused by the scene.

4. What does the photographer suggest about the women’s attitude toward their work as shipbuilders?
   • Pride, hard work, a cooperative spirit, and female solidarity are values that the photographer captured in the photograph.

5. The presence of black women indicates diversity in the wartime Seattle workforce. Does anything in the photo tell us about the relationship between white and black women in the shipyards?
   • The black women sit together, reflecting perhaps the racial tensions between black and white workers during the war and the racial solidarity utilized by workers to safeguard employment.

Electronic Media

Web Sites

- World War I
  www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone
  This BBC site contains excellent memoirs, animations, and maps.

- World War I Documents Archive
  www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi
  This site provides extensive primary documents and Web links regarding World War I.

- The Deadly Virus: The Influenza Epidemic of 1918
  This site describes the outbreak that infected one-fifth of the world’s population. See also “Influenza 1918,” the PBS companion site at www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza.

- Leo Robert Klein’s “Red Scare”
  http://newman.baruch.cuny.edu/digital/redscare/default.htm
  This site includes material and images on the flu epidemic, mass strikes, race riots, deportations, and various social movements from 1918 to 1920.

Films

- Influenza 1918 (1998, PBS documentary, 120 min)
  Directed by Robert Kenner, this PBS documentary traces the impact of the deadly flu epidemic. See also the companion site at www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza.

- The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century (1996, PBS documentary, 120 min)
  Directed by Carl Byker, this documentary examines World War I. See also the companion site at www.pbs.org/greatwar/index.html.

Literature

- William March, Company K (New York: Viking Press, 1933)
  A novel about an army fighting unit during World War I.
• Ernest Hemingway, In Our Time (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1925) and A Farewell to Arms (New York: Scribner, 1929)
  Two of the classic novels regarding World War I.
• Erich Maria Remarque, All Quiet on the Western Front (New York: Little, Brown & Co., 1928)
  A German writer’s novel about German soldiers fighting in the trenches between France and Germany.

Additional Bedford/St. Martin’s Resources for Chapter 22

FOR INSTRUCTORS

Transparencies

The following maps and images from Chapter 22 are available as full-color acetates:

• American Women and the War Effort
• Map 22.1 European Alliances in 1914
• Map 22.2 U.S. Participation on the Western Front, 1918
• Map 22.3 The Great Migration and Beyond
• Working Women at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, Washington, 1919
• Map 22.4 Prohibition on the Eve of the Eighteenth Amendment, 1919
• Map 22.5 Europe and the Middle East after World War I

Instructor’s Resource CD-ROM

The following maps, figures, and images from Chapter 22, as well as a chapter outline, are available on disc in both PowerPoint and jpeg formats:

• Map 22.1 European Alliances in 1914
• Map 22.2 U.S. Participation on the Western Front, 1918
• Map 22.3 The Great Migration and Beyond
• Map 22.4 Prohibition on the Eve of the Eighteenth Amendment, 1919
• Map 22.5 Europe and the Middle East after World War I
• American Women and the War Effort
• “Remember Your First Thrill of American Liberty”
• Working Women at the Puget Sound Navy Yard, Washington, 1919

Using the Bedford Series with America’s History, Sixth Edition

Available online at bedfordstmartins.com/usingseries, this guide offers practical suggestions for incorporating volumes from the Bedford Series in History and Culture into the U.S. History Survey. Relevant titles for Chapter 22 include

• Black Protest and the Great Migration: A Brief History with Documents, by Eric Arnesen, University of Illinois at Chicago
• The Sacco and Vanzetti Case: A Brief History with Documents, by Michael M. Topp, University of Texas at El Paso

FOR STUDENTS

Documents to Accompany America’s History

The following documents and illustrations are available in Chapter 22, as well as a chapter outline, of the companion reader by Kevin J. Fernlund, University of Missouri–St. Louis:

1. Don’t Rock the Boat (1915)
2. Zimmermann Telegram (1917)
3. Woodrow Wilson, War Message to Congress (1917)
4. Robert M. LaFollette, Antiwar Speech (1917)
5. Hervey Allen, German Dugouts (1918)
6. Posters from the Anti-Venereal Disease Campaign (1917–1918)
8. Marcus L. Hansen, The Home Front: The Young Women’s Christian Association (1920)
9. Wartime Propaganda Poster (c. 1917)
10. George Creel, The Home Front: The Four Minute Men (1920)
11. Help Us to Help (1917)
12. Woodrow Wilson, Fourteen Points (1918)
13. Treaty of Versailles, Select Articles (1919)
14. Henry Cabot Lodge, Speech before the Senate (1919)
15. Woodrow Wilson, Speech in Indianapolis, Indiana (1919)

Online Study Guide at bedfordstmartins.com/henretta

The Online Study Guide helps students synthesize the material from the text as well as practice the skills historians use to make sense of the past. The following map, visual, and documents activities are available for Chapter 22:
**Map Activity**
- Map 22.3 The Great Migration and Beyond

**Visual Activity**
- Reading American Pictures: “Over Here”: Women’s Wartime Opportunities

**Reading Historical Documents Activities**
- Comparing American Voices: The Great Migration
- Voices from Abroad: A German Propaganda Appeal to Black Soldiers

**Critical Thinking Modules at bedfordstmartins.com/historymodules**
These online modules invite students to interpret maps and audio, visual, and textual sources centered on events covered in the U.S. History Survey. The relevant module for Chapter 22 is
- World War I, the League of Nations, and Political Rhetoric