



Queen Lili'uokalani
of Hawaii



The Changing World

Student Volume

Labor strike



Paris Peace Conference



Trench warfare



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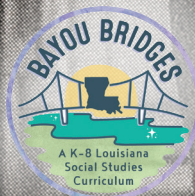
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The Changing World

Student Volume



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The Changing World



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Chapter 1

The Spanish-American War and Expansion



Expanding a Nation

For much of the nineteenth century in the United States, settlers had focused on westward expansion, pushing closer and closer to the Pacific coast. But by 1890, the U.S. Census showed that there were no longer any large regions without settlements between the East and West Coasts. To many Americans, this “closing” of the western frontier meant it was time to consider new possibilities for overseas expansion. One such person with this belief was U.S. Navy captain Alfred Thayer Mahan.

The Framing Question

How did imperialism contribute to U.S. foreign policy at the turn of the twentieth century?



As an island nation, Great Britain had long had a powerful navy. Naval strength had enabled Britain to expand its empire, something that some Americans hoped to emulate.



In his 1890 book, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783*, Mahan explained how Great Britain had made effective use of its powerful navy over many decades to build the British Empire, which was made up of colonies around the world. Captain Mahan wanted Americans to learn from this British example. He believed a strong American navy would help the United States protect its global trade—and aid the country in building an overseas empire of its own. American **imperialism** was now on the agenda.

Vocabulary

imperialism, n. the practice of gaining power as a country by taking over areas of the world

Imperialists and Anti-Imperialists

Imperialism is the practice of spreading a nation's strength and influence using economic, political, and military power. A person who is an imperialist believes that under certain circumstances, a nation should seize control of foreign lands and take authority over the people living in those places. Those who oppose this kind of empire-building are called anti-imperialists.

In the late 1800s, some Americans worried about both the short-term and long-term impact of imperialist actions. Members of the Anti-Imperialist League, a group of notable Americans opposed to the foreign policy changes they saw happening in the country, argued that “imperialism is hostile to liberty.” As they saw it, seizing land and announcing control over entire groups of people went against the core American values of freedom and democracy.

Imperialists, however, argued that the United States would be “civilizing” the people they colonized. American missionaries could bring Christianity to American colonies. Additionally, imperialists pointed out that the United States would benefit economically by controlling overseas colonies. Businesspeople would benefit from gaining control over valuable natural resources not found in the United States. For example, on the island of Cuba—a territory long claimed by Spain—Americans would gain sugarcane plantations. On the Hawaiian islands, they would control the pineapple, sugarcane, and banana industries.

Anti-imperialists called controlling and exporting things to and from colonized lands **exploitation**. But imperialists responded to this argument by declaring

that such potential territories would be acquired by someone. They argued that if the United States did not acquire them, the land would simply be grabbed by the British, the French, or another foreign power. In this context of the ongoing debate between imperialists and anti-imperialists, a series of events led the United States into war—and into colonial expansion.

Think Twice



If you had lived during this time, do you think you would have been an imperialist or an anti-imperialist? Explain your answer.

Vocabulary

exploitation, n. the act of making use of something unfairly for one’s own advantage

The Alaska Purchase

After many years of discussions, interrupted by the Civil War, Russia finally sold Alaska to the United States for \$7.2 million dollars in 1867. Andrew Johnson was the president at the time. The area of land acquired was 586,412 square miles (1,518,800 km²). The land had been purchased for approximately thirteen dollars per square mile (\$33 per km²).

The Acquisition of Hawaii

As differences of opinion about imperialism continued in the United States, some Americans were already busy establishing businesses and farms in Hawaii. The arrival of European explorer Captain James Cook to this Pacific archipelago in 1778 had sparked interest among other explorers and traders.

An 1848 Hawaiian law allowed foreigners to own land. As a result, sugar plantations began to flourish in Hawaii. They were staffed by workers from countries such as China, Korea, Norway, Portugal, the Philippines, and Russia. Sugar exports from Hawaii became big business. Foreign planters gained considerable economic and political influence in Hawaii.

In addition to business interests, more than 180 Christian missionaries from the United States arrived on the islands between 1820 and 1863. The missionaries had a strong influence on both the religious and political practices of native Hawaiians.

The United States and the Kingdom of Hawaii signed the Treaty of Reciprocity in 1875. This agreement enabled products from Hawaii to be sold in the United States

without a **tariff**. The immediate effect of this treaty was that the number of Hawaiian sugar plantations increased from twenty in 1875 to sixty-three in 1880.

Vocabulary

tariff, n. a tax imposed on particular imported goods

In 1887, with the support of the U.S. government, planters forced Hawaiian king Kalakaua to accept a new constitution that significantly limited his powers and established a government more favorable to American interests.



Queen Lili'uokalani was the last reigning monarch of Hawaii prior to U.S. annexation.

In 1891, Queen Lili'uokalani came to power in Hawaii. She sought to address the growing influence of the American planters and restore power to the Hawaiian monarchy. Americans in Hawaii rebelled against these efforts in 1893 and, supported by the U.S. government, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. They established a **provisional** government, and Hawaii was officially annexed by the United States in 1898. However, it would take until 1959 for Hawaii to become the fiftieth American state.

Vocabulary

provisional, adj. temporary



Find Out the Facts

Find out more about why Queen Lili'uokalani chose to fight back against American imperialists in Hawaii.

The annexation of Hawaii was a major milestone in American expansionism. It solidified the U.S. presence in the Pacific Ocean, and American businesses gained even greater control over the Hawaiian pineapple, sugar, and banana industries. However, this annexation meant that Indigenous Hawaiian people lost their sovereignty and much self-governance. They faced many

challenges to their cultural heritage and way of life.

The Spanish-American War

On February 15, 1898, a massive explosion occurred onboard the USS *Maine*, an American battleship anchored in Havana, Cuba. The explosion caused the ship to sink and killed more than 260 crew members. American newspaper accounts said the explosion must have been caused by the Spanish, who controlled Cuba at this time. Those in the “yellow press”—newspapers that ran sensational, exaggerated, or made-up news stories—called for war. One newspaper headline read, “Maine Explosion Caused by Bomb or Torpedo”; another called the sinking of the *Maine* “Spanish Treachery.”

Americans were outraged by what they believed was an unprovoked Spanish attack on an American naval ship. Many called for the United States to “Remember the Maine!” and go to war with Spain. Many Americans also supported such a war because they sympathized with the efforts of some Filipinos and Cubans to free themselves from Spanish rule. By late April 1898, President McKinley had



Newspaper headline about the destruction of the USS *Maine* in the *New York Journal*, 1898

called for, and Congress had approved, a resolution declaring war on Spain.

The Spanish-American War ended quickly. Secretary of State John Hay called it a “splendid little war.” In the Philippines, another colony of Spain, the U.S. Navy destroyed Spain’s fleet in a single day. And by midsummer 1898, American soldiers had defeated Spain’s land forces in the Philippines.

Back in Cuba, the war was over in a matter of months, with few American casualties. The United States had won. It had defeated Spain. In the 1898 Treaty of Paris that ended the war, the

United States acquired the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Guam. Cuba became a republic in 1902 but had signed a treaty with the United States that allowed for continued U.S. involvement in Cuban affairs. That agreement would end in 1934. In the Philippines, the United States faced resistance and conflict. The Filipino people eventually gained their independence in 1946. Puerto Rico and Guam became territories of the United States and remain so today.

About Seventy Years Too Late

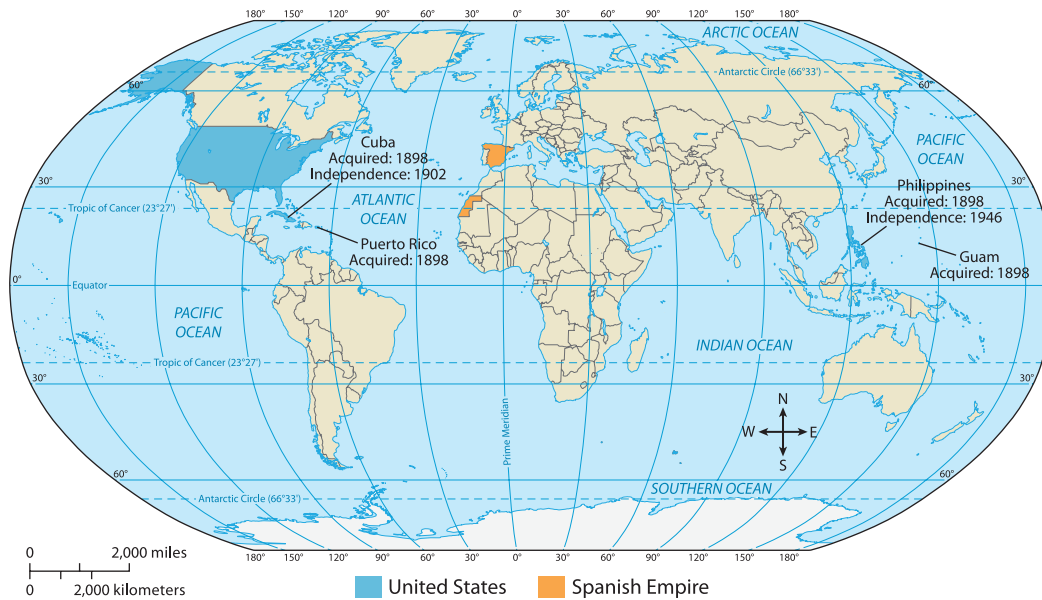
An investigation by the U.S. Navy in the 1970s found that Spain had not caused the explosion. It had likely been caused by ammunition stored aboard the ship that was too close to a coal fire. The heat of the fire caused the ammunition to explode. Of course, by then it was much too late to correct the damage that had been done by the faulty accusation.

Think Twice



What does the fact that Spain was not actually involved in the sinking of the USS *Maine* reveal about how decisions are made with regard to going to war?

Territories Acquired After the Spanish-American War



Following the 1898 Treaty of Paris, the United States expanded its territory to other parts of the world, including islands very far from its North American borders.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Rough Riders

When war with Spain broke out, Theodore Roosevelt chose to step down from his position as assistant secretary of the navy so that he could fight in the war. He created a voluntary fighting force called the Rough Riders. On July 1, 1898, Roosevelt led the Rough Riders in an uphill charge against Spanish soldiers during the Battle of San Juan Hill. With the victory, Roosevelt became a national hero. That autumn, he was elected governor of New York. In 1901, he became vice president of the United States. When President McKinley was assassinated in September 1901, Roosevelt became the youngest president in American history.

President Roosevelt's Foreign Policy Achievements

President Theodore Roosevelt was fond of the West African proverb "Speak softly and carry a big stick." During his presidency, Roosevelt added ships to the U.S. Navy, one element of the American nation's expanding military force. In 1907, he ordered a group of American battleships—dubbed the Great White Fleet because they had been painted white—to set sail around the world. In doing so, Roosevelt demonstrated that the United States had a powerful navy—a "big stick"—that

could be used to protect American interests if needed.

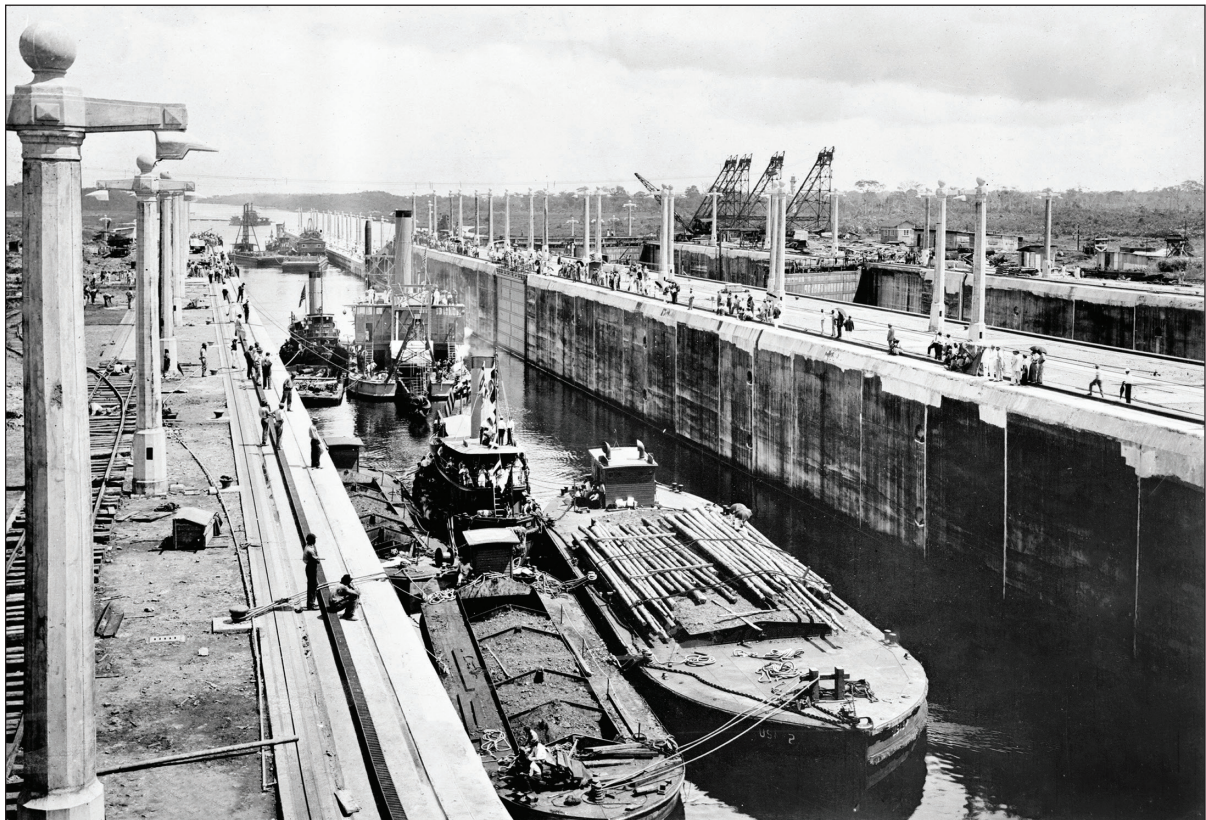


Think Twice

What does the expression “Speak softly and carry a big stick” imply?

As president, Roosevelt supported building a canal across the Isthmus of Panama to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The difficulty was that the country of Colombia claimed this narrow strip of land between North and South America as its own, and the Colombian

government did not want the United States to build the canal. Roosevelt sent a U.S. gunboat to the isthmus to support a group of locals who founded the new country of Panama in 1903. President Roosevelt then negotiated for U.S. control of a ten-mile-wide (16-km) stretch of land across the fifty-mile-long (80-km) Canal Zone, later boasting, “I took the Canal Zone.” And after years of grueling hard work by thousands of workers, some of whom died while helping dig the canal, the Panama Canal was opened in 1914.



Construction of the Panama Canal took more than ten years to complete. Allowing for easier and faster movement of goods and people, it was one of the most significant achievements of President Roosevelt’s presidency.

The new canal shortened a ship's journey from the East Coast to the West Coast by thousands of miles. Before the Panama Canal, ships had to sail all the way around South America. Now they could take the much shorter journey across the Isthmus of Panama.

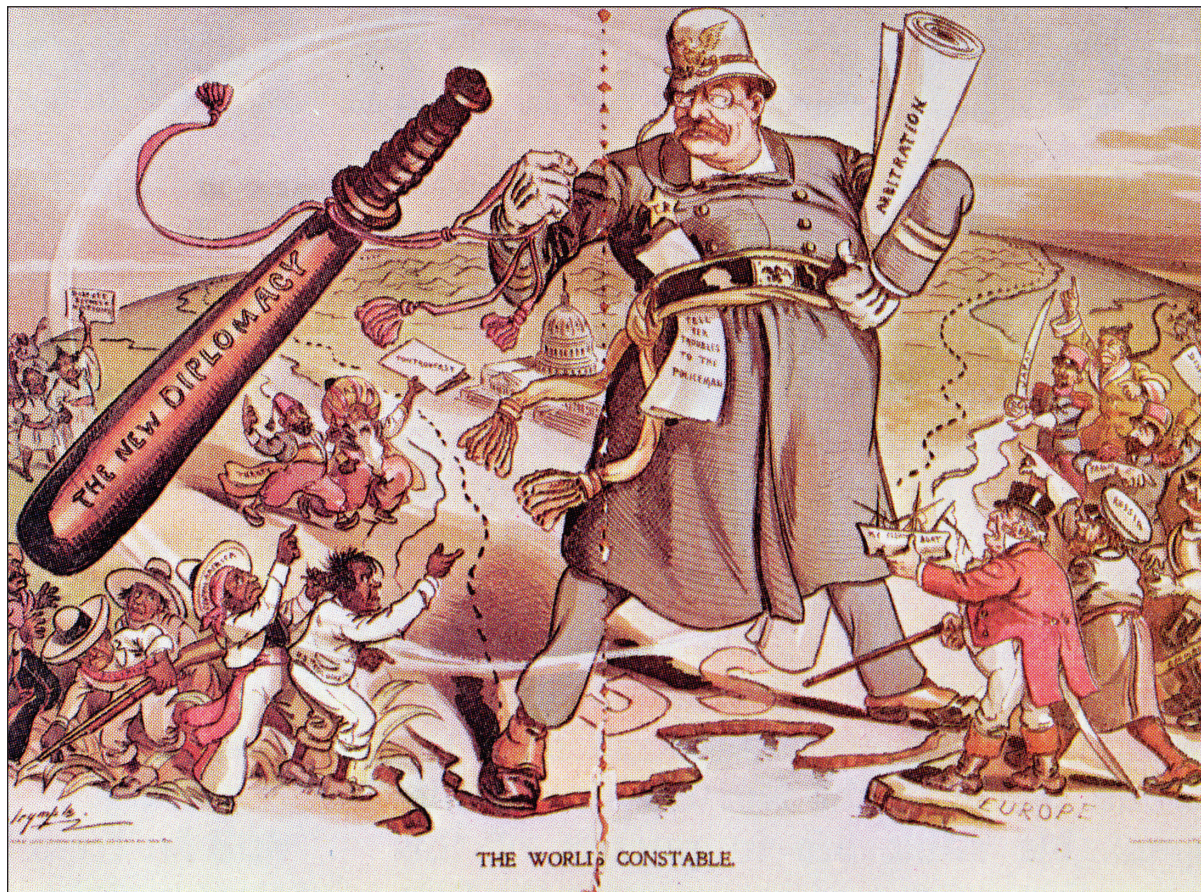


Find Out the Facts

Research the effects of the 2016 expansion of the Panama Canal on New Orleans.

The "Roosevelt Corollary"

Another element in Roosevelt's "big stick" diplomacy was the Roosevelt Corollary. In 1904, the president declared that the United States could unilaterally intervene in the affairs of countries in the Caribbean, Central America, and South America as a "police power." A corollary is a statement that follows from and is added to an



Roosevelt stated that the United States could act as a "police power" in countries outside the United States.

earlier statement. In this case, Roosevelt was adding to the much earlier Monroe Doctrine. In 1823, President Monroe had said that the United States would not tolerate further European expansion in the Western Hemisphere. That statement became known as the Monroe Doctrine, and the Roosevelt Corollary expanded it to specify that the United States would be a police power in the matter.



Find Out the Facts

Find out more about the Roosevelt Corollary.

Writers' Corner



Write a paragraph outlining what the Roosevelt Corollary added to the Monroe Doctrine.

Dollar Diplomacy

William Howard Taft served as president from 1909 to 1913. He believed strongly in expanding American foreign trade. His program, designed to expand trade across the Americas, the Caribbean, and the Far East, earned the name "dollar diplomacy." He stated he wanted to substitute "dollars for bullets." President Taft's view was that investment would help stabilize foreign regions.

Chasing Pancho Villa

On March 9, 1916, Mexican revolutionary Francisco "Pancho" Villa led a cross-border raid on Columbus, New Mexico. Immediately after the attack, President Woodrow Wilson appointed General John J. Pershing to lead a force of thousands of U.S. soldiers in pursuit of Pancho Villa and to act as a defense along the border. A unit of the National Guard was also sent to the border. Airplanes were used in a novel way to search the desert lands and mountains. As the threat of war between the United States and Mexico grew, diplomatic efforts successfully averted a crisis. In the end, the U.S. military failed to capture Villa.

PRIMARY SOURCE: "IMPERIALISM: FLAG OF AN EMPIRE" BY WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN (1900)

Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos, but they must also calculate its effects upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here. . . .

[Abraham] Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not in its fleets, its armies, or its forts, but in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of despotism at their own doors. . . .

Our opponents, conscious of the weakness of their cause, seek to confuse imperialism with expansion, and have even dared to claim [Thomas] Jefferson as a supporter of their policy. Jefferson spoke so freely and used language with such precision that no one can be ignorant of his views. On one occasion he declared: "If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest." And again he said: "Conquest is not in our principles; it is inconsistent with our government." The forcible annexation of territory to be governed by arbitrary power differs as much from the acquisition of territory to be built up into states as a monarchy differs from a democracy. The democratic party does not oppose expansion when expansion enlarges the area of the republic and incorporates land which can be settled by American citizens, or adds to our population people who are willing to become citizens and are capable of discharging their duties as such.

Source: Bryan, William Jennings. "Imperialism." In *Speeches of William Jennings Bryan*, vol. 2. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1913, pp. 24–26.

PRIMARY SOURCE: THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY

In his annual message to Congress in 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt explained his corollary, or addition, to the Monroe Doctrine.

It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger or entertains any projects as regards the other nations of the Western Hemisphere save such as are for their welfare. All that this country desires is to see the neighboring countries stable, orderly, and prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters, if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need fear no interference from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing, or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society, may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power. . . . Our interests and those of our southern neighbors are in reality identical. They have great natural riches, and if within their borders the reign of law and justice obtains, prosperity is sure to come to them. While they thus obey the primary laws of civilized society they may rest assured that they will be treated by us in a spirit of cordial and helpful sympathy. We would interfere with them only in the last resort, and then only if it became evident that their inability or unwillingness to do justice at home and abroad had violated the rights of the United States or had invited foreign aggression to the detriment of the entire body of American nations. . . .

In asserting the Monroe Doctrine, in taking such steps as we have taken in regard to Cuba, Venezuela, and Panama, and in endeavoring to circumscribe the theater of war in the Far East, and to secure the open door in China, we have acted in our own interest as well as in the interest of humanity at large.

Source: Theodore Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress for 1904. House Records HR 58A-K2, Records of the U.S. House of Representatives, Record Group 233. Center for Legislative Archives, National Archives.

Chapter 2

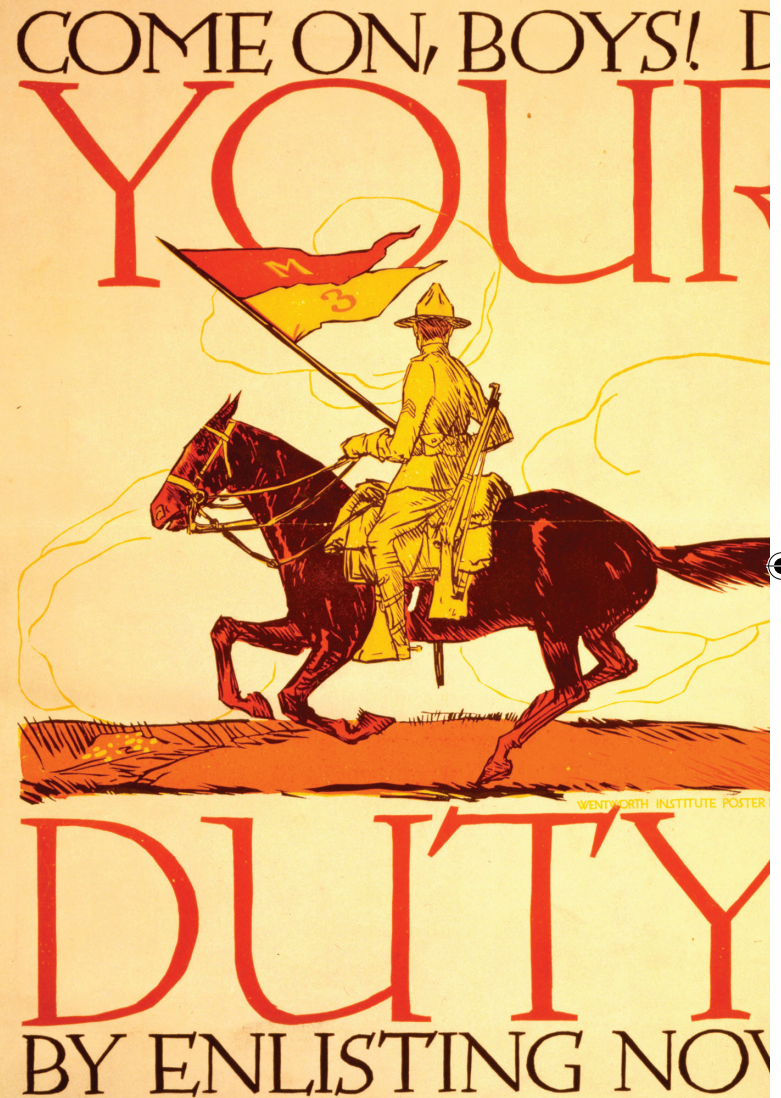
World War I

The Framing Question


What was the impact of World War I on the United States and the world?

A Global Conflict

Throughout history, there have been pivotal moments that shape nations. In 1914, the world faced such a time of change. Gunshots in the European city of Sarajevo triggered a chain reaction that pushed the world into its first global conflict—a monumental clash of nations that redefined warfare, reshaped borders, and helped the United States further establish itself as a powerful player in international affairs.



World War I would require the participation of millions of American soldiers, as well as people serving in many other wartime occupations and roles. This poster is one of many that were used to encourage American men to enlist in the army.



On June 28, 1914, in the southeastern European city of Sarajevo, a Serbian terrorist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was at the time the most powerful political force in this region. The assassination set off a chain of events that resulted in World War I. The war, also called “the “Great War,” lasted from 1914 to 1918. It was the deadliest war in history up to that time. Some twenty million people, both soldiers and civilians, died in World War I.

Causes of World War I

To fully understand World War I, it is important to consider all of the reasons it began in the first place. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Duchess of Hohenberg was the singular event that tipped the world into war. But that event alone was not the full story. Other causes that had been growing for years included **nationalism**, **militarism**, imperialism, and **interlocking alliances**.

Nationalism is a feeling of pride in one’s nation—its people, culture, and interests. When feelings of nationalism become

intense, people can become aggressive in promoting their nation’s interests to the detriment of the interests of other nations. And it was an aggressive nationalism that was one contributing cause of the Great War.

Militarism was another cause of the war. Militarism is when a country builds up a strong military. And in the years before the outbreak of World War I, the major European powers modernized their armies and navies with new ships and new deadly weapons. In Germany, and in several other European countries, there was also a well-established culture of militarism. Military officers were celebrated in government and admired by many people in their country. The admiration of a strong national military force, or the attitude that one’s nation has a right to show force, otherwise known as **jingoism**, was prevalent at the time.

Vocabulary

nationalism, n. belief in the superiority of one’s nation

militarism, n. the building up of a strong military

“**interlocking alliances**” (phrase) a system in which countries agree to help each other when one of them is attacked

jingoism, n. extreme nationalism marked by aggressive foreign policy

Imperialism was yet another cause of the war. As you read earlier, imperialism is when one nation seizes control of a foreign territory and rules over it. By the time World War I began, the great powers of Europe—the most powerful of the European countries—had colonized much of the world, and some countries wanted to expand their colonial holdings even further by taking control of other countries' imperial possessions.

A system of interlocking alliances between countries across Europe was another cause of the war. An alliance system is when countries agree to help each other in the event that one of them is attacked. The alliance system was made up of two groups. On one side of the war were the Central

Think Twice



Which of the causes of World War I listed above do you think mattered most to average people? Why?

Interlocking Alliances, Early 1918



A system of interlocking alliances between countries across Europe was another cause of the war.

Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, and Bulgaria. On the other side of the conflict were the Allied Powers—France, Britain, Russia, Italy, and Japan.

The War Begins

The war began in Europe in July 1914. Its beginning was a cascading series of events that, for many people in the United States and around the world, seemed like a whirlwind of actions.

After the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, the powerful state of Austria-Hungary gained support from Germany and declared war on Serbia. But Russia was Serbia's ally, and it took Serbia's side. When Austria-Hungary continued its attacks on Serbia, the leader of Russia, Czar Nicholas II, called for the full **mobilization** of the Russian military. Russia and Austria-Hungary were now at war as well.

Vocabulary

mobilization, n. the process of preparing to fight a war or take other collective action

Full mobilization was a big step for the Russians. It meant that many thousands of men had to report for military duty.

It also meant that horses, carts, wagons, and other materials that were, in peacetime, used to do ordinary work on a farm or in a town had to be mobilized into the service of Russia's military. When Germany learned that Russia had called for the full mobilization of its troops, Germany decided to mobilize *its* army.

Then Germany did something unexpected. It declared war on France, which was an ally of Russia, and the German army marched through Belgium, intent on invading France. As German troops entered Belgium on August 4, 1914, Great Britain, located just across the narrow English Channel from Belgium, immediately declared war on Germany. The invasion of France through Belgium was part of a plan called the Schlieffen Plan. The plan was created as a way to avoid fighting on two fronts at the same time. The idea was that France, in the west, would be quickly defeated, which would then allow Germany to turn its attention to Russia, in the east.

Find Out the Facts

Research further the Schlieffen Plan and what it involved.



The Belgians and the French were taken off guard. But the countries did their best to fight Germany's soldiers as they advanced



This photograph shows Belgian soldiers resting after a fight with German soldiers. Although Belgium's small army resisted the invasion on August 4, 1914, it was soon overrun by the huge German force opposing it.

through Belgium and into northern France. The British soon sent soldiers to France to help its army fight the Germans.

The Schlieffen Plan did not succeed, forcing Germany to fight the war on two fronts—the Western Front and the Eastern Front. The Western Front was a tract of land that crossed France and Belgium and stretched from the Swiss border to the North Sea. The Eastern Front stretched from the Baltic Sea across large areas of eastern Europe.

On the Western Front, the fighting quickly bogged down into trench warfare.

Soldiers on both sides dug many miles of trenches. Some of the trenches were muddy, rat-infested, and unsanitary. But others were well-built, with reinforced walls and areas of shelter that protected soldiers against inclement weather and, to some extent, heavy enemy artillery shells with which they were bombarded.

Find Out the Facts



Research what trench warfare entailed and what life was like for soldiers in the trenches.

The technological innovations of the Second Industrial Revolution had begun to

be put to devastating military use. Factories that in peacetime produced goods that improved people's standards of living now turned to building efficient and effective weapons of death. Such war supplies included quick-fire and heavy artillery, barbed wire, machine guns, and chemical weapons, or poison gas. Airplanes, submarines, and even tanks began to be used too, although they were primitive.

Writers' Corner



Imagine you are a soldier in a trench on the Western Front. Write a letter home describing your experience.



French soldiers in a trench in 1916

New Technology, New Horrors

As a result of technological advancements, the scale of losses of soldiers and civilians on both sides was unlike anything ever seen before in human history.

In previous wars, many soldiers viewed the opportunity to fight as a way to show courage and strength and even gain glory. But World War I would prove to be different. Machine guns and artillery shells meant that most soldiers killed in the war never even saw the enemy up close. Battlefields became killing fields, strewn with soldiers who had been shot at long range by machine-gun fire, poisoned by gas canisters launched from far away, or shattered by the explosions of artillery shells in trenches. For the first time in warfare, airplane pilots took to the skies in large numbers, conducting reconnaissance, dropping bombs, and engaging in **dogfights**, adding a new dimension to warfare. Massive armored tanks crawled across battlefields, increasing armies' killing power. Still, World War I also required hand-to-hand combat and animal power, including the labor of hundreds of thousands of horses.

Vocabulary

dogfight, n. a close combat between military airplanes

At the Battle of the Marne in September 1914, the British and French stopped the German advance on Paris but at a



British pilot with his single-seat biplane

grave human toll. British and French wounded or dead numbered around 263,000. Germany suffered some 220,000 soldiers injured or killed. During the five-month battle at Verdun in 1916, 600,000 French and German soldiers died. Later that same year, in the Battle of the Somme, combined casualties topped one million. As the war dragged on, it became a battle of **attrition** in which each side hoped to wear down the enemy by inflicting continuous losses of soldiers, equipment, and supplies. The numbers of war dead and wounded were staggering.

Many thousands of soldiers, though they lived, had to have a leg or an arm amputated or suffered other injuries. Some soldiers suffered **shell shock** from the emotional or psychological trauma they experienced during the war.

Vocabulary

attrition, n. the act of wearing down by inflicting continuous losses

shell shock, n. a condition caused by the intense stress of participating in warfare, known today as post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD

In all of these ways, after the war ended, an entire generation of young soldiers and others who had fought in the war were considered the “lost generation.” They were lost both because so many had been killed in the war and because many who survived never recovered from the horrors they witnessed. These survivors returned from war disoriented, dispirited, and directionless.

Think Twice

How did modern technology change how World War I was fought?



United States' Neutrality at the Beginning of World War I

Within days of the outbreak of the war in Europe in 1914, President Woodrow Wilson declared that Americans would do well to remain “impartial in thought as

well as in action.” This stance is known as **isolationism**. Most Americans agreed.

Vocabulary

isolationism, n. an approach to foreign policy displaying a reluctance to enter international affairs

People in the United States read newspaper accounts of the events in Europe with amazement. But Europe, three thousand miles (4,828 km) across the ocean, was far away, and many Americans thought that there was no reason for the United States to be drawn into a European war.

However, as the war in Europe dragged on, the United States came into repeated conflicts with Germany. In April 1917, these conflicts would lead the United States to declare war.



Think Twice

Would imperialists have agreed with President Wilson’s wish for neutrality? Why or why not?

The Sinking of the *Lusitania*

In May 1915, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the British ocean liner *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland.

Of the 1,198 passengers who died, 128 were Americans. President Wilson was outraged, and the United States demanded and received an apology from Germany. In addition, Germany pledged to stop its unrestricted submarine warfare in the Atlantic by the next year.

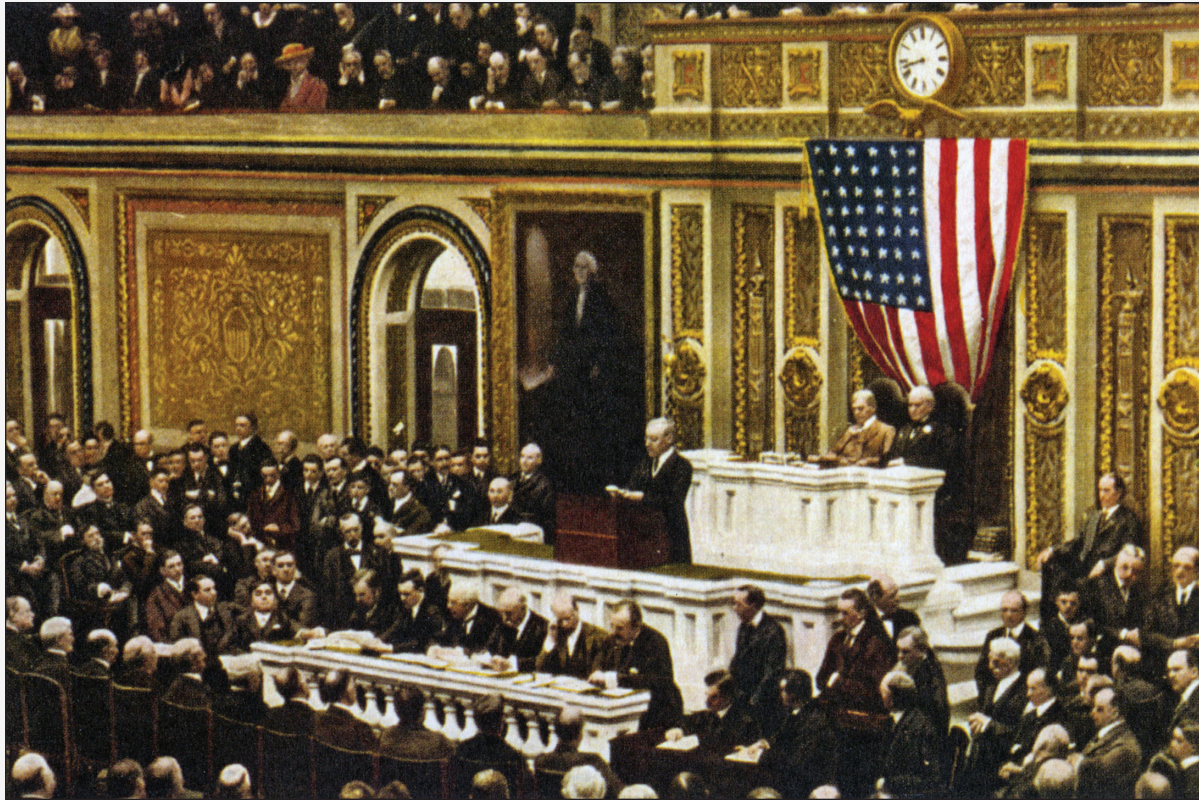
In January 1917, however, Germany announced that it would again begin unrestricted submarine warfare. It would sink ships—including American ships—that its submarines encountered off the British coast.

Find Out the Facts



Research why German submarines were targeting American ships.

Then, two months later, in March 1917, the British made public the Zimmermann Telegram, a German telegram that British intelligence officers had intercepted and decoded. The Zimmermann Telegram, sent by German foreign minister Arthur Zimmermann, called upon Mexico to join in an alliance with Germany. It said that if Mexico would side with Germany, the Germans would help Mexico regain territories it had lost in the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. Those territories included Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.



President Wilson addressed Congress on April 2, 1917, to outline his reasons for requesting a declaration of war.

Together, the Zimmermann Telegram and Germany's renewed submarine warfare led President Wilson to conclude that it was time to join the war. It was time for the United States to fight alongside the Allies against Germany.

On April 2, 1917, in a speech before Congress, President Wilson called upon Congress to declare war on Germany. In his speech, Wilson said, "The world must be made safe for democracy." Congress agreed and voted in support of declaring war. U.S. neutrality ended. The United States was now part of the Great War.



The War at Home

If the United States was going to fight in World War I, it would need a large army. So Woodrow Wilson's government decided to institute a **draft**. The draft meant that young men were required to register with the federal government. And then, because

Vocabulary

draft, n. a system that requires individuals to serve in the military

it needed millions of young men for the war, the government drafted into the armed forces many of these young men.

With the United States at war, President Wilson created a new government organization, the Committee on Public Information (CPI). Led by George Creel, the CPI set out to present Americans with information about how they could contribute to America's war effort. Creel and those who worked with him recruited thousands of "Four Minute Men," who gave short, four-minute speeches in support of America's war effort. "Four Minute Men"



The CPI distributed recruitment posters such as this one to encourage army enlistment.

spoke across America on street corners, in movie theaters, in churches, and in other places where people gathered.

The CPI also distributed posters in support of America's war effort to be displayed in stores, banks, and post offices. There were posters of all sorts. One poster, appealing to young men, read, "Uncle Sam Wants You to Join the Army." Another poster portrayed a German soldier as a giant, vicious, bloodthirsty ape on the attack. Via these short speeches and posters, as well as movies and pamphlets and other ways, the United States government undertook an active **propaganda** campaign to build support and enthusiasm for America's involvement in the war.

Vocabulary

propaganda, n. information spread to encourage belief in a certain person or idea

Think Twice

How might the efforts of the CPI have helped encourage the war effort?



Along with the efforts of the CPI, the American songwriter George Cohan sought to inspire excitement and support for America's war effort. In 1917, the year the United States entered World War I,

Cohan wrote a song he titled "Over There." By "over there," he meant in Europe. It was a patriotic and popular song, though its critics said that it glorified war. The song sought to inspire young American men to join the U.S. Army and fight against the Germans. The song's chorus, in which "the Yanks" referred to American soldiers, went as follows:

*Over there, over there,
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming*

*The drums rum-tumming
Everywhere.*

*So prepare, say a prayer,
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.*

Large numbers of men left their jobs to serve in the United States armed forces. At the same time, many women stepped up to work in war industries. They assembled bombs and built airplanes and ships. Women made bandages, sold war bonds,



A number of women worked on shipbuilding at the Puget Sound Navy Yard in Washington.

served as trolley car conductors, worked as office clerks, and much more.

W. E. B. Du Bois, the African American civil rights leader, urged Black people to serve in the military: “Let us, while this war lasts . . . close our ranks, shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy.”

Thousands of African Americans served in the United States armed forces in France during the war, though they were required to serve in segregated Black units.

Many Americans contributed in other ways, too. For example, they bought Liberty Bonds to help fund the war. If you purchased a Liberty Bond, you gave money to the U.S. government, and the government would pay you back with a small amount of interest after the war. Rallies large and small were held



In this photo, African American soldiers, members of the 369th Infantry Regiment, wave from a troop ship as they arrive back in New York City. The regiment was nicknamed the Harlem Hellfighters and the Black Rattlers.

across the country to urge people to buy Liberty Bonds.

Another way Americans contributed on the home front was by planting “victory gardens.” Given the number of men away at war, there was both an agricultural labor shortage and a need to send food to troops overseas. As a result, the nation faced food shortages and rationing. Many people grew their own fruits and vegetables on small plots of land to help with these shortages and foster a shared sense of purpose by contributing to the war effort from home.

Opposition to War

Not all Americans supported the United States’ decision to enter World War I. Peace groups and **pacifists** opposed America’s entry into the war. Some of these pacifists opposed all wars. Others opposed the idea that young American men were being sent “over there” to fight in a war that appeared to have nothing to do with U.S. interests.

Vocabulary

pacifist, n. a person who opposes war and violence as a way to resolve conflict

Some young men opposed the war out of sincerely held religious or moral beliefs. They declared themselves “conscientious objectors” and said that their beliefs, or their consciences, would guide their personal actions. These men refused to fight in the war, but it was against the law to refuse to be drafted into military service.

The Espionage Act

The Espionage Act, passed in 1917, made it illegal to prevent the recruitment of soldiers or to encourage disloyalty to the military. It also allowed for the censorship of mail that contained anti-war sentiments or information that could possibly hurt the war effort. The next year, the Sedition Act of 1918 was enacted to prohibit speech deemed disloyal to the government, the Constitution, the military, or the American flag. Both of these pieces of legislation sought to suppress public speech that could undermine the war effort, but many Americans perceived them as infringing upon their rights. However, in the 1919 Supreme Court case *Schenck v. United States*, the court upheld that certain kinds of speech could be restricted during wartime if such speech presented a “clear and present danger.”

Conscientious objectors could be sent to jail if, after being drafted into military service, they refused to join the armed forces.

Find Out the Facts



Research the background of *Schenck v. United States*, including the charges against the defendant, Charles Schenck.



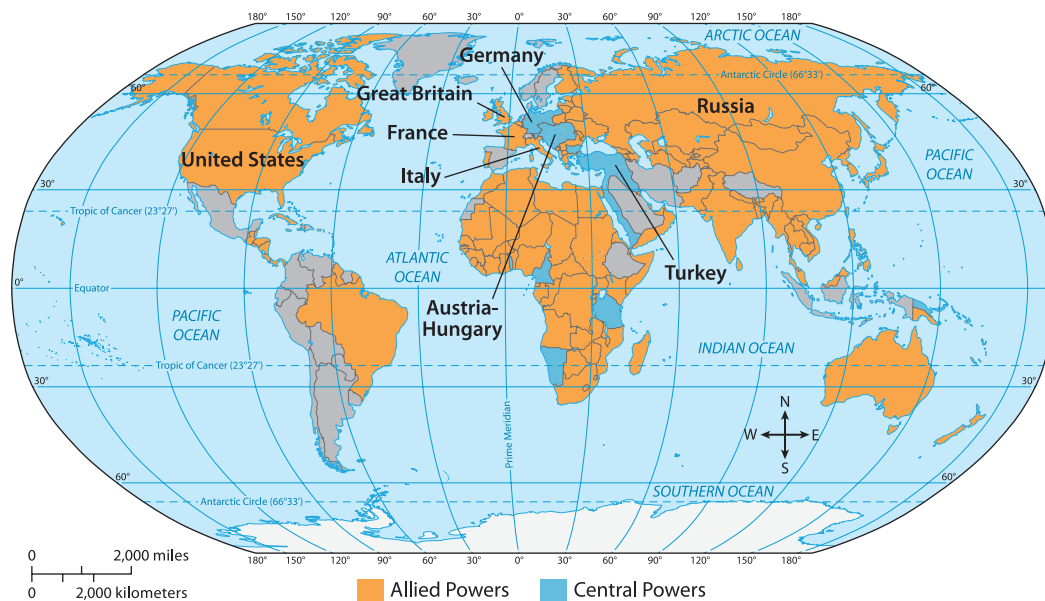
The Tide Turns

In 1917, the first of two million American soldiers traveled by ship to Europe as part of what was called the American Expeditionary Force. Fighting under the leadership of General “Black Jack” Pershing, whom you may remember reading about, the Americans ended the bloody stalemate in western Europe and turned the tide of the war.

At the same time as the U.S. military was entering World War I, a series of revolutions was occurring in Russia. A new regime in Russia signed a treaty with Germany in 1918 and ended most Russian involvement in World War I.

The arrival of American troops in France was decisive. *Decisive* means that the

Central Powers and Allies in World War I, 1917



United States' entry into the war—its troop force in Europe—was central to the defeat of Germany in 1918.



Think Twice

Knowing what you do about the earlier years of the war, why do you think the participation of American troops broke the stalemate in Europe?

While the arrival of American troops changed the course of the war, it was accompanied by great losses. In World War I, 53,400 American soldiers died in combat; another 63,000 died in noncombat deaths. In Europe, and in the fighting that occurred in some of the European colonies around the world, a total of some nine million soldiers died. In 1918, the

assistant secretary of the navy and future U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt toured the Western Front. He later recalled what he had witnessed there: "I have seen war. I have seen war on land and sea. I have seen blood running from the wounded. . . . I have seen the dead in the mud. I have seen cities destroyed. . . . I have seen children starving. I have seen the agony of mothers and wives. I hate war."



World War I Ends

The fighting in World War I was ended by an armistice. An armistice is an agreement among warring countries to stop fighting.

And in the early morning of November 11, 1918, the Americans, Germans, French, and British agreed to stop fighting that very day, at eleven a.m. Guns were put down on all sides on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the year 1918. There were great celebrations across the United States when people learned the war had ended. But as you have read, the suffering in the Great War was incalculable. What, people asked, did the nations that had fought one another have to show for all of the bloodshed? Very little, as it turned out. The war had settled almost nothing between the warring countries.

In January 1919, victorious world leaders met at the Paris Peace Conference in the



The leaders of Britain, Italy, France, and the United States met at the Paris Peace Conference to discuss the terms that would formally end World War I.

town of Versailles, just outside of Paris, to discuss how to deal with defeated Germany. The conference was attended by leaders from the twenty-two nations that had fought with the Allies in World War I. Four leaders dominated the conference. These leaders were U.S. president Woodrow Wilson, British prime minister David Lloyd George, French prime minister Georges Clemenceau, and Italian prime minister Vittorio Orlando. The negotiations were primarily between these "Big Four." Germany had no say in the terms of the armistice or the eventual peace.

President Woodrow Wilson explained his own goals for global peace and growth in his Fourteen Points, a set of ideas that he wanted the nations of the world to adopt. Wilson's goal was to make the world more stable, more democratic, and more open to trade. One of Wilson's Fourteen Points was the idea that nations had a right to rule themselves. This was called self-determination. As a result of this idea, the treaty produced at the Paris Peace Conference created new nations, like Czechoslovakia. However, Wilson did not believe African or Asian peoples should have the right to rule themselves. He felt self-determination should apply principally

to Europeans. Wilson also proposed the formation of a League of Nations. The league would be an international group. Members of the league could discuss their problems and negotiate differences without fighting wars.

Writers' Corner



Write a list of fourteen ideas or actions that you believe would make the world a more peaceful place today. Explain three of your items.

While Wilson focused on future peace, other leaders wanted to punish Germany. They ultimately agreed to the Treaty of Versailles on June 28, 1919, which officially ended World War I. Germany was forced to give up its colonies in Asia and Africa. It also lost territory in Europe. This weakened

the German economy. The terms of the treaty also weakened Germany's military. While Germany was forced to accept blame for the war, the amount of money owed for the costs of the war was so huge that Germany could not afford to pay it. Yet Germany had no choice but to accept the treaty.

President Wilson returned to the United States and asked the Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Despite Wilson's strong advocacy, the Senate voted against it. The League of Nations was set up by the Treaty of Versailles, but the United States did not join it. The United States began to return to its former policy of isolationism, focusing more on its own affairs and seeking to avoid further international entanglements.

PRIMARY SOURCE: PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR MESSAGE (APRIL 2, 1917)

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. . . .

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. . . . [It] is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making: we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our Nation and our people to be ignored or violated. . . .

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve.

Source: President Wilson's Declaration of War Message to Congress, April 2, 1917. Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46. National Archives.

PRIMARY SOURCE: *THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE PEACE* BY JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES (1920)

The Treaty [of Versailles] includes no provisions for the economic rehabilitation of Europe,—nothing to make the defeated Central Empires into good neighbors, nothing to stabilize the new States of Europe, nothing to reclaim Russia; nor does it promote in any way a compact of economic solidarity amongst the Allies themselves. . . .

The Council of Four paid no attention to these issues, being preoccupied with others,—Clemenceau to crush the economic life of his enemy, Lloyd George to do a deal and bring home something which would pass muster for a week, the President [of the United States] to do nothing that was not just and right. It is an extraordinary fact that the fundamental economic problems of a Europe starving and disintegrating before their eyes, was the one question in which it was impossible to arouse the interest of the Four. . . .

[Europe's] population secured for itself a livelihood before the war, without much margin of surplus, by means of a delicate and immensely complicated organization, of which the foundations were supported by coal, iron, transport, and an unbroken supply of imported food and raw materials from other continents.

By the destruction of this organization and the interruption of the stream of supplies, a part of this population is deprived of its means of livelihood. The danger confronting us, therefore, is the rapid depression of the standard of life of the European populations to a point which will mean actual starvation for some (a point already reached in Russia and approximately reached in Austria). Men will not always die quietly. For starvation, which brings to some lethargy and a helpless despair, drives other temperaments to the nervous instability of hysteria and to a mad despair. . . . This is the danger against which all our resources and courage and idealism must now co-operate.

Source: Keynes, John Maynard. *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1920, pp. 226–228.

Chapter 3

Political and Social Change in the Postwar United States

A Changing Nation

The end of World War I brought about a new era of changes for the United States. The country was now reexamining its role on the global stage while also confronting tensions at home. From postwar economic challenges to immigration policy, the United States was poised for transformation within its borders and on the international stage.



The Framing Question

How did the aftermath of World War I shape the United States' approach to global and domestic challenges in the 1920s?

American soldiers arriving home after serving in World War I





American Isolationism in the Twenties

The 1920s were a time of robust international trade and cultural exchange with Europe. But the decade was also a time in which the United States adopted a strict isolationist sentiment with regard to foreign policy—especially with regard to military and political involvement in Europe. Americans were reluctant to become involved in military or political affairs in Europe. The consequences of the United States' involvement in Europe during the First World War were still on peoples' minds. When Americans of the 1920s and 1930s looked back on their nation's involvement in that war, many remembered the war as a time of loss and broken promises. Many in Congress and across the nation came to believe that President Woodrow Wilson had needlessly dragged the nation into war. As Americans surveyed the accomplishments of World War I, they saw merely that some national boundaries in far-off Europe had been redrawn in the war's aftermath. They also saw that the treaty that had ended the war, the Treaty of Versailles, was flawed. It had imposed unrealistic war reparations on Germany. It had

also demanded that Germany accept responsibility for having started the war. Such impositions were giving rise to anger and resentment in Germany—feelings that would evolve into something much more dangerous in coming years. Complicating matters, the United States had refused to join the League of Nations, the international effort that had been proposed by President Wilson.

Find Out the Facts



Why did Congress reject President Wilson's proposal to join the League of Nations?



The American Economy After World War I

Following World War I, the United States found itself facing a variety of economic challenges. The transition from an economy fueled by wartime industries to one of peacetime industries was difficult. The sudden reduction of military production and government spending led to a period of economic **recession**. Industries that

Vocabulary

recession, n. a period of decline in a nation's economy

once thrived during the war faced reduced demand for their goods and services. Workers were fired, and businesses were closed. With fewer businesses, there were now fewer goods for people to buy. This triggered a rise in costs for everyday items. Many people found it difficult to afford goods they needed or wanted during this period of inflation.

Some dissatisfied workers engaged in labor strikes, in which they demanded better wages and working conditions. Labor unions advocated for better treatment of workers. Strikes like the Seattle General Strike and the Boston Police Strike of 1919 brought national attention to workers' rights issues.

During this time of economic challenges, many immigrants arrived in the United States.

They sought jobs in order to support themselves and their families, but there were fewer jobs available. This resulted in competition. Some American citizens felt that immigrants were taking away their job opportunities. In 1921 and 1924, Congress limited the number of immigrants who could enter the United States. It imposed country-by-country quotas designed to restrict the flow of "undesirable" immigrants. Congress focused especially on restricting entry to immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, who had arrived in large numbers between 1890 and 1924.

Think Twice

How might pandemics affect a nation's economy?



Streetcar employees went on strike in New York City in 1919.

The Influenza Pandemic of 1918

Another consequence of World War I was the global outbreak of influenza, or the flu, beginning in 1918. As soldiers returned from battlefields and nations struggled to recover from war, the virus spread around the globe. The influenza virus raced through crowded wartime conditions and created a **pandemic** of catastrophic proportions. The flu actually killed more people than World War I—it is estimated that twenty-five million people around the world perished from the disease.

More than two million Americans were infected by the virus in 1918 and 1919, and about 675,000 Americans died. Hospitals were overwhelmed with patients, and there were few methods to prevent or treat the illness. Flu is usually hard on the very young and very old. However, this particular flu variety was unique in that it also caused high rates of death in healthy people between twenty and forty years of age. By the spring of 1919, the last wave of the pandemic ended. Even years later, its legacy continued to have lasting effects on the social and economic lives of Americans.



Many soldiers suffered from flu in Camp Funston, Kansas, in 1918.

Vocabulary

pandemic, n. an outbreak of rapidly spreading disease that affects many people around the world at the same time

Return to Normalcy

Warren G. Harding successfully campaigned to become president in 1920. Part of his campaign promise was to focus on pressing matters at home and

not to allow the United States to become involved in foreign conflicts. His message was a popular one in the aftermath of the devastation of World War I.



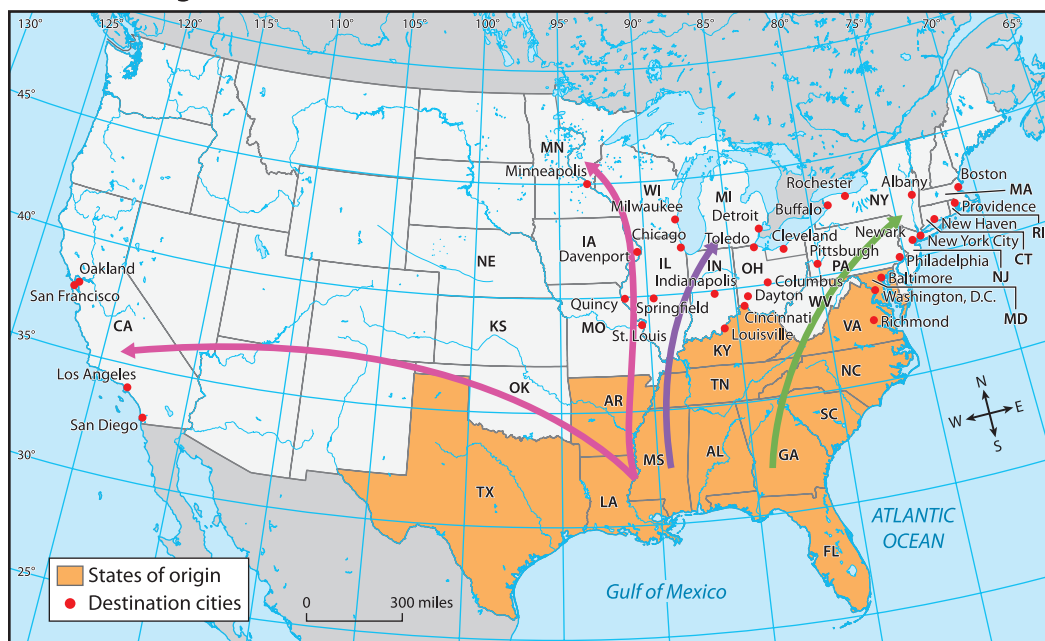
The Great Migration and Growing Racial Tensions

People who had always lived within the United States were also on the move, resettling in new communities. Continuing a trend that began before World War I and spurred by the changes brought about by the war, thousands of African Americans left racially segregated southern states. They relocated to cities north and west. This mass movement became known as the “Great Migration.”

In their new cities, African Americans began to work in steel mills, coal mines, automotive factories, and food processing plants. Urban areas such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Detroit provided African Americans with both economic and social opportunities that had been unavailable to them in the South.

One African American migrant from Alabama wrote home to a friend about Chicago in June 1917: “Dear Old Friend: . . . I thought I would write you a few . . . facts of the present condition of the north. . . . People are coming here every day and are finding employment. Nothing here but money and

The Great Migration



This map shows the various cities and regions where many African Americans relocated during the Great Migration.

it is not hard to get. . . . I have children in school every day with the white children.”



Find Out the Facts

Research how many people born in Louisiana migrated north in one of the decades during the Great Migration.

In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan, which was first created during Reconstruction, expanded its hate-filled message. Originally formed to intimidate formerly enslaved people after the Civil War and prevent them from exercising their rights, the group now also targeted Catholics, Jews, and new immigrants. Ku Klux Klan members wore pointed white hoods that

covered their faces. They burned Christian crosses at hate-filled gatherings in which they denounced various groups. These [repetitive] actions contributed to a series of events that exposed the harsh realities of racial discrimination in the years after World War I. Indeed, President Woodrow Wilson allowed for segregation within federal government departments and most parts of the military.

As African American migrants from the South moved north to seek better opportunities and escape segregation, they were met with resistance from white residents. In 1919, the Chicago Riot erupted after a tragedy at a



Artist Alison Saar created this statue that stands in Chicago today as a tribute to the thousands of African American people who migrated there in the early twentieth century.



Ku Klux Klan parade, Washington, D.C., 1926

Michigan beach. An African American teenager named Eugene Williams crossed what some white community members considered an unofficial racial boundary on his raft. A group of white people began to throw stones at him. Williams fell off the raft he was on and drowned. There were no arrests made, and this led to conflict and riots in Chicago that lasted for several days. Mobs of white residents attacked African American residents, businesses, and neighborhoods. As a result of the Chicago Riot, dozens of the city's residents were killed, and over five hundred people were injured.

Similarly, Oklahoma's Tulsa Massacre in 1921 was an event of widespread violence and bloodshed. After an angry crowd formed outside of a Tulsa courthouse demanding authorities hand over an African American man who had been accused of a crime, fighting began between African American and white residents. Mobs of white citizens attacked a wealthy and successful African American neighborhood known as Black Wall Street. Homes and businesses were looted and destroyed, and the neighborhood was left in ruins. Oklahoma's governor declared **martial law**, and only the arrival of National Guard troops in Tulsa quelled the violence. The number of casualties still remains uncertain.

Vocabulary

martial law, n. the temporary substitution of military enforcement of civilian rules

The Russian Revolution

Meanwhile, across the world, Russia was facing postwar challenges of its own. Prior to World War I, Russia had

experienced a humiliating defeat when it lost the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5. This defeat had caused serious unrest and numerous revolts in Russia. Then, a series of important events had unfolded in Russia during World War I. Russia was a largely agrarian society made up of poor, struggling peasants. They were ruled over by Czar Nicholas II, a member of the royal Romanov family. The czar was often out of touch with the people he ruled, though in 1905, he had allowed for a new constitution as well as the creation of a representative body, or Duma, with some political powers. When groups of peasants and workers petitioned or protested, calling upon the czar's government to aid them in their plight of hunger and poverty, the czar was largely unresponsive.

Discontent with czarist rule in Russia had been ongoing for many years before World War I. And in the middle of the war, a group of Bolshevik **communists** rose up and overthrew the Duma.

Vocabulary

communist, n. a person who believes in establishing an economic system based on community ownership of property and industry, known as communism



The Romanovs were the last royal family of Russia.

The Bolshevik communists were led by Vladimir Lenin. Under Lenin's leadership, the Bolsheviks captured the czar and his family and later executed them. The Bolsheviks declared themselves the rulers of Russia. Russia, now under communist rule, would be called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or, more simply, the Soviet Union.

Find Out the Facts



Research what happened to the Russian royal family in the months leading up to their capture and execution.

Writers' Corner



Based on your research, write a paper on the last months and weeks of the Russian royal family.

Lenin and the Communist Party said they knew what was best for Russia. They would employ the ideas of revolutionary and economist Karl Marx and Lenin to rule the country and structure Russian society. In workplaces, instead of the private enterprise system of capitalism, the Soviets developed a centralized “command” economy. They said that they were going to turn decision-making in factories over to the workers, using workers’ councils called *soviets*. In fact, the economy in the Soviet Union was “top down,” which means it was planned and structured by the inner circle of the Soviet government in Moscow. The *soviets* in the factories did not actually have control, and the people of the Soviet Union did not live in a free country.

When people in Russia opposed the ideas that Lenin sought to impose on them, soldiers and secret police sent out from the Communist Party killed or imprisoned them. Life in Russia under the rule of the czars had been harsh, but millions of

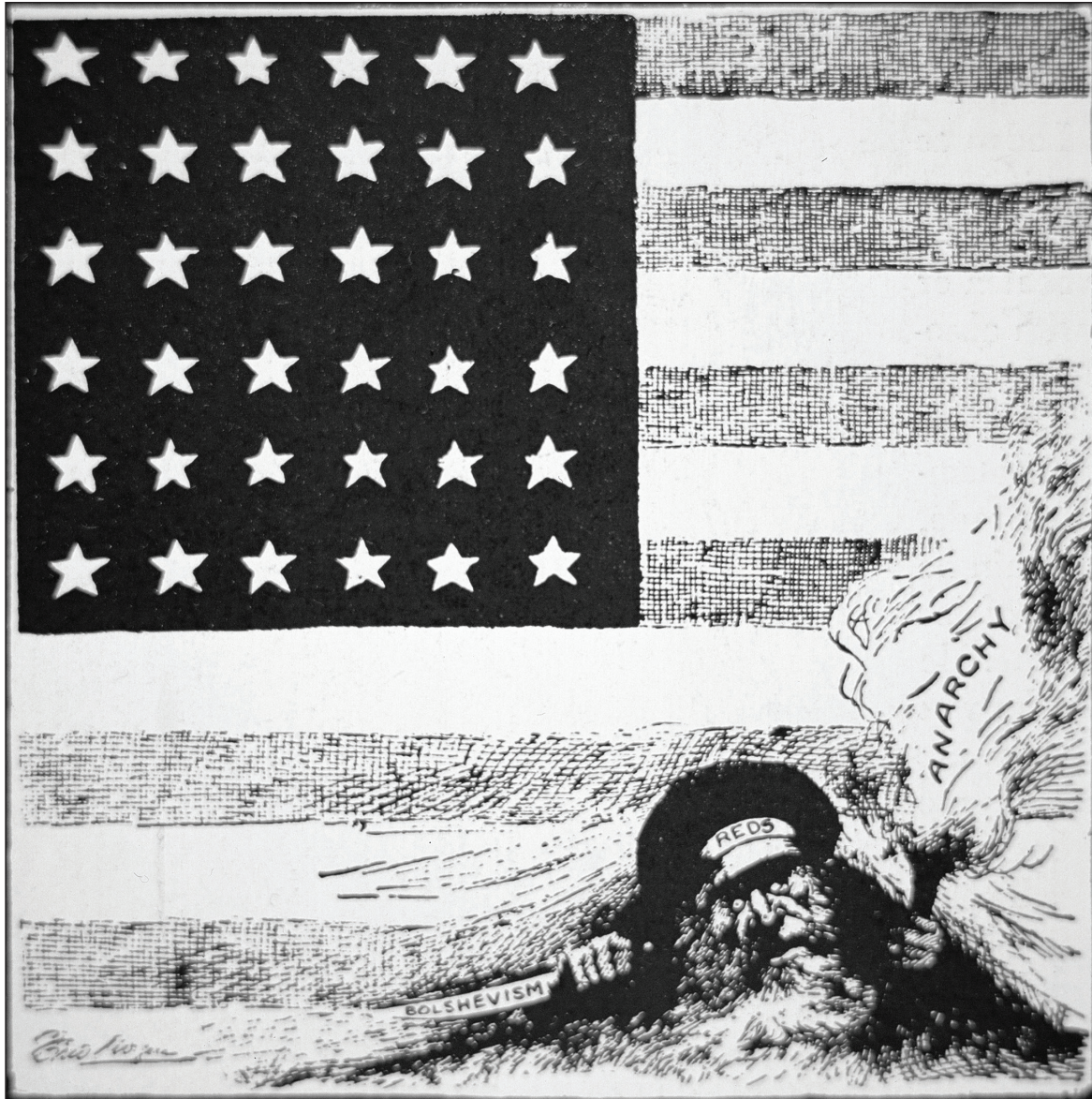
Russians also suffered terribly under the forced imposition of Communist Party rule.



The First Red Scare

Back in the United States, the Russian Revolution and the postwar labor strikes contributed to growing tensions and led to fear that radicals were seeking to promote a similar revolution in the United States. This led to a widespread “Red Scare” in 1919 and 1920. This national anxiety took its name from the color of the flag flown by Russian communists. For many nervous Americans, the economic and political changes happening in Russia stood in stark contrast to the capitalist and democratic society in which they lived.

The spark for the scare was the discovery of thirty-six packages containing dynamite-filled bombs. They had been mailed to prominent politicians, judges, government officials, newspaper editors, and businessmen—including John D. Rockefeller. Most of the bombs were discovered by post office workers before they were delivered. But one, mailed from New York City to the Atlanta home of a



Cartoon depicting the "Red Scare," 1919

former U.S. senator, exploded as a maid opened it. The maid and the senator's wife were severely injured.



Think Twice

Why was this period of tension and unrest referred to as a "Red Scare"?

In November 1919 and January 1920, under the leadership of U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, some five thousand people were arrested, and more than five hundred were deported. In these "Palmer Raids," government officials rounded up

anarchists, communists, and labor activists. Many of those arrested were recent Italian and eastern European immigrants.

Vocabulary

anarchist, n. a person who rebels against or works to disrupt an established authority, usually a government or an economic system

In September 1920, several months after the Palmer Raids, a bomb exploded on Wall Street in the heart of New York City's financial district. The blast killed forty people and injured many more. The person who planted the bomb was never discovered, but the bombing added to tensions surrounding the Red Scare.

The next summer, in 1921, an armed robbery occurred at a shoe factory in Braintree, Massachusetts. Italian immigrants Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were convicted and sentenced to death for the murders of two employees at the factory. Sacco and Vanzetti were known anarchists. But many people thought the evidence that they had murdered the two victims was unconvincing. For the next six years, protests in support of Sacco and Vanzetti took place around the world. But in 1927, after exhausting their legal appeals, Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. Today, their case remains a symbol of the tensions surrounding issues of radicalism and immigration in the 1920s.

PRIMARY SOURCE: WARREN G. HARDING AND THE “RETURN TO NORMALCY”

There isn't anything the matter with world civilization, except that humanity is viewing it through a vision impaired in a cataclysmal war. Poise has been disturbed and nerves have been racked, and fever has rendered men irrational; sometimes there have been draughts upon the dangerous cup of barbarity, and men have wandered far from safe paths, but the human procession still marches in the right direction. . . .

America's present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normality; not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; not experiment, but equipoise; not submergence in internationality, but sustainment in triumphant nationality.

It is one thing to battle successfully against world domination by military autocracy, because the infinite God never intended such a program, but it is quite another thing to revise human nature and suspend the fundamental laws of life and all of life's acquirements. . . .

This republic has its ample tasks. If we put an end to false economics which lure humanity to utter chaos, ours will be the commanding example of world leadership today. If we can prove a representative popular government under which a citizenship seeks what it may do for the government rather than what the government may do for individuals, we shall do more to make democracy safe for the world than all armed conflict ever recorded.

Source: Harding, Warren G. “National Ideals and Policies: The Country Needs the Benediction of Wholesale Common Sense—There Will Again Be a Call for the American Doctrine of Protection.” In *The Protectionist*, vol. 32 (May 1920). Boston: Home Market Club, pp. 74–75.

PRIMARY SOURCE: "THE CASE AGAINST THE REDS" BY ATTORNEY GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER (1920)

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order a year ago. It was eating its way into the homes of the American workmen, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the altars of the churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.

Robbery, not war, is the ideal of communism. This has been demonstrated in Russia, Germany, and in America. As a foe, the anarchist is fearless of his own life, for his creed is a fanaticism that admits no respect of any other creed. Obviously it is the creed of any criminal mind, which reasons always from motives impossible to clean thought. Crime is the degenerate factor in society.

Upon these two basic certainties, first that the "Reds" were criminal aliens and secondly that the American Government must prevent crime, it was decided that there could be no nice distinctions drawn between the theoretical ideals of the radicals and their actual violations of our national laws. An assassin may have brilliant intellectuality, he may be able to excuse his murder or robbery with fine oratory, but any theory which excuses crime is not wanted in America. This is no place for the criminal to flourish, nor will he do so so long as the rights of common citizenship can be exerted to prevent him. . . .

It is my belief that while they have stirred discontent in our midst, while they have caused irritating strikes, and while they have infected our social ideas with the disease of their own minds and their unclean morals, we can get rid of them! And not until we have done so shall we have removed the menace of Bolshevism for good.

Source: Palmer, A. Mitchell. "The Case Against the Reds." In *Forum*, vol. 63 (1920), pp. 174, 185.

Glossary

A

anarchist, n. a person who rebels against or works to disrupt an established authority, usually a government or an economic system (43)

attrition, n. the act of wearing down by inflicting continuous losses (20)

C

communist, n. a person who believes in establishing an economic system based on community ownership of property and industry, known as communism (40)

D

dogfight, n. a close combat between military airplanes (19)

draft, n. a system that requires individuals to serve in the military (22)

E

exploitation, n. the act of making use of something unfairly for one's own advantage (4)

I

imperialism, n. the practice of gaining power as a country by taking over areas of the world (3)

“interlocking alliances” (phrase)
a system in which countries agree to help each other when one of them is attacked (15)

isolationism, n. an approach to foreign policy displaying a reluctance to enter international affairs (21)

J

jingoism, n. extreme nationalism marked by aggressive foreign policy (15)

M

martial law, n. the temporary substitution of military enforcement of civilian rules (39)

militarism, n. the building up of a strong military (15)

mobilization, n. the process of preparing to fight a war or take other collective action (17)

N

nationalism, n. belief in the superiority of one's nation (15)

P

pacifist, n. a person who opposes war and violence as a way to resolve conflict (25)

pandemic, n. an outbreak of rapidly spreading disease that affects many people around the world at the same time (36)

propaganda, n. information spread to encourage belief in a certain person or idea (23)

provisional, adj. temporary (6)

R

recession, n. a period of decline in a nation's economy **(34)**

S

shell shock, n. a condition caused by the intense stress of participating in warfare, known today as post-traumatic stress disorder or PTSD **(20)**

T

tariff, n. a tax imposed on particular imported goods **(5)**



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Dr. Mark G. Spencer, Professor of History, Brock University

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African Americans, members of the 369th Colored Infantry, wave from a troop ship as they arrive back in New York City. The regiment was nicknamed the Harlem Hellfighters and the Black Rattlers. c. 1919 / Everett Collection / Bridgeman Images: 25

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