United Cigar Stores: no place, [1918]
Library of Congress
The American Revolution articulated ideals of universal liberty, but for more than a century the United States had little political or diplomatic involvement with other nations. A republic in a world dominated by imperial monarchies, the United States avoided the dynastic quarrels, territorial disputes, and diplomatic maneuvers that consumed the European state system through most of the nineteenth century. The United States provided the world with proof that a system of government based on the popular will and dedicated to the interests of ordinary people can be effective, but made no effort to export the ideals of the American Revolution or to promote the spread of republican institutions.

The United States entered World War I to defend freedom and democracy against tyranny and oppression, inspired by the ideals of the American Revolution and the memory of the Revolutionary War. The war transformed the nation’s political and cultural relationship with Europe and shaped a new determination to spread the principles of the American Revolution around the world. The war also changed the way Americans imagined and remembered the American Revolution.

“The American Revolution,” President Woodrow Wilson explained, “was a beginning, not a consummation, and the duty laid upon us by the beginning is the duty of bringing the things then begun to a noble triumph of completion.” A century after the United States embarked on that great crusade, the legacy of the American Revolution continues to shape our relationships around the world. “America has a great cause,” President Wilson reminded us, “which is not confined to the American continent. It is the cause of humanity itself.”
For more than a century, the oceans isolated the United States from most of the populous and powerful nations of the world. A republic in a world dominated by imperial monarchies, the United States was also isolated by its attachment to ideals of universal liberty and democracy regarded as subversive by most foreign governments. The European monarchies regarded the United States with disdain and the United States avoided involvement in Europe’s political, diplomatic and military affairs.

American hostility toward Britain declined as the memory of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 faded and parliamentary reform gradually transformed Britain into a constitutional monarchy with a representative government. At the end of the nineteenth century, Britain recognized the United States as a potential ally against newly unified Germany. Americans and Britons realized that their common language and shared past were more important than old political differences. Otto von Bismarck, the architect of German unification, commented grimly that the twentieth century would be shaped by “the fact that the North Americans speak English.”
American relations with France began to improve after 1870, when France abandoned the monarchy of Napoleon III and established the Third Republic. Humiliated by defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and concerned about the threat posed by Imperial Germany, French leaders worked to build better relations with Britain and the United States. The Statue of Liberty, completed in 1884 and erected in New York Harbor in 1886, symbolized French efforts to build a closer relationship with the United States.
American enthusiasm for Lafayette increased as relations between the United States and France improved. A succession of French ambassadors promoted Lafayette as a symbol of the renewed friendship and shared republican values. Impressive monuments to Lafayette were erected in New York’s Union Square (1876) and Lafayette Square (1900) and in Washington’s Lafayette Square (1891), and in other cities and towns across the country. Sculptor Samuel Murray created this statue in 1905, depicting Lafayette in the uniform of a Continental major general, wearing the Eagle insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati.

A champion of liberty in Europe and America, Lafayette became the emblem of American participation in World War I. “It is because Lafayette came here,” former French Prime Minister Rene Viviani said in St. Louis in 1917, “because he brought here French aid under the French flag to the soldiers who fought for American independence, that we find here today, after one hundred and forty years, friendly faces, trusting hearts and outstretched hands. You have not forgotten your oath of gratitude. Nor do we forget our oath of fidelity to you.”
Shortly after the war began, President Woodrow Wilson declared the United States neutral. Most Americans sympathized with Britain and France, but were appalled by the death toll on the Western Front and opposed sending troops to Europe. Neutrality was tested in May 1915 when a German submarine sank the British passenger liner *Lusitania* with the loss of 128 American lives, but an overwhelming number of Americans continued to oppose intervention. In an address to the Daughters of the American Revolution that fall, President Wilson urged Americans to make the interests of their own country their highest priority: “I look forward to the necessity in every political agitation in the years which are immediately at hand of calling upon every man to declare himself, where he stands. Is it America first or is it not?”
I DIDN'T RAISE MY BOY TO BE A SOLDIER

LYRICS BY
ALFRED BRYAN

MUSIC BY
AL. PLANTADOSI
Horrifying news of casualties on the battlefields of Europe fed antiwar sentiment in the United States. The chorus to the antiwar anthem “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier” — the best-selling sheet music of 1915 — expressed the sentiment of millions of Americans women and men:

I didn’t raise my boy to be a soldier,  
I brought him up to be my pride and joy.  
Who dares to place a musket on his shoulder,  
To shoot some other mother’s darling boy?  
Let nations arbitrate their future troubles,  
It’s time to lay the sword and gun away.  
There’d be no war today,  
If mothers all would say,  
I didn’t raise my boy to be a soldier.

A vocal minority contended that the United States should expand the military and be prepared to intervene on the side of Britain and France if necessary. Preparedness advocates pointed out that the German army outnumbered the U.S. Army by more than twenty to one. The Preparedness Movement attracted wide popular support after the sinking of the Lusitania in May 1915.

Paul Wayland Bartlett created this bronze eagle after the Lusitania disaster to symbolize preparedness. Larz and Isabel Anderson displayed the sculpture at Anderson House. Anglophiles with intimate ties to Europe, the Andersons regarded the war as a disaster that threatened the fundamental values of Western Civilization.
President Wilson opposed the Preparedness Movement, arguing that the National Guard was a reliable reservoir of military strength. When Wilson’s own secretary of war, Lindley Garrison, advocated an army of over 500,000 regulars and trained reservists, Wilson replaced him.

Faced with a tough reelection campaign in 1916, Wilson embraced the rhetoric and symbols of the Preparedness Movement — this campaign poster includes the same warlike eagle and a patriotic shield used by sculptor Paul Bartlett — but he supported a much more limited expansion of the peacetime army.
Determined to drive Britain out of the war, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine attacks on shipping in British waters in February 1917. The American people were outraged and accepted — many with great reluctance — that neutrality was no longer possible.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before a joint session of Congress to ask for a declaration of war. War had been forced upon the United States, he explained, but it must be a war against the German government, not the German people. It must be a war “to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world.” It must be a war for democracy, for self-determination, for the peace and safety of the world. Reaching back to the American Revolution, Wilson concluded:

*It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.*

Congress adopted a declaration of war on April 6, 1917.
Wake Up America Day

April 19, 1917
Inspired by the idea that the war was a fight to vindicate the principles of the American Revolution, the New York Mayor’s Committee on National Defense chose April 19, 1917 — the anniversary of Lexington and Concord — to stage one of the most ambitious recruiting events in American history.

Wake Up America Day included mass meetings, concerts, church services, speeches and patriotic ceremonies across the city. *The New York Times* reported that “the negro population of Harlem will hold a rally at the Salem M.E. Church in East 183rd Street,” and “the foreign-born citizens of the East Side will pledge their loyalty at a rally” on Second Avenue, among dozens of other events. Eight airplanes flew over the city, dropping recruiting leaflets. The Times reported:

The highlight of Wake Up America Day was a massive parade down Fifth Avenue, featuring military units, bands, patriotic floats, “decorated automobiles,” 10,000 boys carrying flags, the “Junior Patriots of America,” suffragists, “Anti-Suffragettes,” actors, musicians, nurses and dozens of other groups, including marchers dressed in Revolutionary War attire. Some thirty-nine cities followed New York’s lead and staged their own Wake Up America Day parades and events the same day.
As soon as the United States broke diplomatic ties with Germany, Britain and France dispatched envoys to encourage the American government to send troops to the Western Front as quickly as possible. The French sent former prime minister Rene Viviani and Marshal Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre, the French hero of the Battle of the Marne.

The choice of Joffre was inspired. Not since Lafayette’s visit to America in 1824-25 had a foreign visitor excited so much popular interest. Though he spoke little English, Joffre radiated warmth. Crowds were drawn to him. He embraced children, saluted French and American flags with solemn dignity, and stopped to pose for photographs with adoring Americans.

When the envoys arrived in Washington, Joffre assured American leaders that the U.S. Army could operate autonomously, quieting the concern that French and British generals would attempt to scatter American troops across the Western Front to reinforce their own battered armies. Joffre also promised that France would provide the artillery and ammunition the American army lacked.

Joffre and Viviani left Washington on a goodwill tour, visiting Chicago, Kansas City, St. Louis, Springfield, Illinois — where Viviani and Joffre visited Lincoln’s tomb — Philadelphia, New York and Boston. Viviani, who spoke perfect English, delivered prepared speeches in each city, reminding his audiences of Lafayette and the historic bond between France and the United States, but it was Joffre who drew the crowds.

On May 19, 1917, Viviani and Joffre traveled by motorcade through streets packed with cheering New Yorkers to Prospect Park in Brooklyn, where they unveiled a memorial to Lafayette created by Daniel Chester French. “We find in American hearts that vibrate as one with untold sympathy for France,” Viviani said in his remarks, “which was inspired by our countryperson Lafayette. Lafayette not only performed a great duty for America, but also for France, since he has endeared America to France in this hour when France stands in need of help.”

Joffre stole the show with a single grand gesture. He pulled the cord to unveil the statue, then offered a solemn salute to Lafayette — a silent gesture that endeared him to the crowd and to the thousands more who saw this photograph in the newspapers.

The next day Joffre visited George Washington’s headquarters in Newburgh, New York, where he received word that the Triennial Meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati, then meeting in Asheville, North Carolina, had made him an honorary member — the first French military officer to be admitted to the Society since the eighteenth century. Returning to Washington, Joffre met John J. Pershing, just selected to command the American army to be sent to France. Joffre told Pershing that he could “always count on me for anything in my power.”
Viviani and Joffre (center) reached Washington on April 25, 1917. They were greeted by Ambassador Jules Jusserand (far right), Admiral Henry Mayo, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet (on Joffre’s left) and Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Roosevelt (behind Viviani, holding a top hat).

National Archives

Viviani and Joffre traveled by motorcade to Brooklyn on May 19, 1917, to dedicate the Lafayette Memorial.

National Archives
President Wilson appointed John J. Pershing to command the American Expeditionary Forces sent to Europe. Pershing was modest, reserved, dignified and disciplined, inviting comparisons to George Washington, whom Pershing regarded as the model American general. Pershing alluded to the principles of the American Revolution in an address to the American people he recorded in France in 1918: “Invoking the spirit of our forefathers, the army asks your unflinching support to the end that the high ideals for which America stands may endure upon the Earth.” Like Washington, Pershing dedicated himself to his army and resisted efforts to draw him into political life.

Congress appointed Pershing General of the Armies of the United States — the highest rank ever established in the United States military — in 1919. Pershing adopted four gold stars as his insignia of rank. As a general of the army during the war, Pershing had worn four silver stars. George Washington was posthumously designated General of the Armies, making Washington and Pershing the only officers ever to hold this rank.

Pershing appreciated the rich connections between the Revolutionary War and World War I. In the darkest days of the Revolutionary War, Pershing explained in 1931, the French alliance had inspired Americans with new hope. “From France came soldiers, technical experts, arms, equipment, munitions and money. More important still was the tide of encouragement that flowed across the Atlantic to us in hours of doubt and despair.”

*General John J. Pershing*
By E. Hodgson Smart
1922
Collection of Jack and Janet Warren

British artist E. Hodgson Smart painted this portrait of Pershing from life in Washington, D.C., in 1922. Although he had been awarded many decorations, Pershing wears only the ribbon of the Distinguished Service Medal, created in 1918 to honor exceptional army personnel for meritorious service to the United States in a duty of great responsibility in time of war. He was the first recipient.
Recognizing the importance of Joffre’s American tour for the French-American alliance, Pershing staged an ever more compelling spectacle shortly after he arrived in France with the first contingent of American troops. On July 4, 1917, a battalion of the 16th Regiment of the First Division marched five miles from Les Invalides in the heart of Paris to the cemetery in Picpus, where Pershing and his staff paid a ceremonial visit to the grave of Lafayette.

“With only a semblance of military formation,” Pershing recalled, the battalion “pushed its way through avenues of people to the martial strains of the French band and the still more thrilling music of cheering voices. The humbler folk of Paris seemed to look upon our stalwart fighting men as their real deliverance. Many children dropped on their knees in reverence as the flag with the stars and stripes went by.” Parisians threw so many flowers to the American troops, Pershing wrote, “the column looked like a moving flower garden.”

With Joffre and other French leaders in attendance, along with the press and hundreds of onlookers crowded inside the cemetery walls, Pershing stood by Lafayette’s grave and paid tribute to the French hero of America’s War for Independence. Pershing assigned Col. Charles Stanton, the army’s paymaster, to speak for the American Expeditionary Force. Stanton concluded his speech with the phrase that embodied the spirit of America’s wartime crusade to ensure the freedom of Europe:

“America has joined forces with the Allied Powers, and what we have of blood and treasure are yours. Therefore it is that with loving pride we drape the colors in tribute of respect to this citizen of your great republic. And here and now, in the presence of the illustrious dead, we pledge our hearts and our honor in carrying this war to a successful issue. Lafayette, we are here.”

Clara Greenleaf Perry, a Bostonian who witnessed the ceremony, recalled that when Stanton “said ‘Lafayette, we are here!’ I was thrilled. The words came like an electric shock. I felt distinctly a quivering of my whole body as though it had been suddenly struck by some powerful force. It was just like a lightning stroke. Many people turned and gazed in amazement at one another for a moment and then burst into applause.”

“Lafayette, we are here” was widely attributed to Pershing, who was quick to deflect praise to Stanton, saying “to him must go the credit for coin ing so happy and felicitous a phrase.”

This 1917 poster by French lithographer Eugène Courboin of Uncle Sam shaking hands with Lafayette needed no words — the American army had arrived. The French embraced Lafayette as a symbol of American support in the war — in this case to stir popular interest in war loans. The Society of the Cincinnati.
In this French photograph of the ceremony at Picpus, Pershing is seen addressing the crowd. Joffre can be seen immediately in his dark uniform in the front row, directly in front of Pershing. Charles Stanton, who gave the principle address, is to the left of Pershing with his hands folded.

Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Pershing salutes Lafayette’s heroic service to the cause of American independence in Edward Percy Moran’s contemporary depiction of the ceremony at Picpus.

Courtesy Lafayette College
Your Forefathers Died For Liberty In 1776 — What Will You Do For It In 1917? ....

Buy Liberty Bonds
American participation in World War I cost the United States more than $30 billion — more than thirty times the annual expenditures of the entire federal government before the war. The federal government financed the war through increased taxation and borrowing from ordinary Americans, chiefly through the sale of Liberty Bonds, which raised some $17 billion.

The government persuaded millions of citizens that buying Liberty Bonds was a patriotic duty. The bonds were offered to retail buyers in $50 and $100 denominations at interest rates ranging from 3.5 to 4.5 percent. Ultimately about half of all American families bought them, introducing many of them to securities for the first time.

War bond promoters employed a wide range of messages. Symbols and ideas from the American Revolution — including the Spirit of 1776, the Minuteman, and the Liberty Bell — were invoked in every bond drive, reinforcing the idea that the war was a great crusade to vindicate the ideals of the revolutionary generation.
The memory of the Hessians of the Revolutionary War — mercenaries hired by the British to help crush the American Revolution — shaped American perceptions of Germans and fed distrust of German-Americans during the war.

German conduct in the war — the violation of Belgian neutrality, atrocities committed in Belgium and northern France, and the sinking of neutral merchant ships and passenger liners by German submarines — invited comparisons between the brutal Hessian mercenaries of the Revolutionary War and the barbaric “Huns,” engaged in a war against Western Civilization.

The Hessians’ image in American popular culture is illustrated by D.W. Griffith's 1776, or The Hessian Renegades, the first motion picture treatment of the Revolutionary War. This short silent film told the story of brave American patriots overcoming a party of Hessians after they murder a Continental soldier and ransack his family home. The barbaric cruelty of the Hessians and the heroic determination of the patriots made the film a success, as did the appearance of Mary Pickford in one of her earliest screen roles.

German-Americans were one of the largest ethnic groups in the United States in the early twentieth century. The Census Bureau counted 92 million Americans in 1910. Over 8 million had been born in Germany or had at least one German-born parent. Some 2.7 million spoke German as their primary language. While most were proud of their German heritage, few had any attachment to the German Empire. Most opposed American entry into the war, but were loyal to the United States. They were nonetheless objects of suspicion and harassment. The Justice Department enumerated 480,000 German aliens in the United States during the war. More than 4,000 were interred by the government.

Other German-Americans were subjected to violence. On August 19, 1918, John Meints, a German-American farmer suspected of disloyalty, was kidnapped from his home near Luverne, Minnesota, by nativist vigilantes and driven to the South Dakota border. In a gruesome echo of the American Revolution, Meints was tarred and feathered by his captors and threatened with death if he returned to Minnesota. The vigilantes were subsequently acquitted of wrongdoing. These photographs are some of the only images of a victim of tarring and feathering.

Library of Congress
Most American troops arrived in France during the summer of 1918, providing the allies with superior numbers on the Western Front. American troops helped blunt a German offensive against Paris at Belleau Wood (above) and Chateau Thierry in June and July. In the fall, the American army drove the Germans from the Argonne Forrest northwest of Verdun and pushed on to Sedan, an essential rail junction on the German supply line. The allied capture of Sedan on November 6, 1918, led to the collapse of the German army. An armistice brought the fighting to an end five days later. The United States sent some 2,000,000 men to France. They suffered about 320,000 casualties, including over 53,000 combat deaths, 63,000 deaths from illness or accident, and some 204,000 wounded.
Popular music reflected the mood of the nation as American troops went to war. This musical reply to the 1915 hit, “I Didn’t Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier,” was published a few weeks before the United States declared war on Germany and was one of the best-selling songs of 1917.

“The best-known American song of World War I, “Over There” sold more than two million copies by the end of the war. Nora Bayes, a star of vaudeville and Broadway, was the first singer to record the song. She performed it hundreds of times at patriotic rallies and concerts, often appearing in this costume, inspired by Revolutionary War uniforms.”

“Just Like Washington Crossed the Delaware, General Pershing Will Cross the Rhine” was one of the best-selling songs of late 1918, and one of many songs of the war inspired by the American Revolution. Others include “Lafayette, We Hear You Calling,” “When Yankee Doodle Learned to Parlez Vous Francais” and “Liberty Bell (It’s Time to Ring Again).”
World War I held out the possibility of breaking up the Austrian and German empires and bringing self-determination, liberty and democratic institutions to the peoples of Eastern Europe long dominated by foreign powers. President Wilson made the creation of an independent Poland one of his “Fourteen Points,” the war aims he outlined in a speech to Congress on January 8, 1918.

The government appealed to Polish-Americans to support the war effort by invoking the memory of the two great Polish patriots who served as volunteers in the Continental Army: Tadeusz Kosciuszko and Casimir Pulaski. This 1918 poster reads “Kościuszko, Pułaski — they fought for liberty in America. Will you help America fight for freedom in Poland? Eat less wheat, meat, fats, sugar, so we can aid our brothers fighting in the allied armies.”
Defining the war as a crusade “to make the world safe for democracy” had unintended consequences. It energized demands for civil liberties at home, particularly from American women. Women’s rights advocates had long drawn on the American Revolution for inspiration. Delegates to the first women’s rights convention, held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, had adopted a Declaration of Sentiments revising the Declaration of Independence. “We hold these truths to be self-evident,” it began, “that all men and women are created equal.” Seventy years later their successors were still contending for the right to vote.

Women mobilized for World War I in unprecedented numbers as nurses on the Western Front, as factory workers, as volunteers, and in dozens of other roles. Their service made the injustice of denying them the vote increasingly untenable. Throughout America’s involvement in the war, women marched and protested, demanding the same rights the United States was fighting for in Europe. Women’s wartime struggle for democracy at home ultimately succeeded. The Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, securing voting rights for American women, was finally ratified in 1920.

Suffrage Protestors at the Lafayette Statue in Washington, D.C., September 16, 1918
Photograph by Harris & Ewing, 1918
Library of Congress

On September 16, 1918, as Pershing’s army was fighting in France, members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association marched to the base of the statue of Lafayette less than a block from the White House. Twenty-five-year-old Lucy Branham held aloft a torch. “The torch which I hold symbolizes the burning indignation of women who for a hundred years have been given words without action.”

“As in the ancient fights for liberty,” she said, we “protest against the action of the President and his party in delaying the liberation of women.” She held up a note from President Wilson expressing sympathy with their cause, but not promising any definite action. She lit Wilson’s message on fire. “We announce to the President and the whole world today, by this act of ours, our determination that words shall no longer be the only reply given to American women — our determination that this same democracy, for whose establishment abroad we are making the utmost sacrifices, shall also prevail at home.”
Securing a just and lasting peace based on the revolutionary ideals of universal liberty, democracy and self-determination proved more difficult than winning the war. In 1919 the allied powers concluded the Treaty of Versailles, which stripped Germany of territory, severely curtailed the German military, and required Germany to pay heavy reparations. To maintain the peace, the Treaty called for a permanent League of Nations, which many Americans regarded with suspicion. President Wilson signed the treaty on behalf of the United States, but the Senate refused to ratify it.

New states — Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and a revived Poland — emerged in Eastern Europe. Only the last two adopted democratic institutions, and by the early 1930s authoritarian governments controlled all of Central and Eastern Europe except Czechoslovakia. The new states ultimately proved too weak to defend themselves.

The United States, inspired by its revolutionary ideals, had fought “to make the world safe for democracy.” Many Americans were disillusioned by the tragedy of the war and the failure of the peace to uphold American principles. Post-war Europe drifted toward autocracy and dictatorship, and the United States toward renewed isolation. That isolation proved temporary. The spirit of the great crusade — to spread the ideals of the American Revolution around the world — has shaped our public life.

John J. Pershing
by Philip de László
Paris, 1933
Courtesy Musée de la Légion d’Honneur, Paris

As World War I receded into memory, John J. Pershing embodied American pride in the accomplishments of American arms and ideals. In this portrait he wears the red sash of the Grand Croix of the Légion d’Honneur and four medals: the U.S. Distinguished Service Medal, the French Médaille Militaire, the French Croix de Guerre and the Eagle insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati. The Musée de la Légion d’Honneur displays the portrait next to one of George Washington.

The New Hampshire Society of the Cincinnati made General Pershing an honorary member. On May 24, 1933, New Hampshire member William E. Horton (second from left) and Virginia Society member Edgar Erskine Hume (at right) were joined by Secretary of War George Dern as they presented General Pershing with the Eagle insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati.

The Society of the Cincinnati Archives
Souvenir handkerchief  
French  
ca. 1919  
The Society of the Cincinnati, Museum purchase, 2016

This handkerchief from the Society’s collections commemorates the Allied victory and the repayment of the United States’ Revolutionary War debt to France. It was made in France as a wartime souvenir, chiefly for American soldiers. The white, plain weave silk is printed using a two-part process of chromolithography and intaglio techniques, with four oval cartouches, featuring portraits of George Washington, Woodrow Wilson and Lafayette and an image of the Statue of Liberty — icons of the American crusade in Europe.

America Owes France the Most Unalterable Gratitude  
Lithograph by Lucien Jonas  
Paris: Imp. H. Chachoin, [1918]  
The Robert Charles Lawrence Fergusson Collection

George Washington welcomes long ranks of French soldiers into heaven in this poster appealing for support for the American Ouvroir Funds, an umbrella organization for ten French charities caring for French war orphans. American charities continued to work to alleviate the suffering caused by the war through the 1920s, often appealing to American idealism and the memory of French aid to the United States in the Revolutionary War.

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The Great Crusade: World War I and the Legacy of the American Revolution explores the ways in which the memory and ideals of the American Revolution shaped the participation of the United States in the war.

The Great Crusade is on view to the public from April 7 to September 17, 2017.