

World War I: 1914-1918

I. The Great War in Europe

A. Beginning of the Great War

1. June 1914, Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip, assassinated Austrian heir **Archduke Franz Ferdinand** and his wife in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, an Austro-Hungarian province.
2. Austria issued a warning to Serbia to let Austrian investigators examine the evidence. If Serbia did not agree, it would be war.
 - a. Serbia was backed by Russia, who began mobilizing for war
 - b. Austria was backed by Germany; eventually declared war on Serbia
3. Germany declared war on Russia and France in early August.
4. Germany launched a massive invasion of France through Belgium (Schlieffen Plan)
 - a. Objective was to knock France out of the war early so Germany could concentrate all her forces on Russia.
 - b. Britain, seeing its coastline jeopardized by the invasion of Belgium, allied with France and declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914.
 - c. A year later, Britain, France, and Russia lured Italy to their side
 - d. Four long years of bloody trench warfare dominated the Western Front while horrific mobile fighting occurred in eastern Europe.
 - Nearly 10 million soldiers would die; 20 million civilians (mostly in Russia)
5. **Central Powers:** Germany, Austria-Hungary (later, Ottoman Empire).
 - Also called the **Triple Alliance**
6. **Allies:** France, Britain, Russia, (later Japan, Italy, and the U.S.)
 - Also called the **Triple Entente**

B. U.S. neutrality was tested during the first three years of the war

1. **President Woodrow Wilson** called for U.S. neutrality in both thought and deed.
2. Both sides in Europe tried to gain U.S. support.
 - a. Britain enjoyed close cultural, linguistic, and economic ties with the U.S.
 - Britain used propaganda in the U.S. to demonize Germany
 - b. Germany and Austria-Hungary counted on natural sympathies of German-Americans in the U.S.
 - Americans with at least one foreign-born parent with blood

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- ties to Central Powers numbered about 11 million in 1914.
- Some openly supported Germany but most were grateful to be away from the European war.
- c. Many Irish-Americans, German-Americans and Jews did not favor the Allies.
- d. Most Americans were anti-German from the outset of the war.
- Kaiser Wilhelm II was seen as symbol of arrogant autocracy while Germany was seen as ruthless for its invasion of neutral Belgium.
 - German and Austrian agents hurt image of Central Powers when they resorted to violence in U.S. factories and ports.
- e. Yet, most Americans remained eager to stay out of the war.
- C. U.S. money flows to Europe
1. Initially, the war had a disastrous impact on the U.S. economy
- a. Germany, France, Britain, and Austria went off the gold standard and sought to exchange their American securities for U.S. gold.
- The drain of U.S. gold threatened to sink the U.S. stock market and the banking system worldwide.
- b. U.S. plunged into sharp recession; the stock market did not open again until November.
2. The U.S. economy received a boost via British and French war orders by the spring of 1915.
- a. Trade with the Allies reached \$2.4 billion
- J. P. Morgan and other bankers lent the Allies over \$3 billion during the period of U.S. neutrality.
- b. The Central Powers protested the trade between the U.S. and the Allies but this trade did not violate international neutrality laws.
- Germany was technically free to trade with the U.S. but was prevented by **Britain's naval blockade** across the North Sea.
 - Lost trade with Central Powers totaled only \$169 million.
3. Britain began forcing American vessels into British ports which, despite U.S. protests, proved effective in virtually ending U.S.-German trade.
- a. In response, Germany announced a submarine war area around the British Isles.
- b. The submarine was a new war technology that didn't fit existing international laws.
- The old rule of a warship stopping and boarding a merchant ship no longer applied as a surfacing sub could be rammed or sunk.
- c. Germany stated that they would not try to sink *neutral* shipping

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but warned that mistakes would probably occur.

- d. Wilson warned Germany that it would be held to "strict accountability" for any attacks on U.S. vessels or citizens.
 - Sought to keep profitable neutral trading rights while hoping no shipping incident would force his hand to go to war.

D. Submarine warfare and the sinking of the *Lusitania*

1. In first months of 1915, German U-boats sank about ninety ships in the war zone.
2. ***Lusitania***, a British passenger liner, was sunk off the coast of Ireland on May 7, 1915
 - a. 1,198 died including 128 Americans.
 - b. *Lusitania* was carrying 4,200 cases of small-arms ammunition, a fact that the German gov't used for sinking the ship.
 - c. Germany refused to apologize
 - d. Significance: American public opinion turned against Germany; perhaps beginning of U.S. road to entry into the war.
3. In response, Wilson, who did not want war, sternly warned Germany in a measured approach against further aggression against U.S. interests.
 - a. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, a pacifist, resigned rather than get involved in diplomacy that might lead to war.
 - He was angry that Wilson did not order Americans to stay off belligerent ships.
 - b. Wilson: "There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight."
 - c. War-mongers like Theodore Roosevelt savagely criticized Wilson.
4. When another British liner, the *SS Arabic*, was sunk in August with the loss of 2 Americans, Germany reluctantly agreed not to sink unarmed and unresisting passenger ships without warning.
 - This seemed to signal some success in Wilson's measured approach.

E. Sussex Ultimatum

1. March 1916, Germany torpedoed a French passenger steamer, the *Sussex*.
 - The ship was damaged but not sunk; about 80 casualties including four Americans
2. Wilson told Germany that unless they stopped sinking merchant ships without warning, he would break diplomatic relations--a prelude to war.
3. Germany's response:
 - a. Reluctantly, agreed not to sink passenger & merchant ships without warning.

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- b. However, U.S. would have to persuade the Allies to modify what Germany saw as an illegal blockade.
4. Thus, Wilson's diplomatic victory precarious as Germany could renounce its agreement at any time if the blockade continued to inflict damage on her.
5. Taxes were increased to prepare for war
- Revenue Acts of 1916 & 1917 increased taxes on high incomes
 - Significance: Pre-war revenues = 75% from excise taxes and tariffs; war & post-war revenues = 75% from income, estate and excess profits taxes.

F. Election of 1916

- Republicans nominated Charles Evans Hughes
 - Republicans and Bull Moose Progressives met in Chicago.
 - Progressives renominated Theodore Roosevelt but he had no desire to again split the Republican vote as he hated Wilson.
 - TR's refusal to run effectively ended the Progressive party.
 - The progressive wing of the Republican party threw its weight behind Charles Evans Hughes.
 - Republican "Old Guard" nominated Supreme Court justice Hughes, ex-governor of New York and progressive reformer
 - Republican platform: condemned the lower tariff, assaults on trusts, and Wilson's vacillation in dealing with Mexico and Germany.
- Woodrow Wilson was renominated by the Democratic party
 - Slogan: "He Kept Us Out of War." (although Wilson never used this phrase realizing that U.S. isolation probably would not hold out.)
 - Democratic orators warned that electing Hughes meant getting the U.S. involved in WWI
- Result: Wilson defeated Hughes 277-254 in the electoral vote
 - Midwesterners and westerners voted overwhelmingly for Wilson based on his progressive reforms and antiwar policies.
 - Wilson also gained strong labor support from the working class and from ex-Bull Moosers who Republicans failed to get back after TR refused to run.
 - Voters who hoped Wilson would keep them from war were soon disappointed.

G. "Peace without victory" speech, Jan. 1917: Wilson declared only a negotiated "peace without victory" would prove durable.

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II. U.S. Entry into the Great War

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A. January 1917, Germany announced a policy of **unrestricted submarine warfare**.

1. All ships would be sunk including American ships.
2. Used their Sussex pledge to justify policy as U.S. had not persuaded Allies to stop "illegal" blockade.
3. Germans believed U.S. would enter the war too late.

B. Wilson broke diplomatic relations with Germany but refused to move toward war unless Germany attacked U.S. lives and property.

1. He asked Congress for authority to arm U.S. merchant ships; Midwestern senators blocked the measure.
 - Illustrated isolationist sentiment in U.S.
2. Wilson had held the Zimmerman Note for a week and now used it to get congressional approval to arm merchant ships.

C. **Zimmerman Note**

1. The German telegram to Mexico was intercepted by Britain and published in U.S. on March 1, 1917
2. Contents:
 - a. German foreign secretary Zimmerman secretly proposed an alliance with Mexico; if Germany won the war, Mexico would get back Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.
 - b. Japan would be invited into an anti-U.S. alliance.
3. Americans, especially westerners, were outraged

D. German U-boats sank four unarmed U.S. merchant ships in March

E. April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war.

1. April 6, America declared war on Germany
2. Five reasons why Wilson asked for a Declaration of war
 - a. Most important: unrestricted submarine warfare
 - U.S. was unable to protect its ships
 - U.S. sought to preserve trade to Allied markets.
 - b. Zimmerman Note
 - c. Russian Revolution in March 1917 created a more acceptable Russian democracy than a Czarist regime as an ally.
 - d. U.S. could end the war quickly and ensure itself a major role in the ensuing peace.
 - e. Moral reason: German mass-killing of civilians
3. Later, a myth emerged that U.S. munitions manufacturers and Wall Street bankers lured U.S. into war for huge profits. (Nye Committee in 1930s)
 - In reality, they were already making huge profits unhampered by wartime government restrictions and heavy taxation.

III. Wilsonian idealism

- A. Wilson abandoned U.S. policy of isolationism
- For over a century, since the days of George Washington, the U.S. had a tradition of isolationism regarding Europe.
- B. Wilson sought to instill idealism to inspire Americans to fight.
1. Twin goals:
 - a. **"Make the world safe for democracy"** as a crusade
 - b. **"A war to end war"**
 2. Wilson contrasted the seemingly selfish war aims of the Europeans with American altruism.
 - a. U.S. would not fight for profit or territorial conquest.
 - b. Wilson sought to shape an international order in which democracy could flourish without the fear of autocracy and militarism.
 - He genuinely believed in the U.S. as a world model.
 3. Result: Persuaded Americans to support the war
- C. Wilson's **Fourteen Points**
1. Wilson delivered his Fourteen Points Address to Congress in January 1918
 2. Impact
 - a. Made Wilson the moral leader of the Allied cause
 - b. Inspired embattled Allies to push harder in the war
 - c. Demoralized enemy governments by issuing promises to their dissatisfied minorities.
 - d. Eventually convinced Germany to end the war as she believed Germany would be treated fairly in the post-war peace process
 3. Provisions:
 - a. Abolish secret treaties
 - b. Freedom of the seas
 - c. Remove economic barriers (free trade)
 - d. Reduction of armament burdens
 - e. Adjustment of colonial claims in interests of both native peoples and colonizers (pleased anti-imperialists).
 - f. Promise of independence ("self-determination") to oppressed minority groups (e.g. Poles, Czechs), millions who lived in Germany and Austria-Hungary.
 - g. 14th Point: creation of an international organization to provide collective security
 - Foreshadowed the League of Nations after World War I
 - Wilson hoped it would guarantee political independence and territorial integrity of all countries, large or small.

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IV. Mobilizing for war

A. **Creel Committee – Committee of Public Information (CPI)**

1. Committee on Public Information was created to sell America on the war and sell the world on Wilsonian war aims through propaganda
 - a. Headed by George Creel, a young journalist.
 - b. Established voluntary censorship of the press.
 - c. Employed about 150,000 workers at home and overseas.
 - d. Sent out 75,000 "four-minute men" to deliver speeches (incl. movie stars)
 - e. Propaganda included posters, leaflets & pamphlets and anti-German movies.
2. Set-up volunteer Liberty Leagues in every community: urged members to spy on neighbors, especially those with foreign names and to report any suspicious words or actions to the Justice Department
3. Creel typified American war mobilization which relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws.
4. Liability: Oversold Wilsonian ideals and led the world to expect too much.

B. Restrictions on Civil Liberties during WWI.

1. U.S. saw the most serious attacks on civil liberties since the Civil War
2. Anti-German hysteria swept the U.S., largely due to Creel Committee propaganda (and Food Administration and liberty loan drives)
 - a. Rampant rumors of spying and sabotage resulted.
 - b. A few German-Americans were tarred, feathered, and beaten: one lynching occurred
 - c. Orchestras found it unsafe to play Wagner or Beethoven
 - d. Teaching of the German language was discontinued in many high schools and colleges.
 - e. In the end, Germans proved to be loyal Americans
3. **Espionage Act of 1917**
 - a. Provided fines and imprisonment for persons making false statements aiding the enemy, inciting rebellion in the military, or obstructing draft recruitment.
 - b. Wilson also wanted broad presidential censorship powers; Congress refused.
4. **Sedition Act of 1918** reflected fears about Germans and anti-war Americans.
 - a. Forbade any criticism of the gov't, flag, or uniform (even if insignificant) and expanded mail exclusion.
 - b. Resulted in 1,900 prosecutions

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c. Anti-war Socialists and members of the radical union **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)** were especially targeted.

- **Eugene Debs** was convicted under the Espionage Act in 1918 and sentenced to 10 years in a federal penitentiary.
 - His speech at the Socialist party's convention was critical of U.S. policy in entering the war and warned of the dangers of militarism.
 - Debs was pardoned by President Harding in 1921
- William D. "Big Bill" Hayward and 99 other "Wobblies" from the IWW were also convicted.

5. **Schenck v. U.S.** (1919)

a. Upheld the constitutionality of the Espionage Act

b. **Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.** stated Congress could limit free speech when words represented a "clear and present danger...that ...will bring about ...evils that Congress has the right to prevent."

- "A person could not cry "fire" in an empty theater."

c. Holmes recognized importance of protecting "the principle of free thought -- not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."

- Eventually the decision became a landmark case for freedom of the press.

6. Mild press censorship ensued while some papers such as *The Masses* and *Appeal to Reason* were denied mailing privileges.

7. WWI constituted an ugly chapter in history of U.S. civil liberty.

a. After the war, presidential pardons were freely granted.

b. Some victims stayed in jail into the 1930s.

c. 1920, Wilson vetoed a bill to abolish the Espionage and Sedition acts

- Largely due to the communist witch hunt of 1919-1920
- Wilson was one of the most nativist presidents in U.S. history

C. Mobilizing factories

1. The U.S. economy was initially not geared for war

a. Wilson belatedly backed mild preparedness measures beginning in 1915

- A shipbuilding program was launched (more for trade than war)
- Beefed up the army which only had 100,000 regulars (ranked 15th in the world before mobilization)

b. Ignorance regarding war preparedness was a major obstacle.

- No one knew how much steel or explosive powder the U.S. could produce

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- Traditional fears of big gov't hurt efforts to centralize the economy
 - States' rights Democrats and businessmen were particularly opposed
- 2. Bernard Baruch headed the **War Industries Board (WIB)** in March 1918.
 - a. Formed by Wilson late in the war after significant political battles with Congress.
 - Response to the lack of centralized control due to political opposition
 - The U.S. military refused to cooperate with the civilian agency in purchasing supplies.
 - The domestic war effort almost collapsed in December 1917.
 - Wilson responded by taking firmer control through his emergency war powers.
 - b. WIB sought to control raw materials, production, prices and labor relations.
 - c. WIB never really had much power; disbanded within days after the armistice in late 1918.
 - Most heavy equipment & munitions used by U.S. was made by Britain or France.
 - U.S. business' desire for *laissez faire* and for a weak central gov't strong limited the power of the WIB.
 - Democratic party losses in the 1918 Congressional elections forced Wilson to abandon any plans for reconstruction or ordered demobilization.
 - d. Yet, the WIB set a precedent for future gov't-industry cooperation for 1920s and New Deal agencies of the 1930s.
- 3. Encouraging workers for the war effort
 - a. Slogan: "Labor Will Win the War"
 - b. Women were encouraged to enter industry and agriculture (called "farmerettes")
 - Women's contributions prompted Wilson to endorse female suffrage as "a vitally necessary war measure"
 - Over 1 million women shifted from home to industry.
 - Worked in munitions plants, ran elevators, delivered messages.
 - Many women worked because inflation had reduced their husbands' earnings.
 - Yet, demobilization after the war meant that by 1920 fewer women worked for wages than in 1910.
 - **19th Amendment** was passed in 1920
 - c. **The Great Migration**
 - Thousands of African Americans in the South migrated north

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- to work in war-related factories (far more Southern whites migrated North)
 - Significant sociological significance: Race riots occurred in 26 cities
 - W. E. B. Du Bois supported the war effort believing a victory would improve life for blacks in a democracy.
 - d. Mexican-American workers also replaced white workers who were now on the front line fighting the war
 - e. A "Work or fight" rule was issued by the War Department in 1918 requiring able-bodied men to be regularly employed in some useful occupation, or be drafted.
4. Grievances of labor
- a. WWI inflation had eroded wages (inflation had doubled since 1914).
 - b. About 6,000 strikes occurred during the war (many by the IWW)
 - c. **National War Labor Board** created to oversee labor disputes
 - Former president Taft was co-chairman: established as a supreme court for labor disputes; presided over 1,000 cases.
 - Essentially prohibited strikes but encouraged progressive reforms: higher-wages, 8-hr day, and unionization.
 - Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, and a board member, gave loyal support to the war effort, promising to prevent strikes during the war.
 - Significance: recognized workers' right to unionize; seen as revolutionary
 - Union membership up from 2.5 million in 1916 to 4 million in 1919.
 - d. Left-wing IWW (popularly known as "Wobblies") used labor sabotage (including 6,000 strikes) to undermine the war effort.
 - Many were transient laborers in fruit or lumber industries and were victims of the worst working conditions in the country.
 - Many "Wobblies" were arrested, beaten up, or run out of town
- V. The War Economy
- A. **Herbert Hoover** and the **Food Administration**
1. Quaker-humanitarian; very popular for leading a massive charitable drive to feed the starving people of war-torn Belgium.
 2. Preferred voluntary compliance rather than formal laws
 - a. Rejected issuing ration cards (practice was used in Europe)
 - b. Used propaganda with posters, billboards, newspapers, pulpits, and movies to gain support.
 - c. Proclaimed "Wheatless Wednesdays" and "Meatless Tuesdays" on a voluntary basis.
 - d. "Victory gardens" popped up in backyards or vacant lots.

- e. Fixed high prices to encourage production of wheat, pork, etc.
- 3. Congress severely restricted the use of foodstuffs for manufacturing alcoholic beverages.
 - a. Spirit of self-denial further inspired a new wave of prohibition
 - Many leading brewers were of German descent which made this drive more popular among WASPs.
 - b. **18th Amendment** was passed in 1919: prohibited the sale, transportation, manufacturing, and consumption of alcohol.
- 4. Results:
 - a. Farm production increased by 25%
 - b. Food exports to the Allies tripled in volume.
 - c. Hoover's methods were imitated in other war agencies.
 - Fuel Administration: "Heatless Mondays," "Lightless Tuesdays," and "Gasless Sundays."
 - The Treasury Department sponsored huge parades and used anti-Germany slogans on posters to promote four great bond drives.

B. Bond Drives ("Liberty Loans")

- 1. Parades and slogans used to promote four great Liberty Loan drives followed by a Victory Loan campaign in 1919.
 - Each drive was oversubscribed: increased money supply caused terrible inflation.
 - As in the Civil War, the gov't partially financed the war with inflation.
- 2. Coercion was used on German-Americans to buy **Liberty Bonds**

C. Combined efforts netted 2/3 of current cost of the war to the U.S.

- Remaining \$10.5 billion was raised by increased taxes (16th Amendment in 1913)

D. Government enforcement

- 1. Took over the nation's railroads following horrible traffic problems in late 1917
 - The federal government paid owners rent; over \$500 million was spent to improve the railroads.
- 2. Seized enemy merchant vessels trapped in America's harbors and organized a gigantic drive to construct new merchant ships.
 - a. The shipbuilding program was too late to make a substantial impact on the war, however
 - b. Over 1/2 of U.S. troops were transported to Europe on foreign ships.
- 3. Major U.S. contribution to the war effort was soldiers, food and money

VI. Mobilizing the army

- A. April & May, 1917: Allies claimed they were running out of manpower and that the Western Front would collapse.
 - Hitherto, Americans hoped the navy would do most of the fighting and that loans and war materials would be the primary U.S. contribution.
- B. Selective Service Act was passed in May 1917
 1. Wilson proposed universal male conscription to raise an army
 2. The proposed bill ran into much criticism in Congress.
 3. Provisions:
 - a. Required registration of all men ages 18 through 45.
 - b. Men could not purchase exemptions or hire a substitute.
 - Yet, many exemptions existed for men in key industries, such as shipbuilding.
- C. Results:
 1. Conscription proved effective
 - a. Within months, army increased from about 200,000 to over 4 million.
 - 400,000 blacks were drafted or enlisted (segregated units)
 - b. For the first time, women were admitted to the armed forces: 11,000 to the navy and 269 to the marine corp.
 - c. No bloodshed occurred as a result of the draft
 - d. Yet, 337,000 "slackers" escaped the draft and about 4,000 were excused
 - 10,000 were prosecuted before the armistice.

VII. American "Doughboys" in WWI

- A. War at sea
 1. In 1917, Germany sank 6.5 million tons of Allied and U.S. shipping
 - Only 2.7 million tons were built in the meantime.
 2. U.S. began convoy system in July 1917; British navy gave protection
 - Losses from U-boat attacks fell dramatically.
- B. Communist Russia's quick withdrawal from war eased Germany's eastern front.
 1. Germany quickly re-deployed its divisions to the front in France where for the first time, they enjoyed superiority in numbers.
 2. Germany incorrectly calculated the U.S would be too late in coming into war to help the allies on the Western Front
- C. America's "Unknown War" against Russia
 1. 1917: Wilson secretly sent aid to White Russians fighting the Bolsheviks.

2. Summer of 1918: Wilson ordered a naval blockade of Russia.
3. **Archangel expedition** (summer 1918): U.S. contributed 5,000 troops to an Allied invasion of northern Russia at Archangel (Murmansk) hoping to keep Russian stores of munitions from falling into German hands.
 - Later, aided anti-Bolsheviks and stayed until June, 1919.
4. Wilson sent nearly 10,000 troops to Siberia as part of an Allied expedition.
 - Purpose: prevent Japan from controlling Siberia, to rescue about 45,000 marooned Czech troops, and to snatch military supplies from Bolsheviks.
5. U.S. involvement helped prolong Russian civil war; thousands more casualties.
6. Russia long resented these "capitalistic" interventions as trying to strangle their communist revolution.
7. Wilson saw the spread of communism as the greatest threat to peace.
 - This made him reluctant to dispute too much with other leaders at Versailles after the war.

D. **Western Front:** France, 1918

1. Spring 1918, Germany launched a massive offensive on the Western Front, threatening to overrun Allied forces
2. The **American Expeditionary Force**
 - a. AEF was composed of soldiers and Marines sent to France under General Pershing.
 - The small initial force increased to over 2 million by November 1918.)
 - b. The first U.S. trainees were used as replacements in Allied armies and were usually deployed in quiet sectors with the British and French.
 - c. Some Americans fought in small detachments in Belgium and Italy.
3. Late May, 1918, Germany came within 40 mile of Paris.
 - a. 30,000 U.S. troops were thrown into the breach at Chateau-Thierry, in the heart of the German advance.
 - Represented the first significant engagement of U.S. troops in a European war.
 - b. By July, Germany's drive was spent and U.S. forces participated in the French counteroffensive in the Second Battle of the Marne.
 - Significance: represented the beginning of Germany's withdrawal from France
 - c. Sept 1918, 9 U.S. divisions joined 4 French divisions to push the Germans from the St. Mihiel salient, a major German

stronghold in France.

- 15,000 Germans were captured and set the stage for an Allied offensive

4. **General John J. ("Black Jack") Pershing** leads a separate U.S. army.

- a. Americans had been dissatisfied with merely bolstering British and French forces and demanded a separate army.
- b. The U.S. army was assigned a front of 85 miles, stretching northwestward from Switzerland.
- c. Pershing's army undertook the **Meuse-Argonne offensive**, from September to November, 1918.
 - Part of the last major Allied attack involving millions of men.
 - Resulted in a major German defeat
 - Largest battle thus far in U.S. history: lasted 47 days and engaged 1.2 million American soldiers; 10% casualties (112,000)

E. End of the war

1. Germany was suffering from desertion of its allies, the British blockade was causing critical food shortages, and Allied assaults.
2. Germany's surrender was spurred by Wilson's 14 Points
 - a. German generals warned their gov't of their imminent defeat.
 - b. German gov't turned to toward the moderate Wilson on October 3, 1918, seeking a peace based on the 14 Points.
 - c. Wilson demanded the Kaiser's removal before an armistice could be negotiated; the Kaiser was thus removed from power
 - d. Nov. 11, 1918, Germany laid down her arms.

F. Segregation in American army

1. Blacks were initially divided on whether or not to support the war
 - W.E.B. Du Bois issued an editorial in *The Crisis* for blacks to support the war.
2. Most blacks in the U.S. armed forces did labor duty.
3. 400,000 black troops were excluded from the Paris victory parade in 1919
 - Black and brown colonial troops who fought for Britain and France were allowed, however
4. Black soldiers later lamented they had been treated with dignity by the Europeans but not by Americans back home.

G. Casualties

1. Americans lost about 112,432 men total: 48,000 battle deaths; 62,000 dead of disease; 230,000 wounded
2. About 10 million soldiers died on all sides

3. About 20 million civilian casualties resulted:
 - a. Most from the Russian Revolution
 - b. Many died as a result of influenza epidemic
 - c. Over 1 million Armenians died at the hands of the Turks
 - d. 750,000 German civilians starved due to the Allied blockade.

VIII. Wilson loses Congress

- A. Wilson's post-war popularity in the world was unprecedented
 - The president was seen as a savior by millions in Europe.
- B. The Republicans won the Congressional elections of 1918
 1. Wilson broke the bi-partisan truce held during the war to appeal for a Democratic victory in the 1918 Congressional elections.
 2. The move backfired; Republicans regained their majority in Congress.
 3. Wilson's clout was thus reduced when negotiating an end to the war in Paris
- C. Wilson infuriated Republicans by personally going to the Paris Peace Conference in December 1918.
 1. Hitherto, no sitting U.S. president had traveled to Europe.
 2. Republican senators were excluded from the peace delegation.

IX. Paris Peace Conference (beginning January 18, 1919)

- A. **The Big Four:** Wilson (U.S.), David Lloyd George (Britain), Georges Clemenceau (France), Vittorio Orlando (Italy)
 1. These four nations controlled the conference; each had his own agenda.
 2. The delegates did not embrace the Fourteen Points despite Wilson's enormous popularity in Europe.
 - a. Wilson called for reducing imperialism; France and Britain disagreed
 - b. The delegates knew the Allied masses sought punishment for Germany, Wilson was alone in demanding fair treatment for Germany
 3. Meanwhile, Europe seemed to be slipping into anarchy with communism threatening several countries (including Germany)
- B. Wilson's most important goal was the creation of the League of Nations
 1. Wilson was forced to compromise on self-determination for the Central Powers' colonies.
 - a. **Mandates:** The Allies would not receive these colonies outright but only as trustees of the League of Nations
 - b. In reality, the solution was little more than the old prewar colonialism.
 2. Europeans supported the League Covenant, the constitution for

the League of Nations

- a. Collective security was the chief aim: Called on all members to protect the "territorial integrity" and "political independence" of all other members.
 - b. Article X of the Versailles Treaty created the League of Nations
3. The League would have five permanent members: U.S., France, Britain, Italy, and Japan
- a. 42 Allied and neutral countries would meet in a general assembly
 - b. Germany and Russia were excluded.

C. Versailles Treaty

1. **Article 231** ("war-guilt" clause)
 - a. Placed sole blame for WWI on Germany.
 - b. Germany was ordered to pay reparations to the Allies totaling \$31 billion over 30 years.
 - c. Germany was forced to accept severe military restrictions and loss of territory.
2. Self-determination granted to the new nations of Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia
 - Self-determination failed in Africa and in India
3. The treaty faced significant opposition in the U.S.
 - a. Republicans led by Henry Cabot Lodge threatened to kill the treaty if Wilson did not provide provisions for preserving the Monroe Doctrine and providing a means for U.S. to leave the League if it so desired.
 - b. **"Irreconcilables"**: Republicans who opposed the League in any form; included Hiram Johnson of California and William Borah of Idaho, both were isolationists.
 - c. France and Britain at Versailles were now in a stronger bargaining position in light of Republican opposition to Wilson

D. Completion of the Treaty

- a. Contrary to Wilson's wishes the delegates at Versailles separated the League of Nations from the actual Treaty due to growing unrest in Europe and certain colonial regions.
- b. The final signing ceremony was held in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles on June 28, 1919
- c. Germany had agreed to an armistice for a peace based on the 14 Points but now was forced to sign a treaty containing only about four of the original 14 Points.
 - Germans believed they had been "stabbed in the back"
- d. Wilson had been forced to compromise away some of his less cherished 14 Points in order get the League of Nations approved.

X. Defeat of the Versailles Treaty in the U.S. (1919-1920)

A. A majority of Americans initially favored the Versailles Treaty with the League of Nations.

B. Republicans remained opposed to treaty

1. Senator Lodge wished to amend the treaty but had no real hope of defeating it.
2. The Treaty thus got bogged down in the Senate

C. Wilson's speaking tour, Fall of 1919

1. Wilson feared any Republican modifications to the Treaty would encourage Europeans to also make modifications and amend the League out of existence.
2. Wilson decided to appeal over the heads of the Senate to the people by going on a grueling speechmaking tour.
 - a. Physicians and friends advised Wilson against it as his health was in question.
 - b. Wilson believed correctly that the public favored the Treaty but he miscalculated the public's interest in a treaty without modifications.
 - c. "Irreconcilable" senators Borah & Johnson followed him to each city a few days later with the Republican view; opposed the Treaty in any form.
 - d. Wilson collapsed in Pueblo, Colorado on September 25, 1919.
 - Several days later, a stroke paralyzed one side of his body.
 - He would not meet his cabinet for nearly eight months.

D. **Lodge Reservations**

1. Lodge was unable to amend the treaty outright so he wrote 14 formal reservations to it.
 - a. Reserved rights of the U.S. under the Monroe Doctrine and the Constitution and otherwise sought to protect American sovereignty.
 - b. Focused on Article X of League as it *morally* bound the U.S. to aid any member who was attacked.
 - Congress sought to reserve war-declaring power for itself.

E. Wilson rejected the Lodge Reservations as they weakened the entire Treaty

1. Ordered Democrats to vote against the Treaty with Lodge the Reservations attached.
 - He hoped that when these were cleared, the path would be open for ratification without reservations or with only mild Democratic reservations.
2. Nov. 19, 1919, loyal Democrats in the Senate along with the

"irreconcilables" rejected the Treaty with the Lodge Reservations appended, 55-39.

3. Ironically, 80% of senators favored the Treaty, with or without reservations.
4. Wilson again urged treaty to be defeated a second time in 1920.
 - a. Wilson's scheme was to make the presidential election of 1920 a "solemn referendum" on the treaty.
 - b. Many historians believe Wilson's health made him intransigent
 - c. Democrats lost the presidential election in 1920 and the League was never ratified.
5. A separate peace with Germany was ratified on July 25, 1921

XI. World War I long-term international results

- A. U.S became world's economic and political leader (notwithstanding its isolationism)
- B. The Russian Revolution created the world's first communist country which henceforth exerted a tremendous impact on world politics until 1991.
- C. Britain, France, Austria and Turkey went into various states of decline.
- D. Germany was devastated by the Versailles Treaty
 - Led to the eventual rise of Adolf Hitler and World War II

XII. Political aftermath of World War I in the U.S.

- A. The War Industries Board was dismantled
 - This killed progressive hopes for more gov't regulation of big business.
- B. Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920
 1. The federal gov't returned the railroads to their owners in 1920 and even encouraged the railroad industry to consolidate.
 2. The Interstate Commerce Commission was now geared to guarantee the profitability of the railroad industry.
 3. Some progressive reformers had hoped the railroads would remain nationalized (an old Populist idea)
- C. Race riots ("Red Summer")
 1. Spurred by black migration to northern cities during the war.
 2. **Chicago race riots** (1919)
 - 23 blacks and 15 whites dead; about 500 wounded; 1,000 families homeless
 3. Major riots also occurred in Knoxville, Omaha, Washington, and other cities.
- D. "Red Scare" in late 1919 and 1920 was aimed against radicals and labor unions (see Unit 12.1 notes)

XIII. Election of 1920

- A. Republicans nominated **Warren G. Harding** of Ohio.
 1. Platform was ambiguous on the League of Nations.
 2. Harding spoke of returning America to "**normalcy**"
- B. Democrats nominated James M. Cox of Ohio
 1. Strongly supported the League of Nations
 2. His running mate was Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt
- C. Result:
 1. Harding easily defeated Cox 404-127 in the electoral college
 2. First election with full-suffrage for women in a national election.
 3. End of Progressivism: public desire for change from idealism, moral overstrain, and self-sacrifice.
 4. **Isolationists** turned results into a death sentence for the League of Nations.
 - a. Later, the U.S. would bear part of the blame for WWII as it undercut the League of Nations by refusing to join it.
 - b. The Security Treaty with France was also rejected by the Senate.
 - France then undertook to build a powerful military in the face of increased German power and lack of U.S. support.
 - Germany, fearing France's buildup, embarked on an even more vigorous rearmament program under Hitler.
 - c. U.S. thus missed an opportunity to emerge as a world leader and to shape world events for the benefit of peace.
 5. Two main causes for the failure of peace after WWI:
 - a. The Great Depression (precipitating cause)
 - b. "War psychosis" (dubbed by Wilson and others): hatreds raised up in Europe by a war that lasted so long that Europe's leaders lost all perspective

XIV. Impact of World War I on American Society

- A. Women
 1. Played an increased role in the economy and volunteerism for the war effort (some worked in factories)
 2. Gained suffrage (19th Amendment in 1920)
- B. Prohibition of Alcohol (18th Amendment in 1919)
- C. "Great Migration" of African Americans to the North
 - Led to large-scale race riots, especially in 1919 ("Red Summer")
- D. Increased nativism (severe immigration laws eventually passed in 1921 & 1924)
- E. Civil liberties were suspended during the war (e.g. Espionage Act)
 - Thousands of strikes occurred
- F. Red Scare in 1919: anti-communist crusade (see next unit)
- G. Millions of men left home to fight the war in Europe

- H. Volunteerism/patriotism during the war
- I. U.S. returned to isolationism after the war
- J. Election of 1920 ended 8 years of Democratic party rule and ended 20 years of progressive reform
- K. Economic growth

IMPACT OF WORLD WAR I ON AMERICAN SOCIETY

<u>R</u> evolted	Red Scare, 1919
<u>R</u> epublicans	Return to Isolationism
<u>V</u> oted	Volunteerism
<u>N</u> o	Nativism increased
<u>M</u> aking	Migration of African-Americans to the North
<u>W</u> ilson's	Women's roles increased
<u>E</u> uropean	Economic growth
<u>P</u> ease	Prohibition of Alcohol
<u>C</u> rumble	Civil liberties violated
<u>M</u> iserably	Millions of Americans fought in Europe

Terms to Know

Archduke Franz Ferdinand Central Powers, Triple Alliance Allies, Triple Entente Britain's naval blockade President Woodrow Wilson <i>Lusitania</i> Sussex Ultimatum Election of 1816 unrestricted submarine warfare Zimmerman Note "Make the world safe for democracy" "War to end all wars" Fourteen Points Creel Committee, Committee on Public Information Espionage Act, 1917 Sedition Act, 1918 International Workers of the World (IWW) Eugene Debs <i>Schenck v. U.S.</i> , 1918 Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. War Industries Board Nineteenth Amendment The "Great Migration" of African Americans	National War Labor Board Herbert Hoover Food Administration voluntary compliance 18 th Amendment Bond drives, Liberty Loans Archangel expedition Western Front American Expeditionary Force (AEF) General John J. "Black Jack" Pershing Meuse-Argonne Offensive Paris Peace Conference Big Four League of Nations mandates Article X Article 231 "self-determination" Henry Cabot Lodge "Irreconcilables" Lodge Reservations Election of 1920 "normalcy" President Warren G. Harding isolationism
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Essay Questions

Note: This sub-unit is a low probability area for the AP exam. In the past 10 years, no questions have come wholly or in part from the material in this chapter. Below are some questions that will help you study the topics that have appeared on previous exams.

1. Analyze the factors that led to America's shift from isolationism to declaring war on Germany.
2. To what extent was President Wilson successful in achieving his war goals by 1920?
3. To what extent was American society transformed by World War One?

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