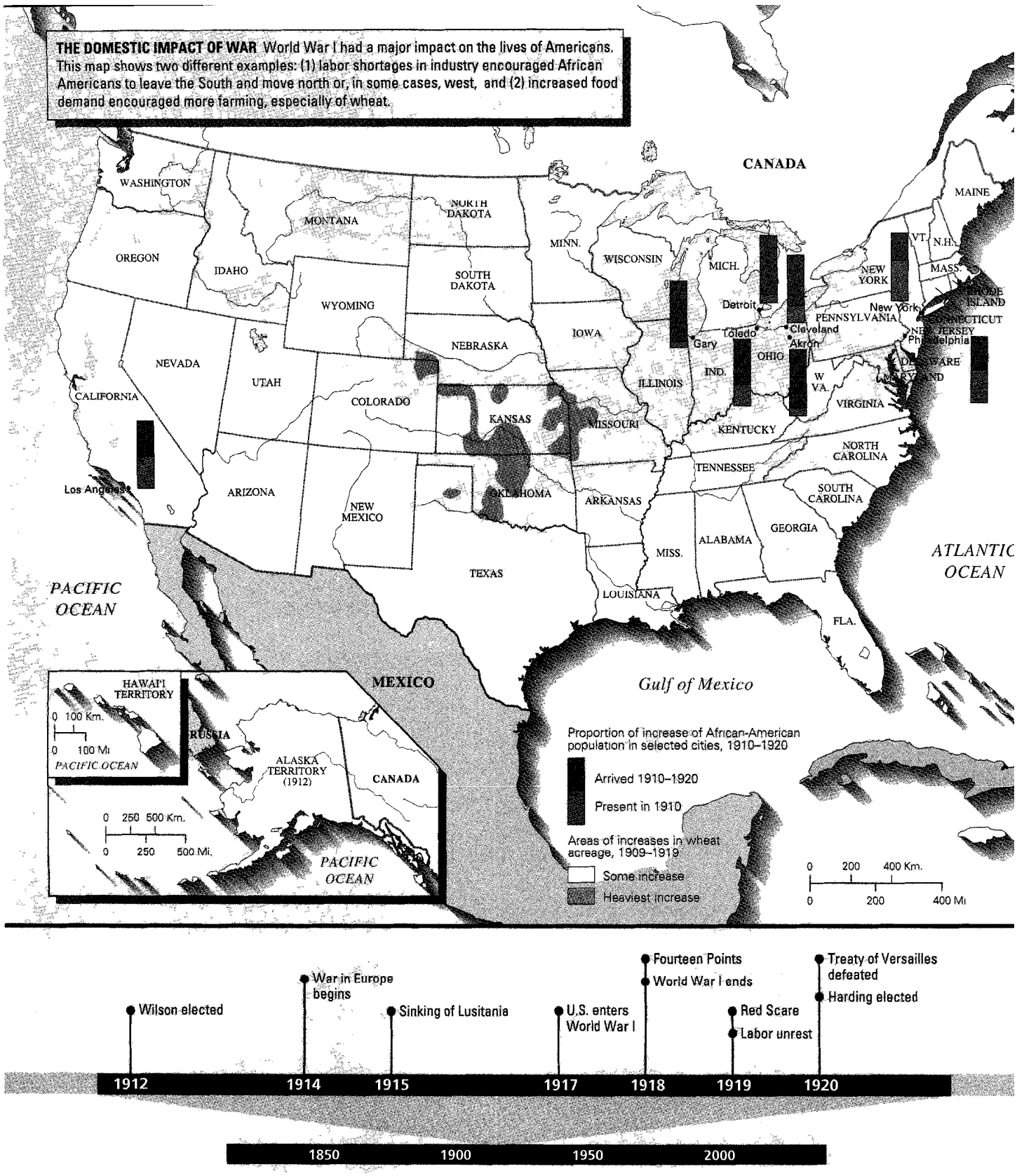

THE DOMESTIC IMPACT OF WAR World War I had a major impact on the lives of Americans. This map shows two different examples: (1) labor shortages in industry encouraged African Americans to leave the South and move north or, in some cases, west, and (2) increased food demand encouraged more farming, especially of wheat.
CANADA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
IDAHO
NEVADA
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINN.
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISS.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLA.
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
W VA.
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
Detroit
Cleveland
Toledo
Akron
Gary
New York
Philadelphia
Los Angeles
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
HAWAII TERRITORY
0 100 Km.
0 100 Mi
PACIFIC OCEAN
RUSSIA
ALASKA TERRITORY (1912)
CANADA
0 250 500 Km.
0 250 500 Mi.
PACIFIC OCEAN
Proportion of increase of African-American population in selected cities, 1910–1920
Arrived 1910–1920
Present in 1910
Areas of increases in wheat acreage, 1909–1919
Some increase
Heaviest increase
0 200 400 Km.
0 200 400 Mi

Wilson elected
War in Europe begins
Sinking of Lusitania
U.S. enters World War I
Fourteen Points
World War I ends
Red Scare
Labor unrest
Treaty of Versailles defeated
Harding elected
1912
1914
1915
1917
1918
1919
1920
1850
1900
1950
2000

CHAPTER 22

America and the World,

1913-1920

Inherited Commitments and New Directions

- In what ways did existing foreign policy commitments constrain Wilson's choices?
- What major foreign policy choices did Wilson make before the United States entered World War I?

From Neutrality to War: 1914-1917

- What were Wilson's expectations regarding American neutrality?
- What constraints did he face in seeking to maintain neutrality?
- What choices did he make in an effort to do so?
- What was the final outcome?

The Home Front

- What constraints hindered the United States' contribution to the Allied war effort?
- What choices did the federal government make in mobilizing the economy and society?

Americans "Over There"

- What constraints prevented the bulk of the AEF from being sent to Europe until 1918?
- Why did Wilson choose to keep the AEF as separate as possible from the troops of the other Allies?

Wilson and the Peace Conference

- What were Wilson's expectations regarding peace?

- What constraints did he face in realizing those objectives?
- What choices did he make, and what was the outcome?

Trauma in the Wake of War

- How did Americans' expectations change as a result of the outcome of the war and the events of 1919?
- How did these new expectations affect their choice in the 1920 presidential election?

(INTRODUCTION)

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

On June 28, 1914, a Bosnian Serb killed Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. To punish the assassination, Austria first consulted with its ally, Germany, then made stringent demands on Serbia. Serbia sought help from Russia, which was allied with France. Tense diplomats invoked elaborate, interlocking alliance systems. Huge armies began to move. By August 4, most of Europe was at war.

Earlier, Theodore Roosevelt had probably voiced the *expectations* of many Americans when he claimed in 1899 that war had become practically obsolete among the world's "civilized" nations. As president, Roosevelt helped shape Americans' *expectations* of security when he argued that the best way to preserve peace was by *choosing* to develop naval strength. Given such *expectations,* many Americans were shocked, saddened, and repelled in August 1914 when the leading "civilized" nations of the world lurched into war.

When Europeans *chose* war in August 1914, the United States had already assumed a major role in world affairs. Since 1898, it had acquired the Philippines and the Panama Canal, come to dominate the Caribbean and Central America, and pursued an active involvement in the balance of power in eastern Asia. All three presidents of the Progressive era—Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson—agreed wholeheartedly that the United States should exercise a major role in world affairs. But in 1914, the United States was the only large, industrial nation that had *chosen* not to become part of the elaborate network of treaties and understandings among the powers of Europe and Asia. Woodrow Wilson *chose* to maintain U.S. neutrality.

When Wilson entered the White House in 1913, he *expected* to spend most of his time dealing with domestic issues. As a political scientist, he had mostly studied domestic politics, and his winning presidential campaign in 1912 had focused primarily on domestic issues. Although well-read on international affairs, he brought to the White House neither significant international experience nor carefully considered foreign policies. For secretary of state, he *chose* William Jennings Bryan, who had also devoted most of his political career to domestic matters. Both devout Presbyterians, Wilson and Bryan shared a confidence that God had a plan for humankind and that all people shared a basic bond. Both hoped that their foreign policy *choices* might make the United States a model among nations for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Neither man *expected* that he and the nation were soon to face difficult *choices* over a war so immense and so horrible that its *outcome* would be a profoundly altered world.

Inherited Commitments and New Directions

When Woodrow Wilson entered the White House in 1913, he first fixed his foreign policy attention on Latin America, the Pacific, and eastern Asia. There he tried to balance the anti-imperialist principles of his Democratic party against the **interventionist** commitments of his Republican predecessors. In the end, he not only accepted but actually extended most of these previous Republican commitments.

interventionist Tending to interfere in the affairs of another sovereign state.

The United States and World Affairs

1912 Wilson elected

1913 Huerta takes power in Mexico Wilson denies recognition of Huerta

1914 U.S. Navy occupies Veracruz War breaks out in Europe
U.S. neutrality declared
Stalemate on the western front

1915 German U-boat sinks the *Lusitania*
United States occupies Haiti

1915-1920 Great Migration

1916 U.S. troops pursue Villa into Mexico
National Defense Act
Congress promises Philippine independence
Sussex pledge
United States occupies Dominican Republic
Wilson re-elected

1917 Wilson calls for "peace without victory"
American troops leave Mexico
Germany resumes submarine warfare
Czar overthrown in Russia
United States declares war on Germany
Committee on Public Information
War Industries Board
Selective Service Act
Espionage Act
Race riot in East St Louis
Government crackdown on IWW
Bolsheviks seize power in Russia
Russia withdraws from war Secret treaties published
Railroads placed under federal control

1917-1918 Union membership rises sharply

1918 Wilson presents Fourteen Points
Germans launch major offensive
National War Labor Board
Sedition Act
Successful Allied counteroffensive
Armistice in Europe

1918-1919 Rampant U.S. inflation

1919 Versailles peace conference
Seattle general strike
Urban race riots
Lynchings increase
Wilson suffers stroke
Boston police strike
Senate defeats Versailles treaty

1919-1920 Steel strike
Red Scare
Palmer raids

1920 Senate defeats Versailles treaty again
Harding elected president

1921 Sacco and Vanzetti convictions

Anti-Imperialism and Intervention

Wilson's party had criticized the imperialist foreign policies of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. Secretary of State Bryan was a leading anti-imperialist who had faulted Roosevelt's "Big Stick" approach to foreign affairs. "The man who speaks softly does not need a big stick," Bryan claimed. Wilson shared Taft's commitment to American commercial expansion, but he criticized dollar diplomacy for using the State Department to benefit particular companies.

During the Wilson administration, the Democrats' long adherence to anti-imperialism produced two measures. In 1916, Congress established a bill of rights for residents of the Philippine

Islands and promised them independence at an unspecified date. The next year, Puerto Rico became a U.S. territory, and its residents became U.S. citizens. Thus the Democrats wrote into law a limited version of the anti-imperialism they had proclaimed for more than twenty years.

Yet Wilson was to intervene more in Central America and the Caribbean than any previous president. He sent American marines into Haiti in 1915 after a mob killed the dictatorial president. A subsequent treaty made Haiti a protectorate in which American forces controlled the government until 1933. In 1916, Wilson sent marines into the Dominican Republic, where they remained until 1924.

Wilson and the Mexican Revolution

In Mexico, Wilson similarly engaged in brazen power politics. A rebellion forced dictator **Porfirio** Diaz, who had ruled Mexico for a third of a century, to resign in 1911. Francisco Madero, a wealthy landowner but also a leading reformer, assumed the presidency to great acclaim but proved incapable of uniting the country. Discontent rolled across Mexico, as peasant armies calling for *tierra y libertad* ("land and liberty") attacked the mansions of great landowners. Conservatives feared Madero as a reformer at the same time radicals dismissed him as too timid. Conservative forces led by **General** Victoriano Huerta launched a successful uprising in Mexico City in February 1913 and executed Madero.

Most European governments quickly recognized the Huerta government, but Wilson refused to do so because he considered Huerta a murderer and because Huerta's regime did not rest on the consent of the governed. Telling one visitor, "I am going to teach the South American republics to elect good men," Wilson waited for an opportunity to act against Huerta. In the meantime, anti-Huerta forces in northern Mexico, led by Venustiano Carranza, began to make significant gains.

In April 1914, Wilson found an excuse to intervene when Mexican officials arrested a few American sailors in Tampico. The city's army commander immediately released them and apologized. Wilson, however, used the incident to justify the occupation of **Veracruz,** Mexico's leading port. Veracruz's customs revenue was also the major source of government income. Huerta, facing Carranza's armies and deprived of munitions and customs revenues, fled the country in mid-July. Wilson withdrew the last American forces from Veracruz in November.

Carranza succeeded Huerta as president, and Wilson officially recognized his government. Carranza faced armed opposition, however, from **Pan**cho Villa in northern Mexico. When Villa suffered serious defeats, he apparently decided his best hope for defeating Carranza was to incite a war with the United States. Villa's men murdered several Americans in Mexico and then, in March 1916, killed several Americans in New Mexico. After securing reluctant approval from Carranza, Wilson sent an expedition of nearly seven thousand men, commanded by General John Pershing, into Mexico to punish Villa.

Villa deftly evaded the American troops, drawing them ever deeper into Mexico. Carranza then became alarmed about the American expedition. When a clash between Mexican and American forces resulted in casualties, Carranza asked Wilson to withdraw the American troops. Wilson refused. Villa subsequently doubled behind the American army and raided into Texas, killing more Americans. Wilson sent more men into Mexico despite Carranza's insistence that all the American forces be withdrawn. Only in early 1917, when the prospect of war with Germany began to loom large, did Wilson order the troops to withdraw. The episode left a deep reservoir of Mexican resentment toward the United States.

Porfirio Diaz Mexican soldier and politician who became president after a coup in 1876 and governed the country until 1911.

General Victoriano Huerta Mexican general who overthrew the president, Francisco Madero, in 1913, and established a military dictatorship until forced to resign in 1914.

Veracruz The major port city of Mexico, located on the Gulf of Mexico; in 1914, Wilson ordered the U.S. Navy to occupy the port.

Pancho Villa Mexican bandit and revolutionary who led a raid into New Mexico in 1916, which prompted the U.S. government to send troops into Mexico in unsuccessful pursuit.

From Neutrality to War: 1914-1917

At first, Americans paid only passing attention to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914. But when Europe plunged into war, Wilson and all Americans faced difficult choices.

The Great War in Europe

Europe's great powers had avoided armed conflict with each other since the Franco-Prussian War ended in 1871. Since then, however, competition for world markets and colonies had encouraged nations to accumulate arms and seek allies. European diplomats had constructed two major alliance systems by 1907. The **Triple Entente** linked Britain, France, and Russia. The **Triple Alliance** of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy stood in opposition. As European nations formed their alliance networks, nationalism fueled aspirations for independence among the various cultural or linguistic groups of central and eastern Europe. These aspirations were especially powerful in the **Balkan Peninsula** (see Map 22.1), where Austro-Hungarian and Serbian interests clashed.

The primary point of conflict involved Bosnia, a territory annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908. The Slavs in Serbia had previously eyed Bosnia, which contained a substantial Slavic population, as a candidate for Serbian annexation. Ironically, the Serbian nationalists who plotted the Austrian archduke's assassination did so because they feared that his liberal policies toward Bosnian Slavs would dampen their desire to break way from Austria.

After the assassination, Austria first assured itself of Germany's backing, then declared war on Serbia. In turn, Russia confirmed France's support and began slowly mobilizing in support of Serbia. Rather than wait for Russia to marshal its army, Germany declared war on Russia on August 1 and on France two days later. German strategists planned to bypass French defenses along the Franco-German border by moving through neutral Belgium (see Map 22.1). The Germans expected to knock France out of the war quickly and then turn their full power against Russia. Britain entered the conflict in defense of Belgium on August 4. Eventually, Germany and Austria-Hungary combined with Bulgaria and Turkey to form the Central Powers. Italy abandoned its Triple Alliance partners and joined Britain, France, Russia, Romania, and Japan to make up the Allies.

Instead of the quick knockout blow the Germans had anticipated, the armies settled into defensive lines over the **western front:** 475 miles of French countryside extending from the English Channel to the Alps (see Map 22.1). By the end of 1914, the troops had dug elaborate networks of trenches, separated from each other by a desolate **no man's land** filled with coils of barbed wire, where any movement brought a burst of machine-gun fire. As the war progressed, terrible new weapons—poison gas, aerial bombings, tanks—took many thousands of lives but failed to break the deadlock.

American Neutrality

Wilson's initial reaction to the European conflagration was to announce American neutrality. On August 19, he urged Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name . . . impartial in thought as well as in action." He hoped not only that America would remain outside the conflict but that he might serve as the peacemaker.

Wilson's hopes for peace proved unrealistic. Most of the warring nations wanted to gain territory, and only a decisive victory could deliver such a prize. The longer they fought, the more territory they coveted to satisfy their losses. As long as they

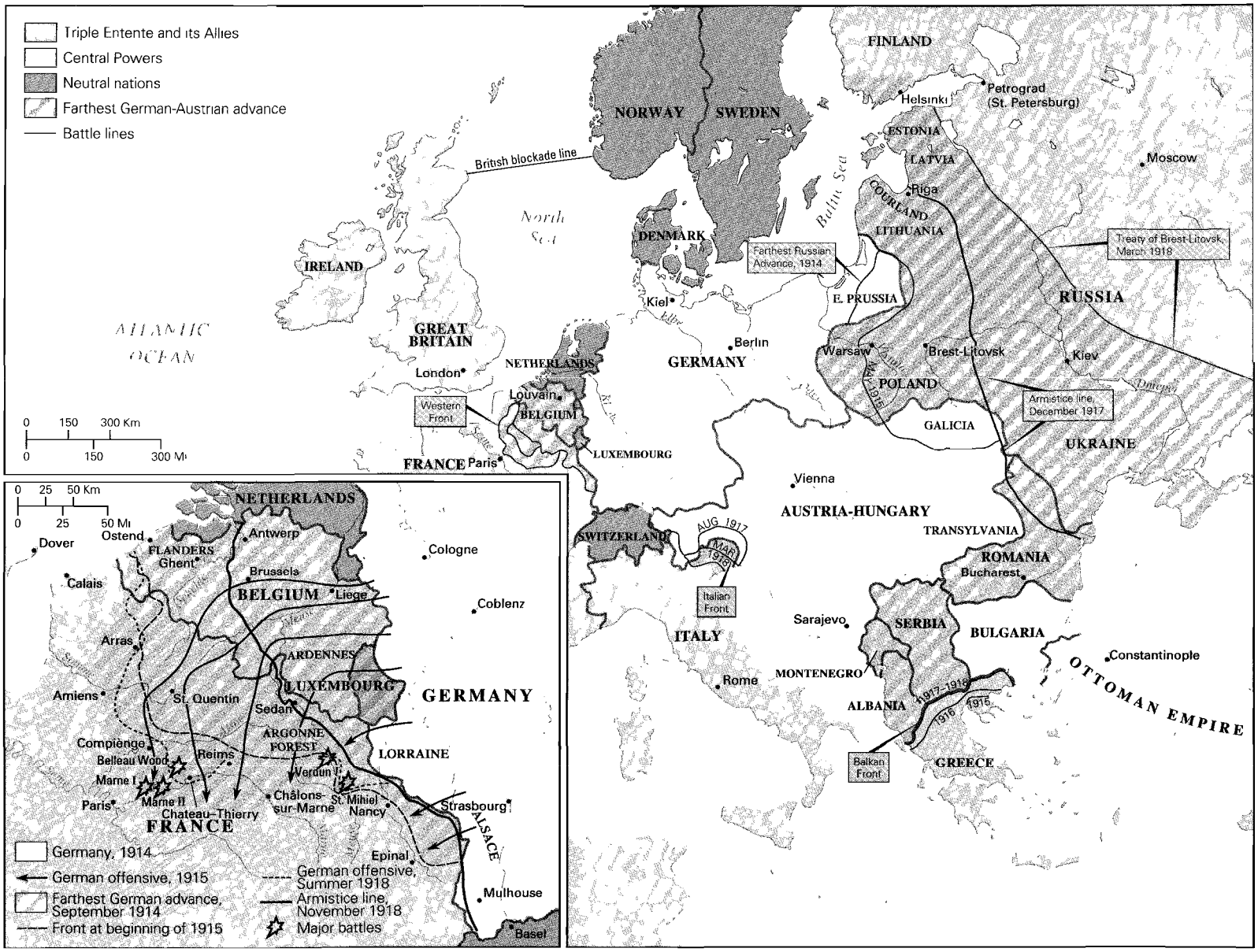
Triple Entente Informal alliance that linked France, Great Britain, and Russia in the years before World War I.

Triple Alliance Alliance that linked Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary in the years before World War I.

Balkan Peninsula Region of southeast Europe bounded by the Adriatic, Aegean, and Black seas; once ruled by Turkey, it included a number of relatively new and sometimes unstable states.

western front The line of battle between the Allies and Germany in World War I, which was located in French territory.

no man's land The field of battle between the lines of two opposing, entrenched armies.



♦ **MAP 22.1 The War in Europe, 1914-1918** This map identifies the members of the two great military coalitions: the Central Powers and the Allies. Notice how much territory Russia lost by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk as compared to the armistice line (the line between the two armies when Russia sought peace with Germany).

saw a chance of winning, they had no interest in Wilson's appeals.

Wilson's hope that Americans could remain impartial was also unrealistic. Most Americans sided with the Allies. Britain had cultivated American friendship since the mid-1890s. A shared language and culture joined the upper classes in both countries, and trade and finance united many members of their business communities. Memories of French assistance during the American Revolution fueled enthusiasm for France. The German invasion of neutral Belgium aroused American sympathy as well. Allied propagandists worked hard to generate anti-German sentiment in America, portraying the war as a conflict between civilized peoples and brutal **Huns.**

Not all Americans sympathized with the Allies. Nearly 8 million of the 97 million people in the United States had one or both parents from Germany or Austria. Not surprisingly, many of them disputed the depictions of their cousins as bloodthirsty barbarians. Ethnic loyalties also influenced some 5 million Irish Americans, who disliked the English and held no sympathy for them.

Neutral Rights and German U-Boats

Wilson and Bryan agreed on the need to keep American interests separate from those of the parties to the European conflict. However, they developed different approaches for carrying out that policy. Bryan proved willing to sacrifice neutral rights if insistence on those rights posed the prospect of war. Wilson stood firm on maintaining all traditional rights of neutral nations. Bryan initially opposed loans to belligerent nations as incompatible with neutrality. Wilson first agreed, but once it became clear that the ban hurt the Allies more than the **Central Powers,** Wilson modified it to permit buying goods on credit. Finally, he dropped the ban on loans altogether.

Traditional neutral rights also included the freedom of neutrals to trade with all belligerents. However, European powers saw the war as a struggle for survival. Wilson soon found himself in conflict with both sides as they turned to naval warfare to break the deadlock on the western front.

Britain began to redefine neutral rights by announcing a blockade not only of German ports butalso of neutral ports. Britain also expanded traditional definitions of contraband to include anything that might give even indirect aid to an enemy, including food. Germany responded by declaring a blockade of the British Isles, to be enforced by its submarines, called U-boats. U-boats were relatively fragile, and even a lightly armed merchant ship stood a reasonable chance of sinking one that surfaced and ordered a ship to stop. Consequently, submarines struck from below the surface, without warning. When Britain began disguising its ships with neutral flags, Germany countered that neutral flags no longer guaranteed protection from U-boat attacks. Whereas Wilson issued token reprimands over Britain's practices, he strongly denounced those of Germany.

On February 10, 1915, Wilson warned that the United States would hold Germany to "strict accountability" for its actions. On May 7, 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner ***Lusitania,*** which sank with the loss of 1,198 passengers, including 128 Americans. Americans reacted with horror. When Bryan learned that the *Lusitania* carried rifle cartridges and other contraband, he urged restraint. Wilson, however, prepared a protest message that stopped just short of demanding an end to submarine warfare against unarmed merchant ships. When the German response was noncommittal, Wilson composed an even stronger ultimatum. Bryan feared the words would lead to war, and he resigned as secretary of state.

Huns Disparaging term used to describe Germans during World War I; the name came from a warlike tribe that invaded Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries.

belligerent A nation formally at war.

Central Powers In World War I, the coalition of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire.

contraband Goods prohibited by law or treaty from being imported or exported.

U-boat A German submarine (in German, *Untersee-boot).*

Lusitania British passenger liner torpedoed by a German submarine in 1915; more than 1,000 drowned, including 128 Americans, bringing the United States closer to war with Germany.

As other U-boat attacks followed, Wilson continued to protest. But after the sinking of the unarmed French ship *Sussex* in March 1916, which injured several Americans, Wilson warned Germany that if unrestricted submarine warfare did not stop, "the United States can have no choice" but to sever diplomatic relations. Germany responded with the **Sussex pledge,** promising that U-boats would no longer strike merchant vessels without warning.

America's economic ties to the Allies grew as the war progressed. The British blockade stifled Americans' trade with the Central Powers, which fell from around $170 million in 1914 to almost nothing two years later. Meanwhile, trade with Britain and France more than offset this decline. American companies sent $756 million in exports to those two nations in 1914 and $2.7 billion in 1916. And by April 1917, American bankers had loaned more than $2 billion to the Allied governments.

Deeply convinced that the best way to keep the United States neutral was to end the war, Wilson sent his close adviser Edward M. House to London and Berlin early in 1916 to sound out the British and Germans on the possibility for peace. House concluded that neither side wanted a negotiated end to the war. Discouraged, Wilson yielded to the increasing numbers of Americans who sought "preparedness"—a military buildup. In the summer of 1916, Congress passed the National **Defense Act,** more than doubling the size of the army, and appropriated the largest naval expenditures in the country's peacetime history.

The Decision for War

After the 1916 election, Wilson tried again to end the war by asking the belligerents to state their terms for ending the fighting. Hoping to cultivate Wilson, Germany announced its support for a peace conference but refused to specify terms. The Allies likewise refused to state their terms.

Still hoping to secure a peace conference, Wilson presented his views on the best way to achieve peace to the Senate in late January 1917. He urged that the only lasting peace would be a "peace without victory" and a "peace among equals" in which neither side exacted gains from the other. The speech received an enthusiastic welcome from most Democrats and progressives. But the British, French, and Germans had no interest in "peace without victory."

In Germany, the initiative passed to those who wanted to resume unrestricted submarine warfare. By denying the Allies American food and supplies, they hoped to achieve a decisive advantage and a quick victory. Germany announced it would resume submarine attacks effective February 1, 1917. Germany knew this move was likely to bring the United States into the war but gambled on being able to win the war before American troops could arrive in large numbers. Wilson accordingly broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, 1917.

Revelation of the Zimmermann Telegram on March 1 caused a further deterioration in U.S. relations with Germany. In January 1917, Arthur Zim**mermann,** the German foreign secretary, proposed to the German minister in Mexico that Mexico ally itself with Germany. If war broke out between Germany and the United States, Mexico should attack the United States. The incentive for Mexico would be the recovery of its "lost provinces" in the American Southwest. The British intercepted Zimmermann's message and passed it to American representatives on February 24. A public outcry followed the release of the telegram, but Wilson still hesitated to ask for war.

The Germans' sinking of five American ships between March 12 and March 21 removed all doubts from Wilson's mind. On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. In asking for war, Wilson tried to unite Americans in a righteous, progressive crusade. He condemned German U-boat attacks as "warfare against mankind" and defined

Sussex pledge German promise in 1916 to stop sinking merchant ships without warning if the United States would compel the Allies to obey "international law."

National Defense Act Law passed in 1916 enlarging the army, strengthening the National Guard, and providing for an officers' reserve corps.

Arthur Zimmermann German foreign minister who proposed in 1917 that if the United States declared war on Germany, Mexico should become a German ally and win back Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico.

American war aims idealistically. "The world must be made safe for democracy," he pleaded. He promised that the United States would fight for democracy, self-government, "the rights and liberties of small nations," and a league of nations.

Not all members of Congress agreed that war was necessary. Senator George W. Norris, a progressive Republican from Nebraska, claimed that the nation was going to war to "preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations." Only five other senators, however, joined Norris in opposing the declaration of war on Germany. The House voted 373 to 50 for war.

The Home Front

The war altered nearly every aspect of the American economy, as the progressive emphasis on expertise and efficiency produced unprecedented centralization of economic decision making. Mobilization extended beyond war production to the people themselves, their attitudes toward the war, and their response to the need for labor.

Mobilizing the Economy

In the United States, shortages of military supplies, railway transportation snarls, and serious delays in military equipment deliveries proved to be major constraints for the war effort. As a result, federal direction over manufacturing, food and fuel production, and transportation increased dramatically. The extent to which the federal government exercised control over the economy during World War I has never since been matched.

Much of the nation welcomed government intervention. Business enlisted as a partner with government and supplied its cooperation and expertise. Prominent entrepreneurs volunteered their full-time services for a dollar a year. The wartime centralization of economic decision making came about through new agencies composed of government officials, business leaders, and prominent citizens.

The **War Industries Board (WIB),** established in 1917, oversaw the production of war materials. It did little to improve industrial productivity until Wilson appointed Bernard Baruch, a successful Wall Street investor, to head the board in early 1918. By pleading, bargaining, and sometimes threatening, Baruch usually persuaded companies to set and meet production quotas, to allocate raw materials, and to make the entire economy more efficient. Baruch accomplished most WIB goals without coercing corporate America, and industrial production increased by 20 percent.

Efforts to conserve fuel included the first use of **daylight-saving time.** To make rail transportation more efficient, the federal government ran the railroads as a single system, although it left them under private ownership. The government similarly took over the telegraph and telephone systems and launched a huge shipbuilding program.

The National War Labor Board, created in 1918 to mediate labor disputes, endorsed collective bargaining and gave some support for an eight-hour workday in return for a no-strike pledge from labor. Many unions secured contracts that brought significant wage increases. Union membership boomed from 2.7 million in 1916 to more than 4 million by 1919. Most established labor leaders, such as Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), fully supported the war.

One crucial American contribution to the Allies was food, for the war severely disrupted European agriculture. Food Administrator **Herbert Hoover** promoted increased production and conservation of food. He urged American families to observe

War Industries Board Board headed by Bernard Baruch that coordinated American production during World War I, setting production quotas, fixing prices, and allocating raw materials.

daylight-saving time Setting clocks one hour or more ahead of standard time to provide more daylight at the end of the workday during late spring, summer, and early fall.

collective bargaining Negotiation between the representatives of organized workers and their employers to determine wages, hours, and working conditions.

Herbert Hoover U.S. food administrator during World War I known for his proficient handling of relief efforts; he was elected president in 1928, only to see the country enter a major depression.

Meatless Mondays and Wheatless Wednesdays and to plant "war gardens." Farmers also brought large areas under cultivation for the first time (see chapter opener map). As a result, food shipments to the Allies tripled.

Mobilizing Public Opinion

Not all Americans fully supported the war. Some German Americans were reluctant to see their sons sent to war against their cousins. Some Irish Americans took little interest in saving Britain, especially after the brutal suppression of an attempt at Irish independence in 1916. The Socialist party voted to oppose American participation in the war. This stance greatly increased the Socialists' share of the vote in several cities in 1917.

To mobilize public opinion in support of the war, Wilson in 1917 created the Committee on Public Information, headed by George Creel. Once a muckraker, Creel set out to sell the war to the American people. The **Creel Committee** eventually counted 150,000 lecturers, writers, artists, actors, and scholars championing the cause and whipping up hatred of the "Huns." Most of those serving with the Creel Committee did so as "Four-Minute Men"—ready to make a four-minute speech anywhere a crowd gathered.

The fierce patriotism fanned by the Creel Committee sometimes sparked harsh measures against those considered "slackers" and "Kaiserites." "Woe to the man or group of men that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution," warned Wilson. Zealots across the country took up the cry. Some states prohibited the use of foreign languages in public. Some communities removed German books from libraries and publicly burned them; others banned the music of Bach and Beethoven. Even words with German connections became objectionable: sauerkraut became "liberty cabbage," German measles were renamed "liberty measles," and dachshunds trotted as "liberty pups." Mobs even lynched people suspected of antiwar sentiments.

Civil Liberties in Time of War

German Americans suffered the most from the wartime hysteria, but pacifists, socialists, and other radicals also became targets for government and vigilantes. Congress passed the **Espionage** Act in 1917 and the **Sedition** Act in 1918, prohibiting interference with the draft and outlawing criticism of the government. Some fifteen hundred people were arrested for violating the Espionage and Sedition acts, including Eugene V. Debs, leader of the Socialist party.

Those who voiced dissenting opinions found they could not rely on the courts for protection. When opponents of the war challenged the Espionage Act, the Supreme Court ruled that freedom of speech was never absolute. Just as no one has the right to shout "Fire" in a crowded theater, said Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., so in wartime no one has a constitutional right to say anything that might endanger the nation. The Court also upheld the Sedition Act in 1919.

The IWW came under relentless attack. In July 1917, in Bisbee, Arizona, managers of local copper mines, law enforcement officials, and deputized citizens rounded up more than eleven hundred IWW members, marched them at gunpoint into railroad boxcars, transported them over one hundred miles into the desert, and abandoned them. In September 1917, Justice Department agents arrested IWW leaders throughout the West, who were then sentenced to jail terms of up to twenty-five years. Deprived of its leaders and virtually bankrupt, the IWW never recovered.

A few Americans protested the abridgment of civil liberties. One group formed the Civil Liberties Bureau, forerunner of the American Civil Liberties Union. Most Americans, however, did not object to

Creel Committee The U.S. Committee on Public Information (1917-1919), headed by journalist and editor George Creel, which used films, posters, pamphlets, and news releases to mobilize American public opinion in favor of World War 1.

Espionage Act Law passed in 1917 that mandated severe penalties for anyone found guilty of interfering with the draft or encouraging disloyalty to the United States.

Sedition Act Law passed in 1918 that supplemented the Espionage Act by extending the penalty to anyone deemed to have abused the government in writing.

the repression. Others who were sympathetic to the victims kept silent. Jane Addams, who had been maligned for expressing her pacifist views before the war, would not sign the Civil Liberties Bureau's appeal for funds, explaining, "I am obliged to walk very softly in all things suspect."

Changes in the Workplace

Intense activism and remarkable productivity characterized American labor's wartime experience. Union membership almost doubled, and a significant number of women became new cardholders. In addition, unions benefited from the encouragement that the National War Labor Board gave to collective bargaining between unions and companies. The board also helped settle labor disputes through mediation. Never before had a federal agency interceded this way.

Demands for increased production at a time when millions of men were marching off to war opened opportunities for women. Employment of women in factory, office, and retail jobs had increased before the war, but the war accelerated those trends. Most women who worked outside the home were young and single. Some middle-class women who now entered the paid labor force not only gave up their homebound roles but also rejected their parents' standards of morality and behavior. They adopted instead the less restricted lifestyles that had long been experienced by many wage-earning, working-class women. One commentator observed, "For the first time in the memory of man, girls from well-bred, respectable middle-class families broke through these invisible chains of custom and asserted their right to a nonchalant, self-sustaining life of their own."

The Great Migration and White Reactions

The war also had a great impact on African-American communities. Until the war, about 90 percent of all African Americans lived in the South. By 1920, perhaps as many as 500,000 had moved north in what has been called the **Great Migration.** The largest proportional increases in the African-American population came in the industrial cities of the Midwest. Gary, Indiana, showed one of the greatest gains: 1,284 percent between 1910 and 1920. New York City, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles also attracted many blacks (see chapter opener map). Several factors combined to stimulate this migration. "Every time a lynching takes place in a community down South," T. Arnold Hill of Chicago's Urban League pointed out, "colored people will arrive in Chicago within two weeks." Economic disaster in the South in the form of drought, floods, and the **boll weevil** in 1915 and 1916 was another impetus.

The sharp decline in European immigration caused by the war also spurred the Great Migration. The wartime labor needs of northern cities attracted hundreds of thousands of African Americans seeking better jobs and higher pay. Many industrial jobs paid $3 a day, compared to 50 cents for picking cotton. The impact on some southern cities was striking. Jackson, Mississippi, for example, lost half of all working-class African Americans and a quarter to a third of black business owners and professionals.

The war heightened racial tensions in the South because some whites resented the new options available to blacks. For example, black women who received money from their men in uniform or in wartime jobs sometimes found that they no longer needed farm work. Pine Bluff, Arkansas, officials tried to extend the nation's "work or fight" rule, under which anyone not aiding the war effort by either working or fighting could be arrested, to black women who refused to work in the cotton fields.

Severe wartime racial conflicts erupted in several cities on the northern end of the Great Migration trail. The worst race riot in American history swept through East St. Louis, Illinois, on July 2, 1917. Thousands of African Americans had settled in the city during the previous two years. At least

National War Labor Board Board appointed by President Wilson in 1918 to act as the court of last resort for labor disputes.

Great Migration Mass movement of black people from the rural South to the urban North during World War I; about a half million people relocated.

boll weevil Small beetle of the southern United States that infests cotton plants and whose larvae hatch in and damage cotton bolls.

thirty-nine perished in the riot, and six thousand found themselves homeless. Incensed that such brutality could occur so soon after the nation's moralistic entrance into the war, W. E. B. Du Bois charged, "No land that loves to lynch 'niggers' can lead the hosts of Almighty God."

Americans

"Over There"

With the declaration of war, the United States needed to mobilize quickly for combat. The navy was already large and powerful after nearly three decades of shipbuilding. The army, however, was tiny. Millions of men had to be enlisted or drafted, trained, supplied, and transported to Europe.

Mobilizing for Battle

The navy was able to strike back quickly at the German fleet. The convoy technique, in which several ships traveled together under the protection of destroyers, helped cut shipping losses in half by late 1917. By the following spring, the U-boat ceased to pose a significant danger.

The army, however, with only 372,000 men, was not ready for action in April 1917. Many men volunteered but not enough. Congress therefore passed the Selective Service Act in May, requiring men ages 21 to 30 to register with local boards to determine who was to be called to duty. For the most part, Americans accepted the draft. Eventually, 24 million men registered, and 2.8 million were drafted. By the end of the war, the combined army, navy, and marine corps counted 4.8 million members.

No women were drafted, but some women chose to serve in the military. Almost thirteen thousand women joined the navy and marines, mostly in clerical capacities. They were permitted to hold full military rank and status for the first time. The army, however, considered enlisting women a "most radical departure" and refused to do it. Women could serve in the Army Corps of Nurses, which enrolled nearly eighteen thousand women but denied them army rank, pay, or benefits. At least five thousand civilian women served in various capacities in France, sometimes near the frontlines, most through the Red Cross, which helped staff hospitals and rest facilities.

Nearly 400,000 African Americans served during World War I. Almost 200,000 served overseas, nearly 30,000 on the frontlines. Most black soldiers were treated as second-class citizens. They marched in segregated **Jim Crow** units in the army, were limited to food service duties in the navy, and were excluded from the marines altogether. Only about 600 African Americans earned commissions as officers. White officers commanded most black troops.

"Over There"

As the first troops of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) trickled into France in June 1917, the Central Powers seemed close to victory. French offensives in April 1917 had failed, and a British summer effort in Flanders had resulted in enormous casualties but little gain. A Russian drive in midsummer proved disastrous, and in November, following the triumph of the Bolsheviks, Russia withdrew from the war. Hoping to win the war before many American troops arrived, the Germans planned a massive spring offensive for 1918.

The German offensive came in Picardy at the point where the French and British lines joined. AEF units were hurried to the front to block the German advance. By late May, the Germans had moved to within 50 miles of Paris, which French officials considered evacuating. AEF units fought bravely and effectively. At Chateau-Thierry and Belleau Wood, they took eight thousand casualties during a monthlong battle over a single square mile of wheat fields and woods.

Selective Service Act Law passed in 1917 establishing compulsory military service for men ages 21 to 30.

Jim Crow Name for any laws or forms of organization that discriminate against blacks; probably derived from a minstrel-show stock character named Jim Crow.

American Expeditionary Force American army commanded by General John J. Pershing that served in Europe during World War I.

Bolsheviks Communists who seized power in Russia in November 1917.

This painting depicts British troops being sent into the no man's land between their trenches and those of the Germans. The development of the machine gun made such efforts highly dangerous and contributed to the staggering losses of World War I. The artist, one of only twelve survivors of a company of eighty sent against the enemy's trenches, recalled that "it was bitterly cold and we were easy targets in snow and daylight." *"Over the Top" by Paul Nash. Imperial War Museum.*

The Allies launched a counteroffensive in July 1918, as American troops finally began to pour into France. The American command insisted on being assigned its own sector of the front to make the American contribution to victory clear. In September, General John J. Pershing launched a stunning one-day offensive against the St. Mihiel salient (see Map 22.1). AEF forces then joined a larger Allied offensive in the Meuse-Argonne region, the last major assault of the war. In the Argonne Forest on October 8, Corporal Alvin York, armed with only a rifle and a pistol, killed 25 German soldiers, eliminated 35 enemy machine guns, and took 132 prisoners, thus becoming the most heroic figure of the war. By the time of his exploits, the German general staff was pleading with its government to seek an armistice. Fighting ended on the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month of 1918. By then, more than 2 million American soldiers were in France.

When the clamor of celebration replaced the din of battle, thirty-two nations had entered the war against the Central Powers. Nearly 9 million men in uniform died: Germany lost 1.8 million, Russia 1.7 million, Austria-Hungary 1.2 million, the British Empire 908,400. France lost 1.4 million, including half of its men between the ages of 20 and 32. American losses of 115,000 men were small in comparison.

Wilson and the Peace Conference

When the war ended, Wilson hoped that the peace treaty would not contain the seeds of future wars. He also hoped to create an international organization to keep the peace. Most of the Allies, however, had more interest in grabbing territory and punishing Germany.

Bolshevism, the Secret Treaties, and the Fourteen Points

In December 1917, the Bolsheviks, who had seized power in Russia only a month earlier, tried to demonstrate that the war was nothing more than a capitalist scramble for imperial spoils. They published secret treaties by which the Allies had agreed to take colonies and territories from the Central Powers. These exposés strengthened Wilson's efforts to impose his war objectives on the Allies.

salient Battle line that projects closest to the enemy.

On January 8, 1918, Wilson directly challenged the secret treaties and tried to seize the initiative in defining a basis for peace in a speech to Congress. Wilson presented fourteen specific objectives, soon called the **Fourteen** Points. Points 1 through 5 provided a general context for lasting peace: no secret treaties, freedom of the seas, reduction of barriers to trade, reduction of armaments, and adjustment of colonial claims based partly on the interests of colonial peoples. Points 6 through 13 addressed particular situations: return of territories France had lost to Germany in 1871 and self-determination in Central Europe and the Middle East. The fourteenth point called for "a general association of nations" that could afford "mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

The major Allies reluctantly accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points as a basis for discussion but expressed little enthusiasm for them. When the Germans asked for an end to the fighting, however, they based their request on the Fourteen Points.

Wilson at Versailles

When Woodrow Wilson toured France, Italy, and Britain in December 1918, huge welcoming crowds paid homage to the great "peacemaker from America." Delegates to the peace conference at Versailles, which opened on January 18, 1919, assembled amid far-reaching change. The Austro-Hungarian Empire had crumbled, producing the new nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia and the republics of Austria and Hungary. In Germany, Kaiser Wilhelm II had abdicated, and a republic was being formed. In Russia, a civil war was raging between the Bolsheviks and their anti-Communist opponents. Amid the ruins of the Russian Empire, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were asserting their independence. The Ottoman Empire was collapsing too, as Arabs revolted with aid from Britain and France. Throughout Europe and the Middle East, national self-determination and government by the consent of the governed seemed to be becoming a reality.

Although representatives were on hand from all the nations that had declared war against the Central Powers, the Big Four made the major decisions at the conference: Woodrow Wilson of the United States, David Lloyd George of Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Germany was excluded. Terms of peace were to be imposed, not negotiated. Russia was also excluded on the grounds that it had made a separate peace with Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March 1918. But the specter of Bolshevism hung over the conference.

Wilson learned at the outset that the European leaders were far more interested in pursuing their own national interests than in implementing his Fourteen Points. Clemenceau carried painful memories of Germany's humiliating defeat of France in 1871 and wanted to disable Germany so that it could never again invade his nation. Lloyd George came to Paris with a mandate from British voters for exacting heavy reparations from Germany. Orlando insisted on reaping all the territories promised when Italy joined the Allies in 1915.

Facing the insistent and acquisitive Allies, Wilson had no choice but to compromise. He did secure the creation of the League of Nations, but only after threatening to make a separate peace with Germany. Rather than achieving a "peace without victory," however, the treaty imposed harsh terms. A "war guilt" clause forced Germany to accept the blame for starting the war. Other provisions required Germany to pay the Allies $33 billion in

Fourteen Points President Wilson's program for maintaining peace after World War I, which called for arms reduction, national self-determination, and a league of nations.

Versailles Magnificent estate near Paris built by Louis XIV in the seventeenth century; the treaty ending World War I was signed there in 1919.

Kaiser Wilhelm II German emperor who had worked to create the great military machine and system of alliances that precipitated the outbreak of World War I.

abdicate To formally relinquish a high office.

reparations Payments required from a defeated nation as compensation to the victors for damage or injury during a war.

League of Nations A world organization proposed by President Wilson and founded in 1920; it worked to promote peace and international cooperation.

reparations and to surrender Alsace-Lorraine, all its colonies, and other European territories (see Map 22.2). To prevent further aggression, the treaty deprived Germany of its navy and limited its army to 100,000 men. German representatives signed on June 28, 1919.

In the end, Wilson compromised on nearly all of his Fourteen Points. He hoped the League of Nations would resolve future controversies without war and would also solve the problems created by the compromises he had reluctantly accepted. He was especially pleased with Article 10 of the **League Covenant,** which specified that League members would take joint economic and military action against aggressors.

The Senate and the Treaty

While Wilson was in Paris, opposition to his plans was taking shape in the Republican-controlled Senate, which had to approve any treaty. The Senate split into three groups over the treaty. Henry **Cabot** Lodge, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led the largest opposition group, called the *reservationists* after the reservations, or amendments, to the treaty that Lodge had proposed. At least part of Lodge's opposition was personal. He disliked Wilson intensely and had been angered by the president's failure to include any Republicans in the Versailles treaty delegation. Lodge's chief public misgiving was that Article 10 might be used to commit American troops to war without congressional approval. A smaller group, the *irreconcilables,* consisted primarily of Republicans who opposed any American involvement in European affairs. A third Senate group, mostly Democrats, favored the treaty.

Wilson decided to appeal directly to the people to win support for the treaty. In September 1919, he undertook an arduous speaking tour of twenty-nine cities. The effort proved too demanding for his fragile health. He collapsed in Pueblo, Colorado, on September 25, and returned to Washington. Soon after, he suffered a serious stroke. Half-paralyzed, Wilson remained in seclusion and carried on few of his duties.

Lodge proposed that the Senate accept the treaty with his reservations. Wilson, however, refused to compromise. On November 19, 1919, the Senate defeated the treaty with the Lodge reservations and then defeated the original version of the treaty. The treaty with reservations came to a vote again in March 1920 but failed to gain a two-thirds majority. The United States would not join the League of Nations.

Legacies of the Great War

Roosevelt, Wilson, and most other prewar leaders had projected the progressive mood of optimism and confidence. Wilson invoked this tradition in claiming that the United States was going to war to make the world "safe for democracy." In doing so, however, he fostered unrealistic expectations that world politics might be transformed overnight.

Americans who believed that rational, civilized people had outgrown war found the conflict a disillusioning experience. For some, wartime suppression of civil liberties called into question their belief in the inevitability of progress. Many Americans became disenchanted by the contrast between Wilson's lofty idealism and the Allies' cynical opportunism. The war to make the world safe for democracy turned out to be a chance for Italy to grab Austrian territory and for Japan to seize German concessions in China.

In the end, the peace conference left unresolved many problems. Wilson's elevation of self-government and self-determination encouraged aspirations for independence throughout the colonial empires retained by the Allies. Above all, the war and the treaty helped produce economic and political instability in much of Europe, making it a breeding ground for totalitarian and nationalistic movements that were eventually to bring on another world war.

League Covenant The constitution of the League of Nations, which was incorporated in the Versailles treaty in 1919.

Henry Cabot Lodge Massachusetts Republican senator who led congressional opposition to the Versailles treaty and the League of Nations.

self-determination The freedom of a given people to determine their own political status.

♦ MAP **22.2 Postwar Boundary Changes in Central Europe and the Middle East** This map shows the boundary changes in Europe and the Middle East that resulted from the defeat of the four large multiethnic empires—Austria-Hungary, Russia, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire.

Trauma in the Wake of War

The United States began to demobilize almost as soon as French church bells pealed for the Armistice. By November 1919, nearly the entire force of 4 million men and women was out of uniform. Industrial demobilization occurred even more quickly, as officials canceled war contracts with no more than a month's notice. The year 1919 saw not only the return of the troops from Europe but also raging inflation, massive strikes, bloody race riots, widespread fear of radical subversion, violations of civil liberties, and passage of Prohibition.

Inflation and Strikes

Inflation was the most pressing single problem Americans faced after the war. Between 1913 and 1919, the average American family saw its cost of living double. Such inflation contributed to labor unrest. When the Armistice ended the no-strike pledge taken by unions, they made wage demands to keep up with the soaring cost of living. In 1919, however, management was ready for a fight.

After the war, some companies determined to return labor relations to prewar patterns. They blamed organized labor for the rise in prices and connected strikes and unions to "dangerous foreign ideas" from Bolshevik Russia. Seattle's mayor claimed that a five-day general strike called by all the city's unions in February 1919 was a Bolshevik plot. Boston's police struck in September 1919 after the city's police commissioner fired nineteen policemen for joining an AFL union. Massachusetts governor **Calvin Coolidge** activated the state guard to maintain order and break the union. "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime," he proclaimed. By mid-1919, it was clear that conservative political and business leaders had joined forces to roll back the union gains of the war years.

The largest and most dramatic labor conflict in 1919 came against United States Steel. Most steelworkers had not had a recognized union since the 1892 Homestead strike. Many steelworkers put in twelve-hour days and, when they changed shifts, sometimes slogged through twenty-four hours in the mills without rest. Wages had not increased as fast as inflation. When the AFL launched an ambitious unionization drive in the steel industry in 1919, many steelworkers responded eagerly.

The steel industry firmly refused to deal with the new organization, provoking a strike in late September. United States Steel, however, blamed the strike on radicals. Company guards protected strikebreakers, and military forces commanded by General Leonard Wood moved into Gary, Indiana, to help round up what they called "the Red element." By January 1920, after eighteen workers had been killed and hundreds beaten, the strike was over and the unions ousted.

The Red Scare

The steel industry's charges of Bolshevism to discredit strikers came at a time when many government and corporate leaders decried the dangers of Bolshevism at home and abroad. In late April 1919, the discovery in various post offices of thirty-four bombs addressed to prominent Americans such as John D. Rockefeller lent credibility to these fears. In June, bombs in several cities damaged buildings and killed two people. Although the work of a few anarchists, the explosions set off a panic over a radical conspiracy to overthrow the government.

With President Wilson still bedridden, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer organized an anti-Red campaign, hoping to enhance his presidential prospects in 1920. "Like a prairie fire," Palmer claimed, "the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution." In November 1919, Palmer launched the first of what came to be called the **Palmer** raids to arrest suspected radicals.

Armistice An agreement to stop fighting. **subversion** Efforts to undermine or overthrow an established government.

Calvin Coolidge Massachusetts governor and conservative Republican who became Harding's vice president in 1921; he served as president from 1923 to 1929.

Palmer raids A series of government attacks on individuals and organizations in 1919 and 1920, carried out in a climate of anti-Communist hysteria to search for political radicals.

Authorities rounded up some five thousand people between November and January 1920, and although they found only a few firearms, they deported several hundred aliens.

State legislatures joined in with antiradical measures of their own. In January 1920, the New York state legislature expelled five members solely because they were Socialists. When a wide range of respected public figures denounced the assembly action as undemocratic, public opinion regarding the **Red** Scare began to shift. The Red Scare finally spent itself after Palmer's dire predictions of radical activities on May 1, 1920, the major day of celebration for Socialists and Communists alike, came to nothing.

As the Red Scare sputtered to an end, police in Massachusetts arrested two Italian-born anarchists, Nicola Sacco and **Bartolomeo Vanzetti,** and charged them with robbery and murder. Despite inconclusive evidence and the accused men's protestations of innocence, a jury in 1921 found them guilty, and they were sentenced to death. While appeals delayed their execution, many Americans became convinced that the two had been convicted because of their political beliefs and Italian origins. Further, many doubted that they had received a fair trial. Over loud protests at home and abroad, both men were executed in 1927.

Race Riots and Lynchings

The racial tensions of the war years continued into the postwar period. Black soldiers encountered more acceptance and less discrimination in Europe than they had ever known at home. Some whites, however, were determined to restore the state of race relations that had prevailed before 1917. Southern mobs lynched ten returning black soldiers, some still in uniform. Mobs lynched more than seventy blacks in 1919 and burned eleven victims alive.

Rioting also struck outside the South. In July, violence reached the nation's capital, where white mobs attacked blacks throughout the city for three days, killing several. A few days later, in Chicago, whites apparently caused the death of a young African American swimming in Lake Michigan by throwing rocks at him. The incident sparked two weeks of rioting by racial mobs that left fifteen whites and twenty-three blacks dead. By the end of 1919, race riots had flared in more than two dozen places.

The Election of 1920

Republicans confidently expected to regain the White House in the 1920 election. The Democrats had lost their congressional majorities in the 1918 elections, and the postwar confusion and disillusionment often focused on Wilson. One reporter described the stricken president as the "sacrificial whipping boy for the present bitterness."

The reaction against Wilson almost guaranteed the election of any Republican nominee. Several candidates attracted significant support, but no candidate could muster a majority of the convention delegates. Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio emerged as a compromise candidate. Even some of his supporters characterized him as "the best of the second-raters." The Democrats chose James Cox, the governor of Ohio, as their presidential candidate.

The election was a Republican landslide. Harding won 60 percent of the popular vote, the largest popular majority up to that time. Wilson had hoped the election might be a "solemn referendum" on the League of Nations, but it proved to be more of a response to the disappointments of the Wilson years. Americans, it seemed, had had enough idealism and sacrifice.

deport To expel an undesirable alien from a country.

Red Scare Wave of anticommunism in the United States in 1919 and 1920, which included a government crackdown that focused on foreigners and labor unions.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti Italian anarchists convicted in 1921 of the murder of a Braintree, Massachusetts, factory paymaster and the theft of a $16,000 payroll; in spite of public protests on their behalf, they were electrocuted in 1927.

Warren G. Harding Ohio politician and Republican who was elected president in 1920; his administration was marred by corruption and scandal.

SUMMARY

Expectations
Constraints
Choices
Outcomes

Woodrow Wilson took office *expecting* to focus on domestic policy, not foreign affairs. He fulfilled some Democratic party commitments to anti-imperialism but *chose* to intervene extensively in the Caribbean and in Mexico.

When war broke out in Europe in 1914, Wilson proclaimed the United States to be neutral. German submarine warfare and British restrictions on commerce, however, *constrained* traditional *expectations* for neutrality. Wilson secured a German pledge to refrain from unrestricted submarine warfare. He was re-elected in 1916 on the platform that "he kept us out of war." Shortly after his re-election, however, the Germans violated their pledge, and Wilson *chose* to ask for war against Germany.

The war brought new *expectations* in nearly every aspect of the nation's economic and social life. To overcome *constraints* of inefficiency, the federal government *chose* to develop a high degree of centralized economic planning. Fearing that opposition to the war might pose a *constraint* on full mobilization, the Wilson administration *chose* to secure new laws that *constrained* some civil liberties. When the federal government *chose* to back collective bargaining, unions registered important gains. And when labor shortages threatened to *constrain* the war effort, more women and African Americans *chose* to enter the industrial work force. One *outcome* was that many African Americans *chose* to move to northern and midwestern industrial cities.

Germany *chose* to launch a major offensive in early 1918, *expecting* to achieve victory before American troops could make a difference. However, the AEF was able to play a significant part in breaking the German advance. The *outcome* was the Germans' request for an armistice.

In his Fourteen Points, Wilson expressed his *expectations* for peace. *Constrained* by opposition from the Allies, Wilson *chose* to compromise at the peace conference, but he still *expected* that the League of Nations would be able to maintain the peace. Fearing the *constraints* that League membership might place on the United States, enough senators opposed the treaty to defeat it. The *outcome* was that the United States did not become a member of the League.

In the United States, the immediate *outcome* of the war was disillusionment and a year of high prices, costly strikes, the Red Scare, and race riots and lynchings. In 1920, the nation returned to its usual Republican preference when it sent Warren G. Harding to the White House.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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A vivid survey of American participation in the fighting in Europe, with many firsthand accounts.

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An absorbing novel about a woman's dissatisfaction with her life and her decision to work in Washington during the war.

Link, Arthur S. *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace* (1979).
A concise introduction to Wilson's role in and thinking about foreign affairs.

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The classic and moving novel about World War I, seen through German eyes.

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A popular and engaging account of the outbreak of the war, focusing on events in Europe.

The Choice to Declare War

The Context

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson spoke to a joint session of Congress and requested that it declare war on Germany in response to the German government's decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, Congress did declare war on. April 6, and for the first time, the United States found itself involved in a military conflict in Europe. U.S. involvement in World War I lasted for a year and seven months, during which more than 115,000 Americans died on the battlefields of Europe. Once Wilson decided for war, he had to choose the way he would present his decision to Congress and to the American people.

The Historical Question

In asking Congress to declare war on Germany, President Wilson had to choose between a narrow justification, based on American self-interest, and a broader vision of transforming international politics. Wilson chose the broad approach, but members of Congress did not necessarily agree. In calling for war, to what values did Wilson appeal? On what values did Senator Borah base his decision to vote for war? On what values did Senators La Follette and Norris base their opposition to war?

The Challenge

Using the sources provided, along with other information you have read, write an essay or hold a discussion on the following question. Cite evidence in the sources to support your conclusions. **On what values did Wilson, Borah, La Follette, and Norris base their decisions about going to war? What evidence is there that they all drew on the same values as they came to different conclusions about war?**

The Sources

1 President Woodrow Wilson, in a speech to a joint session of Congress on April 2, 1917, asked for a declaration of war against Germany.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. . . .

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government [Germany], following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic Governments of the world. . . . 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 people 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. We desire no conquest, no domination.

2Senator William E. Borah, progressive Republican from Idaho, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

There can, to my mind, be only one sufficient reason for committing this country to war, and that is the honor and security of our own people and our own Nation. . . . I join no crusade; I seek or accept no alliances; I obligate this Government to no other power. I make war alone for my countrymen and their rights, for my country and its honor.

3 Senator Robert M. La Follette, progressive Republican from Wisconsin, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

I had supposed until recently that it was the duty of Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote and act according to their convictions on all public matters that came before them. . . . Another doctrine has recently been promulgated by certain newspapers . . . and that is the doctrine of "standing behind the President," without inquiring whether the President is right or wrong. . . . [President Wilson] says that this is a war "for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government.". . . [But] the President has not suggested that we make our support of Great Britain conditional to her granting home rule to Ireland, or Egypt, or India. . . .

Will the President and the supporters of this war bill submit it to a vote of the people before the declaration of war goes into effect? Until we are willing to do that, it illy becomes us to offer as an excuse for our entry into the war the unsupported claim that this war was forced upon the German people by their Government. . . . Who has registered the knowledgeor approval of the American people of the course this Congress is called upon to take in declaring war upon Germany? Submit the question to the people, you who support it. You who support it dare not do it, for you know that by a vote of more than ten to one the American people as a body would register their declaration against it.

4 Senator George W. Norris, progressive Republican from Nebraska, spoke in the Senate on April 4, 1917.

There are a great many American citizens who feel that we owe it as a duty to humanity to take part in this war. . . . I think such people err in judgment and to a great extent have been misled as to the real history and the true facts by the almost unanimous demand of the great combination of wealth that has a direct financial interest in our participation in the war.

We are taking a step to-day that is fraught with untold danger. We are going into war upon the command of gold. . . . By our act we will make millions of our countrymen suffer, and the consequences of it may well be that millions of our brethren must shed their lifeblood, millions of broken-hearted women must weep, millions of children must suffer with cold, and millions of babes must die from hunger, and all because we want to preserve the commercial right of American citizens to deliver munitions of war to belligerent nations. . . . I feel as though we are about to put the dollar sign upon the American flag. . . .

The troubles of Europe ought to be settled by Europe. . . . [Declaring war will take] America into entanglements that will not end with this war but will live and bring their evil influence upon many generations yet unborn.