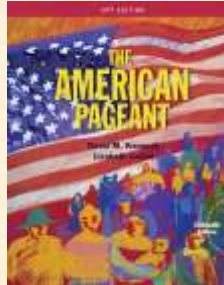


Chapter 29

Wilsonian Progressivism in Peace and War, 1913–1920



Chapter 29

Wilsonian Progressivism at Home and Abroad



VIII. Thunder Across the Sea

- In Europe, Serb patriot killed heir to throne of Austria-Hungary in summer 1914:
 - Vienna, backed by Germany, presented ultimatum to Serbia
 - Explosive chain reaction followed:
 - Serbia, backed by Russia, refused to back down
 - Russian czar began to mobilize military, menacing Germany on east
 - France confronted Germany on west
 - Germans struck suddenly at France through unoffending Belgium

The
"Spark"



Archduke Franz Ferdinand & His Family



The Assassination: Sarajevo



The Assassin:



Gavrilo Princip



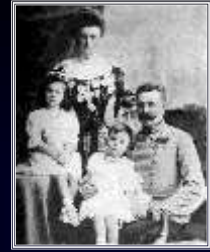
ASSASSINATION OF FRANZ FERDINAND



Franz Ferdinand's funeral procession



Gavrilo Princip, a Serbian nationalist assassinated the Archduke. He was trying to gain allowances for his fellow Serbs who lived under Austrian rule.



Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his family. Archduke was heir to the throne in the Austrian Hungarian Empire. His assassination June 28, 1914 eventually led to WWI.

Who's To Blame?



VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- Great Britain, its coastline jeopardized by assault on Belgium, pulled into conflagration on side of France
- Now Europe locked in fight to the death
- **Central Powers:** Germany, Austria-Hungary, later Turkey and Bulgaria
- **Allies:** France, Britain, and Russia, later Japan and Italy
- Americans thanked God for ocean and congratulated themselves on having ancestors wise enough to have abandoned hell pits of Europe
- America felt strong, snug, smug, and secure—but not for long

Two Armed Camps!

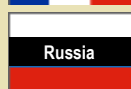
Allied Powers



Great Britain



France

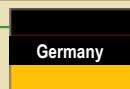


Russia



Italy

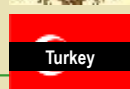
Central Powers



Germany



Austro-Hungarian Empire



Turkey

ALLIANCES LEAD TO WWI

1. June 28
Assassination at Sarajevo
2. July 28
Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia
3. July 30
Russia began mobilization
4. August 1
Germany declared war on Russia





VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- Wilson issued neutrality proclamation and called on Americans to be neutral in thought and deed
- Both sides wooed U.S.A., great neutral in West
 - British enjoyed:
 - Cultural, linguistic, and economic ties with America
 - Advantage of controlling transatlantic cables
 - Their censors sheared away war stories harmful to Allies and drenched United States with tales of German bestiality
 - Germans and Austro-Hungarians:
 - Counted on sympathies of transplanted countrymen in America (some 11 million in 1914)

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- Some of these recent immigrants expressed noisy sympathy for fatherland
- Most simply grateful to be distant from fray (see Table 29.1)
- Most Americans:
 - Anti-German from outset
 - Kaiser Wilhelm II seemed embodiment of arrogant autocracy
 - Impression strengthened by German's ruthless strike at neutral Belgium

TABLE 29.1 Principal Foreign Elements in the United States, Census of 1910

Country of Origin	Foreign-Born	Native-born with Foreign-Born Parents	Native-born with Dual Foreign-Born Parents	Total
Central Powers				
Germany	2,291,781	1,071,847	1,889,508	5,253,136
Austria-Hungary	1,070,038	900,128	131,132	2,701,298
Allied Powers				
Great Britain	1,218,868	822,818	1,138,474	3,180,160
Ireland*	1,181,185	1,341,877	1,070,408	3,593,470
Russia	1,751,821	848,118	70,938	2,670,877
Italy	1,341,039	805,107	68,131	2,214,277
TOTAL (for all foreign countries, including those not listed)	12,345,545	12,046,311	3,981,336	28,373,192
Percentage of total U.S. population (97,872,368)	12.5	12.3	4.0	18.8

* Includes those not yet independent, including Mexico and Russia.

Table 29-1 p669

VIII. Thunder Across the Sea (cont.)

- German and Austrian agents further tarnished image of Central Powers when they resorted to violence in American factories and ports
- German operative in 1915 absentmindedly left his briefcase on New York elevated car:
 - » Documents detailing plans for industrial sabotage discovered and quickly publicized
- Further inflamed American opinion against Kaiser
- Yet great majority of Americans earnestly hoped to stay out of horrible war

US IN 1914

- Panama Canal was completed in August of 1914 just a week before WWI began in Europe.
- Woodrow Wilson became President in 1912.
- Americans were shocked by the outbreak of war but.....it was in Europe.
- US was officially **NEUTRAL**

WILSON'S NEUTRALITY

The *effect of the war upon the United States* will depend upon what American citizens say and do. Every man, woman, and child in America will act and speak in the *true* spirit of *impartiality* and *freedom* which is the spirit of *impartiality* and *freedom* which will

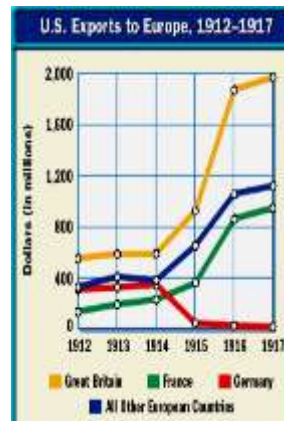
The people of the United States are drawn from many nations, and chiefly from the nations of the *war*. It is *natural* and *inevitable* that they should have the *almost variety of sympathy*. So long as they are united in their *sympathy*, to succeed in the *momentous struggle*.

Therefore, my *fellow countrymen*, the United States must be neutral in fact, as well as in name, during these days that are to try men's souls.

US POLICY BEFORE WWI



- US believed
 - It had the right to trade with the *warring nations*
 - Warring nations must respect our *neutrality*
 - in the *freedom of the seas*
- German submarine warfare and British blockade violated our *neutrality*



Effects of Allied blockade

- 1914, \$70 million in trade with *Central powers*
- 1916, trade reduced to \$1.3 million

Allied trade

- Grew from \$825 million to \$3.2 billion in same time period
- WWI transformed the US from a *debtor* to a *creditor* nation

IX. America Earns Blood Money

– When war broke out in Europe, U.S.A. in midst of recession:

- British and French war orders pulled U.S. industry onto peak of war-born prosperity (see Table 29.2)
- Part of boon financed by American bankers
- Notably Wall Street firm of J.P. Morgan and Company advanced to Allies enormous sum of \$2.3 million during period of American neutrality

TABLE 29.2 U.S. Exports to Belligerents, 1914-1916

Belligerent	1914	1915	1916	1916 Figure as a Percentage of 1914 Figure
Britain	\$994,271,862	\$911,794,954	\$1,526,685,102	257%
France	159,818,924	369,397,170	628,851,988	393
Italy*	74,235,012	184,819,688	289,240,105	363
Germany	344,794,276	28,683,354	288,899	0.08

*Italy joined the Allies in April 1915.

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- » Germany legally could have had same level of trade with United States
- » Was prevented from doing so by British navy
- » British imposed blockade with mines and ships across North Sea gateway to German ports
- » Over protests from various Americans, British forced American vessels off high seas
- » Harassment of American shippers highly effective as trade between Germany and United States virtually ceased

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- Germany did not want to be starved out:
 - Berlin announced submarine war area around British Isles (see Map 29.2)
 - New submarines not fit existing international laws
 - Posed threat to United States—so long as Wilson insisted on maintaining America's neutral rights
 - Berlin officials declared they would try not to sink *neutral* shipping, but warned mistakes would probably occur
 - Wilson decided on calculated risk:
 - Claimed profitable neutral trading rights while hoping no incidents would cause war

SUBMARINE WARFARE

•The Germans could not match Great Britain's superior navy.

•Germans introduced unrestricted submarine warfare with U-Boats

•Germans warned the world they would sink any ship they believed was carrying contraband to Great Britain.

U-Boats

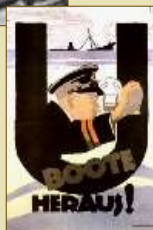


Two types

- small subs with a crew of 24
- larger subs with a crew of 60
- 44 by 1918

•By 1918, Germans had sunk 6,500 allied ships.

U-Boats



Map 29-2 p670



p671

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- German submarines (**U-boats** “undersea boat”) began deadly work
 - In first months of 1915, sank 90 ships in war zone
 - British passenger liner **Lusitania** torpedoed and sank off coast of Ireland, May 7, 1915:
 - » With loss of 1,198 lives, including 128 Americans
- **Lusitania** was carrying forty-two hundred cases of small-arms ammunition
 - A fact Germany used to justify sinking
 - Americans shocked and angered at act of “mass murder” and “piracy”

CUNARD

**EUROPE VIA LIVERPOOL
LUSITANIA**

Fastest and Largest Steamer now in Atlantic Service Sails
SATURDAY, MAY 1, 10 A.M.
 Transylvania, Fri., May 7, 5 P.M.
 Orduna, Sat., May 14, 10 A.M.
 Tuscany, Sun., May 21, 5 P.M.
LUSITANIA, Sat., May 29, 10 A.M.
 Transylvania, Fri., June 4, 5 P.M.

Gibraltar—Genoa—Naples—Piraeus
 S.S. Carpathia, Thurs., May 13, Noon

ROUND THE WORLD TOURS
 Through headwinds to all extended ports
 of the world.

Cunard's White Star Line, N. Y.

NOTICE!

TRAVELLERS intending to embark on the Atlantic voyage are reminded that a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies; that the zone of war includes the waters adjacent to the British Isles; that, in accordance with formal notice given by the Imperial German Government, vessels flying the flag of Great Britain, or of any of her allies, are liable to destruction in those waters and that travellers sailing in the war zone on ships of Great Britain or her allies do so at their own risk.

IMPERIAL GERMAN EMBASSY
 WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 22, 1915.
 London ad



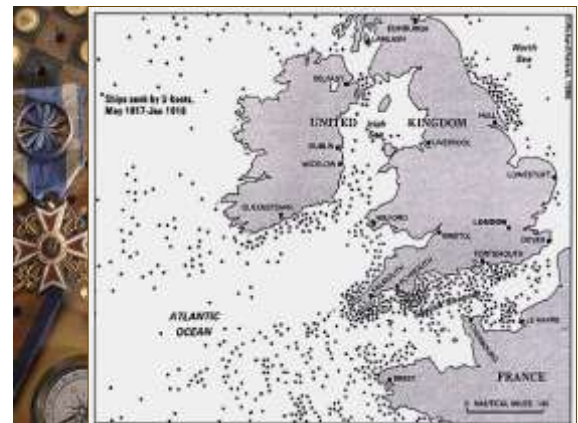
SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA

- May 7, 1915, the Germans sunk the Lusitania which was British passenger liner.
- Germans believed it was carrying **contraband (weapons)** to the British.
- Killed 1,198 civilians including 128 Americans.
- U.S. and other countries outraged towards Germany because of “**unrestricted submarine warfare**”.
- US believed the Germans had violated **international law** of targeting civilians



SINKING OF THE LUSITANIA

- After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, **public opinion** of most Americans was to go to war with Germany.
- Germany **promised** they would not sink anymore ships unless **warning** them first and providing safety for civilians.
- **BUT**, President Wilson was able **"keep us out of war"** *



IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- Talk of war from eastern United States, but not from rest of nation
- Wilson did not want to lead disunited nation into war
 - By series of strong notes, Wilson attempted to take German warlords sharply to task
 - Policy too risky for Secretary of State Bryan who resigned
 - T. Roosevelt harshly criticized Wilson's measured approach
- British liner, *Arabic*, sunk in August, 1915:
 - With loss of two American lives
 - Berlin reluctantly agreed not to sink unarmed and unresisting passenger ships *without warning*

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- Pledge appeared to be violated in March, 1916 when Germans torpedoed French passenger steamer, *Sussex*
- Infuriated, Wilson informed Germans:
 - » That unless they renounced inhuman practice of sinking merchant ships without warning, he would break diplomatic relations—almost certain prelude to war
- Germany reluctantly knuckled under Wilson's *Sussex* ultimatum:
 - Germany agreed to not sink passenger and merchant ships without warning
 - » Attached long string to their *Sussex* pledge

IX. America Earns Blood Money (cont.)

- German *Sussex* pledge:
 - United States would have to persuade Allies to modify what Berlin regarded as illegal blockade
 - This obviously, was something that Washington could not do
 - Wilson promptly accepted pledge, without accepting “string”
 - Wilson won temporary but precarious diplomatic victory—precarious because:
 - » Germany could pull string whenever it chose
 - » And president might suddenly find himself tugged over cliff of war



p672

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916

- Presidential campaign of 1916
 - Bull moose Progressives and Republicans met in Chicago:
 - Progressives nominated Theodore Roosevelt:
 - TR, who loathed Wilson, had no intention of splitting Republicans again
 - With his refusal, TR sounded death knell of Progressive party
 - Republicans drafted Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes, who had been governor of New York

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

- Republican platform condemned Wilson's:
 - Tariff
 - Assault on trusts
 - Wishy-washiness in dealing with Mexico and Germany
- Wilson realized his 1912 win caused by Taft-TR split
 - Used his first term to identify himself as candidate of progressivism and to woo bull moose voters into Democratic fold
- Wilson, nominated by acclamation at Democratic convention in St. Louis
- His campaign slogan, “He Kept Us Out of War”

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

- On election day:
 - Hughes swept East
 - Wilson went to bed prepared to accept defeat but rest of nation turned tide:
 - Midwestern and westerners, attracted by Wilson's progressive reforms and antiwar policies, flocked to him
 - Final result, in doubt for several days, hinged on California which Wilson carried with 3,800 votes out of about a million

X. Wilson Wins Reelection in 1916 (cont.)

- Final count:
 - Wilson: 277 to 254 in Electoral College
 - 9,127,695 to 8,533,507 in popular column (see Map 29.3)
 - Pro-labor Wilson received strong support from working class and from renegade bull moose
 - Wilson did not specifically promise to keep country out of war

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.
 "We intend to begin on the first of February unrestricted submarine warfare. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States of America neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis: make war together, make peace together, generous financial support and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you. You will inform the President of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States of America is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, ask Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves. Please call the President's attention to the fact that the ruthless employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England in a few months to make peace." Signed, WILSON



WILSON'S WAR SPEECH

When German submarines sank three American merchant ships in March 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war.

XI. War by Act of Germany (cont.)

- Revolution in Russia toppled cruel regime of tsars:
 - America could now fight for democracy on Allies' side, without Russian despotism in Allied fold
- Wilson, before joint session of Congress on April 2, 1917, asked for declaration of war:
 - British harassment of U.S. commerce had been galling but endurable
 - Germany had resorted to mass killing of civilians
 - Wilson had drawn clear line against depredations of submarine
- In figurative sense, war declaration on April 6, 1917 bore unambiguous trademark "Made in Germany"

Wilson's War Speech

April 8, 1917, the US declares war on Germany.

The new German policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind....have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board....The present German submarine war....is a war against all nations....Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but on the vindication of right, of human right....

We are.....the sincere friends of the German people.....We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of

Wilson's War Speech

German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life..... There are.....many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts.....democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right.....as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world safe for democracy.

Wilson's War Speech

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.



XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

- For more than a century, Americans prided themselves on isolation from Old World
- Since 1914 that pride reinforced by bountiful profits gained through neutrality
 - Six senators and 50 representatives (including first congresswoman Jeannette Rankin, of Montana) voted against war resolution
 - Wilson could incite no enthusiasm by calling on nation to fight to make world safe from submarine attacks

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- Wilson needed to proclaim more glorified aims:
 - Supremely ambitious goal of crusade “to make the world safe for democracy”
 - Wilson virtually hypnotized nation with lofty ideals:
 - Contrasted selfish war aims of other belligerents with America's shining altruism
 - Preached America did not fight for sake of riches or territorial conquest
 - Republic sought to shape international order in which democracy could flourish without fear of power-crazed autocrats and militarists

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- Wilsonian idealism:
 - Personality of president and necessities of history perfectly matched
 - He believed modern world could not afford hyper-destructive war used by industrial states
 - Probably no other argument could have worked to arouse Americans to unprecedented burden:
 - Americans could be either isolationists or crusaders, nothing in between

XII. Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned (cont.)

- Wilson's appeal worked—perhaps too well
- Holding torch of idealism, president fired up public mind to fever pitch
- Lost was Wilson's earlier plea for “peace without victory”



I Dare you to come, 1917.....The Kaiser defies American rights, national honor, freedom of the seas and international law.....



XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points

- Wilson soon recognized as moral leader of Allied cause
 - On January 8, 1918, he delivered to Congress famed **Fourteen Points**:
 - (1) proposal to abolish secret treaties pleased liberals of all countries
 - (2) freedom of seas appealed to Germans and Americans who distrusted British sea power
 - (3) removal of economic barriers among nations had been goal of liberal internationalists everywhere

XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points (cont.)

- (4) reduction of armament burdens gratifying to taxpayers in all countries
- (5) adjustment of colonial claims in interests of both native peoples and colonizers reassured anti-imperialists
- Wilson's pronouncement about colonies potentially revolutionary:
 - Helped to delegitimize old empires
 - Opened road to eventual independence for millions of "subject people"

XIII. Wilson's Fourteen Potent Points (cont.)

- Other points proved to be no less seductive:
 - Hope of independence ("self-determination") to oppressed minority groups (e.g., Poles)
- Capstone point (number fourteen):
 - Foreshadowed League of Nations:
 - International organization that would provide system of collective security
- Wilson's points not applauded everywhere:
 - Some Allied leaders wanted territorial gains
 - Republicans mocked fourteen Points

US ENTRY INTO WWI Selective Service Act

- May of 1917, President Wilson and Congress pass into legislation a draft or conscription.
- 21 to 30 yrs. and later extended to 40 yrs. of age.

Contradiction? congress action

US ENTRY INTO WWI 1917 – Selective Service Act

- 24,000,000 men registered for the draft by the end of 1918.
 - 2,810,296 drafted and served in WWI
- 3.7 million men served in WWI (2,000,000 saw active combat)
 - Volunteers and draftees
- 400,000 African-Americans served in segregated units.
- 15,000 Native-Americans served as scouts, messengers, and snipers in non-segregated units.

US ENTRY INTO WWI



US ENTRY INTO WWI



Financing the war:

- Sale of war bonds.
- Liberty and victory loans raised \$21 billion.
- Raised income taxes



XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent

– Committee on Public Information:

- Purpose—mobilize people's mind for war
- Headed by young journalist, George Creel
- His job to sell America on war and sell world on Wilsonian war aims
- Employed 150,000 workers at home and abroad
 - Sent out 75,000 "four-minute men" who delivered countless speeches containing much "patriotic pep"
- Creel's propaganda took varied forms:
 - Posters splashed on billboards:
 - » "Battle of the Fences"

US ENTRY INTO WWI



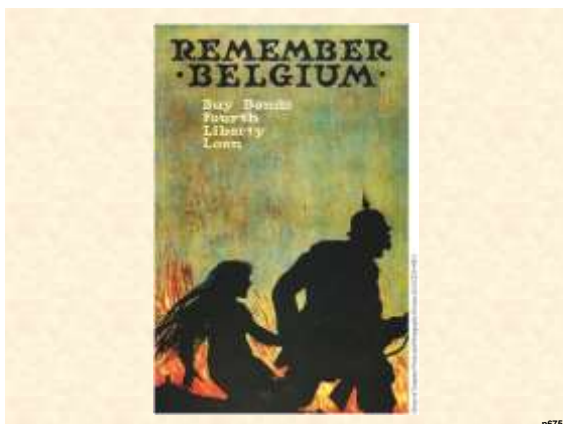
Committee on Public Information

- ✓ **Creel Committee**, headed by **George Creel**, told Americans what the war was about and to publicize the American aims.
- ✓ Propaganda posters to get Americans to support the war effort.

Committee on Public Information



freedom
action



p675

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- Millions of leaflets and pamphlets contained most pungent Wilson-isms
- Hang-the-Kaiser movies
- Songs poured scorn on enemy and glorified “boys” in uniform
- Extensive use of songs, esp. George Cohan’s “Over There”
- Creel typified American war mobilization:
 - » Relied more on aroused passion and voluntary compliance than on formal laws
 - » Oversold ideals of Wilson and led world to expect too much
 - » Result was eventual disillusionment at home and abroad



p676

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- German Americans—over eight million:
 - Most proved to be dependably loyal to United States
 - A few tarred, feathered, and beaten
 - Hysterical hatred of Germans and things Germanic swept nation:
 - Orchestras found it unsafe to present German-composed music
 - German books removed from library shelves
 - German classes canceled
 - Sauerkraut became “liberty cabbage”
 - Hamburger, “liberty steak”

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- **Espionage Act of 1917 and Sedition Act of 1918:**
 - Reflected fears about Germans and antiwar Americans
 - 1,900 prosecutions of antiwar Socialists and members of radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW):
 - Socialist Eugene Debs sentenced to ten years in federal penitentiary
 - IWW leader William D. (“Big Bill”) Haywood and 99 associates also convicted
 - Virtually any criticism of government could be censored and punished

Attacks on Civil Liberties

(Bill of Rights)

National Security vs. Civil Liberties

Espionage Act – 1917

- forbade actions that obstructed recruitment or efforts to promote insubordination in the military.
- ordered the Postmaster General to remove Leftist materials from the mail.
- fines of up to \$10,000 and/or up to 20 years in prison.

US ENTRY INTO WWI

Espionage & Sedition Act, 1918

- Provided for up to \$10,000 in fines and 20 years in prison for interfering with the war effort or using disloyal language.
- *At least 1,597 persons were arrested, and 41 received prison sentences; newspapers criticizing the government lost mailing privileges.*
- Congress and President Wilson enacted this law to promote patriotism, nationalism and protect the National Security of the US during WWI.



National Security vs. Civil Liberties

Sedition Act – 1918

- It was a crime to speak against the purchase of war bonds or *willfully utter, print, write or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language* about this form of US Govt.,
- the US Constitution, or the US armed forces or to *willfully urge, incite, or advocate any curtailment of production of things necessary or essential to the prosecution of the war...with intent of such curtailment to cripple or hinder, the US in the prosecution of the war.*

XIV. Manipulating Minds and Stifling Dissent (cont.)

- In *Schenk v. United States* (1919):
 - Supreme Court affirmed legality of restrictions
 - Freedom of speech could be revoked when such speech posed “clear and present danger” to nation
 - Prosecutions formed ugly chapter in history of American civil liberty:
 - With peace—presidential pardons granted, including President Harding’s to Debs in 1921
 - A few victims remained in jail into 1930s

Schenk vs. United States, 1919



• In 1917 the United States was at War with Germany. WWI

• **Charles Schenk**, a member of the Socialist Party, handed out leaflets condemning the war and urging young men to resist the military draft.

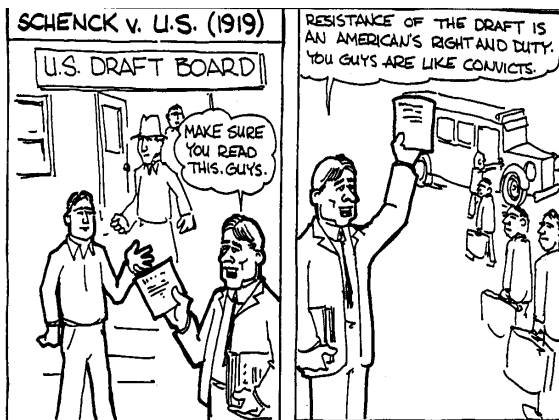
• He was arrested and convicted for violating the ***Espionage and Sedition Act of 1917***.

• Schenk took his case to the United States Supreme Court arguing that his constitutional right to freedom of speech had been violated.

Schenk vs. United States, 1919

Issue

Can **“free speech”** be censored or restricted during war time?



Copyright © 1992 by James J. Carroll/Project LEGAL

Schenk vs. United States, 1919

SC ruling: Disagreed with Schenk

Majority opinion

BUT, every act of speech must be judged according to the circumstances in which it was spoken.

The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.

*"Words can be weapons . . . The question in every case is whether the words used in such circumstances are of such nature as to create a **clear and present danger** that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has the right to prevent."*

Schenk vs. United States, 1919



• Under **normal circumstances**, his actions would have been protected by 1st amendment

• The country was at war, Schenk's freedom of speech was not protected.

• SC ruling meant there were limits to freedom of speech in war time.

• From the ruling, the Court established the **"clear and present danger"** principle to decide whether or not certain kinds of speech are protected.



XV. Forging a War Economy

- Wilson belatedly backed preparedness measures
- Big obstacles confronted economic mobilizers:
 - Sheer ignorance among biggest roadblocks
 - No one knew precisely how much steel or explosive powder country capable of producing
 - Old ideas proved to be liabilities:
 - Traditional fear of big government hamstringing effort to orchestrate economy from Washington
 - Largely voluntary character of economic war organization
- Wilson eventually succeeded in imposing some order on economic confusion:



p677

XV. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

- **War Industries Board:**
 - March 1918; Bernard Baruch the head
 - Set precedent for federal government to take central role in economic planning in a crisis
- Herbert Hoover headed Food Administration:
 - Relied on voluntary compliance with propaganda, not compulsory edicts (i.e., ration cards)
 - Thanks to wartime spirit, Hoover's voluntary approach worked as farm production increased

Expansion of the Federal Government

Council of National Defense

- War Industries Board
 - Bernard Baruch
- Food Administration
 - Herbert Hoover
- Railroad Administration
 - William McAdoo
- National War Labor Board
 - William Howard Taft

War Industries Board

•To build weapons for the war, US industry would undergo a massive change.

•From a peacetime industry to a war time industry.....

Led by Bernard Baruch, the WIB set prices and determined what goods should be produced by private industry....

US Govt. controlled the economy

•**Contradiction?**

War Industries Board



US ENTRY INTO WWI

➤ **Food Administration:** Herbert Hoover heads effort to conserve food and boost agricultural output

➤ US feeds the world from the farms and ranches in the Great Plains... "Bread basket of the World"

- Liberty and victory gardens
- Meatless and wheatless days

U. S. Food Administration



National War Garden Commission



U. S. School Garden Army



U. S. Shipping Board



U. S. Fuel Administration



Results of This New Organization of the Economy

Is it a move towards socialism?

1. Unemployment virtually disappeared.
2. Expansion of "big government."
3. Excessive govt. regulations in eco.
4. Some gross mismanagement --> overlapping jurisdictions.
5. Close cooperation between public and private sectors.
6. Unprecedented opportunities for disadvantaged groups.



XV. Forging a War Economy (cont.)

- Wartime restrictions on foodstuffs for alcohol accelerated wave of prohibition
- 1919: Eighteen Amendment banned alcohol
- Wilson expanded federal government in size and power to meet needs of war:
 - WIB set production quotas
 - Allocated raw materials
 - Set prices for government purchases

XVI. Workers in Wartime

- "Labor Will Win the War:"
 - American workers sweated way to victory:
 - Driven by War Department's "work or fight" rule:
 - Threatened any unemployed male with immediate draft; powerful discouragement to strike
 - Government tried to treat labor fairly
 - Samuel Gompers and American Federation of Labor (AF of L) loyally supported war:
 - Loyalty rewarded as membership doubled and real wages for many unionized workers rose more than 20%



p678

XVI. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

- Recognition of right to organize not won and workers hit by wartime inflation:
 - 6,000 strikes broke out in war years
 - **Industrial Workers of the World** ("Wobblies") engineered damaging industrial sabotage because
 - Victims of shabbiest working conditions
 - 1919 greatest strike in U.S. history rocked steel industry as more than 250,000 struck:
 - Wanted right to bargain collectively, but management refused to negotiate

XVI. Workers in Wartime (cont.)

- Eventually steel strike collapsed after more than a dozen strikers killed
- Setback crippled union movement for more than a decade
- Black workers entered steel mills in 1919
- Tens of thousands of southern blacks drawn to North to war-industry employment
- Interracial violence resulted, esp. in Chicago in July 1919
 - 15 whites and 23 blacks killed during two weeks of terror





XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage

- Women heeded call of patriotism and opportunity:
 - Thousands entered factories and fields left by men going to frontline
 - War split women's movement deeply:
 - Many progressive-era feminists were pacifists
 - Found a voice in National Woman's party
 - Led by Quaker activist Alice Paul
 - Demonstrated against "Kaiser Wilson" with marches and hunger strikes

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- Larger part of suffrage movement:
 - Represented by National American Woman Suffrage Association
 - Supported Wilson's war
 - Argued women must take part in war effort to earn role in shaping peace
 - Fight for democracy abroad was women's best hope for winning true democracy at home
- War mobilization gave new momentum to suffrage fight:
 - Wilson endorsed suffrage as "vitally necessary war measure"
 - In 1917 New York voted for suffrage at state level
 - Followed by Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota
 - Whole U.S.A. followed with **Nineteenth Amendment** (1920)

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- Ratified 70 years after first call for suffrage at Seneca Falls
- Gave all American women right to vote (see Appendix and Table 29.3)
- Women's wartime economic gains fleeting:
 - Permanent Women's Bureau in Department of Labor created to protect women in workplace
 - Most women workers gave up wartime jobs

XVII. Suffering Until Suffrage (cont.)

- Congress supported traditional role as mothers:
 - Passed **Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act** 1921:
 - » Provided federally financed instruction in maternal and infant health care
 - » Expanded responsibility of federal government for family welfare
- WWI foreshadowed future when women's wage-labor and political power would reshape American way of life



XVIII. Making Plowboys into Doughboys (cont.)

- African Americans served in strictly segregated units, usually under white officers
- Military authorities hesitated to train blacks for combat:
 - Thus majority assigned to "construction battalions" or put to work unloading ships
- Recruits suppose to receive six months of training in America and two more overseas
- because of urgency, many doughboys put more swiftly into battle

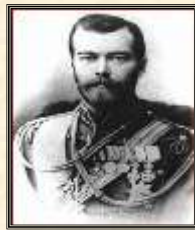
XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun"

- Russia:
 - Bolsheviks seized power in 1917
 - Withdrew from "capitalistic war" 1918
 - This released many Germans from eastern front in Russia for western front in France

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION



Vladimir Lenin



Czar Nicholas

Czar Nicholas and the Romanov Family would be overthrown by Lenin who eventually would start the first **Communist** state.....

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

CAUSES

- Food and fuel shortages
- Striking workers
- Terrible losses in WWI
- Czar was a weak ruler
- Marxist (**communist**) propaganda spread by Lenin

EFFECTS

- King overthrown
- Russia pulls out of the war
- Russia becomes a **communist country**
- Germany sends **Zimmerman Note** to Mexico



- German offensive in the summer of 1918 to capture Paris, France and win the war.
- With the help of the U.S., the French and British were able to stop the German advance.
- Germans surrender and sign an armistice on Nov. 11, 1918 to end the war.



p681

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun"

- France:
 - Gradually began to bustle with U.S. doughboys (see Map 29.4):
 - First ones used for replacements or deployed in quiet sectors
 - American soldiers suffered high rates of venereal disease



Map 29-4 p682

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- Massive German drive of spring 1918:
 - Allies united under French marshal Foch
 - Germans smashed to within 40 miles of Paris, May 1918
 - Threatened to knock France out of war
 - 30,000 Americans sent to **Chateau-Thierry**, right in teeth of German advance
 - First significant engagement of American troops in a European war
 - America put decisive weight on scales (see Figure 29.2) to blunt German drive
 - Americans joined in Second Battle of the Marne (July)
 - Marked beginning of German withdrawal

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- Americans now demanded and got separate army
- General John J. Pershing assigned a front of 85 miles northwestward from Swiss border to French line:
 - Pershing's army undertook **Meuse-Argonne offensive**:
 - » From September 26 to November 11, 1918
 - » Battle lasted 47 days
 - » Engaged 1.2 million American troops
 - » 120,000 Americans killed or wounded
 - » Victory in sight

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- Berlin ready to hoist white flag:
 - Looked to Wilson in October 1918 for peace based on Fourteen Points:
 - Wilson demanded Kaiser be removed before any armistice could be negotiated
 - War-weary Germans took hint
 - Kaiser fled to Holland, lived for his remaining 23 years "unwept, unhonored, and unhung"
 - Exhausted Germans laid down arms at 11:00 on 11th day of 11th month, 1918

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- Costs exceeded comprehension:
 - 9 million soldiers died
 - 20 million suffered grievous wounds
 - 30 million people died in influenza pandemic of 1918-1919
 - more than 550,000 Americans—more than ten times number of U.S. combat casualties—died from flu
- U.S.'s main contributions to victory:
 - Foodstuffs, munitions, credits
 - Oil for first mechanized war
 - And manpower, but not battlefield victories
 - Yanks fought only two major battles—St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne, both in last two months of four-year war, and were still fighting in latter when war ended



p684

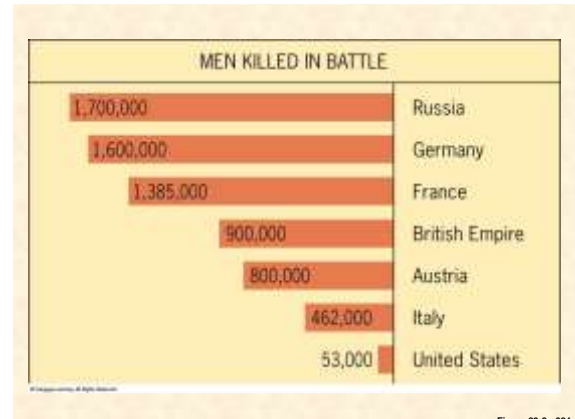
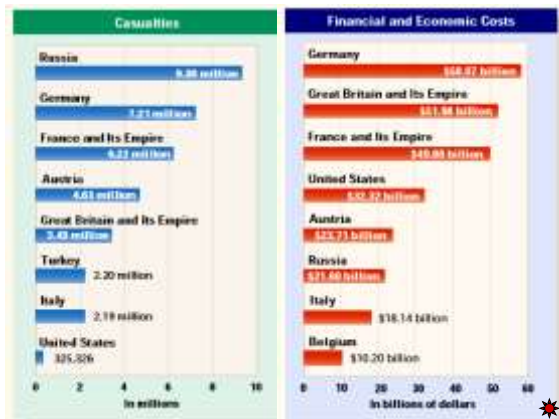


Figure 29-2 p684

XIX. America Helps Hammer the "Hun" (cont.)

- It was *prospect* of endless U.S. troop reserves, rather than America's actual military performances, that eventually demoralized Germans
- General Pershing's army:
 - Purchased more supplies in Europe than it shipped from United States
 - Most of its artillery and virtually all its aircraft provided by Britain and France
 - United States no arsenal of democracy in this war



p685

XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

- Wilson's role in shaping peace?
 - President towered at summit of popularity and power:
 - No other man had ever occupied so dizzy a pinnacle as moral leader of world
 - At this moment, his sureness of touch deserted him, and he began to make series of tragic fumbles
 - He called for Democratic congressional victory in election of November, 1918:
 - » Backfired, voters returned narrow Republican majority to Congress
 - » Wilson went to Paris as diminished leader

XX. Wilson Steps Down from Olympus (cont.)

- Wilson's trip infuriated Republicans:
 - To that time, no president had traveled to Europe
 - Looked to critics like grandstanding
 - Snubbed Senate in assembling peace delegation
 - Neglected to include a single Republican senator in delegation
 - Logical choice would have been new chairman of Senate Committee on Foreign Relations:
 - Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts
 - Wilson loathed Lodge, and feeling was reciprocated

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists

- Wilson received tumultuous welcomes:
 - From masses of France, England, Italy
 - Paris Conference (January 18, 1919):
 - Big Four: Wilson, Premier Orlando (Italy), Prime Minister George (Britain), Premier Clemenceau (France)
 - Wilson wanted to prevent vengeful parceling of colonies and protectorates of vanquished powers
 - Less attentive to fate of colonies belonging to victorious French and English

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

BIG FOUR



Wilson Forced to Compromise

• Although Wilson claimed that he was not interested in the spoils, or rewards, of war, his Allied colleagues were interested in making the Central Powers pay for war damages.

• Wilson was forced to compromise on his 14 Points so he could negotiate for the League of Nations.

David Lloyd George
Great Britain

Vittorio Orlando
Italy

George Clemenceau
France

Woodrow Wilson
U.S.



p686

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- Victors received conquered territory (Syria to France, Iraq to England) as trustees of League of Nations
 - Basically prewar colonialism
 - In future, anticolonial nationalists would wield Wilsonian ideal of self-determination against imperial occupiers
- Wilson envisioned League as a world parliament:
 - An assembly seat for all nations
 - Council controlled by great powers
- Signal victory—when diplomats made League integral part of final peace treaty

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- Clemenceau pressed Wilson with French demands for rich coal area of Saar Valley
 - France finally settled for compromise:
 - Saar Valley would remain under League for 15 years
 - Then popular vote would determine its fate
- Wilson's next battle with Italy over Fiume, a valuable seaport to Italy and Yugoslavia:
 - Wilson wanted Fiume to go to Yugoslavia and appealed over heads of Italian leaders
 - Maneuver fell flat

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- Wilson's next battle with Japan:
 - During war, Japan seized China's Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula and German islands in Pacific
 - Japan received Pacific Islands under League mandate
 - Wilson strongly opposed Japanese control of Shandong as violation of self-determination for its 30 million Chinese
 - Wilson reluctantly accepted compromise:
 - » Japan kept Germany's economic holdings in Shandong
 - » Pledged to return peninsula to China at later date
 - » Chinese outraged by imperialistic solution

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- **Treaty of Versailles** handed to Germans in June 1919:
 - Had been excluded from negotiations in Paris
 - Hoped for peace based on Fourteen Points
 - Vengeance, not reconciliation, was treaty's dominant tone
 - Loud and bitter cries of betrayal burst from Germans
 - Charges Adolf Hitler would later use

XXI. An Idealist Amid the Imperialists (cont.)

- Wilson guilty of no conscious betrayal:
 - Allies torn by conflicting aims
 - Wilson had to compromise to get any agreement and especially to salvage League of Nations
 - Treaty had much to commend it:
 - Liberation of millions of minority peoples, e.g. Poles

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification

- Returning to America, Wilson sailed straight into political typhoon
 - Isolationists protested treaty:
 - Especially Wilson's commitment to usher U.S. into new League of Nations
 - Senators Williams Borah (Idaho), Hiram Johnson (California) and others were **irreconcilables**
 - Rejected any "entangling" alliance

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Critics showered Treaty of Versailles with abuse
 - For Hun-haters, pact not harsh enough
 - Liberals thought it too harsh—a gross betrayal
 - "Hyphenated Americans" aroused because peace settlement not sufficiently favorable to native lands
 - Irish Americans feared League would empower England to crush any move for Irish independence

WILSON'S 14 POINTS

President Wilson's **14 Points** were his ideas to **"end all war"**. These are a summary of his ideas for world peace. **Are they realistic or based on idealism?**

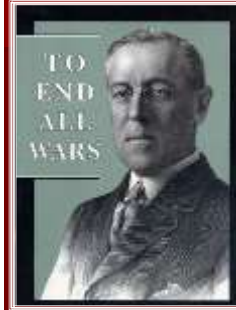
- Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.
- Freedom of the seas.
- Free trade.
- Countries reduce colonies and weapons
- International control of colonies.....



- Formation of new countries with self-government as a goal. (**Democracy**)
- A **"league of nations"** to guarantee peace among nations. (**Collective Security**)



Wilson's Foreign Policy



- Wilson was obsessed with establishing a **new world order**.
- He believed the US should promote democracy around the world in order to insure peace.
- Believed that all nations could work together to **end war**
- **AND**, a country's foreign policy decisions should be based on **honesty and unselfishness...**
- Events around the world, however, kept him from ever realizing his dream.

WILSON'S 14 POINTS

President Wilson's **14 Points** were his ideas to **"end all war"**. These are a summary of his ideas for world peace. **Are they realistic or based on idealism?**

- Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.
- Freedom of the seas.
- Free trade.
- Countries reduce colonies and weapons
- International control of colonies.....



- Formation of new countries with self-government as a goal. (**Democracy**)
- **MOST IMPORTANT:** A **"league of nations"** to guarantee peace among nations. (**Collective Security**)



LEAGUE OF NATIONS



- ❖ One of Wilson's ideas, the formation of a **League of Nations**.
- ❖ The League of Nations was designed to bring the nations of the world together to ensure peace and security.
- ❖ **Collective Security** of larger nations to keep world peace.

TREATY OF VERSAILLES



• When President Wilson went to Paris, France, he was welcomed like he was a God.

• Countries were convinced that his 14 points could "end all war".

• But, the hatred of the Allied nations led to the **Treaty of Versailles to be a "Treaty of Revenge"** against Germany.

• The Final provision was:

• **Would Morgan**



TREATY OF VERSAILLES

- Open diplomacy or no secret treaties.
- Freedom of the seas.
- Removal of tariff and other economic barriers or free trade.
- Reduction of land and weapons
- International control of colonies, with self-government as the goal.
- Self-determination of ethnic groups to decide in which country they wish to live.
- A "general association of nations" to guarantee peace and the independence of all nations.

Not included

Not included

Not included

Germany disarmed and forced to pay reparations of \$53 billion

Germany loses colonies were given to Allied victors.

New countries form democracies based on ethnic groups

League of Nations

Organization of larger nations to maintain world peace

TREATY OF VERSAILLES



• Wilson believed he could "end all war" with his 14 points for world peace.

• But, Allied countries had their own self-interest and agendas in

• Wilson warned Allies not to be too harsh on Germany because it could lead to



XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Strong majority of people favored Treaty
 - July 1919, Lodge had no real hope of defeating it
 - He wanted only to amend it
 - To "Americanize," "Republicanize," or "senatorialize" it
 - To divide public opinion, Lodge read entire 264-page treaty aloud in Senate Foreign Relations Committee and held protracted hearings to air grievances

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Faced with such delaying tactics, Wilson decided to take case to nation:
 - Spectacular speechmaking tour undertaken despite protests of physicians and friends
 - Wilson's frail body began to sag under strains of:
 - Death of first wife in 1914
 - Partisan strife
 - Global war
 - Stressful peace conference

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Tour began September 1919 with lame start in isolationist strongholds of Midwest
- Rocky Mountain region and Pacific Coast welcomed him:
 - High point—and breaking point—of return trip at Pueblo, Colorado, Sept. 25, 1919
 - With tears coursing down, Wilson pleaded for League as only hope of preventing future wars
 - That night he collapsed from physical and nervous exhaustion

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Whisked back to Washington, where several days later he suffered stroke
 - Laid in darkened room in White House for several weeks
 - For more than 7 months, he did not meet cabinet
- Senator Lodge now at helm:
 - Came up with fourteen formal reservations:
 - Reserved rights of United States under Monroe Doctrine and Constitution to protect U.S. sovereignty

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)

- Wilson still strong enough to obstruct:
 - Sent word to all true Democrats to vote *against* treaty with Lodge reservations attached
 - Wilson hoped that when these were cleared away, path would be opened for ratification
 - Loyal Democrats in Senate on November 19, 1919 did Wilson's bidding
 - Combining with “irreconcilables”, they rejected treaty 55 to 39
- Nation deeply shocked by verdict

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)


- In March 1920 treaty brought up again with Lodge reservations tacked on
- Wilson again sent word to loyal Democrats to vote down treaty with obnoxious reservations
- He thus signed death warrant of treaty as far as Americans were concerned
- On March 19, 1920, treaty netted simple majority but failed to get necessary two-thirds majority by count of 49 yeas to 35 nays

XXII. Wilson's Battle for Ratification (cont.)


- Who defeated treaty?:
 - Lodge-Wilson personal feud, traditionalism, isolationism, disillusionment, and partisanship all contributed
 - Wilson must bear substantial share of responsibility
 - He asked for all or nothing—and got nothing

THE SHOWDOWN

Wilson vs Lodge



WILSON



VS LODGE

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • President of Princeton • Democrat • Believed in the League of Nations as the only way to end all war • Would only accept his ideas and not Congress's 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Graduate of Harvard • Republican • Believed League of Nations would take away Congress's power to declare war • Made additions to the League of Nations, Wilson would not accept them
--	--

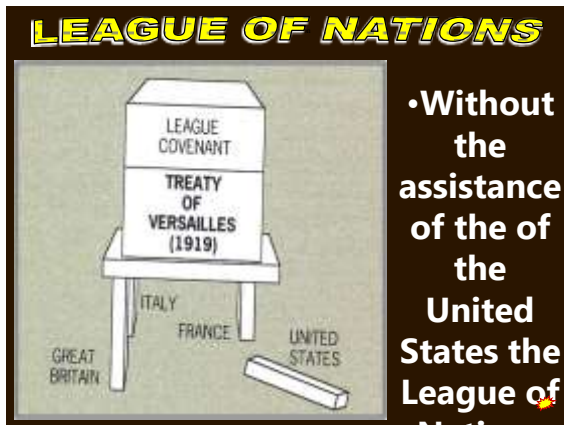
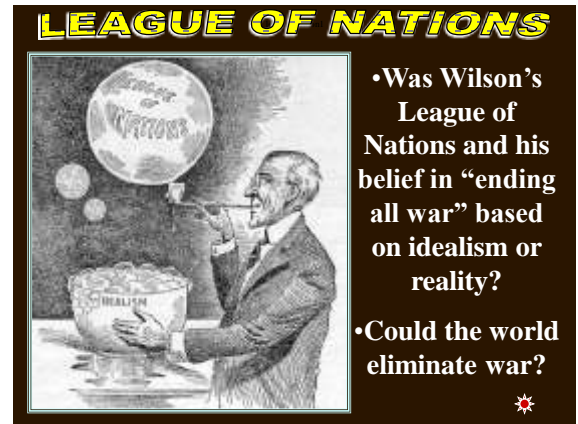
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

ARTICLE 10

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Problems Senator Lodge Had With LON

- Power of Congress to declare war
- Get US involved in a war with no self-interest
- How would it effect the Monroe Doctrine Policy?
- Will the LON guarantee a just and lasting peace?
- Goes against our policy of no “foreign alliances”



POSTWAR ADJUSTMENTS

- Return to a peacetime industry and economy
- War boosted American economy and industry.
- United States became a world power, largest creditor and wealthy nation.
- Soldiers were hero's but found that jobs were scarce.
 - African American soldiers, despite their service returned to find continued discrimination.
- The Lost Generation of men who were killed in WWI.
 - US returned to neutrality and isolation.
- Did not accept the responsibility of a world power that President Wilson believed the US should take on. 🌞

XXIII. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920

- "Solemn Referendum"—Wilson's solution to deadlock Treaty was to decide issue in presidential campaign of 1920
 - Republicans gathered in Chicago, June:
 - Senate bosses decided on Senator Warren G. Harding, Ohio as candidate
 - For vice-president nominated Calvin ("Silent Cal") Coolidge of Massachusetts

XXIII. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920 (cont.)

- Democrats meet in San Francisco:
 - Nominated Governor James M. Cox of Ohio:
 - Strong supporter of League
 - Running mate Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt
 - Democrats attempted to make election a referendum on League
 - Effort muddled by contradictory statements by Harding

XXIII. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920 (cont.)

- Election returns:
 - Newly enfranchised women swelled vote totals
 - Harding had prodigious plurality of over seven million votes—16,143,407 to 9,130,328 for Cox
 - Largest victory margin to date in presidential election
 - Electoral count was 404 to 127
 - Debs, federal prisoner #9653 at Atlanta Penitentiary rolled up largest Socialist vote ever with 919,799

XXIII. The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920 (cont.)

- Public desire for change resulted in repudiation of "high-and-mighty" Wilsonism
 - People eager to go back to "normalcy":
 - Willing to accept second-rate president —
 - Got third-rate one
 - Harding's victory death sentence for League
 - Politicians increasingly shunned League as a leper
 - When Wilson died in 1924—his "great vision" of league for peace had perished long before

XXIV. The Betrayal of Great Expectations

- America's spurning of League short-sighted:
 - Republic had helped to win war, but foolishly kicked fruits of victory under table
 - League undercut by refusal of mightiest power on globe to join it
 - Ultimate failure lay at America's door-step
 - League designed, along with four other peace treaties, to rest upon United States

XXIV. The Betrayal of Great Expectations (cont.)

- Senate spurned Security Treaty with France:
 - France then undertook to build powerful military
 - Thus Germany began to rearm illegally
- United States hurt its own cause when it buried its head in sand
 - U.S. should have assumed war-born responsibilities and embraced role of global leader
 - Should have used its strength to shape world events

CHRONOLOGY

1913	Underwood Tariff Act National Administration Administration Federal Reserve Act Roosevelt taken power in Mexico	1917	Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare Zimmermann note Bathurst placed under federal control United States enters World War I Espionage Act of 1917 Wilson calls for "peace without victory" Koblenz Declaration
1914	Carter Anti-Trust Act Federal Trade Commission established U.S. seizes port of Veracruz, Mexico World War I begins in Europe	1918	Wilson proposes Fourteen Points Sedition Act of 1918 Battle of Clifton Heights Second Battle of the Marne Morse-Agnew election
1915	La Follette Seaman's Act Luskow torpedoed and sunk by German U-boat Germany declares submarine war zone around British Isles	1918-1919	Armistice ends World War I Woodrow Wilson's presidency
1916	Swain administration and pledge U.S. rights to European hegemony rejected Washington's Compensation Act Federal Farm Loan Act Warrenton Act Admission Act Pancho Villa raids New Mexico Roosevelt appointed to Supreme Court John Act Wilson debates Hughes for presidency	1919	Paris Peace Conference and Treaty of Versailles Wilson's post-war vision and collapse Eighteenth Amendment prohibition of alcohol passed First Senate defeat of Versailles Treaty
		1920	Final Senate defeat of Versailles Treaty after reconsideration Nineteenth Amendment women's suffrage passed Rusting debate on foreign policy

p691