CHAPTER 23
WOODROW WILSON AND THE GREAT WAR

The American Nation:
A History of the United States, 13th edition
Carnes/Garraty
Wilson set out to raise the moral tone of American foreign policy by denouncing dollar diplomacy.

- Encouraging bankers to loan money implied the possibility of outside interference if the loans weren’t repaid.
- To seek special economic concessions in Latin America was unfair and degrading and the U.S. should deal with them on terms of equality and honor.

In some small areas, Wilson succeeded.

- Got Japan to modify their 21 Demands on China in 1915.
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- Due to strategic importance of Panama Canal, Wilson was unwilling to tolerate unrest anywhere in the Caribbean
  - The Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1914, which gave the U.S. an option to build a canal across Nicaragua, made that country a virtual American protectorate and preserved the power of dictator Adolfo Díaz
- Missionary diplomacy even more evident in Mexico
1911: a liberal coalition overthrew Mexican ruler Porfirio Díaz, who had been exploiting the country for the benefit of wealthy landowners, clerics, and military men, and installed Francisco Madero in power

- Madero was a wealthy landowner apparently influenced by American progressive movement
- Was committed to economic reform and the drafting of a democratic constitution
- But was weak willed and a terrible administrator; conditions deteriorated rapidly

Shortly before Wilson’s inauguration, Victoriano Huerta had overthrown and murdered Madero
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- Huerta, determined to maintain stability desired by foreign investors, was recognized by European governments.

- The American ambassador, along with important American financial and business interests in Mexico, urged Wilson to do the same.

  - Wilson, horrified by Madero’s murder, refused to do so.
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- Wilson put enormous pressure on Huerta
- April 1914: a small group of American sailors was arrested at Tampico, Mexico
  - Mexican government refused to supply the apology required by the sailors’ commander
  - Wilson used the incident as an excuse to send troops to Mexico
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- American troops invaded Veracruz
- Mexicans resisted, suffering 400 casualties
- Bloodshed caused dismay throughout Latin America
- Huerta abdicated
- August 20, 1914: General Venustiano Carranza entered Mexico City


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Carranza, who favored representative government, soon faced an uprising from a former general—Francisco “Pancho” Villa

Wilson supported Villa, who was little more than a bandit

Carranza, committed to social reform, drove Villa and his supporters into the northern provinces

October 1915: Wilson finally recognized Carranza
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- Early 1916: Pancho Villa and his followers stopped a train in northern Mexico and killed 16 American passengers
- Then Villa crossed into New Mexico and burned the town of Columbus, killing 19
- Wilson dispatched U.S. troops under General John Pershing

TRAINLOAD OF AMERICAN TROOPS ARRIVING IN NEW MEXICO for PUNITIVE EXPEDITION AGAINST VILLA
April 9, 1916 New York Times

Library of Congress, Serials and Government Publications Division,
Washington, D.C. 20540
WILSON’S “MORAL” DIPLOMACY

- Pershing followed Villa deeper and deeper into Mexico
  - Alarmed Carranza, who insisted the Americans withdraw
  - Clashes occurred between Pershing’s men and Mexican regulars
- Early in 1917 Wilson withdrew American troops

AMERICAN TROOPS PURSUING VILLA BANDITS in MEXICAN DESERT, June 4, 1916 New York Times
EUROPE EXPLODES IN WAR

- June 28, 1914: in the Austro-Hungarian provincial capital of Sarajevo, Gavrilo Princip assassinated the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the imperial throne
  - Princip was member of Serbian terrorist Black Hand organization
  - Sought to further the cause of Serbian nationalism
- Within little more than a month, Europe was at war
  - Central Powers: Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Ottoman Turkey
  - Allied Powers: Great Britain, France, and Russia
- Wilson urged Americans to remain neutral in thought
EUROPE EXPLODES IN WAR

Reasons behind U.S. efforts at neutrality:

- Over a third of its 92 million inhabitants were either European-born or the children of European immigrants.
- War was an affront to the prevailing progressive spirit, which assumed human beings were reasonable, high-minded, and capable of settling disputes peaceably.
- Traditional American fear of getting entangled in European affairs.
EUROPE EXPLODES IN WAR

- Most Americans were partial to one side or another
  - People of German or Austrian descent (8 million) and Irish Americans (4.5 million) sympathized with the Central Powers
  - Majority of people, influenced by bonds of language and culture, preferred the Allied Powers
- Americans were outraged when Germans launched a major offensive across neutral Belgium
  - Allies exploited this with exaggerated tales of German atrocities in Belgium
  - German propaganda campaign not very effective
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

- Most important to U.S. were questions arising from trade and commerce
  - Under international law, neutrals could freely trade with belligerents
  - Americans were prevented from doing so by the British fleet’s domination of the North Atlantic
    - British declared nearly all goods, including foods, to be contraband
    - Forced ships into British or French ports to be searched
    - Confiscated goods without payments
    - American firms who traded with Germans were “blacklisted” from trading with the British
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

- If the United States had insisted, as the Germans did, that British stop these practices, they probably would have, especially as they needed American supplies
  - If U.S. insisted on old rules would be siding with Central Powers
  - If U.S. did nothing, then siding with Allies
- Embargo impractical due to increase in U.S. trade with Allies from $825 million in 1914 to $3.2 billion in 1916
- By early 1917, Britain and France had borrowed over $2 billion
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

- Germany was not initially concerned about neutral trade because they expected a quick victory.
- When the war ground to a bloody stalemate, Germans began to challenge allied control of the seas.
  - Resorted to U-boat (submarine).
  - Problem was they could not operate under the ordinary rules of war which required a raider to stop its prey, examine papers and cargo, and give passengers and crew time to get off.
February 1915: Germany declared the waters surrounding the British Isles a zone of war
- Would sink all enemy merchant ships without warning
- Since Allied ships sometimes flew neutral flags, neutral ships would enter area at own risk

Wilson warned the Germans he would hold them to “strict accountability” for any loss of American life or property resulting from violations of neutral rights
- Did not distinguish between loss of Americans on American ships and those on belligerent ships
- If meant to hold Germany responsible for latter then he too was changing international law
FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

- May 17, 1915: German U-boat sank the British liner the *Lusitania* off the Irish coast killing 1,200 people including 128 Americans
  - Wilson demanded Germany disavow the sinking, indemnify the victims, and stop attacking passenger vessels
Germans pointed out they had published warnings in American papers saying they considered the Lusitania subject to attack
- Liner was carrying munitions
- Past voyages had flown an American flag as a ruse
- After a year, Germany apologized and agreed to an indemnity

After the torpedoing of the French channel steamer the Sussex in March 1916, Germany, in the Sussex pledge, agreed to stop sinking merchant ships
U-Boat Campaign, 1914–1918
THE ELECTION OF 1916

- Wilson faced a challenge in 1916
  - Teddy Roosevelt was so incensed at Wilson’s policy, he was ready to support any Republican
  - Progressives were concerned by Wilson’s unwillingness to work for further domestic reforms
- Wilson moved to woo the Progressives in a series of steps that represented a sharp reversal from his positions in 1913
  - January 1916: appointed Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court—first Jewish-American
  - July 1916: signed the Farm Loan Act to provide low-cost loans based on agricultural credit
  - Approved Keating-Owen Child Labor Act barring goods manufactured by the labor of children under 16 from interstate commerce
  - Persuaded Congress to pass the Adamson Act establishing an 8 hour day for railroad workers
  - Approved the creation of a tariff commission
THE ELECTION OF 1916

- Republicans ran Associate Justice Charles Evans Hughes
  - Supported by Roosevelt
  - Progressive Party supported but many of Roosevelt’s 1912 supporters felt betrayed and voted for Wilson
- Key issue in the campaign was American policy to warring powers
  - Democratic slogan: “He Kept Us Out of War”
  - Hughes was stiff and a poor speaker
- Evans led originally but late returns gave Wilson California and the election with 277 electoral votes to 254 and a popular vote of 9.1 to 8.5 million
THE ROAD TO WAR

- In 1915 and 1916 Wilson had sent his good friend Colonel House to Europe on fruitless secret missions to try to mediate.
- After election made one last attempt to mediate.
  - Germans had stopped sinking merchant ships while British were increasingly annoying with their restrictions on neutral shipping.
  - No one responded encouragingly.
- January 22, 1917: Wilson called for “peace without victory” based on the principles that all nations were equal and that every nationality should determine its own form of government.
Germans had decided to abandon Sussex pledge as of February 1, 1917

- Had more than 100 U-boats and were convinced they could starve the British into submission and reduce military effectiveness by denying American supplies to the Allies
- Believed would be able to defeat Allies before Americans could get troops in field
THE ROAD TO WAR

- February 3: *Housatonic* torpedoed and Wilson severs diplomatic relations with Germany
- February 24: Zimmerman Telegram, an intercepted German dispatch revealing Germany’s plan of a secret alliance with Mexico (offered to give them back land taken by U.S.), was transmitted to State Department
- February 25: Cunard liner *Laconia* torpedoed and two American women die
- February 26: Wilson asks Congress for permission to arm American merchant vessels
- March 1: Zimmerman Telegram released to the press
THE ROAD TO WAR

■ March 4: Wilson inaugurated and Congress adjourns after letting a filibuster defeat the armed ship bill
■ March 9: Wilson uses executive powers to order the arming of merchant vessels
■ March 12: Revolutionary Provisional Government established in Russia and Algonquin torpedoed
■ March 15: Czar Nicholas II abdicates
■ March 16: City of Memphis, Illinois, Vigilancia torpedoed
THE ROAD TO WAR

- March 21: *New York World* calls for a declaration of war on Germany and Wilson calls Congress to convene for special session on April 2
- March 25: Wilson calls up National Guard
- April 2: Wilson asks Congress to declare War on Germany because America must fight to make the world safe for democracy
- April 4, 6: Congress declares war
  - Senate: 82-6
  - House 373-50
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

- U.S. entry into WWI determined its outcome
  - Allies running out of money and supplies
  - Troops were decimated by three years of fighting, exhausted, disheartened and rebellious
  - February and March 1917: U-boats sent over a million tons of Allied shipping to bottom of ocean
  - Outbreak of Russian Revolution in March 1917 led to Bolshevik takeover and withdrawal of Russian armies which allowed Germans to transfer men and equipment to France
- American men and supplies helped contain the Germans’ last drives and push them back to defeat
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

- American industry converted to war production without much coordination
  - Confusion and waste
  - Shipbuilding total fiasco with Hog Island yard employing 34,000 men and producing its first ship after the end of the war
  - Airplane, tank, and artillery production programs developed too slowly to affect the war
  - Big guns were made in Britain and France
  - Of the 8.8 million rounds of artillery ammunition used by American troops only 8,000 were manufactured in the U.S.
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

- Congress authorized the manufacture of 20,000 planes; only a few of which made it to France
  - Mostly flew British or French planes
  - Theodore Roosevelt’s son Quentin was shot down in July 1918
- Took Congress six weeks of debate to decide on conscription
  - First draftees did not reach training camps until September 1917
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

- War Industries Board (WIB)
  - Allocate scarce materials
  - Standardize production
  - Fix prices
  - Coordinate American and Allied purchasing

- Antitrust laws were suspended and producers were encouraged to cooperate with one another

- When railroad efficiency dropped, Wilson appointed William McAdoo director-general of the railroads with power to run them as a single system
  - Pooled all equipment, standardized accounting practices, centralized purchasing and raised wages and passenger rates
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

- Army resisted cooperating with civilian institutions until Wilson compelled the War Department to place officers on the WIB committees
  - Created basis for military-industrial complex
- More successful in mobilizing agriculture
  - Important because in April 1917 the British had only a 6 week supply of food
  - Herbert Hoover was appointed food administrator
MOBILIZING THE ECONOMY

Hoover under Lever Act of 1917

- set price of wheat at $2.20 to encourage production
- established a government corporation to purchase the entire American and Cuban sugar crop
- Organized a campaign to persuade consumers to conserve food voluntarily
  - Public responded patriotically
  - In Chicago, garbage declined from 12,862 tons to 8,386 tons per month
- U.S. increased food exports from 12.3 to 18.6 million tons
- Farmers saw real income increase nearly 30 percent from 1915 to 1918
WORKERS IN WARTIME

- Unemployment disappeared and wages rose, although those on fixed incomes were hurt by rising cost of living
- Many Americans moved to take advantage of new opportunities
- Government regulated the wages and hours of workers building army camps and manufacturing uniforms
- April 1918: Wilson created the National War Labor Board, headed by William Howard Taft and Frank Walsh, to settle labor disputes
  - Considered more than 1,200 cases and prevented many strikes
WORKERS IN WARTIME

- War Labor Policies Board, chaired by Felix Frankfurter, set wages-and-hours standards for each major war industry
  - Determined in consultation with employers and representatives of labor
  - Speeded the unionization of workers by compelling management to deal with labor leaders
  - Union membership rose to 2.3 million
- Wartime emergency roused public against strikers
- Wages of unskilled workers in steel industry more than doubled
  - Thousands of southern blacks fled to steel towns
  - Union organizers made inroads in many plants
  - By the summer of 1918 were preparing an all out effort to unionize the industry
PAYING FOR THE WAR

- WWI cost the U.S. $33.5 billion not counting pensions and other postwar expenses
  - About $7 billion of this was loaned to allies, who then spent it in U.S. contributing to prosperity
- Two thirds of cost of war was met by borrowing
  - Five Liberty and Victory Loan drives were spurred by advertising, parades and other appeals
  - Industrialists conducted campaigns in their plants
- Collected $10.5 billion in taxes during the war
  - Steeply graduated income tax took more than 75 percent of incomes of wealthy
  - Also had 65 percent excess profits tax and 25 percent inheritance tax
- Americans contributed generously to philanthropic agencies
  - United War Work Council raised over $200 million in 1918
April 1917: Committee on Public Information (CPI) headed by journalist George Creel

- 75,000 speakers deluged country with propaganda prepared by hundreds of CPI writers
- Pictured war as a crusade for freedom and democracy
- Germans were portrayed as a bestial people bent on world domination

Most people supported war but some did not:
- German and Irish-Americans
- People of pacifist leanings like Jane Addams
- Some who thought both sides were wrong
PROPAGANDA AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

- Public reacted badly to resisters
  - Those who did not buy war bonds were often exposed to public ridicule and assault
  - Those with German names were persecuted
  - Some school boards outlawed teaching of German language
  - Sauerkraut was renamed liberty cabbage
  - Opponents of the war were subjected to abuse

- Espionage Act of 1917
  - Imposed fines of up to $10,000 and jail sentences ranging up to twenty years on persons convicted of aiding the enemy or obstructing recruiting
  - Postmaster general could ban from the mails any material that seemed treasonable or seditious
Sedition Act of May 1918:

- Made saying anything to discourage the purchase of war bonds a crime though investment counselors could still offer bona fide advice to clients
- Illegal to utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the government, the Constitution or the uniform of the army or navy
  - Socialist periodicals were suppressed
  - Eugene Debs was sentenced to 10 years of prison for making and anti-war speech
- Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Espionage Act in Schenck v. United States (1919)
  - When there is a “clear and present danger” that a particular statement would threaten the national interest, it can be repressed by law
- Wartime repression exceeded anything that happened in Great Britain and France
WARTIME REFORMS

- American mobilization was part of the progressive era and established the precedents for the actions during the war
  - People with complex skills entered government service en masse
  - Federal government for the first time actively entered fields such as housing and labor relations
- Many progressives believed the war was creating a sense of common purpose that would stimulate people to act unselfishly
  - Women’s suffrage (19th Amendment) and temperance (18th Amendment) were brought to fruition
  - Reformers talked about health insurance, worked against prostitution and venereal disease
WOMEN AND BLACKS IN WARTIME

- Most feminists supported the war
  - Moved by patriotism
  - Believed that opposition would doom hopes of getting the vote
  - Expected war would open up high paying jobs to women
    - About a million women replaced men in uniform but the numbers engaged in war industries were small and when war was over those in industrial positions either left voluntarily or were fired
    - Some women went overseas as nurses, ambulance drivers, and YMCA workers
- Women in Industry Service in the Department of Labor and a Women’s Committee of the Council of National Defense were little more than window dressing
  - Few women war workers were paid as much as men
  - Were promoted more slowly than men
  - Were not accepted by unions
  - Were discharged promptly when the war ended
WOMEN AND BLACKS IN WARTIME

Great Migration of blacks to northern cities

- 1870 – 1890: only about 80,000 blacks moved to northern cities
- 1890 – 1910: another 200,000 migrated north
- 1914 – 1919: 500,000 African-Americans headed north
  - Black population in New York City rose from 92,000 to 152,000
  - Chicago went from 44,000 to 109,000
  - Detroit from 5,700 to 41,000
WOMEN AND BLACKS IN WARTIME

- Life was difficult for black migrants who were resented by white workers as strikebreakers while not being allowed to join unions
  - Summer 1917: race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois killed 9 whites and a number of blacks
- Those who moved north were better off than those who remained in the South
  - Could vote
  - Could send their children to school
  - Within limits, could do and say what they pleased
- Two black regiments were in the regular army and a number of black national guard units were brought up to combat strength
- Initially no blacks were conscripted due to Southern fears
- When they were drafted, it was in a larger proportion
WOMEN AND BLACKS IN WARTIME

- After black soldiers rioted in Texas, killing 17 white civilians, black recruits were dispersed among training camps
- All blacks were placed in segregated units
  - Only a few were commissioned officers
  - Most were assigned to labor battalions
  - About 200,000 served overseas
- There were black Red Cross workers in France
- Some blacks held relatively high posts in government agencies
- W.E.B. Du Bois supported the war and was criticized by some blacks for accommodationism
- Many blacks saw the war as an opportunity to demonstrate their patriotism and prove their worth
AMERICANS: To the Trenches and Over the Top

- April 1917: German submarines sank more than 870,000 tons of Allied shipping
- After April 1918, monthly losses never reached more than 300,000 tons as a result of convoying merchant ships with destroyers
  - Had to check sinking in order to convey troops—some 2 million
- July 1917: First units of American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) reached Paris and had taken up positions around Verdun by October
- “Doughboys” did not play a significant role until 1918, though their presence boosted Allied morale
AMERICANS: To the Trenches and Over the Top

- U.S. was an associated power and American troops were not integrated with those of the Allies
- March 1918: Germans launched a great spring offensive and had reached the Marne River, 50 miles from Paris, by May
  - In early June the AEF drove them back from Chateau Thierry and Belleau Wood
  - 85,000 Americans confronted Germans when they advanced on Marne in July
- Allied armies counterattacked (some 270,000 Americans participated) and by late August, 500,000 Americans were poised to take Saint-Mihiel, which they did in September
AMERICANS: To the Trenches and Over the Top

The final push

- September through October: 1.2 million Americans drove through the Argonne forest
- French and British forces engaged in similar drives
- AEF suffered 120,000 casualties
- November 1: AEF broke the German center
- November 11: Germans signed the armistice

Deaths of Armed Forces in the Great War

- Germany: 1.8 Million
- Russia: 1.7 Million
- France: 1.36 Million
- Austria-Hungary: 1.2 Million
- British Commonwealth: 908,000
- Italy: 650,000
- Turkey: 325,000
- United States: 116,516
PREPARING FOR PEACE

Fourteen Points Speech (January 8, 1918): Wilson outlined a plan to reshape the post war world

Peace should
- Be negotiated in the open not in secret
- Guarantee freedom of the seas
- Tear down barriers to international trade
- Provide for a drastic reduction of armaments
- Establish a colonial system that would take proper account of the interests of the native people concerned
- Redraw European boundaries so that no substantial group would have to live under a government not of its own choosing
PREPARING FOR PEACE

In addition
- Captured Russian territory should be restored
- Belgium evacuated
- Alsace-Lorraine returned to France
- The heterogeneous nationalities of Austria-Hungary accorded autonomy
- Italy’s frontiers should be aligned along clearly recognized lines of nationality
- The Balkans made free
- Turkey divested of its subject peoples
- An independent Polish state (with access to the Baltic Sea) created
- Finally, a general association of nations should be formed
There were problems with Wilson’s vision

■ Complete self-determination was impossible in Europe
■ Self-determination fostered a spirit of nationalism that undermined vision of international organization
■ Allies had made territorial commitments to each other in secret treaties that ran counter to the principle of self-determination
■ Allies were not ready to give up claims to Germany’s colonies
■ British refused to accept freedom of seas in wartime
■ Almost every Allied country had significant numbers that rejected the idea of peace without indemnities
Wilson believed the practical benefits of his plan would cause others to fall in line but he suffered from a tendency to be overbearing and unwilling to compromise.

- Did use 14 Points to get German people to overthrow Kaiser Wilhelm II and sue for peace.
- Sent Colonel House to Europe to get Allies to accept 14 Points as the basis for peace.

Under the armistice, Germany had to withdraw behind the Rhine River and surrender its submarines, together with quantities of munitions and other materials in return for Allied assurances that Wilsonian principles would prevail at the Paris peace conference.
Wilson decided to personally lead the United States Peace Commission to the conference at Versailles.

Turned his back on domestic problems:
- Western farmers felt they had been discriminated against during the war since wheat prices had been controlled but cotton prices had not been.
- Tax program had angered many businessmen.
- Labor was restive in the face of reconversion to peacetime.

Wilson had also made a partisan appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress in 1918, angering many Republicans who had been very supportive during the war.
Wilson arrived in Europe a world hero
- Toured Italy, England and France
- Was greeted by large, enthusiastic crowds, convincing him he had their support for his policies

Conference became dominated by the Big Four
- Georges Clemenceau, France
- David Lloyd George, Great Britain
- Vittorio Orlando, Italy
- Woodrow Wilson
Clemenceau’s only concern was French security
- Viewed Wilson cynically
Lloyd George sympathized with Wilson but found him too preachy
Orlando was a believer in international cooperation but inflexible when it came to Italian interests
- Left when failed to get concessions he desired
THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE VERSAILLES TREATY

- Conference worked from January to May 1919 to produce the Versailles Treaty
- Failed to carry out principle of self-determination
  - Italy got a large section of the Austrian Tyrol although it contained some 20,000 people who considered themselves Austrian
  - Other German-speaking peoples were incorporated into the new states of Czechoslovakia and Poland

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, December 31, 1919 New York Times
The Paris Peace Conference and the Versailles Treaty

- Germany was forced to accept responsibility for the war and agree to pay all damage to civilian properties, future pensions and other indirect costs of the war—$33 billion
- Treaty only addressed German imperialism
- Created a great power entente designed to crush Germany and exclude Bolshevik Russia
- Said nothing about freedom of the seas, reduction of tariffs, or disarmament
- Wilson, despite previous statements, deleted explicit references to self-determination
  - Arabs who had been promised autonomy from the Ottomans were unhappy
  - Ho Chi Minh, a Vietnamese nationalist, was so embittered he decided to become communist
Europe Before the Great War

Europe After the Great War
Many felt the treaty betrayed the 14 points, but it had its good points:

- New map of Europe left fewer people on “foreign” soil than any previous time in history.
- While Allies seized German colonies, they were required to give the League of Nations an annual account of their stewardship and to prepare the inhabitants for eventual independence.
- Wilson had persuaded the other powers to agree to a League of Nations, which he expected would make up for all the inadequacies of the treaty:
  - League would arbitrate international disputes
  - Act as central body for registering treaties
  - Employ military and economic sanctions against aggressor nations
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- When Wilson returned from France, he sought to win public approval for the treaty
  - Majority of the people probably favored the treaty in principle
  - Wilson had gotten Allies to make changes to mollify American opinion
    - No nation could be forced to accept a colonial “mandate”
    - “Domestic questions” such as tariffs, control of immigration, and the Monroe Doctrine were excluded from League control
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- Many Senators were still unhappy
  - 37 Republicans, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, opposed the League and wanted it separated from the question of peace with Germany
  - Wilson refused to make any additional alterations
- Republicans, excluded from the treaty negotiations, were additionally unhappy due to
  - Fear of sacrifice of U.S. sovereignty
  - Dislike of Wilson
- Yet many appreciated the noble principles of the League and wanted to end the war (which required approving the treaty and the League)
- Wilson could count on the Democrats but needed some Republicans to get necessary two-thirds majority to pass the treaty
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Republicans were divided into three camps
1. “Irreconcilables,” about a dozen led by William E. Borah of Idaho, who were isolationists
2. “Mild Reservationists,” about a dozen, who were in favor of the League but hoped to alter it in minor ways
3. “Strong Reservationists” who were willing to go along with the League only if American sovereignty were fully protected and if it was clear Republicans had played a major role in refashioning the treaty
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- Senator Lodge was leader of the Republican opposition
  - Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee
  - Had little faith in the League
  - Had a profound distrust of Democrats, especially Wilson, whom he disliked

- Lodge Reservations—14
  - Limited U.S. obligations to the League and gave power to Congress to determine when to honor these obligations
  - U.S. would not endorse Japan’s seizure of Chinese territory
  - Made Article 10 inoperable in case of U.S.

- Lodge united Republicans behind his reservations
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- Wilson refused to compromise
  - Hatred of Lodge
  - Faith in the League
  - Physical condition in 1919—increased stubbornness and loss of good judgment
- Wilson launched speaking tour in early September to rally support, traveling 10,000 miles and giving 40 speeches
  - September 25: in Pueblo, Colorado, Wilson collapsed
  - Returned to Washington where suffered a severe stroke several days later that partially paralyzed his left side
THE SENATE REJECTS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

- Public opinion began to shift
  - Organized groups of Italian-, Irish-, and German-Americans were angered by unfair treatment and demanded rejection
  - Arguments of irreconcilables persuaded many citizens that Wilson had made too sharp a break with America’s isolationist past and the Lodge Reservations were necessary
  - Public preoccupied with issues connected to the re-conversion of society to a peacetime mode
- Wilson failed to form a coalition of Democratic and moderate Republican senators while Lodge got the majority needed to attach reservations to treaty
  - Wilson urged Democrats to vote against amended treaty on November 19 and it failed
  - When un-amended treaty came for vote, it too failed
  - Friends of the League forced another vote in early 1920; but since neither side would budge, it still did not pass
DEMOBILIZATION

- At end of war, government abruptly stopped regulation of economy
- Demobilization of the army poured millions of men into job market without plan
- In 1919, business boomed as consumers spent wartime savings on cars, homes, and other goods that had been in short supply during the conflict
  - Inflation
  - By 1920 the cost of living was twice the level of 1913
Inflation produced labor trouble
- Unions struck for higher wages
- Over 4 million workers (1 out of 5 in the labor force) were on strike at some point in 1919

Major economic decline in 1920
- July 1920 – March 1922: prices, especially agricultural ones, declined precipitously
- Unemployment soared
THE RED SCARE

- Activities of radicals in labor movement led many Americans to associate unionism and strikes with the threat of communist world revolution
  - Worried that even a handful of communists could overthrow the government
  - Did not distinguish between communists and socialists
- Fears encouraged by radical William Z. Foster’s drive to organize the steel industry
  - September 1919: 343,000 steelworkers walked off the job and violence marred the strike
  - Same month the Boston police went on strike and looting and fighting followed, only stopped by the National Guard
THE RED SCARE

- During same time period, handful of anarchists attempted to murder various prominent persons—John D. Rockefeller, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer
- Americans lumped all radicals together
  - Most were not American citizens
  - New enemy was immigrant, usually Italian, Jew or Slav, and usually an industrial worker
- August 1919: Palmer established within the Department of Justice the General Intelligence Division, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, to collect information about clandestine radical activities
THE RED SCARE

- November: Justice Department agents in a dozen cities raided places of Union of Russian Workers and arrested 650 people, though only 43 were deported.
- Public reaction encouraged Palmer to obtain 3,000 warrants which were exercised on January 2, 1920, in 33 cities.
  - 6,000 persons were arrested.
  - Gradually protests emerged from lawyers and liberal magazines and then a wider segment of population.
  - Of the 6,000 seized, only 556 were liable for deportation.
- After Palmer warned of a May Day terrorist attack that failed to appear, the red scare subsided.
THE ELECTION OF 1920

- Wilson tried to make the election a referendum on the League
  - Democrats nominated James M. Cox of Ohio
  - Republicans nominated Warren G. Harding also of Ohio
- Harding won with 16.1 million to 9.1 million popular votes
- July 1921: Congress ended the war with the Central Powers by joint resolution
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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| 1914 | United States invades Veracruz, Mexico  
Great War begins in Europe |
| 1915 | German U-boat torpedoes *Lusitania*  
United States recognizes Carranza government in Mexico |
| 1916 | Wilson appoints Louis D. Brandeis to Supreme Court  
Adamson Act gives railroad workers 8-hour day  
“Pancho” Villa burns Columbus, New Mexico  
Wilson is reelected president |
| 1917 | Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare  
Russian Revolution begins  
United States declares war on Central Powers  
Herbert Hoover is named food administrator  
Bernard Baruch heads War Industries Board  
Former President Taft heads War Labor Board |
| 1918 | Sedition Act limits freedom of speech  
Wilson announces Fourteen Points  
Republicans gain control of both houses of Congress  
Armistice ends the Great War |
| 1918-1919 | Flu epidemic kills 600,000 Americans |
| 1919 | Steel workers strike  
Red Scare culminates in Palmer raids  
Big Four meet at Paris Peace Conference  
Senate rejects Versailles Treaty and League of Nations  
Wilson wins Nobel Peace Prize, suffers massive stroke |
| 1920 | Senate again rejects Versailles Treaty and League of Nations  
Warren Harding is elected president |
WEBSITES

- Woodrow Wilson
  http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/wwilson.html
- The Flu Epidemic of 1918
  http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/influenza
- American Leaders Speak: Recordings from World War I and the 1920 Election
  http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/nfhtml
- The Great Migration in Chicago
  http://lcweb.loc.gov/exhibits/african/afam011.html
- World War I Document Archives
  http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/wwi
- World War I: Trenches on the Web
  http://www.worldwar1.com