World War I and Its Aftermath

1914–1920

Why It Matters
The United States reluctantly entered World War I after German submarines violated American neutrality. After the war ended, President Wilson supported the Treaty of Versailles, believing its terms would prevent another war. The U.S. Senate, however, rejected the treaty. It did not want the country to be tied to European obligations. Instead, Americans turned their attention to the difficult adjustment to peacetime.

The Impact Today
The experience of World War I had a long-term effect on American history.
• The United States continues to be involved in European affairs.
• The horrors of the conflict helped reshape how people view warfare.

The American Republic Since 1877 Video The Chapter 14 video, “Cousins: Royalty and World War I,” explains how royal marriages and complex political alliances contributed to the outbreak of war in Europe.
American soldiers in the 23rd Infantry fire on German positions in the Argonne Forest.

1918
- Congress passes Sedition Act
- Battle of Argonne Forest begins in September
- Armistice ends fighting on November 11

1919
- Treaty of Versailles conference begins
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk ends Russian-German war
- Race riots and strikes take place in Northern cities
- Red Scare and Palmer raids target Communists in the U.S.

1920
- British government creates the Northern Ireland province

1921
- Irish Free State established by signed treaty

HISTORY Online
Visit the American Republic Since 1877 Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on Chapter Overviews—Chapter 14 to preview chapter information.
Main Idea
Although the United States tried to remain neutral, events soon pushed the nation into World War I.

Key Terms and Names
Pancho Villa, guerrilla, nationalism, self-determination, Franz Ferdinand, Allies, Central Powers, propaganda, contraband, U-boat, Sussex Pledge, Zimmermann telegram

Reading Strategy
Organizing As you read about the start of World War I, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one below by identifying the factors that contributed to the conflict.

Reading Objectives
• Discuss the causes and results of American intervention in Mexico and the Caribbean.
• Explain the causes of World War I and why the United States entered the war.

Section Theme
Continuity and Change Ties with the British influenced American leaders to enter World War I on the side of the Allies.

Although the United States tried to remain neutral, events soon pushed the nation into World War I. Events such as the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria in June 1914 and the outbreak of World War I in July 1914 created a new sense of urgency for American foreign policy. President Woodrow Wilson resolved to “strike a new note in international affairs” and to see that “sheer honesty and even unselfishness...should prevail over nationalistic self-seeking in American foreign policy.” Wilson strongly opposed imperialism. He also

An American Story
Edith O’Shaughnessy could not sleep on the rainy night of April 20, 1914. Living at the American embassy in Mexico City, the wife of diplomat Nelson O’Shaughnessy was well aware of the growing crisis between Mexico and the United States. Earlier that day, President Wilson had asked Congress to authorize the use of force against Mexico. In her diary, O’Shaughnessy described the tensions in the Mexican capital:

“I can’t sleep. National and personal potentialities [possibilities] are surging through my brain. Three stalwart railroad men came to the Embassy this evening. They brought reports of a plan for the massacre of Americans in the street to-night, but, strange and wonderful thing, a heavy rain is falling. . . . Rain is as potent as shell-fire in clearing the streets, and I don’t think there will be any trouble.”

The next day, O’Shaughnessy reported that the conflict had begun: “We are in Mexico, in full intervention! . . . Marines are due to-day in Vera Cruz. . . .”

—adapted from A Diplomat’s Wife in Mexico

Woodrow Wilson’s Diplomacy
As president, Wilson resolved to “strike a new note in international affairs” and to see that “sheer honesty and even unselfishness...should prevail over nationalistic self-seeking in American foreign policy.” Wilson strongly opposed imperialism. He also
believed that democracy was essential to a nation’s stability and prosperity, and that the United States should promote democracy in order to ensure a peaceful world free of revolution and war. During Wilson’s presidency, however, other forces at work at home and abroad frustrated his hope to lead the world by moral example. In fact, Wilson’s first international crisis was awaiting him when he took office in March 1913.

**The Mexican Revolution**  From 1884 to 1911, a dictator, Porfirio Díaz, ruled Mexico. Díaz encouraged foreign investment in Mexico to help develop the nation’s industry. A few wealthy landowners dominated Mexican society. The majority of the people were poor and landless, and they were increasingly frustrated by their circumstances. In 1911 a revolution erupted, forcing Díaz to flee the country.

Francisco Madero, a reformer who appeared to support democracy, constitutional government, and land reform, replaced Díaz. Madero, however, proved to be an unskilled administrator. Frustrated with Mexico’s continued decline, army officers plotted against Madero. Shortly before Wilson took office, General **Victoriano Huerta** seized power in Mexico, and Madero was murdered—presumably on Huerta’s orders.

Huerta’s brutality repulsed Wilson, who refused to recognize the new government. Wilson was convinced that without the support of the United States, Huerta soon would be overthrown. Wilson therefore tried to prevent weapons from reaching Huerta, and he permitted Americans to arm other political factions within Mexico.

**Wilson Sends Troops Into Mexico**  In April 1914, American sailors visiting the city of Tampico were arrested after entering a restricted area. Though they were quickly released, their American commander demanded an apology. The Mexicans refused. Wilson used the refusal as an opportunity to overthrow Huerta. He sent marines to seize the Mexican port of Veracruz.

Although the president expected the Mexican people to welcome his action, anti-American riots broke out in Mexico. Wilson then accepted international mediation to settle the dispute. Venustiano Carranza, whose forces had acquired arms from the United States, became Mexico’s president.

Mexican forces opposed to Carranza were not appeased, and they conducted raids into the United States hoping to force Wilson to intervene. **Pancho Villa** (VEE-yah) led a group of **guerrillas**—an armed band that uses surprise attacks and sabotage rather than open warfare—that burned the town of Columbus, New Mexico, and killed a number of Americans. Wilson responded by sending more than 6,000 U.S. troops under General **John J. Pershing** across the border to find and capture Villa. The expedition dragged on as Pershing failed to capture the guerrillas. Wilson’s growing concern over the war raging in Europe finally caused him to recall Pershing’s troops in 1917.

Wilson’s Mexican policy damaged U.S. foreign relations. The British ridiculed the president’s attempt to “shoot the Mexicans into self-government.” Latin Americans regarded his “moral imperialism” as no improvement on Theodore Roosevelt’s “big stick” diplomacy. In fact, Wilson followed Roosevelt’s example in the Caribbean. During his first term, Wilson sent marines into Nicaragua, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic to preserve order and to set up governments that he hoped would be more stable and democratic than the current regimes.

**Reading Check**  Why did President Wilson intervene in Mexico?

**The Outbreak of World War I**

Despite more than 40 years of general peace, tensions among European nations were building in 1914. Throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, a number
of factors created problems among the powers of Europe and set the stage for a monumental war.

**The Alliance System** The roots of World War I date back to the 1860s. In 1864, while Americans fought the Civil War, the German kingdom of Prussia launched the first of a series of wars to unite the various German states into one nation. By 1871 Prussia had united Germany and proclaimed the birth of the German Empire. The new German nation rapidly industrialized and quickly became one of the most powerful nations in the world.

The creation of Germany transformed European politics. In 1870, as part of their plan to unify Germany, the Prussians had attacked and defeated France. They then forced the French to give up territory along the German border. From that point forward, France and Germany were enemies. To protect itself, Germany signed alliances with Italy and with Austria-Hungary, a huge empire that controlled much of southeastern Europe. This became known as the **Triple Alliance**.

The new alliance alarmed Russian leaders, who feared that Germany intended to expand eastward into Russia. Russia and Austria-Hungary were also competing for influence in southeastern Europe. Many of the people of southeastern Europe were Slavs—the same ethnic group as the Russians—and the Russians wanted to support them against Austria-Hungary. As a result, Russia and France had a common interest in opposing Germany and Austria-Hungary. In 1894 they signed the Franco-Russian Alliance.

**The Naval Race** While the other major powers of Europe divided into competing alliances, Great Britain remained neutral. Then, in 1898, the Germans began to build a navy challenging Great Britain’s historical dominance at sea. By the early 1900s, an arms race had begun between Great Britain and Germany, as both sides raced to build warships. The naval race greatly increased tensions between Germany and Britain and convinced the British to establish closer relations with France and Russia. The British refused to sign a formal alliance, so their new relationship with the French and Russians became known as an “entente cordiale”—a friendly understanding. Britain, France, and Russia became known as the **Triple Entente**.

**The Balkan Crisis** By the late 1800s, nationalism, or a feeling of intense pride of one’s homeland, had become a powerful idea in Europe. Nationalists placed primary emphasis on promoting their homeland’s culture and interests above those of other countries. Nationalism was one of the reasons for the tensions among the European powers. Each nation viewed the others as competitors, and many people were willing to go to war to expand their nation at the expense of others.

One of the basic ideas of nationalism is the right to self-determination—the idea that people who belong to a nation should have their own country and government. In the 1800s, nationalism led to a crisis in southeastern Europe in the region known as the **Balkans**. Historically, the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire had ruled the Balkans. Both of these empires were made up of many different nations. As nationalism became a powerful force in the 1800s, the different national groups within these empires began to press for independence.

Among the groups pushing for independence were the Serbs, Bosnians, Croats, and Slovenes. These people all spoke similar languages and had come to see themselves as one people. They called themselves South Slavs, or Yugoslavs. The first of these people to obtain independence were the Serbs, who formed a nation called Serbia between the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. Serbs believed their nation’s mission was to unite the South Slavs.

Russia supported the Serbs, while Austria-Hungary did what it could to limit Serbia’s growth. In 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia, which at the time belonged to the Ottoman Empire. The Serbs were furious. They wanted Bosnia to be part of their nation. The annexation demonstrated to the Serbs that Austria-Hungary had no intention of letting the Slavic people in its empire become independent.

**A Continent Goes to War** In late June 1914, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, visited the Bosnian capital.
of Sarajevo. As he and his wife rode through the city, a Bosnian revolutionary named Gavrilo Princip rushed their open car and shot the couple to death. The assassin was a member of a Serbian nationalist group nicknamed the “Black Hand.” The assassination took place with the knowledge of Serbian officials who hoped to start a war that would bring down the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Austro-Hungarian government blamed Serbia for the attack and decided the time had come to crush Serbia in order to prevent Slavic nationalism from undermining its empire. Knowing an
attack on Serbia might trigger a war with Russia, the Austrians asked their German allies for support. Germany promised to support Austria-Hungary if war erupted.

Austria-Hungary then issued an ultimatum to the Serbian government. The Serbs counted on Russia to back them up, and the Russians, in turn, counted on France. French leaders were worried that they might someday be caught alone in a war with Germany, so they were determined to keep Russia as an ally. They promised to support Russia if war began.

On July 28, Austria declared war on Serbia. Russia immediately mobilized its army, including troops stationed on the German border. On August 1, Germany declared war on Russia. Two days later, it declared war on France. World War I had begun.

**Germany’s Plan Fails** Germany had long been prepared for war against France and Russia. It immediately launched a massive invasion of France, hoping to knock the French out of the war. It would then be able to send its troops east to deal with the Russians.

The German plan had one major problem. It required the German forces to advance through neutral Belgium in order to encircle the French troops. The British had guaranteed Belgium’s neutrality. When German troops crossed the Belgian frontier, Britain declared war on Germany.

Those fighting for the Triple Entente were called the **Allies.** France, Russia, and Great Britain formed the backbone of the Allies along with Italy, which joined them in 1915 after the other Allies promised to cede Austro-Hungarian territory to Italy after the war. What remained of the Triple Alliance—Germany and Austria-Hungary—joined with the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria to form the **Central Powers.**

The German plan seemed to work at first. German troops swept through Belgium and headed into France, driving back the French and British forces. Then, to the great surprise of the Germans, Russian troops invaded Germany. The Germans had not expected Russia to mobilize so quickly. They were forced to pull some of their troops away from the attack on France and send them east to stop the Russians. This weakened the German forces just enough to give the Allies a chance to stop them. The Germans drove to within 30 miles (48 km) of Paris, but stubborn resistance by British and French troops at the Battle of the Marne finally stopped the German advance. Because the swift German attack had failed to defeat the French, both sides became locked in a bloody stalemate along hundreds of miles of trenches that would barely change position for the next three years.

The Central Powers had greater success on the Eastern Front. German and Austrian forces stopped the Russian attack and then went on the offensive. They swept across hundreds of miles of territory and took hundreds of thousands of prisoners. Russia suffered 2 million killed, wounded, or captured in 1915 alone, but it kept fighting.

**Explaining** What incident triggered the beginning of World War I?

**American Neutrality**

When the fighting began, President Wilson declared the United States to be neutral in an attempt to keep the
country from being drawn into a foreign war. “We must be impartial in thought as well as in action,” Wilson stated. For many Americans, however, that proved difficult to do.

**Americans Take Sides** Despite the president’s plea, many Americans showed support for one side or the other. This was especially true for recent immigrants from Europe. Many of the 8 million German Americans, for example, supported their homeland. The nation’s 4.5 million Irish Americans, whose homeland endured centuries of British rule, also sympathized with the Central Powers.

In general, though, American public opinion favored the Allied cause. Many Americans valued the heritage, language, and political ideals they shared with Britain. Others treasured America’s historic links with France, a great friend to America during the Revolutionary War.

**Pro-British Sentiment** One select group of Americans was decidedly pro-British: President Wilson’s cabinet. Only Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan favored neutrality. The other cabinet members, as well as Bryan’s chief adviser, Robert Lansing, and Walter Hines Page, the American ambassador to London, argued forcefully on behalf of Britain. American military leaders also backed the British. They believed that an Allied victory was the only way to preserve the international balance of power.

British officials worked diligently to win American support. One method they used was *propaganda*, or information designed to influence opinion. Both the Allies and the Central Powers used propaganda, but German propaganda was mostly anti-Russian and did not appeal to most Americans. British propaganda, on the other hand, was extremely skillful. Furthermore, Britain cut the transatlantic telegraph cable from Europe to the United States, limiting news about the war mainly to British reports. Stories arrived depicting numerous German war atrocities, including the charge that Germans used corpses from the battlefield to make fertilizer and soap. Although many such reports were questionable, enough Americans believed them to help sway American support in favor of the Allies.

**ECONOMICS**

**Business Links** American business interests also leaned toward the Allies. Companies in the United States, particularly on the East Coast, had strong ties with businesses in the Allied countries. As business leader Thomas W. Lamont stated, “Our firm had never for one moment been neutral: we did not know how to be. From the very start we did everything that we could to contribute to the cause of the Allies.”

Many American banks began to invest heavily in an Allied victory. American loans to the cash-hungry Allies skyrocketed. By 1917 such loans would total over $2 billion. Other American banks, particularly in the Midwest, where pro-German feelings were strongest, also lent some $27 million to Germany. Even more might have been lent, but most foreign loans required the approval of William McAdoo, the secretary of the Treasury. McAdoo was strongly pro-British and did what he could to limit loans to Germany. As a result, the country’s prosperity was intertwined with the military fortunes of Britain, France, and Russia. If the Allies won, the money would be paid back; if not, the money might be lost forever.

**Reading Check** Evaluating How was American prosperity intertwined with the military fortunes of the Allies?

**Moving Toward War**

Although most Americans supported the Allies and hoped for their victory, they did not want to join the conflict. However, a series of events gradually eroded American neutrality and drew the nation into the war firmly on the side of the Allies.

**The British Blockade** Shortly after the war began, the British deployed their navy to blockade Germany and keep it from obtaining supplies. The British planted mines in the North Sea and forced neutral ships into port for inspections in case they were trying to transport valuable materials to Germany or its neutral neighbors. British officials also expanded their definition of *contraband*, or prohibited materials, to prevent neutral countries from shipping food to Germany.

The Germans knew that the Allies depended on food, equipment, and other supplies from both the United States and their overseas empires. If Germany could strangle that trade, it could starve the British and French into surrendering. To get around Britain’s blockade, the Germans deployed submarines known as *U-boats*—from the German...
word Unterseeboot (meaning “underwater boat”). In February 1915, the Germans announced that they would attempt to sink without warning any ship they found in the waters around Britain.

Germany’s announcement triggered outrage in the United States and elsewhere. Attacking civilian vessels without warning violated an international treaty stipulating that military vessels must reveal their intentions to merchant ships and make provisions for the safety of the targeted ship’s crew and passengers before sinking it. The Germans claimed that many merchant ships were actually warships in disguise and that their U-boats would be placed at great risk if they revealed themselves before firing.

The issue reached a crisis on May 7, 1915. Despite warnings from Germany, the British passenger liner Lusitania entered the war zone. A submerged German submarine fired on the ship, killing nearly 1,200 passengers—including 128 Americans. Many Americans were outraged and regarded the attack as an act of terrorism, not war.

Wilson steered a middle course on the issue of the U-boats. He refused to take extreme measures against Germany, saying that the United States was “too proud to fight.” Nevertheless, he sent several diplomatic notes to Germany insisting that its government safeguard the lives of noncombatants in the war zones.

Late in March 1916, Wilson’s policy was tested when a U-boat torpedoed the French passenger ship Sussex, injuring several Americans on board. Although Wilson’s closest advisers favored breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany immediately, the president, busy with the crisis in Mexico, chose to issue one last warning. He demanded that the German government abandon its methods of submarine warfare or risk war with the United States.

Germany did not want to strengthen the Allies by drawing the United States into the war. It promised with certain conditions to sink no more merchant ships without warning. The Sussex Pledge, as it was called, met the foreign-policy goals of both Germany and President Wilson by keeping the United States out of the war a little longer.

Wilson’s efforts to keep American soldiers at home played an important part in his re-election bid in 1916. Campaigning as the “peace” candidate, his campaign slogan, “He kept us out of the war,” helped lead Wilson to a narrow victory over the Republican nominee, Charles Evans Hughes.

**The United States Declares War** Following Wilson’s re-election, events quickly brought the country to the brink of war. In January 1917, a German official named Arthur Zimmermann cabled the German ambassador in Mexico, instructing him to make an offer to the Mexican government. Zimmermann proposed that Mexico ally itself with Germany in the event of war between Germany and the United States. In return, Mexico would regain its “lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona” after the war. Germany hoped Mexico would tie down the American forces and prevent them from being sent to Europe. British intelligence intercepted the Zimmermann telegram. Shortly afterward, it was leaked to American newspapers. Furious, many Americans now concluded war with Germany was necessary.

Then, on February 1, 1917, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare. German military leaders believed that they could starve Britain into
substitution in four to six months if their U-boats could return to a more aggressive approach of sinking all ships on sight. Although they recognized that their actions might draw the United States into the war, the Germans did not believe that the Americans could raise an army and transport it to Europe in time to prevent the Allies from collapsing.

Between February 3 and March 21, German U-boats sank six American merchant ships without warning. Finally roused to action, President Wilson appeared before a special session of Congress on April 2, 1917, to ask for a declaration of war against Germany.

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war. . . . But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight 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 governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations. . . ."

—quoted in the Congressional Record, 1917

After a spirited debate, the Senate passed the resolution on April 4 by a vote of 82 to 6. The House concurred 373 to 50 on April 6, and Wilson signed the resolution. America was now at war.

**Reading Check**

**Summarizing** How did Germany’s use of unrestricted submarine warfare lead to American entry into World War I?

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"The world must be made safe for democracy."

—Woodrow Wilson, April 1917
Building Up the Military

When the United States declared war against Germany in April 1917, progressives controlled the federal government. They did not abandon their ideas simply because a war had begun. Instead, they applied progressive ideas to fighting the war.

Selective Service

When the United States entered the war in 1917, the army and National Guard together had slightly more than 370,000 troops. Although many men volunteered after war was declared, many felt more soldiers needed to be drafted.
Many progressives believed that conscription—forced military service—was a violation of democratic and republican principles. Realizing a draft was necessary, however, Congress, with Wilson’s support, created a new system called selective service. Instead of having the military run the draft, the Selective Service Act of 1917 required all men between 21 and 30 to register for the draft. A lottery randomly determined the order they were called before a local draft board in charge of selecting or exempting people from military service.

The thousands of local boards were the heart of the system. The members of the draft boards were civilians from local communities. Progressives believed local people, understanding community needs, would know which men to draft. Eventually about 2.8 million Americans were drafted.

Volunteers for War Not all American soldiers were drafted. Approximately 2 million men volunteered for military service. Some had heard stories of German atrocities and wanted to fight back. Others believed democracy was at stake. Many believed they had a duty to respond to their nation’s call. They had grown up listening to stories of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. They saw this war as a great adventure and wanted to fight for their country’s cause. To soldiers such as Justin Klingenberger, “War consisted of following the flag over a shell-torn field, with fixed bayonet . . . pushing the Hun back from trench to trench. . . .” Although the horrors of the war soon became clear to the American troops, their morale remained high, helping to ensure an Allied victory.

African Americans in the War Of the nearly 400,000 African Americans who were drafted, about 42,000 served overseas as combat troops. African American soldiers encountered discrimination and prejudice in the army. They served in racially segregated units almost always under white officers.

Despite these challenges, many African American soldiers fought with distinction in the war. For example, the African American 92nd and 93rd Infantry Divisions fought in bitter battles along the Western Front. Many of them won praise from both the French commander, Marshal Henri Pétain, and the United States commander, General John Pershing. The entire 369th Infantry Regiment won the highly prized French decoration, the Croix de Guerre (“war cross”), for gallantry in combat.

Women in the Military World War I was the first war in which women officially served in the armed forces, although only in noncombat positions. Women nurses had served in both the army and navy since the early 1900s, but as auxiliaries. Before World War I, nurses were not assigned ranks, and the women were not technically enlisted in the army or navy.

As the military prepared for war in 1917, it faced a severe shortage of clerical workers because so many men were assigned to active duty. Early in 1917, the navy authorized the enlistment of women to meet its clerical needs. By the end of the war, over 11,000 women had served in the navy. Although most performed clerical duties, others served as radio operators, electricians, pharmacists, and photographers.

The army still did not enlist women. Instead, it hired them as temporary clerical workers. The only women to actually serve in the army were in the Army Nursing Corps. Army nurses were the only women in the military sent overseas during the war. Over 20,000 nurses served in the army during the war, including more than 10,000 overseas.

Reading Check Describing How did Congress ensure that the military had enough troops to fight the war?

Organizing Industry

The progressive emphasis on careful planning and scientific management shaped the federal government’s approach to mobilizing the American war
economy. To efficiently manage the relationship between the federal government and private companies, Congress created special boards. These boards emphasized cooperation between big business and government. Business executives, professional managers, and government representatives staffed the boards. Their goal was to ensure the most efficient use of national resources to further the war effort.

**The War Industries Board** One of the first agencies established was the War Industries Board (WIB). Created in July 1917, the WIB’s job was to coordinate the production of war materials. At first, President Wilson was reluctant to give the WIB much authority over the economy, but by March 1918, he decided industrial production needed better coordination. The WIB was reorganized and Bernard Baruch was appointed to run it. Under this Wall Street stockbroker’s supervision, the WIB told manufacturers what to produce. It controlled the flow of raw materials, ordered the construction of new factories, and occasionally, with the president’s approval, set prices.

**Food and Fuel** Perhaps the most successful government agency was the Food Administration, run by Herbert Hoover. This agency was responsible for increasing food production while reducing civilian consumption. Instead of using rationing, Hoover encouraged Americans to save food on their own. Using the slogan “Food Will Win the War—Don’t Waste It,” the Food Administration encouraged families to “Hooverize” by “serving just enough” and by having Wheatless Mondays, Meatless Tuesdays, and Porkless Thursdays. Hoover also encouraged citizens to plant victory gardens to raise their own vegetables, leaving more for the troops.

While Hoover managed food production, the Fuel Administration, run by Harry Garfield, tried to manage the nation’s use of coal and oil. To conserve energy, Garfield introduced daylight savings time and shortened workweeks for factories that did not make war materials.

**Paying for the War** By the end of World War I, the United States was spending about $44 million a day—leading to a total expenditure of about $32 billion for the entire conflict. To fund the war effort, Congress raised income tax rates. Congress also placed new taxes on corporate profits and an extra tax on the profits of arms factories.

Taxes, however, could not pay for the war. To raise money, the government borrowed over $20 billion from the American people by selling Liberty Bonds and Victory Bonds. By buying the bonds, Americans were loaning the government money. The government agreed to repay the money with interest in a specified number of years. Posters, rallies, and “Liberty Loan sermons” encouraged people to buy the bonds as an act of patriotism.

**Reading Check** Summarizing What federal agencies helped control American industries during the war?
Mobilizing the Workforce

While the WIB and other agencies tried to build cooperation between the government and business, officials knew that they also needed workers to cooperate if mobilization was to succeed. To prevent strikes from disrupting the war effort, the government established the National War Labor Board (NWLB) in March 1918. Chaired by William Howard Taft and Frank Walsh, a prominent labor attorney, the NWLB attempted to mediate labor disputes that might otherwise lead to strikes.

The NWLB frequently pressured industry to grant important concessions to workers, including wage increases, an eight-hour workday, and the right of unions to organize and bargain collectively. In exchange, labor leaders agreed not to disrupt war production with strikes or other disturbances. As a result, membership in unions increased by just over one million between 1917 and 1919.

Women Support Industry

The war increased work opportunities for women, who filled industrial jobs vacated by men serving in the military. These included positions in the shipping, manufacturing, and railroad industries. These new jobs for women, however, were not permanent. After the war, when the servicemen returned home, most women returned to their previous jobs or stopped working.

The Great Migration Begins

With the flow of immigrants from Europe cut off and large numbers of white workers being drafted, the war also opened new doors for African Americans. Wartime job openings and high wages drew thousands of African Americans to factories producing war materials. Encouraged by recruiting agents promising high wages and plentiful work, between 300,000 and 500,000 African Americans left the South to settle in Northern cities. This massive population movement became known as the “Great Migration.” It greatly altered the racial makeup of such cities as Chicago, New York, Cleveland, and Detroit.

Mexican Americans Head North

African Americans were not the only group to migrate north during the war. Continued political turmoil in Mexico and the wartime labor shortage in the United States convinced many Mexicans to head north. Between 1917 and 1920, over 100,000 Mexicans migrated into Texas, Arizona, California, and New Mexico, providing labor for the farms and ranches of the Southwest.

Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Mexican Americans headed north to Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, and other cities to take wartime factory jobs. Many Mexican Americans faced hostility and discrimination when they arrived in American cities. Like other immigrants before them, they tended to settle in their own separate neighborhoods, called barrios, where they could support each other.

Ensuring Public Support

Progressives in the government did not think coordinating business and labor was enough to ensure the success of the war effort. They also believed that the government should take steps to shape public opinion and build support for the war.
**Abrams v. United States, 1919**

The Espionage Act of 1917 made it a crime to “willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the government.” Although the act limited First Amendment freedoms, many Americans believed winning World War I was more important. [See page 962 for more information on Abrams v. the United States.]

**Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., dissenting:**

It is only the present danger of immediate evil or an intent to bring it about that warrants Congress in setting a limit to the expression of opinion where private rights are not concerned. Congress certainly cannot forbid all effort to change the mind of the country. Now nobody can suppose that the surreptitious publishing of a silly leaflet by an unknown man, without more, would present any immediate danger that its opinions would hinder the success of the government arms or have any appreciable tendency to do so.

In this case, sentences of twenty years’ imprisonment have been imposed for the publishing of two leaflets that I believe the defendants had as much right to publish as the Government has to publish the Constitution of the United States now vainly invoked by them. . . . I regret that I cannot put into more impressive words my belief that, in their conviction upon this indictment, the defendants were deprived of their rights under the Constitution of the United States.

**Justice John H. Clarke delivered the majority opinion:**

It is argued, somewhat faintly, that the acts charged against the defendants were not unlawful because within the protection of that freedom . . . of speech and of the press . . . and that the entire Espionage Act is unconstitutional. . . .

. . . the plain purpose of their propaganda was to excite, at the supreme crisis of the war, disaffection, sedition, riots, and, as they hoped, revolution, in this country for the purpose of embarrassing, and, if possible, defeating the military plans of the Government in Europe. . . . The language of these circulars was obviously intended to provoke and to encourage resistance to the United States in the war, as the third count runs, and the defendants, in terms, plainly urged and advocated a resort to a general strike of workers in ammunition factories for the purpose of curtailing the production of ordnance and munitions necessary and essential to the prosecution of the war. . . . Thus, it is clear not only that some evidence, but that much persuasive evidence, was before the jury tending to prove that the defendants were guilty as charged . . .

**Selling the War** A new government agency, the Committee on Public Information, had the task of “selling” the war to the American people. The head of the CPI was journalist George Creel, who recruited advertising executives, commercial artists, authors, songwriters, entertainers, public speakers, and motion picture companies to help sway public opinion in favor of the war.

The CPI distributed pamphlets and arranged for thousands of short patriotic talks, called “four-minute speeches,” to be delivered at movie theaters and public halls and gathering places. The Four-Minute Men urged audiences to support the war in various ways, from buying war bonds to reporting draft dodgers to the proper authorities.

**Civil Liberties Curtailed** In addition to using propaganda and persuasion, the government also passed legislation to fight antiwar activities or enemies at home. Espionage, or spying to acquire secret government information, was addressed in the Espionage Act of 1917, which established penalties and prison terms for anyone who gave aid to the enemy. This act also penalized disloyalty, giving false reports, or otherwise interfering with the war effort. The Post Office even hired college professors to translate foreign periodicals to find out if they contained antiwar messages.

The Sedition Act of 1918 expanded the meaning of the Espionage Act to make illegal any public expression of opposition to the war. In practice, it allowed officials to prosecute anyone who criticized...
the president or the government. Combined, these laws generated over 1,500 prosecutions and 1,000 convictions.

A Climate of Suspicion The fear of spies and emphasis on patriotism quickly led to the mistreatment and persecution of German Americans. To avoid German-sounding names, advertisers began to call sauerkraut “Liberty cabbage” and hamburger “Salisbury steak.” Many schools dropped German language classes from their curricula, and orchestras stopped performing the music of Beethoven, Schubert, Wagner, and other German composers. Anti-German feelings sometimes led to violence. Some citizens beat neighbors who were German-born. In Collinsville, Illinois, a mob lynched a German-born man whom they suspected of disloyalty.

German Americans were not the only ones under suspicion. Mobs attacked labor activists, socialists, and pacifists. Newspapers’ ads urged Americans to monitor the activities of their fellow citizens. Americans even formed private organizations, such as the American Protective League and the Boy Spies of America, to spy on neighbors and coworkers. Secretary of War Newton Baker expressed concern about the growing intolerance:

“There is a growing frenzy of suspicion and hostility toward disloyalty. I am afraid we are going to have a good many instances of people roughly treated on very slight evidence of disloyalty. Already a number of men and some women have been tarred and feathered, and a portion of the press is urging with great vehemence more strenuous efforts at detection and punishment.”

—quoted in Echoes of Distant Thunder

The Supreme Court Limits Free Speech Despite protests against the government’s tactics, however, the courts generally upheld the principle behind them. Although the First Amendment specifically states that “Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press,” the Supreme Court decided otherwise, departing from a strict literal interpretation of the Constitution.

In the landmark case of Schenck v. the United States (1919), the Supreme Court ruled that an individual’s freedom of speech could be curbed when the words uttered constitute a “clear and present danger.” The Court used as an example someone yelling “Fire!” in a crowded theater as a situation in which freedom of speech would be superseded by the theater-goers’ right to safety. The Court’s majority opinion stated, “When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in times of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as [soldiers] fight. . . .” (See page 965 for more information on Schenck v. the United States.)

Critical Thinking 5. Analyzing How did World War I cause the federal government to change its relationship with the business world? 6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify the effects of the war on the American workforce.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects of War on U.S. Workforce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Writing About History 8. Persuasive Writing Imagine that you are working for the Committee on Public Information. Write text for an advertisement or lyrics to a song in which you attempt to sway public opinion in favor of the war.
World War Firsts

*Human ingenuity goes to work in the service of war:*

**AERIAL COMBAT, 1914.** War takes to the air. Two Allied aircraft chase two German planes across Britain.

**GAS ATTACKS, 1915.** The German High Command admits to using chlorine gas bombs and shells on the field of combat. Deadly mustard gas is used in 1917.

**GAS MASKS.** Issued to Allied soldiers in 1915.

**DONKEY’S EARS.** A new trench periscope enables soldiers to observe the battleground from the relative safety of a trench without risking sniper fire.

**BIG BERTHA.** Enormous howitzer gun bombards Paris. “Big Bertha,” named after the wife of its manufacturer, is thought to be located nearly 63 miles behind German lines. Moving at night on railroad tracks, the gun is difficult for the Allies to locate.

**Color My World**

*Some bright spots in a dark decade:*

- Color newspaper supplements (1914)
- 3-D films (1915)
- Nail polish (1916)
- Three-color traffic lights (1918)
- Color photography introduced by Eastman Kodak (1914)
How to Make a Doughboy

Take one American infantryman.

1. Arm with 107 pieces of fighting equipment, including:
   - rifle
   - rifle cartridges
   - cartridge belt
   - steel helmet
   - clubs
   - knives
   - gas mask
   - wire cutters
   - trench tool
   - bayonet and scabbard
   - grenades

2. Add 50 articles of clothing, including 3 wool blankets and a bedsack.

3. Equip with eating utensils and 11 cooking implements.

4. Train well.

**TOTAL COST:** $156.30

(Not including training and transportation to Europe)

Milestones

**REPATRIATED, APRIL 10, 1917.**

VLADIMIR ILYICH LENIN, to Russia, after an 11-year absence. The leader of the leftist Bolshevik party hopes to reorganize his revolutionary group.

**ELECTED, NOVEMBER 7, 1916.**

JEANNETTE RANKIN of Montana, to the U.S. Congress. The first woman congressional representative explained her victory by saying that women “got the vote in Montana because the spirit of pioneer days was still alive.”

**EXECUTED, OCTOBER 15, 1917.**

MATA HARI, in France, for espionage. The famous Dutch dancer was sentenced to death for spying for the Germans.

**SHOT DOWN AND KILLED, APRIL 22, 1918. “THE RED BARON,”** Manfred von Richthofen, Germany’s ace pilot. Von Richthofen destroyed more than 80 Allied aircraft. On hearing of the Red Baron’s death, English fighter pilot Edward Mannock said, “I hope he roasted all the way down.”

**Numbers 1915**

- $1,040 Average annual income for workers in finance, insurance, and real estate
- $687 Average income for industrial workers (higher for union workers, lower for nonunion workers)
- $510 Average income for retail trade workers
- $355 Average income for farm laborers
- $342 Average income for domestic servants
- $328 Average income for public school teachers
- $11.95 Cost of a bicycle
- $1.15 Cost of a baseball
- $1 Average cost of a hotel room
- 39¢ Cost of one dozen eggs
- 5¢ Cost of a glass of cola
- 7¢ Cost of a large roll of toilet paper

CHAPTER 14  World War I and Its Aftermath 463
General John J. Pershing, commander of the American forces in World War I, could not help but feel a sense of pride and excitement as he watched the Second Battalion of the First Division’s 16th Infantry march through the streets of Paris on July 4, 1917:

“...The battalion was joined by a great crowd, many women forcing their way into the ranks and swinging along arm in arm with the men. With wreaths about their necks and bouquets in their hats and rifles, the column looked like a moving flower garden. With only a semblance of military formation, the animated throng pushed its way through avenues of people to the martial strains of the French band and the still more thrilling music of cheering voices.”

—quoted in *The Yanks Are Coming*

While his men marched through Paris, Pershing raced to Picpus Cemetery, the burial place of the Marquis de Lafayette, a French noble who had fought in the American Revolution. One of Pershing’s officers, Colonel Charles E. Stanton, raised his hand in salute and acknowledged the continuing American-French relationship by proclaiming, “Lafayette, we are here!”

**Combat in World War I**

By the spring of 1917, World War I had devastated Europe and claimed millions of lives. Terrible destruction resulted from a combination of old-fashioned strategies and new technologies. Despite the carnage Europeans had experienced, many Americans believed their troops would make a difference and quickly bring the war to an end.
Trench Warfare  The early offensives of 1914 quickly demonstrated that the nature of warfare had changed. Troops that dug themselves in and relied upon modern rifles and a new weapon—the rapid-fire machine gun—could easily hold off the attacking forces. On the Western Front, troops dug a network of trenches that stretched from the English Channel to the Swiss border. The space between the opposing trenches was known as “no man’s land,” a rough, barren landscape pockmarked with craters from artillery fire.

To break through enemy lines, both sides began with massive artillery barrages. Then bayonet-wielding soldiers would scramble out of their trenches, race across no man’s land, and hurl grenades into the enemy’s trenches. The results were often disastrous. The artillery barrages rarely destroyed the enemy defenses, and troops crossing no man’s land were easily stopped by enemy machine guns and rifle fire. These kind of assaults caused staggeringly high casualties. In major battles, both sides often lost several hundred thousand men. These battles produced horrific scenes of death and destruction, as one American soldier noted in his diary:

“Many dead Germans along the road. One heap on a manure pile . . . Devastation everywhere. Our barrage has rooted up the entire territory like a ploughed field. Dead horses galore, many of them have a hind quarter cut off—the Huns [Germans] need food. Dead men here and there.”

—quoted in The American Spirit

New Technology  As it became clear that charging enemy trenches could bring only limited success at great cost, both sides began to develop new technologies to help them break through enemy lines. In April 1915, the Germans first used poison gas in the Second Battle of Ypres. The fumes caused vomiting, blindness, and suffocation. Soon afterward the Allies also began using poison gas, and gas masks became a necessary part of a soldier’s equipment.

In 1916 the British introduced the tank into battle. The first tanks were very slow and cumbersome, mechanically unreliable, and fairly easy to destroy. They could roll over barbed wire and trenches, but there were usually not enough of them to make a

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An American Hero  Although the brutal trench warfare of World War I led to many acts of astonishing bravery, the heroism of one American, Corporal Alvin York, captured the nation’s imagination. Born in 1887, York grew up poor in the mountains of Tennessee, where he learned to shoot by hunting wild game.

On October 8, 1918, during the Battle of the Argonne Forest, York’s patrol lost its way and ended up behind enemy lines. When a German machine gun emplacement on a fortified hill fired on the patrol and killed nine men, York took command and charged the machine gun. Although the details of the battle are unclear, when it ended, York had killed between 9 and 25 Germans, captured the machine guns, and taken 132 prisoners. For his actions, he received the Medal of Honor and the French Croix de Guerre. After returning home, he used his fame to raise money for the Alvin York Institute—a school for underprivileged Tennessee children.
difference. While tanks did help troops, they did not revolutionize warfare in World War I.

World War I also saw the first use of airplanes in combat. At first, planes were used mainly to observe enemy activities. Soon, the Allies and Central Powers used them to drop small bombs. As technology advanced, they also attached machine guns to aircraft to engage in deadly air battles known as dogfights.

Reading Check Describing What new technologies were introduced in World War I?

The Americans and Victory

Wave upon wave of American troops marched into this bloody stalemate—nearly 2 million before the war’s end. These “doughboys,” a nickname for American soldiers, were largely inexperienced, but they were fresh, so their presence immediately boosted the morale of Allied forces.

Winning the War at Sea No American troopships were sunk on their way to Europe—an accomplishment due largely to the efforts of American Admiral William S. Sims. For most of the war, the British preferred to fight German submarines by sending warships to find them. Meanwhile, merchant ships would race across the Atlantic individually. The British approach had not worked well, and submarines had inflicted heavy losses on British shipping.

Sims proposed that merchant ships and troop transports be gathered into groups, called convoys, and escorted across the Atlantic by warships. If submarines wanted to attack a convoy, they would have to get past the warships protecting it. The convoy system greatly reduced shipping losses and ensured that American troops arrived safely in Europe. They arrived during a pivotal time in late 1917.

Russia Leaves the War In March 1917, riots broke out in Russia over the government’s handling of the war and over the scarcity of food and fuel. On March
15, Czar Nicholas II, the leader of the Russian Empire, abdicated his throne. Political leadership in Russia passed into the hands of a provisional, or temporary, government, consisting largely of moderate representatives who supported Russia’s continued participation in World War I. The government, however, was unable to adequately deal with the major problems, such as food shortages, that were afflicting the nation.

The Bolsheviks, a group of Communists, soon competed for power in Russia. In November 1917, Vladimir Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party, overthrew the Russian government and established a Communist government.

Germany’s military fortunes improved with the Bolshevik takeover of Russia. Lenin’s first act after seizing power was to pull Russia out of the war and concentrate on establishing a Communist state. He accomplished this by agreeing to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany on March 3, 1918. Under this treaty, Russia lost substantial territory, giving up Ukraine, its Polish and Baltic territories, and Finland. However, the treaty also removed the German army from the remaining Russian lands. With the Eastern Front settled, Germany was now free to concentrate its forces in the west.

The German Offensive Falters On March 21, 1918, the Germans launched a massive attack along the Western Front, beginning with gas attacks and a bombardment by over 6,000 artillery pieces. German forces, reinforced with troops transferred from the Russian front, pushed deeply into Allied lines. By early June, they were less than 40 miles (64 km) from Paris.

American troops played an important role in containing the German offensive. In late May, as the German offensive continued, the Americans launched their first major attack, quickly capturing the village of Cantigny. On June 1, American and French troops blocked the German drive on Paris at the town of Château-Thierry. On July 15, the Germans launched...
one last massive attack in a determined attempt to take Paris, but American and French troops held their ground.

The Battle of the Argonne Forest With the German drive stalled, French Marshal Ferdinand Foch, supreme commander of the Allied forces, ordered massive counterattacks all along the front. In mid-September, American troops drove back German forces at the battle of Saint-Mihiel. The attack was a prelude to a massive American offensive in the region between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest. General Pershing assembled over 600,000 American troops, some 40,000 tons of supplies, and roughly 4,000 artillery pieces for the most massive attack in American history.

The attack began on September 26, 1918. Slowly, one German position after another fell to the advancing American troops. The Germans inflicted heavy casualties on the American forces, but by early November, the Americans had shattered the German defenses and opened a hole in the German lines.

The War Ends While fighting raged along the Western Front, a revolution engulfed Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Turks surrendered. Faced with the surrender of their allies and a naval mutiny at Kiel in early November, the people of Berlin rose in rebellion on November 9 and forced the German emperor to step down. At the 11th hour on the 11th day of the 11th month, 1918, the fighting stopped. Germany had finally signed an armistice, or ceasefire, that ended the war.

Reading Check Explaining What was Vladimir Lenin’s first goal after controlling Russia in 1917?

A Flawed Peace In January 1919, a peace conference began in Paris to try to resolve the complicated issues arising from World War I. The principal figures in the negotiations were the “Big Four,” the leaders of the victorious Allied nations: President Wilson of the United States, British prime minister David Lloyd George, French premier Georges Clemenceau, and Italian prime minister Vittorio Orlando. Germany was not invited to participate.

Wilson had presented his plan, known as the Fourteen Points, to Congress in January 1918. The Fourteen Points were based on “the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities.” In the first five points, the president proposed to eliminate the general causes of the war through free trade, disarmament, freedom of the seas, impartial adjustment of colonial claims, and open diplomacy instead of secret agreements. The next eight points addressed the right of self-determination. They also required the Central Powers to evacuate all of the countries invaded during the war, including France, Belgium, and Russia. The fourteenth point, perhaps the most important one to Wilson, called for the creation of a “general association of nations” known as the League of Nations. The League’s member nations would help preserve peace and prevent future wars by pledging to respect and protect each other’s territory and political independence. (See page 956 for the text of the Fourteen Points.)

The Treaty of Versailles As the peace talks progressed in the Palace of Versailles (vehr-SY), it became clear that Wilson’s ideas did not coincide with the interests of the other Allied governments. They criticized his plan as too lenient toward Germany.

Despite Wilson’s hopes, the terms of peace were harsh. The Treaty of Versailles, signed by Germany on June 28, 1919, had weakened or discarded many of Wilson’s proposals. Under the treaty, Germany was stripped of its armed forces and was made to pay reparations, or war damages, in the amount of $33 billion to the Allies. This sum was far beyond Germany’s financial means. Perhaps most humiliating, the treaty required Germany to acknowledge guilt for the outbreak of World War I and the devastation caused by the war.

The war itself resulted in the dissolution of four empires: the Russian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, which lost territory in the war and fell to revolution in 1922, the German Empire after the abdication of the emperor and loss of territory in the treaty, and
Austria-Hungary, which was split into separate countries. Furthermore, nine new countries were established in Europe, including Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

While Wilson expressed disappointment in the treaty, he found consolation in its call for the creation of his cherished League of Nations. He returned home to win approval for the treaty.

**The U.S. Senate Rejects the Treaty** The Treaty of Versailles, especially the League of Nations, faced immediate opposition from numerous U.S. lawmakers. A key group of senators, nicknamed “the Irreconcilables” in the press, assailed the League as the kind of “entangling alliance” that Washington, Jefferson, and Monroe had warned against. These critics feared that the League might supersede the power of Congress to declare war and thus force the United States to fight in numerous foreign conflicts.

A larger group of senators, known as the “Reservationists,” was led by the powerful chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, Henry Cabot Lodge. This group supported the League but would ratify the treaty only with amendments that would preserve the nation’s freedom to act independently. Wilson feared such changes would defeat the basic purpose of the League and insisted that the Senate ratify the treaty without changes.

Convinced that he could defeat his opposition by winning public support, Wilson took his case directly to the American people. Starting in Ohio in September 1919, he traveled 8,000 miles and made over 30 major speeches in three weeks. The physical strain of his tour, however, proved too great. Wilson collapsed in Colorado on September 25 and returned to the White House. There, he suffered a stroke and was bedridden for months, isolated from even his closest advisers but determined not to compromise with the Senate.

The Senate voted in November 1919 and again in March 1920, but it refused to ratify the treaty. After Wilson left office in 1921, the United States negotiated separate peace treaties with each of the Central Powers. The League of Nations, the foundation of President Wilson’s plan for lasting world peace, took shape without the United States.

**Global War** Although World War I was fought mainly in Europe, it touched the lives of peoples throughout the world, including those in Africa and India. By the time the war broke out, much of Africa and India was under the control of European nations. While the British controlled much of India, no less than seven European powers had divided up Africa among themselves. As a result of living under the rule of Europeans, Africans and Indians took part in the great war. About one million Indians fought for the British in Europe, while nearly as many Africans served in the French army. The fighting also spread to Africa, as the Allies fought to seize control of Germany’s African colonies. Why is it accurate to characterize World War I as a global conflict?

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**SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT**

**Checking for Understanding**

1. **Define:** convoy, armistice, reparations.
3. **List** the four nations that dominated the Paris peace conference in 1919.

**Reviewing Themes**

4. **Individual Action** Why did President Wilson propose his Fourteen Points?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Analyzing** What impact did John J. Pershing and the Battle of the Argonne Forest have on World War I?
6. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the results of World War I.

**Analyzing Visuals**

7. **Analyzing Maps and Charts** Examine the map and chart on page 467. Prepare a quiz with questions based on information from both. Give the quiz to some of your classmates.

**Writing About History**

8. **Descriptive Writing** Imagine that you are an American soldier fighting in Europe during World War I. Write a letter home describing your situation, and explain why you are there.
Critical Thinking

Analyzing Information

Why Learn This Skill?

The ability to analyze information is important in deciding your position on a subject. For example, you need to analyze a political decision to determine if you should support it. You would also analyze a candidate’s position statements to determine if you should vote for him or her.

Learning the Skill

To analyze information, use the following steps:
• Identify the topic that is being discussed.
• Examine how the information is organized. What are the main points?
• Summarize the information in your own words, and then make a statement of your own based on your understanding of the topic and on what you already know.

Practicing the Skill

Read the following information taken from Henry Cabot Lodge’s On the League of Nations speech. Use the steps listed above to analyze the information and answer the questions that follow.

I am as anxious as any human being can be to have the United States render every possible service to the civilization and the peace of mankind. But I am certain that we can do it best by not putting ourselves in leading strings, or subjecting our policies and our sovereignty to other nations. The independence of the United States is not only more precious to ourselves, but to the world, than any single possession.

I will go as far as anyone in world service that the first step to world service is the maintenance of the United States. You may call me selfish if you will, conservative or reactionary, or use any other harsh adjective you see fit to apply. But an American I was born, an American I’ve remained all my life. I can never be anything else but an American, and I must think of the United States first. And when I think of the United States first in an argument like this, I am thinking of what is best for the world. For if the United States fails, the best hope of mankind fails with it. I have never had but one allegiance; I cannot divide it now. I have loved but one flag and I cannot share that devotion and give affection to the mongrel banner invented for a league. Internationalism, illustrated by the Bolshevik and by the men to whom all countries are alike, provided they can make money out of them, is to me repulsive. National I must remain and in that way I, like all Americans, can render the amplest service to the world.

The United States is the world’s best hope, but if you fetter her in the interest through quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her powerful good, and endanger her very existence.

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 477 and the Chapter 14 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.

Applying the Skill

Analyzing Information Find a short, informative piece of news, such as a political candidate’s position paper, an editorial in a newspaper, or an explanation of a new law that will be enacted soon. Analyze the information and make a statement of your own.

Glencoe’s Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.
On August 20, 1919, Mary Harris Jones, also known as “Mother” Jones, was thrown in jail in Homestead, Pennsylvania. The 89-year-old had just finished delivering a fiery, impassioned speech in an attempt to gain support for steel unions. Referring to the owners of the big steel companies, she said:

“Our Kaisers sit up and smoke seventy-five cent cigars and have lackeys with knee pants bring them champagne while you starve, while you grow old at forty, stoking their furnaces. You pull in your belts while they banquet. They have stomachs two miles long and two miles wide and you fill them. . . . If Gary [chair of U.S. Steel] wants to work twelve hours a day, let him go in the blooming mill and work. What we want is a little leisure, time for music, playgrounds, a decent home, books, and the things that make life worthwhile.”

—quoted in *Labor in Crisis*

### An Economy in Turmoil

The end of World War I brought great upheaval to American society. When the war ended, government agencies removed their controls from the American economy. This released pent-up demand in the economy. People raced to buy goods that had been rationed, while businesses rapidly raised prices they had been forced to keep low during the war. The result was rapid inflation. In 1919 prices rose at an average of more than 15 percent. Inflation greatly increased the **cost of living**—the cost of food, clothing, shelter, and other essentials that people need to survive.
Inflation Leads to Strikes  Many companies had been forced to raise wages during the war, but inflation now threatened to wipe out all the gains workers had made. While workers wanted higher wages to keep up with inflation, companies wanted to hold down wages because inflation was also driving up their operating costs.

During the war, the number of workers in unions had increased dramatically. By the time the war ended, workers were better organized and much more capable of organizing strikes than they had been before. Many business leaders, on the other hand, were determined to break the power of the unions and roll back the gains labor had made. These circumstances led to an enormous wave of strikes in 1919. By the end of the year, more than 3,600 strikes involving more than 4 million workers had taken place.

The Seattle General Strike  The first major strike took place in Seattle, when some 35,000 shipyard workers walked off the job demanding higher wages and shorter hours. Soon other unions in Seattle joined the shipyard workers and organized a general strike. A general strike is a strike that involves all workers living in a certain location, not just workers in a particular industry. The Seattle general strike involved more than 60,000 people and paralyzed the city for five days. Although the strikers returned to work without making any gains, their actions worried many Americans because the general strike was a common tactic used in Europe by Communists and other radical groups.

The Boston Police Strike  Perhaps the most famous strike of 1919 took place in Boston, when roughly 75 percent of the police force walked off the job. Riots and looting soon erupted in the city, forcing the governor of Massachusetts, Calvin Coolidge, to send in the National Guard. When the strikers tried to return to work, the police commissioner refused to accept them. He fired the strikers and hired a new police force instead.

Despite protests, Coolidge agreed the men should be fired. He declared, “There is no right to strike
against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime.” Coolidge’s response brought him to national attention and earned him widespread public support. It also convinced the Republicans to make Coolidge their vice presidential candidate in the 1920 election.

**The Steel Strike** Shortly after the police strike ended, one of the largest strikes in American history began when an estimated 350,000 steelworkers went on strike for higher pay, shorter hours, and recognition of their union. Elbert H. Gary, the head of U.S. Steel, refused even to talk to union leaders. Instead, the company set out to break the union by using anti-immigrant feelings to divide the workers.

Many steelworkers were immigrants. The company blamed the strike on foreign radicals and called for loyal Americans to return to work. Meanwhile, the company hired African Americans and Mexicans as replacement workers and managed to keep its steel mills operating despite the strike. Clashes between company guards and strikers were frequent, and in Gary, Indiana, a riot left 18 strikers dead. In early January of 1920, the strike collapsed. The failure of the strike set back the union cause in the steel industry. Steelworkers remained unorganized until 1937.

**Racial Unrest**

Adding to the nation’s economic turmoil was the return of hundreds of thousands of American soldiers from Europe who needed to find employment. Many African Americans who had moved north during the war were also competing for jobs and housing. Frustration and racism combined to produce violence. In the summer of 1919, over 20 race riots broke out across the nation.

The worst violence occurred in Chicago. On a hot July day, African Americans went to a whites-only beach. Both sides began throwing stones at each other. Whites also threw stones at an African American teenager swimming near the beach to prevent him from coming ashore, and he drowned. A full-scale riot then erupted in the city. Angry African Americans attacked white neighborhoods while whites attacked African American neighborhoods. The riot lasted for several days. In the end, 38 people died—15 white and 23 black—and over 500 were injured.

**The Red Scare**

The wave of strikes in 1919 helped to fuel fears that Communists were conspiring to start a revolution in the United States. Americans had been stunned when Lenin and the Bolsheviks seized power and withdrew Russia from the war. Americans had become very anti-German as the war progressed, and when the Communists withdrew Russia from the war, they seemed to be helping Germany. American anger at Germany quickly expanded into anger at Communists as well. Americans began to associate communism with being unpatriotic and disloyal.
After the House of Morgan—a bank in New York City—was damaged by a bomb in 1920, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer instituted raids on antigovernment activists and many immigrants, often violating their civil liberties in the process. Whom did Palmer appoint to coordinate these investigations?

Americans had long been suspicious of Communist ideas. Throughout the late 1800s, many Americans had accused immigrants of importing radical socialist and Communist ideas into the United States and blamed them for labor unrest and violence. Now Communists had seized control of an entire nation, and fears surged that they would try to incite revolutions elsewhere. These fears seemed to be confirmed in 1919, when the Soviet Union formed the Communist International—an organization for coordinating the activities of Communist parties in other countries.

**The Red Scare Begins** As strikes erupted across the United States in 1919, the fear that Communists, or “reds,” as they were called, might seize power led to a nationwide panic known as the Red Scare. Seattle’s mayor, Ole Hanson, spoke for others when he condemned the leaders of the Seattle general strike as revolutionaries who wanted to “take possession of our American government and try to duplicate the anarchy of Russia.”

In April the postal service intercepted more than 30 parcels addressed to leading businesspeople and politicians that were triggered to explode when opened. In June eight bombs in eight cities exploded within minutes of one another, suggesting a nationwide conspiracy. One of them damaged the home of United States Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in Washington, D.C. Most people believed the bombings were the work of Communists or other revolutionaries trying to destroy the American way of life.

**The Palmer Raids** Declaring that a “blaze of revolution” was “burning up the foundations of society,” Palmer took action. He established a special division within the Justice Department, the General Intelligence Division, headed by J. Edgar Hoover. This division eventually became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). From late 1919 to the spring of 1920, Palmer organized a series of raids on the headquarters of various radical organizations. Although evidence pointed to no single group as the bombers, Palmer’s agents focused on foreign residents and immigrants. The authorities detained thousands of suspects and deported, or expelled from the country, approximately 500 of them.
Palmer’s agents often disregarded the civil liberties of the suspects. Officers entered homes and offices without search warrants. People were mistreated and jailed for indefinite periods of time and were not allowed to talk to their attorneys.

For a while, Palmer was regarded as a national hero. His raids, however, failed to turn up any hard evidence of revolutionary conspiracy. When his dire prediction that violence would rock the nation on May Day 1920—a popular European celebration of workers—proved wrong, Palmer lost much of his credibility and soon faded from prominence.

The Red Scare greatly influenced people’s attitudes during the 1920s. Americans often linked radicalism with immigrants, and that attitude led to a call for Congress to limit immigration.

**Reading Check** Examining After World War I, why were Americans suspicious of some union leaders?

### An End to Progressivism

Economic problems, labor unrest, and racial tensions, as well as the fresh memories of World War I, all combined to create a general sense of disillusionment in the United States. By 1920 Americans wanted an end to the upheaval. During the 1920 campaign, Ohio Governor James M. Cox and his running mate, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt, ran on a platform of keeping alive Woodrow Wilson’s progressive ideals. The Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, called for a return to “normalcy.” He urged that what the United States needed was a return to the simpler days before the Progressive Era reforms:

> “[O]ur present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; . . . not submergence in internationality, but sustenance in triumphant nationality.”

—quoted in *Portrait of a Nation*

Harding’s sentiments struck a chord with voters, and he won the election by a landslide margin of over 7 million votes. Americans were weary of more crusades to reform society and the world. They hoped to put the country’s racial and labor unrest and economic troubles behind them and build a more prosperous and stable society.

**Reading Check** Explaining How was Harding able to win the presidential election of 1920?

### SECtor 4 ASSESSMENT

#### Checking for Understanding
3. Describe the conditions that African Americans faced after the end of World War I.

#### Critical Thinking
5. Analyzing How did the Palmer raids deprive some citizens of their civil rights?
6. Organizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the Red Scare in the United States.

#### Analyzing Visuals
7. Analyzing Photographs Study the photograph on page 472. How might parades such as this one mobilize African Americans to work for an end to discrimination?

#### Writing About History
8. Descriptive Writing Imagine that you are a European immigrant working in a factory in the United States in 1919. Write a letter to a relative in Europe explaining economic conditions in America and why workers are striking.
Reviewing Key Terms

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

1. guerrilla  9. espionage
2. nationalism  10. convoy
3. self-determination  11. armistice
4. propaganda  12. reparations
5. contraband  13. cost of living
6. U-boat  14. general strike
7. conscription  15. deport
8. victory garden

Reviewing Key Facts

17. What factors contributed to the start of World War I in Europe?
18. What role did American women play in the war effort during World War I?
19. What did the American government do to solve the problem of supplying its troops?
20. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles?
21. What were the Palmer raids?

Critical Thinking

22. Analyzing Themes: Government and Democracy Do you think government action to suppress opposition to World War I was justified? Why or why not?
23. Interpreting Primary Sources On September 12, 1918, Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs was convicted of violating the Espionage Act. Debs later spoke to the court at his sentencing. Read his speech and answer the questions that follow.

“I look upon the Espionage laws as a despotic enactment in flagrant conflict with democratic principles and with the spirit of free institutions. . . . I am opposed to the social system in which we live. . . . I believe in fundamental change, but if possible by peaceful and orderly means. . . .

I am thinking this morning of the men in the mills and factories, . . . of the women who for a paltry wage

Chapter Summary

Mobilizing for War

Armed Forces

• Congress passed Selective Service Act which required young men ages 21–30 to register for the draft
• Employed women in non-combat roles

Domestic Front

• War Industries Board controlled war materials and production
• Committee on Public Information created war propaganda
• Government worked with employers and labor to ensure production
• Congress passed Espionage and Sedition Acts to limit opposition to the war
• Congress increased taxes and sold Liberty Bonds to pay for war

Postwar Problems

• Cost of living greatly increased
• Economic problems led to racial violence and widespread strikes
• Fear of communism led to Red Scare and Palmer raids
are compelled to work out their barren lives; of the little children who in this system are robbed of their childhood and . . . forced into industrial dungeons. . . . In this high noon of our twentieth century Christian civilization, money is still so much more important than the flesh and blood of childhood. In very truth, gold is god. . . .”

—quoted in *Echoes of Distant Thunder*

a. According to Debs, what were some problems in American society at this time? How did he believe change should be brought about?
b. How did Debs seem to feel about the Espionage Act? Do you agree with him? Why or why not?

24. Organizing Use a table like the one below to list the significant events of each year from 1914 to 1918.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
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<td>1915</td>
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<td>1916</td>
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<td>1917</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Practicing Skills

25. Analyzing Information Read the subsections titled “The Treaty of Versailles” and “The U.S. Senate Rejects the Treaty” on pages 468 and 469. Using the information on these pages, write an analysis of the effects of the treaty in the form that it was finally accepted.

Geography and History

26. The map on this page shows the geographical changes in Europe after World War I. Study the map and answer the questions below.
   a. Interpreting Maps After World War I, what new countries were formed using territory that had belonged to Austria-Hungary?
   b. Applying Geography Skills What countries acquired territory from the former Russian Empire?

Writing Activity

27. Persuasive Writing Take on the role of a newspaper editor in 1919. Write an editorial favoring or opposing ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.

Chapter Activity

28. Research Project Both the British and the American governments used propaganda to garner support for the war. Use the library and other resources to find examples of these propaganda techniques. Compile your research in an illustrated and captioned poster, and display it in the classroom.

Self-Check Quiz

Visit the American Republic Since 1877 Web site at tarvol2.glencoe.com and click on *Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 14* to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the best answer to the following question.

Which of the following was one of the primary causes of World War I?

A A complex set of alliances among European nations
B The exile of Mexican General Victoriano Huerta
C The dissatisfaction of Russian peasants
D The breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

Test-Taking Tip: Eliminate answers you know are incorrect. For example, the breakup of Austria-Hungary took place after World War I, so you can eliminate that answer. Similarly, the exile of Huerta occurred in Mexico, which had little effect on European nations. You also can eliminate that answer.