The War to End War

1917 - 1918
Wilson’s Failure to Keep the US Out of the War

- January 22, 1917 - Wilson delivered a passionate speech, reaffirming the US’s commitment to neutral rights and declaring only a “peace without victory” through negotiation would last.
Wilson’s Failure to Keep the US Out of the War

• On January 31, 1917 Germany announced a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare
  – Germany would sink all ships sailing into the war zone, including those of the US
A German U-boat
Germany Under All

GERMANY UNDER ALL.

—Morgan in the Philadelphia Inquirer.
Wilson’s Failure to Keep the US Out of the War

• Why did Germany take this drastic action, even though they did not want to fight the US?
  – Germany was losing the war and its people were starving because of Britain’s blockade; they hoped to quickly knock Britain out of the war before the US could enter the war.
Wilson’s Failure to Keep the US Out of the War

• In response, Wilson broke diplomatic relations with Germany but refused to take further action against Germany that might lead to war unless Germany took open action against US lives
War by Act of Germany

• Spring 1917 - Wilson asked Congress for authority to arm American merchant ships
  – A small group of Midwestern senators filibustered [making prolonged speeches in the Senate to delay action] the law to block its passage
  – Wilson called them a “little group of willful men” who made the US “helpless and contemptible”
  – Showed continuing strength of isolationism in US
War by Act of Germany

- March 1, 1917 - Zimmermann note intercepted and published
  - This was a secret note from German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann sent to Mexico, proposing a German-Mexican alliance
  - Zimmermann told Mexico that if they were successful, they might be able to recover their lost territories in the southwest US (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona)
The Zimmermann Telegram

GERMAN LEGATION
MEXICO CITY
130 13042 13401 8501 115 3528 416 17214 6491 11310
18147 18222 21560 10247 11518 23677 13605 3494 14936
98092 5905 11311 10392 10351 0302 21290 5161 59695
23571 17504 11289 18276 18101 0317 0228 17694 4475
22284 22200 19452 21589 87893 5569 13918 8958 12137
1333 4725 4458 5905 17166 13851 4458 17149 14471 6706
13880 12224 8929 14991 7382 15857 67895 14218 56477
5870 17503 57893 5870 5454 16102 15217 22801 17138
21001 17388 7140 23638 18222 6719 14331 15021 23845
3156 23552 22096 21604 4797 9497 22461 20855 4377
23610 18140 22260 5905 13347 20420 39689 13732 20867
6929 5275 18557 52282 1340 20249 13339 11265 2295
10439 14814 4178 6992 8784 7032 7357 6928 52282 11267
21100 21272 9346 9559 22464 15874 18502 18500 15857
2188 5376 7381 98092 16127 13446 9350 9220 76036 14219
5144 2831 17920 11347 17142 11264 7667 7752 15099 9110
10482 97556 3569 3670

Charge German Embassy.

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

FROM 2nd from London # 5747.

By Mack Eddy aboard.

Date: Oct 27th 1917

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

• March 1917 - Germany began carrying out its policy of unrestricted warfare
  – 4 US merchant ships sunk in the Atlantic
  – “The difference between war and what we have now is that now we aren’t fighting back.” (a Philadelphia newspaper)
Standing Back of Him
War by Act of Germany

• March 1917 - the Russian Revolution
  – Russia (the only country that was not a democracy) became democratic when the tsar was overthrown
  – The US could now fight in the war for “democracy” with a newly democratic ally (along with the other democratic allies, Britain and France)
War by Act of Germany

- April 2, 1917 - Wilson asked for a declaration of war from Congress
  - Wilson’s attempt to keep the US out of the war and still conduct neutral trade had failed
  - The US could deal with Britain’s harassment of US shipping, but Germany’s killing of civilians was unacceptable
  - The idea that the US was dragged into the war by merchants and bankers is probably not true
    - Neutrality was already extremely profitable for these people from selling Europe (mainly the Allies) weapons
Wilson Requests a Declaration of War
Wilsonian Idealism Enthroned

- War would severely try the leadership skills of Wilson
  - He had to convince a country that had always seen itself as independent of the wars and problems in Europe
  - Neutrality and isolationism had been strengthened and reinforced by the profitable selling of war supplies to Europe since 1914
  - Reflecting the feelings of many isolationists, 6 senators and 50 representatives voted against the war resolution
Wilsonian Idealism

Enthroned

• Wilson could not argue for protecting US shipping from the submarine; he would have to find something more glorious
  – In his speech, he declared the war would “make the world safe for democracy”
  – He compared the selfish motives of the other countries involved (including the Allies), who fought for territory or riches, with America’s selflessness
The importance of Wilson’s “idealism”

- Wilson believed his idealistic words; he correctly saw the danger of the kinds of wars that industrial powers were now capable of fighting
- Wilson’s idealistic words and goals were probably the only way that Americans would have supported the war
- Americans were now whipped into a strong spirit of war
Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points

• January 8, 1918 - Wilson delivered his Fourteen Points speech to Congress
  – Primary purpose was to keep Russia in the war
  – Inspired all the Allies to increase their fighting efforts
  – Demoralized enemies by holding out promises of freedom to their unhappy minorities
Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points

• The most important of the 14 points
  – Abolish secret treaties
  – Freedom of the seas
  – Removal of economic barriers among nations
  – Reduction of armaments
  – Adjustment of colonial claims in interests of both native peoples and colonial powers
  – “self determination” for minority groups in a country
  – League of Nations, an international organization that would provide collective security, protecting large and small countries from aggression
## Wilson’s Fourteen Points

### Table 22.2
Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points, 1918: Success and Failure in Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Point</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Success/Failure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Open covenants of peace openly arrived at</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas in peace and war</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Removal of all economic barriers to the equality of trade among nations</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Reduction of armaments to the level needed only for domestic safety</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Impartial adjustment of colonial claims</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Evacuation of all Russian territory; Russia to be welcomed into the society of free nations</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Evacuation and restoration of Belgium</td>
<td>Fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Evacuation and restoration of all French lands; return of Alsace-Lorraine to France</td>
<td>Fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Readjustment of Italy’s frontiers along lines of Italian nationality</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Self-determination for the former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Evacuation of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro; free access to the sea for Serbia</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Self-determination for the former subjects of the Ottoman empire; secure sovereignty for Turkish portion</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Establishment of an independent Poland, with free and secure access to the sea</td>
<td>Fulfilled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Establishment of a League of Nations affording mutual guarantees of independence and territorial integrity</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wilson’s Fourteen Potent Points

- Although most people supported the 14 Points, not everyone did
  - Some Allies wanted territory after the war
  - Some Republicans in the US disagreed with the idea that the US would give up control of the war to foreign countries
Creel Manipulates Minds

- Committee on Public Information created, headed by journalist George Creel
  - Purpose was to get the US public to support the war and the rest of the world to support Wilson’s goals
Creel Manipulates Minds

• Tactics of the Committee on Public Information
  – 75,000 “four-minute men” sent out to deliver patriotic speeches
  – Posters, leaflets, pamphlets, booklets sent out
  – Anti-German movies (“To Hell with the Kaiser”) showed supposed German brutality
  – Conductors led audiences in patriotic songs
    • Most famous song from the time was “Over There”
You – Buy a Liberty Bond Lest I Perish
Enlist
The Hun – His Mark, Blot It Out with Liberty Bonds
• Johnnie, get your gun,
Get your gun, get your gun,
Take it on the run,
On the run, on the run.
Hear them calling, you and me,
Every son of liberty.
Hurry right away,
No delay, go today,
Make your daddy glad
To have had such a lad.
Tell your sweetheart not to pine,
To be proud her boy's in line.
(chorus sung twice)

• Pack your little kit,
Show your grit, do your bit.
Yankee to the ranks,
From the towns and the tanks.
Make your mother proud of you,
And the old Red, White and Blue.
(chorus sung twice)

• Chorus
Over there, over there,
Send the word, send the word over there
That the Yanks are coming,
The Yanks are coming,
The drums rum-tumming
Ev'rywhere.
So prepare, say a pray'r,
Send the word, send the word to beware.
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back till it's over
Over there.

• Johnnie, get your gun,
Get your gun, get your gun,
Johnnie show the Hun
Who's a son of a gun.
Hoist the flag and let her fly,
Yankee Doodle do or die.
Creel Manipulates Minds

- Creel was able to get the country and the world behind Wilson
  - But many came to expect too much, and Wilson was soon to let many people down, leading to disillusionment and anger
Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

• German-Americans
  – There were about 8 million German Americans (those with at least 1 parent who was foreign-born) out of a total US population of 100 million
  – Most were loyal to the US, although rumors were spread of spying and sabotage
Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

- Anti-German hysteria
  - There was some violence against German Americans (a few were beat up or tarred and feathered; one German American was lynched)
  - Orchestras could not play German music
  - German books were taken off library shelves
  - German foreign language classes canceled in high schools and colleges
  - Some German items became renamed (sauerkraut was renamed “liberty cabbage”; hamburger was renamed “liberty steak”; even beer was seen as unpatriotic)
Where He Can Be Kept Out of Mischief
Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

- The Espionage Act (1917) and Sedition Act (1918) were used by the government to stop any criticism of the war
  - Espionage Act (1917)
    - Provided imprisonment of up to 20 years for persons who either tried to incite rebellion in the armed forces or obstruct the operation of the draft
  - Sedition Act (1918)
    - Attacked free speech by prohibiting anyone from making “disloyal” or “abusive” remarks about the US government or its officers
Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

• About 1900 people were prosecuted under these laws for being critical of the war, including many Socialists and members of the radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
  – Eugene V. Debs sentenced to 10 years in federal prison, as was Big Bill Heywood and other associates of the IWW
  – Pardons were granted to many in the early 1920s by President Harding (including Debs in 1921), but a few people stayed in prison until the 1930s
Enforcing Loyalty and Stifling Dissent

• Schenck v. United States (1919)
  – Case had to do with a socialist convicted under Espionage Act for handing out flyers in opposition to the draft
  – The Supreme Court upheld the legality of the Espionage Act
  – Free speech could be limited or taken away when it was a “clear and present danger” to the nation
The Nation’s Factories Go to War

- The country was unprepared for the war, although Wilson had taken some measures as early as 1915 to get ready
  - Created a civilian Council of National Defense to study problems of economic mobilization
  - Launched a shipbuilding program (which helped with foreign trade as well as helped get the navy ready for war)
  - Slightly increased the size of the army (which had only 100,000 men, 15th in the world)
The Nation’s Factories Go to War

• Large obstacles faced the need to mobilize the economy for war
  – Ignorance about how much the economy war capable of producing
  – Fears about big government; both states’ rights Democrats and businesses opposed government control of the economy
The Nation’s Factories Go to War

• The War Industries Board
  – Created late in the war (March 1918)
  – Headed by stock speculator Bernard Baruch
  – Never had much power over the economy; was disbanded right after the end of the war
  – Showed that Americans strongly favored a weak federal government with little control over the economy
Workers in Wartime

- Workers helped the US fight the war
  - War Department had a “work or fight” policy; any unemployed male would be immediately drafted (discouraging strikes)
Work or Fight
Workers in Wartime

• National War Labor Board
  – Chaired by former president Taft
  – Worked to fix disputes between labor and management that might hurt war production
  – Pushed employers for higher wages and 8-hour days
  – Did not give unions what they most wanted: a government guarantee of the right to organize
Workers in Wartime

- Mainstream unions, including the American Federation of Labor (AF of L) under Samuel Gompers, supported the war
  - These unions were rewarded with a doubling of membership (to 3 million) and real wages (adjusted for inflation) increased 20% over prewar levels
Workers in Wartime

• Radical unions (like the IWW) did not support the war
  – Some in the IWW even carried out industrial sabotage, to prevent production of war goods
  – The IWW represented the poorest of workers, including transient laborers, and worked in the worst working conditions in the country
  – When they protested, many were viciously beaten or arrested
Workers in Wartime

• Despite their gains, problems for unions remained
  – High inflation threatened the wage gains labor had made
  – Over 6,000 strikes, including some violent ones, occurred during the war
Workers in Wartime

- 1919 - the greatest strike in US history occurred in the steel industry
  - Over 250,000 workers walked out of the steel mills to force the employers to recognize their union
  - The steel companies resisted, refusing to negotiate and bringing in 30,000 black strikebreakers
  - After some violent confrontations that left some workers dead, the steel strike collapsed, pushing progress back in unionization for over a decade
Steel Strike
Agitator
Addressing a Crowd
Striking Steel Workers
Coming Out of the Smoke

COMING OUT OF THE SMOKE.
Workers in Wartime

• Tens of thousands of blacks moved northward during the war
  – Most moved to take advantage of the new jobs available in war industries
  – This movement was the beginning of an explosion of blacks moving north in the next few decades
African American Migration Northward

[Map showing migration routes from the South to the North and West in the 20th century. The map highlights major cities and states, indicating the movement of African Americans from rural Southern areas to Northern and Western cities.]
Workers in Wartime

• Blacks and whites moving together in previously white areas caused tensions
  – July 1917 - riot in East St. Louis, Missouri left 9 whites and at least 40 blacks dead
  – In Chicago, as blacks moved into white working-class neighborhoods, problems ensued
    • July 1919 - a bloody riot occurred when a young black man drifted into an area of a swimming area informally reserved for whites; this man was stoned and drowned; rioting then went on for 2 weeks, with gangs of whites and blacks attacking each other; 15 whites and 23 blacks were killed
Suffering Until Suffrage

• The war split the women’s suffrage movement
  – The National Woman’s party, headed by Quaker pacifist Alice Paul, opposed US participation in the war and women’s support in the war effort
  – Most women, represented by the National American Woman Suffrage Association, supported Wilson and the war, arguing that women must take part in the war to win democracy at home (by winning the vote)
A Women’s Suffrage Protest
Led by Alice Paul
Suffering Until Suffrage

• Thousands of women took jobs in factories that men had left when they went to fight
  – The Women’s Bureau was created inside the Department of Labor to protect women in the workplace
  – Wilson supported women’s suffrage because of their work in supporting the war
Women Workers in Puget Sound Navy Yard, 1919
Suffering Until Suffrage

- States around the country ratified suffrage during the war (on top of those that already had women’s suffrage)
- In 1920, the 19th Amendment was ratified, giving women across the country the right to vote
Women Casting Their First Votes
Suffering Until Suffrage

• Although women made important gains during the war (especially the right to vote), they lost many of these gains after the war
  – Most women gave up their jobs soon after the war
  – Congress restated its support for women in traditional roles (the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Act provided federal support for instruction in maternal and infant health care)
  – After the war, women worked for laws to protect women in the workplace and prohibit child labor, foreshadowing the future when women would be much more visible and powerful in American public life
Although Women Gained the Vote, They Could Only Choose Among Male Candidates
Forging a War Economy

- Getting the country ready for war relied on emotions and patriotism much more than laws or regulations; the war organization drive was mostly voluntary and haphazard.
  - The reason for this was that America was not fighting on its own land (and therefore if the US lost, its existence and sovereignty were not threatened) and the power of the government was still limited much more so than it is now.
Forging a War Economy

• The Food Administration, headed by Herbert Hoover
  – Hoover used voluntary compliance (not forced regulation) - ration cards were rejected
  – Propaganda was used extensively (posters, billboards, newspapers, pulpits, movies)
  – Voluntary “wheatless Wednesdays” and “meatless Tuesdays” were instituted to save food
  – “victory gardens” in citizens’ backyards were used to save food
Don’t Waste Food While Others Starve!
Forging a War Economy

- As part of the drive to save food, the use of wheat, barley, and other food products to make alcohol was restricted by Congress.
  - This was reinforced by the fact that many alcohol brewers were German and the spirit of sacrifice that people had during the war.
  - The drive for prohibition, that had been sweeping the country for several decades before, led to the passage of the 18th Amendment in 1919, prohibiting all alcoholic drinks.
Forging a War Economy

• Hoover’s voluntary approach worked very well
  – Food production increased by 25%
  – Food exports to the Allies tripled
Forging a War Economy

• Hoover’s methods at the Food Administration were imitated by other war agencies
  – The Fuel Administration had “heatless Mondays”, “lightless nights” and “gaslessless Sundays”
Forging a War Economy

- Paying for the war
  - Through Liberty Loan drives the Treasury department pushed purchasing of Liberty Bonds
    - $21 billion (about 2/3 of the current cost of the war) was financed through these bonds
    - Although rare, sometimes intimidation and threats of physical violence was used to pressure people into buying war bonds
  - Increased income taxes (on both individuals and corporations) as well as an increased tax on luxury goods raised about $12 billion and helped pay for the rest of the war
  - The ultimate cost of the war (including interest and veterans’ benefits) was about $112 billion
Bonds Buy Bullets!
Forging a War Economy

- There were times when the government did not use voluntary means to regulate the war effort
  - Late 1917 - the government took over the railroads after some large traffic tie-ups
  - The government seized merchant ships and organized a large drive to build new ones
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

• Most citizens did not believe the US would have to send troops to Europe
  – The US was fighting to preserve freedom of the seas; it would ship war material to the Allies and help them with loans (totaling $10 billion) but not fight on the ground
  – April-May 1917 - the Allies told the US that to win, US soldiers would have to fight; they were running out of money and (even worse) soldiers
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- Conscription (drafting soldiers into the army) was the only way the US would be able to raise the number of soldiers needed
  - Wilson at first resisted, but eventually saw this was the only option and was only a temporary necessity
  - Some in Congress opposed a conscription law; it took 6 weeks to pass
Don’t Wait for the Draft – Volunteer
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- The Selective Service Act (1917)
  - Required registration of all men, aged 18 to 45
  - No one could purchase an “exemption” as the rich had during the Civil War
  - Workers in important industries, like shipbuilding, were exempt from the law
I Want You for the US Army!
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- The draft machinery worked generally very well
  - Registration day was a day of patriotism and fervor
  - About 337,000 men did escape the draft, and about 4,000 were granted “conscientious objector” status
  - The law eventually furnished about 2.8 million men, of about 4.7 million men total that served in the war
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

• Minorities and women in the armed forces
  – For the first time, women were allowed to serve, although not in combat; about 11,000 served in the navy and 269 in the marines
  – Blacks also served in segregated units and usually under white officers
  – White commanders were reluctant to train blacks for combat duty; most were assigned to manual labor (things like construction of unloading of ships)
Black Soldiers During World War I
True Sons of Freedom
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

• Training
  – Most recruits were supposed to spend 6 months in the US and 2 months in Europe receiving training
  – However, because of the great need for men, some soldiers were shipped off to fight with little to no training
Fighting in France--Belatedly

- October 1917 - Bolsheviks (Communists) took power in Russia
  - Early 1918 - Communists withdrew Russia from the war
- Germany’s eastern front was now secure; hundreds of thousands of Germans moved to the west to fight the Allies there
Revolution and Civil War in Russia, 1914–1920.

Revolutionary and civil unrest was greatest in those areas of Russia with the greatest concentrations of peasants. Kulaks, the more prosperous peasants, were severely repressed for resisting the requisitioning of food after 1918.
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- Germany’s calculations about how long it would take the US to mobilize for war were basically accurate
  - Germany had planned to knock Britain out of the war 6 months after the start of unrestricted warfare
    - No real effective US force reached France until 1 year after Congress declared war
  - Germany also planned on the US having problems transporting their army to Europe, which ended up being true
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

• Early American activity in France
  – Usually used as replacement for Allied forces worn out by 4 years of fighting
  – At first, usually assigned to more quiet areas with more experienced British and French troops
Making Plowboys into Doughboys

- Allied activities in Russia made the communists there resent the outside capitalistic world; they believed the West was trying to destroy their communist government
  - To keep war supplies from falling into the hands of Germany, 5,000 US troops invaded northwestern Russia
  - With 70,000 Japanese, about 10,000 US troops were sent to Siberia to prevent Japan from gaining power in Siberia, to rescue 45,000 Czechoslovakian troops, and take Russian military supplies
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- Spring 1918 - the German drive at the Western Front occurred (using soldiers transported from the Eastern Front)
  - The Allied nations had to respond by fighting in a much more coordinated fashion than they had before
  - Marshal Foch (French) became supreme commander of all the Allied forces in Europe (including US troops)
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

• May 1918 - Germans reach within 40 miles of Paris, threatening to knock France out of the war
  – US troops arrived just in time; at Château-Thierry they helped stop the German advance in France
  – This battle was the first major engagement that US troops fought in; it showed the almost inexhaustible supply of fresh troops and supplies that the US could use in the war against Germany

• By July 1918 - the German drive West had been stopped
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

• July 1918 - Second Battle of the Marne
  – Vital US forces participated in this counteroffensive
  – This began a German retreat that continued until the end of the war
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- September 1918 - St. Mihiel salient (projection)
  - 9 US divisions (about 243,000 men) with 4 French divisions pushed back a projection of German forces inside France
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- Summer 1918 - General John J. Pershing given command of US forces and their own section of the front lines
  - Americans wanted to fight on their own, separate from British and French
  - US section of the front was 85 miles from the Swiss border northwest to the French lines
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- September 26 - November 11, 1918 - last drive to push the Germans back
  - US troops fought in the Meuse-Argonne offensive in this push (with 1 objective to cut railroad lines through which Germans supplied their front lines)
  - The US experienced heavy casualties (10% of the total 1.2 million US soldiers involved) because of inadequate training and foolish tactics, in which US soldiers would move into heavy fire
Major U.S. Operations in France, 1918
America Helps Hammer the “Hun”

- The war ended just in time for the Allies, as critical supplies were running short, even for the US
- Germany surrendered because:
  - Their allies were deserting them
  - The British blockade was causing critical food shortages
  - Hard attacks by Allied hit them relentlessly
  - Allied propaganda (with Wilson’s 14 Points promises) gave German citizens and soldiers hope of a just peace
The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

- October 1918 - Germany asked Wilson for surrender terms based on the 14 Points
  - Wilson, seeking to get rid of the militarists in Germany, told the Germans that the Kaiser must be overthrown before peace could occur; the Kaiser was then exiled to Holland
The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

• November 11, 1918 - Germany surrenders
  – At 11 o’clock on the 11th day of the 11th month
  – An eerie quiet fell over the Western Front
  – In the US, people celebrated around the clock
The Human and Financial Costs of World War I

**Casualties**
- Russia: 9.30 million
- Germany: 7.21 million
- France and Its Empire: 6.22 million
- Austria: 4.65 million
- Great Britain and Its Empire: 3.43 million
- Turkey: 2.20 million
- Italy: 2.19 million
- United States: 325,326

**Financial and Economic Costs**
- Germany: $58.07 billion
- Great Britain and Its Empire: $51.98 billion
- France and Its Empire: $49.88 billion
- United States: $32.32 billion
- Austria: $23.71 billion
- Russia: $21.60 billion
- Italy: $18.14 billion
- Belgium: $10.20 billion

The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

• Evaluating the American contribution to the victory
  – The main US contributions to the war were food, war supplies, credit (money), oil, and manpower
  – The US did not contribute battlefield victories
    • The US only fought in 2 major battles (St. Mihiel and the Meuse-Argonne) and in the Meuse-Argonne, the objectives of the battle still weren’t met when the war ended
  – What demoralized and defeated the Germans was the prospect of large numbers of troops from the US, not the actual performance of US soldiers
The Fourteen Points Disarm Germany

- Ironically, Pershing in some ways depended more on the Allies than they did on him
  - His armies purchased more supplies in Europe than they had shipped from the US
  - Most of his artillery and all his airplanes were from Europe, not the US
  - Britain and France transported most US soldiers to Europe
Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

• After the war, Wilson was almost universally seen as the moral leader of the world
  – But in drafting the peace, he began a series of mistakes that ended his hopes of remaking the world after the war
Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

• First, he broke a truce that the Democrats and Republicans had during the war ("Politics is Adjourned") that kept political fighting to a minimum during the war
  – Wilson personally campaigned for a Democratic victory in the congressional elections of 1918
  – Voters elected a narrow Republican majority, weakening Wilson at home and at the peace negotiations in Europe
Wilson Steps Down from Olympus

• Wilson further antagonized Republicans by doing the following:
  – He went to Europe in person to negotiate the treaty, instead of sending representatives; no president before had traveled to Europe and Wilson looked like he was showing off
  – No Republican senator was included in the official delegation
    • Henry Cabot Lodge, a Republican senator and Harvard Ph.D. from Massachusetts would have been a good choice, but Wilson and Lodge hated each other
An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

• Wilson, seen as an idealistic hero and someone who could bring about a better world, was greeted by cheering crowds in Europe

• However, the other “Big Four” leaders were not out for idealism, but to gain the most they could for their countries from the defeat of Germany
  – Big Four were: Wilson from the US, Premier Vitto Orlando of Italy, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France (the most cynical and realistic of the 4)
The “Big Four” – George, Orlando, Clemenceau and Wilson
An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

• January 18, 1919 - the peace conference opened
  – Speed was important because Europe seemed to by falling for communism and anarchy
Wilson’s primary goal was the establishment of a world organization, called the League of Nations. League was to be an assembly in which all the countries in the world could meet, with a council controlled by the great powers.
An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

• First, Wilson worked to prevent a return of colonialism
  – The Allies wanted to take Germany’s colonies and divide them among themselves
  – Wilson forced a compromise between imperialism and idealism
    • The conquered territory could not be taken directly by the Allied countries
    • Instead, the territories would be taken by the Allies as trustees of the League of Nations (“mandates”); in practice, this was the same old colonialism under a different name
An Idealist Battles the Imperialists in Paris

- February 1919 - Wilson gained an important victory for his goal of getting a League of Nations established
  - Wilson got the great powers to promise to make the League Covenant (charter), a part of the final treaty
Muzzling the Dog of War
Hammering Out the Treaty

• While Wilson was in Paris, there was growing opposition to the treaty (primarily the League of Nations) in the US among Republican senators
  – Wilson even had to return home in early 1919 to try to put down the rebellion
Hammering Out the Treaty

- Republicans (somewhat contradictorily) both criticized the League because it would be ineffective (a “sewing circle”) or a too-powerful “super-state”
  - About 12 senators (“irreconcilables”) declared that they would never sign the treaty
  - The reservationists (39, led by Senator Lodge) refused to support the League without some changes (mainly to protect US sovereignty and keep the Monroe Doctrine in force)
Better Keep to the Old Channel

McCay in the New York American
Blowing Bubbles
Interrupting the Ceremony

John T. McCutcheon. The Tribune (Chicago), 1918.
Hammering Out the Treaty

- These problems at home significantly weakened Wilson in his negotiations with the Allied leaders
  - Now Wilson would have to beg them for changes in the charter covenant to satisfy the Republican senators
  - Once back in France, the Allied leaders pushed their demands on Wilson
Hammering Out the Treaty

• Clemenceau demanded the German Rhineland and the Saar Valley (rich in coal); France eventually settled for a compromise:
  – The Saar Valley would be under the control of the League of Nations for 15 years, and then a vote by the people there would determine what happened (in 1935 they voted to join Germany overwhelmingly)
  – In exchange for dropping demands for the Rhineland, France got the Security Treaty (Britain and the US promised defense if Germany invaded again)
  • The US Senate later pigeonholed (set aside without passing) this treaty to avoid “entangling alliances” making the French feel betrayed
Hammering Out the Treaty

- Italy demanded Fiume, a valuable seaport inhabited by both Italians and Yugoslavians
  - Wilson wanted the port to go to the Yugoslavians, and when the Italian leaders opposed him, he unsuccessfully tried to get the Italian people on his side
  - Italy seized the port against Wilson’s wishes
Hammering Out the Treaty

- Japan wanted to keep control of China’s Shandong (Shantung) Peninsula and German islands in the Pacific captured during the war (Marshalls, Marianas, Carolines)
  - Wilson agreed to let Japan keep the islands as a League of Nations mandate (which Japan illegally fortified and used as bases against the US during WWII)
  - Wilson initially opposed Japan keeping control of the Shandong Peninsula, where 30 million Chinese lived, but agreed (because Japan threatened to walk out) to allow Japan to keep German economic holdings and return the Peninsula to China at a later date
The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

• June 1919 - the treaty is handed to the Germans (who had been excluded from the peace conference)
  – Germany had hoped for a peace based on the 14 Points, but only 4 of the were actually honored
  – Vengeance, not peace, was the main thrust of the treaty (and Hitler would soon take advantage of this fact)
The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

• Major provisions of the final Treaty of Versailles
  – Germany disarmed and stripped of colonies in Africa and Asia, forced to admit guilt for war, forced to accept French occupation of Rhineland for 15 years, forced to pay huge sums of money ($56 billion) to Britain and France
  – Self-determination was given to countries once controlled by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia
  – Independence granted to Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Poland
  – New nations of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia created
  – Signers of the treaty joined the League of Nations; Article X of the treaty promised to defend the independence and territorial integrity of other nations
Europe After the Treaty of Versailles, 1919
German Territorial Losses

**German Territorial Losses 1919-1921**

- **Northern Schleswig** voted to join Denmark (75% to 25%)
- **Southern Schleswig** voted to remain German (81% to 19%)
- **Danzig** declared a ‘Free City’ administered by League of Nations
- **Memel Land** seized by Lithuania 1923
- **Allenstein** voted to remain German (97.5% to 2.5%)
- **Marienwerder** voted to remain German (92.8% to 7.2%)
- **So-called Polish Corridor** (West Prussia and Posen) transferred to Poland without a plebiscite
- **Upper Silesia** unexpectedly divided into two zones: Western and Eastern, after a plebiscite produced a majority favoring remaining German (68% to 32%)

**Principal German Losses**

- 100% of her pre-war colonies
- 80% of her pre-war fleet
- 48% of all iron production
- 16% of all coal production
- 13% of her 1914 territory
- 12% of her population

**Eupen-Malmedy** transferred to Belgium

**Saarland** administered by France under the League of Nations until a plebiscite to be held in 1935

**Alsace-Lorraine** ceded to France without a plebiscite after 47 years of German rule

**Demilitarized Rhineland** administered by Germany, but no fortifications or military forces allowed in the area

**Territory lost by Germany after her defeat**

**Territory retained by Germany following voting by the local population**

**Territory retained by Germany, but within which no fortifications could be built or soldiers stationed**
Germany’s View of Europe After the War
The Peace Treaty That Bred a New War

• It wasn’t really Wilson’s fault that the treaty had turned out this way
  – He was forced to compromise with Allies who wanted to take revenge on Germany for causing the war
  – He hoped that, in spite of the problems, the League of Nations (with the US as leader) would fix things in the future
  – And in spite of the problems, the treaty was more fair both to Germany and the millions of conquered people around the world than it otherwise would have been
The Domestic Parade of Prejudice

• Strong opposition to the treaty from many groups greeted Wilson when he returned to the US
  – Isolationists refuse to support US membership in the League of Nations
  – German-haters saw the treaty as too lenient on Germany
  – Many liberals saw the treaty as too harsh, and a violation of the 14 Points
  – German and Italian Americans saw the treaty as too harsh to their native lands
  – Irish Americans believed the treaty gave Britain too much power in the League of Nations (and might be used to end Irish independence from Britain)
Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

• At first, it appeared that the treaty would be ratified
  – Lodge and other Republican senators only hoped to change the treaty to make it more acceptable (“Americanize” or “Republicanize” it) not defeat it
  – To stall, Lodge tied up the treaty in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, holding long hearings
Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

• As the summer of 1919 wore on, Wilson got impatient
  – Wilson decided to go on a speaking tour and take his case for the treaty directly to the people
  – Wilson had always been in frail health, and the 7 years as president had only made his health worse; his doctor and friends opposed the tour, but Wilson insisted
Going to Talk to the Boss
Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

- September 1919 - the tour begins weakly in the Midwest
  - A strong German American influence among the people there, along with strong isolationist beliefs, led crowds to only lukewarm cheering for Wilson
  - Worse, 2 “irreconcilable” senators followed a few days after Wilson, making anti-treaty speeches to cheering crowds
Wilson on the Tour to Promote the League of Nations
Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

• In the Rockies and California, where support for Wilson was strong, he was greeted with cheering crowds.

• On the return trip, on September 25, 1919, in Pueblo, Colorado, Wilson collapsed after a draining speech in which Wilson pleaded for the League as the only way to prevent future wars.
Wilson’s Tour and Collapse (1919)

• He was rushed back to Washington, DC, where a few days later he had a stroke that paralyzed 1 side of his body
  – For weeks after, he laid in bed; he was unable to meet his cabinet for 7 months
Defeat Through Deadlock

• Lodge and other “reservationists” now proposed 14 changes to the Treaty of Versailles
  – These changes primarily had to do with protecting the Monroe Doctrine, US sovereignty, and Congress’ right to declare (or not to declare) war, since the treaty obligated the US to go to war if a member of the League was threatened with violence
Defeat Through Deadlock

• Wilson hated Lodge and his proposed changes, and absolutely refused to compromise
  – Wilson instructed Democrats to vote “no” on the treaty with Lodge’s changes; the treaty was voted down on November 19, 1919 (55 to 39)
Defeat Through Deadlock

• 80% of the senators and overwhelming public pressure on the Senate forced them to consider the treaty again
  – On March 19, 1920, the treaty was again rejected (49 to 35, not the necessary 2/3) after Wilson again instructed Democrats to oppose the treaty with Lodge’s reservations
Defeat Through Deadlock

• Who defeated the treaty?
  – Although there were many factors (the feud between Wilson and Lodge), isolationism, and partisanship), Wilson bears substantial responsibility for its defeat
  – He demanded all or nothing, and got nothing
The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920

- Wilson’s solution to the treaty crisis was to (foolishly) try to settle the issue through a “solemn referendum” [a general vote by the electorate on a single political question that has been referred to them for a direct decision] in the election of 1920
The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

• Republicans (reunited with Bull Moose supporters when Roosevelt died in 1919) nominated Senator Warren G. Harding
  – Harding was a common, “folksy”, small-town newspaper editor; almost completely opposite the cold, intellectual Wilson
  – Calvin Coolidge, a pro-business governor from Massachusetts, was the nominee for vice president
  – The Republican platform consisted of an ambiguous platform that was vague enough to appeal to both pro-League and anti-League voters
The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

- Democrats nominated Governor James M. Cox (Ohio), a strong supporter of the League, with Assistant Navy Secretary Franklin D. Roosevelt as his running mate
  - Democrats ran on a strongly pro-League platform
The "Solemn Referendum" of 1920

- Democrats attempted to make the campaign about the League of Nations, but were not successful
  - Harding made contradictory statements about the issue, claiming to support a vague "Association of Nations", not explaining if this was to be the League of Nations or not
  - Pro-League and anti-League Republicans both claimed to that Harding’s election would further their cause
The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

• Harding was elected with a strong win over Cox
  – 16.1 million to 9.1 million popular votes; 404 to 127 electoral votes
  – Eugene Debs, a federal prisoner (because of conviction under the Espionage Act) still won over 900,000 votes for the Socialist party
The Election of 1920
The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

• Interpreting the results of the election of 1920
  – People were tired of Wilson’s star-reaching idealism and self-sacrifice
  – Americans wanted “normalcy” and Harding promised them that
The “Solemn Referendum” of 1920

- The election and the fate of the League
  - Although the election can’t be considered a true referendum on the League, Republicans successfully blocked its ratification permanently
    - The US signed a separate treaty with Germany to end the war
The Betrayal of Great Expectations

• Whether or not America entering the League of Nations would have stopped World War II is still hotly debated
  – What is sure is that the US staying out drastically weakened the League
  – Although the League lasted over 10 years, it might have lasted longer and blocked the rise of Hitler if the US had provided world leadership
The Betrayal of Great Expectations

• In addition to the League, the US also did not ratify the Security Treaty with France
  – France, fearful of another invasion by Germany, began to build up its armed forces on the border
  – This buildup led Germany to begin to illegally rearm
  – If the US would have provided the guarantees to France to prevent rearmament in Europe, perhaps war could have been stopped
The Maginot Line, France’s Fortifications Against a German Invasion
The Betrayal of Great Expectations

• Instead of living up to the responsibilities that history and destiny had given it, the US ignored world problems, and ultimately had to fight in an even bloodier and more destructive war 20 years later.