Chapter 16

World War I and Its Aftermath

1914–1920

SECTION 1  The United States Enters World War I
SECTION 2  The Home Front
SECTION 3  A Bloody Conflict
SECTION 4  The War’s Impact

American soldiers fire on German positions during the Battle of the Argonne Forest, 1918

1914
• Franz Ferdinand assassinated; war begins in Europe

1915
• German submarine sinks the Lusitania

1916
• Battle of Verdun begins in February
• Battle of the Somme begins in July

1917
• U.S. enters the war
• Selective Service Act passed

1917
• Bolshevik Revolution begins in October
MAKING CONNECTIONS

Why Do Nations Go to War?

World War I was the first time in American history that the United States sent troops to fight in Europe. This decision ended the long-standing policy of remaining neutral in Europe’s wars.

- Why do you think the United States changed its policy and sent troops to Europe?
- Do you think it was a difficult decision?

Organizing Information

As you read the chapter, write information under each tab, listing which country is in the alliance, why it joined the alliance, or what reasons it had for disagreeing with the countries in the opposing alliance.
Militarism, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism led to World War I in Europe. Attacks on U.S. ships and American support for the Allies eventually caused the United States to enter the war.

World War I Begins

MAIN Idea Old alliances and nationalist sentiments among European nations set the stage for World War I.

HISTORY AND YOU Does your school have a long-standing rivalry with another school? Read how European nations formed political alliances that brought most of the continent into war.

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.

Militarism and Alliances

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, promising to come to each other’s aid in a war with the Triple Alliance.
In 1839, Britain gave Belgium a guarantee that it would protect Belgium’s neutrality.

The system of alliances in Europe encouraged militarism—the aggressive build-up of armed forces to intimidate and threaten other nations. German militarism eventually forced Britain to become involved in the alliance system. Britain’s policy was to support weaker countries against stronger ones so as to make sure no country conquered all of Europe. By the late 1800s, it was clear that Germany had become the strongest nation in Europe.

In 1898 Germany began building a large modern navy as well. A strong German navy threatened the British, who depended on their naval strength to protect their island from invasion. By the early 1900s, an arms race had begun between Great Britain and Germany, as both nations 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 still 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.
Chapter 16
World War I and Its Aftermath

Imperialism and Nationalism

By the late 1800s, nationalism, or a feeling of intense pride in one’s homeland, had become a powerful idea in Europe. Nationalists place 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 share a national identity 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.

Imperialism—the idea that a country can increase its power and wealth by controlling other peoples—had convinced the major European powers to build empires in the 1700s and 1800s. Nationalism ran counter to imperialism. As the idea of nationalism spread in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the different national groups within Europe’s empires began to press for independence.

Among the groups pushing for independence were the Serbs, Bosniaks, 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 had 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 Terrorist Attack Brings 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 Alliances Are Triggered**  
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 promised to support Russia if war began.

On July 28 Austria-Hungary 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 Austro-Hungarian 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.
America Declares War

**MAIN Idea**  British propaganda and business interests led most Americans to a pro-British stance on the war.

**HISTORY AND YOU**  Do you recall a time when you tried to remain neutral in a fight between friends? Read how the United States tried to stay out of World War I.

When the fighting began, President Wilson was determined to keep the country out of a European war. He immediately declared the United States to be neutral in the conflict. “We must be impartial in thought as well as in action,” Wilson stated. For many Americans that proved difficult to do.

Americans Take Sides

Despite the president’s plea, many Americans supported one side or the other. Many of the country’s 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, however, American public opinion favored the Allied cause. Many Americans valued the heritage, language, and political ideals they shared with Britain. Others treasured America’s links with France, a great friend to America during the Revolutionary War.

For more than two years, the United States officially remained neutral. During this time a great debate began over whether the United States should prepare for war. Supporters of the “preparedness” movement believed that preparing for war was the best way to make sure the United States was not dragged into the conflict. They also argued that if the United States was pulled into the war, it was better to be prepared.

Other Americans disagreed. In 1915 Carrie Chapman Catt and Jane Addams—leaders of the woman suffrage movement—founded the Women’s Peace Party (later known as the International League for Peace and Freedom). This organization, along with others such as the League to Limit Armament, worked to keep America out of the war by urging the president not to build up the military.

Government Officials Back Britain  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. Many 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 sides 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.
To control the flow of news to the United States, the British cut the transatlantic telegraph cable from Europe to the United States. This meant that most war news would be based on British reports. The American ambassador to Britain, Walter Hines Page, himself strongly pro-British, gave the reports legitimacy by endorsing many of them. When stories arrived describing German atrocities, enough Americans believed them to help sway American support in favor of the Allies.

**Business Supports Britain** 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.

More money might have been lent to Germany, 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.

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**YES**

**John Works**

Civil War Veteran and U.S. Senator

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“Germany is not moving against this country. She has not been guilty of any aggression against us. She has taken the lives of a few of our citizens, because they got in the way when she was prosecuting a war against another nation and fighting to preserve her existence. If the German Government should make aggressive warfare against the United States you would not need any exhortation in the Senate of the United States to arouse the patriotism of the American people. You would not be holding open your enlistment stations without getting any soldiers.”

—from *The Congressional Record, March 4, 1917*

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**NO**

**Robert Lansing**

Secretary of State

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“I have come to the conclusion that the German Government is utterly hostile to all nations with democratic institutions because those who compose it see in a democracy a menace to absolutism and the defeat of the German ambition for world domination . . . .

. . . Germany must not be permitted to win this war and to break even, though to prevent it this country is forced to take an active part. This ultimate necessity must be constantly in our minds in all our controversies with the belligerents. American public opinion must be prepared for the time, which may come, when we will have to cast aside our neutrality and become one of the champions of democracy.”

—from *War Memories of Robert Lansing*

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**Document-Based Questions**

1. **Summarizing** When does Senator Works believe war is justified?

2. **Explaining** Why does Secretary of State Lansing believe Germany is a threat to the United States?

3. **Comparing** Based on these sources, what is the focus of the neutrality debate? What is not being discussed?

4. **Evaluating** Which position do you agree with? Write an essay explaining why the other side is wrong.
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.

German Submarines Go Into Action

Shortly after the war began, the British declared a blockade of German ports and began intercepting neutral merchant ships sailing to Europe. They forced the ships to land at British ports where they were inspected for contraband, or goods prohibited from shipment to Germany and its allies.

Although Britain’s decision to intercept neutral ships, including American ships, led to protests from the U.S. government, the German response angered Americans even more. Britain and France depended on food, equipment, and other supplies from both the United States and their overseas empires. To stop those shipments, Germany deployed submarines known as U-boats—from the German word Unterseeboot (“underwater boat”). In February 1915, the Germans announced that they would sink without warning any ship they found in the waters around Britain.

Germany’s announcement triggered outrage in the United States and elsewhere. Germany had signed an international treaty that banned attacks on civilian ships without warning. The Germans claimed that their U-boats would be placed at great risk if they had to surface and give a warning before firing.

The Germans Sink the Lusitania

The issue reached a crisis on May 7, 1915, when the British passenger ship Lusitania entered the war zone. A German submarine sunk the ship, killing nearly 1,200 passengers—including 128 Americans. The attack outraged Americans who saw the sinking as a terrorist attack on civilians, including women and children, not as a legitimate act of war.

Wilson tried to defuse the crisis. He refused to threaten Germany with war saying that the United States was “too proud to fight.” Instead, he sent several official protests to Germany insisting that it stop endangering the lives of noncombatants in the war zone.

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, the president 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 reelection bid in 1916. Campaigning as the “peace” candidate, his campaign slogan, “He kept us out of the war,” helped Wilson win a narrow victory over the Republican nominee, Charles Evans Hughes.

### The United States Declares War

Following Wilson’s reelection, events quickly brought the country to the brink of war. In January 1917, a German official named Arthur Zimmermann sent a telegram to the German ambassador in Mexico asking him to make an offer to the Mexican government: If Mexico agreed to become an ally of Germany in a war with the United States, Germany promised Mexico would regain its “lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona” after the war. 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 submission in four to six months if their U-boats began sinking all ships on sight. Although they knew this decision might draw the United States into the war, they did not believe the Americans could raise an army and transport it to Europe in time. Between February 3 and March 21, German U-boats sank six American ships. Finally roused to action, President Wilson appeared before a special session of Congress on April 2, 1917. Declaring that “the world must be made safe for democracy,” Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany.

### Primary Source

“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 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 at war.

### Summarizing

How did Germany’s use of unrestricted submarine warfare bring America into World War I?
To fight World War I, the American government used progressive ideas and new government agencies to mobilize the population and organize the economy.

Organizing the Economy

MAIN Idea The government used progressive ideas to manage the economy and pay for the war.

HISTORY AND YOU How do you help conserve food or fuel resources? Read how Americans made sacrifices to aid the war effort.

When the United States entered the war in April 1917, progressives controlled the federal government. Rather than abandon their ideas during wartime, they applied progressive ideas to fighting the war. Their ideas about planning and scientific management shaped how the American government organized the war effort.

Wartime Agencies

To efficiently manage the relationship between the federal government and private companies, Congress created new agencies to coordinate mobilization and ensure the efficient use of national resources. These agencies emphasized cooperation between big business and government, not direct government control. Business executives, managers, and government officials staffed the new agencies.

Managing the Economy Perhaps the most important of the new agencies was the War Industries Board (WIB), established in July 1917 to coordinate the production of war materials. At first, the WIB’s authority was limited, but problems with production convinced Wilson to expand its powers and appoint Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street stockbroker, to run it. The WIB told manufacturers what they could produce, allocated raw materials, ordered the construction of new factories, and, in a few instances, set prices.

Perhaps the most successful agency was the Food Administration, run by Herbert Hoover. This agency was responsible for increasing food production while reducing civilian consumption. Using the slogan “Food Will Win the War—Don’t Waste It,” it encouraged families to conserve food and grow their own vegetables in victory gardens. By having Wheatless Mondays, Meatless Tuesdays, and Porkless Thursdays, families would leave more food 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. He also encouraged Americans to observe Heatless Mondays.

**Paying for the War** By the end of the war, the United States had spent about $32 billion. To fund the war effort, Congress raised income tax rates, placed new taxes on corporate profits, and imposed an extra tax on the profits of arms factories.

Taxes, however, did not cover the entire cost of the war. The government also borrowed over $20 billion through the sale of Liberty Bonds and Victory Bonds. Americans who bought bonds were lending money to the government that would be repaid with interest in a specified number of years.

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**Mobilizing the Workforce**

The success of the war effort also required the cooperation of workers. 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 often pressured industry to improve wages, adopt an eight-hour workday, and allow unions the right 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  With large numbers of men in the military, employers were willing to hire women for jobs that had traditionally been limited to men. Some one million women joined the workforce for the first time during the war, and another 8 million switched to higher paying industrial jobs. Women worked in factories, shipyards, and railroad yards and served as police officers, mail carriers, and train engineers.

The wartime changes in female employment were not permanent. When the war ended, most women returned to their previous jobs or stopped working. Although the changes were temporary, they demonstrated that women were capable of holding jobs that many had believed only men could do.

The Great Migration Begins  Women were not the only group in American society to benefit economically. Desperate for workers, Henry Ford sent company agents to the South to recruit African Americans. Other companies quickly followed Ford’s example. Their promises of high wages and plentiful work convinced between 300,000 and 500,000 African Americans to leave the South and move to 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. It would also, eventually, change American politics. In the South, African Americans were generally denied the right to vote, but in the northern cities they were able to vote and affect the policies of northern politicians.

Mexican Americans Head North  The war also encouraged other groups to migrate. Continuing 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 the Southwest, providing labor for farmers and ranchers.

Meanwhile, Mexican Americans found new opportunities in factory jobs in Chicago, St. Louis, Omaha, and other cities. Many faced hostility and discrimination when they arrived in American cities. Like other immigrant groups before them, they tended to settle in their own separate neighborhoods, called barrios, where they could support each other.

Shaping Public Opinion

Progressives did not think that organizing the economy was enough to ensure the success of the war effort. They also believed the government needed to shape public opinion.

Selling the War  Eleven days after asking Congress to declare war, President Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to “sell” the war to the American people. Headed by George Creel, a journalist, the CPI recruited advertising executives, 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 other public places. Some 75,000 speakers, known as Four-Minute Men, urged audiences to support the war in various ways, from buying war bonds to reporting draft dodgers to the authorities.

Civil Liberties Curtailed  Besides using propaganda, the government also passed legislation to limit opposition to the war and fight espionage, or spying to acquire government information. The Espionage Act of 1917 made it illegal to aid the enemy, give false reports, or interfere with the war effort. The Sedition Act of 1918 made it illegal to speak against the war publicly. In practice, it allowed officials to prosecute anyone who criticized the government. These two laws led to over 1,000 convictions.

Wartime fears also led to attacks on German Americans, labor activists, socialists, and pacifists. Ads urged Americans to monitor their fellow citizens. Americans even formed private groups, such as the American Protective League and the Boy Spies of America, to spy on neighbors and coworkers.

Despite protests, the Espionage and Sedition Acts were upheld in court. Although the First Amendment specifically states that “Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press,” the Supreme Court departed from a strict literal interpretation of the Constitution. The Court ruled that the government could restrict speech when the words constitute a “clear and present danger.”

Explaining  Why did Congress pass the Espionage Act in 1917?
Analyzing Supreme Court Cases

Can Government Limit Free Speech?

★ Schenck v. United States, 1919
★ Abrams v. United States, 1919

Background to the Cases
In the fall of 1917, Charles Schenck mailed pamphlets to draftees telling them the draft was wrong and urging them to write protest letters. In August 1918, Jacob Abrams wrote pamphlets denouncing the war and criticizing the decision to send troops to Russia to fight communist forces. Both men were convicted of violating the Espionage Act. Both appealed their convictions all the way to the Supreme Court.

How the Court Ruled
The Schenck and Abrams cases raised the question: Are there some circumstances in which the First Amendment’s protection of free speech no longer applies? In both cases, the Supreme Court upheld the Espionage Act, concluding that under certain circumstances, the government can indeed limit free speech. In the Schenck case, the Supreme Court decision was unanimous, but in the Abrams case, the Court split 7-2 in their decision.

Primary Source
The Court’s Opinion
“The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic.... The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight, and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.”

—Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes writing for the Court in Schenck v. U.S.

Primary Source
Dissenting Views
“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.... 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....

... the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market...”

—Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes dissenting in Abrams v. U.S.

1. Explaining When does Holmes think the government can restrict speech?
2. Analyzing What does Holmes mean by referring to the “free trade in ideas?”
    Do you think the government should ever be allowed to restrict free speech? Why or why not?
3. Making Inferences Why do you think Holmes regarded Schenck as a much more immediate danger than Abrams? What was the difference between their actions?
Building the Military

**MAIN Idea** The United States instituted a draft for military service, and African Americans and women took on new roles.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Describe a time you were required to do something that you might not have done otherwise. Read on to learn about the selective service system.

Progressives did not abandon their ideas when it came to building up the military. Instead, they applied their ideas and developed a new system for recruiting a large army.

**Volunteers and Conscripts**

When the United States entered the war in 1917, the army and National Guard together had slightly more than 300,000 troops. Many men volunteered after war was declared, but many more were still needed.

**Selective Service** Many progressives believed that conscription—forced military service—was a violation of democratic and republican principles. Believing a draft was necessary, however, Congress, with Wilson’s support, created a new conscription system called selective service.

Instead of having the military run the draft from Washington, D.C., the Selective Service Act of 1917 required all men between 21 and 30 to register for the draft. A lottery randomly determined the order in which 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 and would do a far better job than a centralized government bureaucracy. 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

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**PRIMARY SOURCE**

African Americans in World War I

During World War I, the U.S. Army kept most African American soldiers out of combat, assigning them to work as cooks, laborers, and laundrymen. The 369th Regiment, however, was assigned to the French Army and was sent to frontline trenches almost immediately. Nicknamed the “Harlem Hell-Fighters,” the entire 369th was awarded the French Croix de Guerre (“war cross”), for gallantry in combat. The regiment spent 191 days in the trenches, much longer than many other units, and suffered 1,500 casualties.

**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Theorizing** Why do you think the French were willing to use African Americans in combat?
2. **Analyzing** Why do you think the poster includes a quote from Abraham Lincoln?
grown up listening to stories of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. They saw World War I as a great adventure and wanted to fight for their country.

Although the horrors of war soon became apparent to the American troops, their morale remained high, helping to ensure victory. More than 50,000 Americans died in combat and over 200,000 were wounded. Another 60,000 soldiers died from disease, mostly from the influenza epidemic of 1918 and 1919.

The flu epidemic was not limited to the battlefield. It spread around the world and made more than a quarter of all Americans sick. The disease killed an estimated 25–50 million people worldwide, including more than 500,000 Americans.

**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, where they served in racially segregated units, almost always under the supervision of white officers.

Despite these challenges, many African American soldiers fought with distinction. 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.

**Women Join the Military**

World War I was the first war in which women officially served in the armed forces, although only in noncombat positions. 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.

Women serving in the navy wore a standard uniform and were assigned the rank of yeoman. 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, chemists, and photographers.

Unlike the navy, the army refused to enlist women. Instead, it began hiring women as temporary employees to fill clerical jobs. The only women to actually serve in the army were in the Army Nursing Corps.

Women nurses had served in both the army and navy since the early 1900s, but as auxiliaries. They were not assigned ranks, and were not technically enlisted in the army or navy. Army nurses were the only women in the military sent overseas during the war. More than 20,000 nurses served in the Army Nursing Corps during the war, including more than 10,000 overseas.

**Check Your Understanding**

1. **Describe** How did Congress ensure that the United States would have enough troops to serve in World War I?
Propaganda in World War I

All of the warring nations in World War I used propaganda to boost support for their side. Many Americans believed the propaganda coming from Europe, particularly from the British government and press. When the United States entered the war, the American government also began using propaganda in an attempt to unite Americans behind the war effort.

Read the passages and study the posters. Then answer the questions that follow.

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**Movie Poster, 1918**

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**Government War Bond Advertisement, 1918**

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**American Soldier’s Diary, 1918**

“Germans, and a German—so different. Fishing through the poor torn pockets of shabby German body, drooped over wreck of machine gun, to find well-thumbed photograph of woman and little boy and little girl—so like one’s own . . . impossible to hate what had been that body.

Nothing so revolting as bitter, pitiless cruelty of those who know nothing of reality of it all. Those . . . Germano-baiters at home, so much more cruel than those who have the right—and are not.”

—Diary of Lieutenant Howard V. O’Brien, October 6, 1918

Great Britain established the Bryce Committee to investigate German atrocities in Belgium. Its findings, released just five days after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, increased anti-German sentiment in the United States. Investigations after the war, however, found that many of the stories were false or gross exaggerations.

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**Primary Source 4**

U.S. Government Pamphlet, 1918

"Fear, perhaps, is rather an important element to be bred in the civilian population. It is difficult to unite a people by talking only on the highest ethical plane. To fight for an ideal, perhaps, must be coupled with thoughts of self-preservation. So a truthful appeal to the fear of men, the recognition of the terrible things that would happen if the German Government were permitted to retain its prestige, may be necessary in order that all people unite in the support of the needed sacrifices."

—Pamphlet for speakers from the Committee on Public Information, quoted in the *New York Times*, February 4, 1918

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American Red Cross Poster, c. 1916

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**DBQ Document-Based Questions**

1. **Explaining** Examine Primary Source 1. What is the underlying message behind the poster for “Pershing’s Crusaders”?
2. **Identifying** What images of the Germans do Primary Sources 2 and 6 promote?
3. **Analyzing** Study Primary Source 4. How do you think stories of German atrocities affected American neutrality?
4. **Making Connections** Read Primary Sources 3 and 5. Why do you think the government used propaganda? Do you think propaganda is a good idea in wartime?
5. **Evaluating** According to Primary Sources 2, 5, and 6, what is at stake in the war? What should citizens do to help the war effort?
Глава 16  
Мировая война I и ее последствия

Сectион 3  
А кровавый конфликт

Технологии привели к потере миллионов жизней на обеих сторонах в Мировой войне I. Прибытие американских войск помогло союзникам выиграть войну, но мирный договор поставил под вопрос возможность другой войны.

Соединение в Мировой войне I

**Основная идея**  
Новые технологии делают Мировую войну I первой в истории войной.

**История и вы**  
Что новых технологий были разработаны или предложены в вашем время? Прочитайте далее, чтобы узнать о оружии, которое сталкивались с войсками Мировой войны I.

К началу 1917 года война в Мировой войне I в буквальном смысле разрушила Европу. Старые стратегии и новые технологии привели к ужасной разрушительной войне. Однако многие американцы верили, что их войскам удастся быстро закончить войну.

**Линия обороны**

Одни из первых атак с 1914 года показали, что война изменилась. Сильные артиллерийские орудия были размещены на несколько миль позади фронта. Оттуда они сбрасывали громадные взрывчатые снаряды на поле битвы. Больше людей были убиты артиллерией, чем любым другим оружием в Мировой войне I. Артиллерийский огонь создавал ужасные виды смерти и разрушения, как описал один американец в его дневнике:

**Оригинал**

"Много мертвых немцев по дороге. Один кучу на кучу. … Разрушение всюду. Наш баррикада переместила всю территорию как в диком поле. Мёртвые лошади по уши, многие из них имеют задний конец срезанный — генералы [немцы] ждут еды. Мёртвые здесь и там."

—цитировано из *American Spirit*

Для того чтобы защитить себя от артиллерии, войска начали рыть траншеи. На Западном фронте — где немецкие войска сражались против французов, британцев и бельгийцев — войска рыли сеть траншей, которые продрались через Британский залив до швейцарской границы. Чтобы предотвратить атаку своих траншей, войска использовали новое оружие, автоматическую винтовку, чтобы удержать себя от противников. Пространство между противостоящими траншеями называлось no-man’s-land. Это была совершенно пустынная территория, заполненная кучами, артиллерийский огонь. Чтобы предотвратить траншеи войск обойти no-man’s-land, две стороны построили наколачиваемые барбетные проволочные заграждения и препятствия вдоль своих траншей.
To break through enemy lines, the attacker would begin with a massive artillery barrage. Soldiers would then scramble out of their trenches, race across no-man’s-land while enemy machine guns fired at them, and try to capture the enemy’s trenches.

Before charging enemy trenches, troops fixed bayonets—long knives—to their rifles. For those troops that made it across no-man’s-land, fighting in the trenches was brutal. Troops threw grenades—small bombs—at each other, and used bayonets, rifle butts, knives, axes, pistols and even rocks and fists to kill the enemy.

The results of this kind of warfare were horrific. In major battles, both sides often lost hundreds of thousands of men, yet neither side was able to break through the other’s lines.

New Technology

New technologies were needed to 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 gas. To counter gas attacks, both sides developed gas masks.

In late 1915, the British introduced the armored tank into battle. These tanks were slow and mechanically unreliable, but they could crush barbed wire and cross trenches. Unfortunately, there were not enough of them. The tanks could support the troops, but they did not revolutionize warfare in World War I. By the time World War II broke out, however, tanks had replaced cavalry in most modern armies and made trench warfare obsolete.
World War I also marked the first use of aircraft in war. In addition, it was the first and last time that zeppelins were used in combat. Zeppelins are giant rigid balloons, also known as blimps or dirigibles. Early in the war, the Germans sent squadrons of zeppelins to drop bombs on British warships in the North Sea.

At first, airplanes were used as scouts. They flew over enemy territory, as well as the English Channel and the North Sea, spying on enemy troops and ships. Before long, however, the Allies equipped them with machine guns to attack the German zeppelin fleet. The machine guns were timed to fire through the aircraft’s propeller as it spun so that the bullets did not hit the propeller. A few airplanes even carried rockets to destroy the zeppelins. Others carried small bombs to drop on enemy lines.

As technology advanced, aircraft were used to shoot down other aircraft. Battles between aircraft became known as dogfights. Early military aircraft were difficult to fly and easy to destroy. The wings and body frame were covered in cloth and easily caught fire. Pilots did not carry parachutes. The average life expectancy of a combat pilot in World War I was about two weeks.

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

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### The Americans Arrive

**MAIN Idea** The arrival of Americans changed the course of the war and helped the Allies win.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Have you ever had to boost someone’s morale? Read on to learn about Americans who helped the Allies win World War I.

Waves of American troops marched into this bloody stalemate—nearly 2 million before the war’s end. Although the “doughboys,” as American soldiers were nicknamed, were inexperienced, they were fresh and eager to fight. Their presence boosted the morale of Allied forces. It also demoralized the German soldiers, who now faced large numbers of fresh troops. As the Americans began to arrive, many in Germany concluded that the war was lost.

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### Winning the War at Sea

No American troopships were sunk on their way to Europe thanks to the efforts of American Admiral William S. Sims. The British preferred to fight German submarines by sending warships to find them, while merchant ships would race across the Atlantic individually. This approach enabled German submarines to inflict heavy losses on British shipping. Sims
proposed that merchant ships and troop transports be gathered into groups, called **convoys**. Small highly maneuverable warships called destroyers would protect and escort the convoys across the Atlantic.

Convoys also saved lives. If a ship was sunk, other ships in the convoy could rescue survivors. The system worked. Convoys greatly reduced shipping losses and ensured that a large number of American troops arrived safely in Europe in time to help stop Germany’s last great offensive on the Western Front.

**Russia Leaves the War**

In March 1917, riots broke out in Russia over the government’s handling of the war and the scarcity of food and fuel. Czar Nicholas II, the leader of the Russian Empire, abdicated his throne. This marked the beginning of the Russian Revolution.

Political leadership in Russia passed to a provisional, or temporary, government. The leaders of the provisional government wanted Russia to stay in the war. However, the government was unable to deal adequately with the major problems afflicting the nation, such as food shortages. The Bolshevik Party, led by Vladimir Lenin, overthrew the provisional government and established a Communist government in November 1917.

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. Lenin agreed to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany on March 3, 1918. Under this treaty, Russia lost substantial territory. It gave up the Ukraine, its Polish and Baltic territories, and Finland.

With the Eastern Front settled, Germany could now concentrate its forces in the west. German leaders knew this was their last chance to win. If the troops transferred from Russia could not break Allied lines, it was only a matter of time before Germany would have to surrender.

**Americans Enter Combat**

At the time World War I began, many Americans knew that the French had helped the United States during the American Revolution. American school children still learned the story of the Marquis de Lafayette, who had brought French officers to America to help train American soldiers and who had served on George Washington’s staff during the Revolutionary War. Many Americans regarded the French people as friends and believed the nation owed the French a debt for their help in the revolution.

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**Poison Gas vs. Trenches**

To break through trench lines, both sides began using poison gas. To protect against gas attacks, troops were forced to carry gas masks similar to those shown here worn by American soldiers in France in 1917.

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**Tanks vs. Trenches**

To help capture trenches, the Allies built tanks that were immune to machine gun fire and able to smash through barbed wire. Tanks had tracks instead of wheels, enabling them to cross the mud and craters of no-man’s-land.

**Airplanes Bomb Trenches**

Airplanes offered both sides a way to counter trench warfare. Several types of aircraft, including the British Sopwith Camel shown above, could carry 4–5 small bombs to drop on enemy artillery and trenches. They also attacked troops using their machine guns.

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**Analyzing VISUALS**

1. **Analyzing** Modern militaries do not use trench warfare. Which weapons pictured eventually ended the use of trenches?

2. **Synthesizing** Explain how the different technologies of World War I worked together to kill so many people.
When General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), arrived in Paris on July 4, 1917, he and his officers headed to Picpus Cemetery where Lafayette was buried. One of Pershing’s officers, Colonel Charles E. Stanton, raised his hand in salute and proclaimed, “Lafayette, we are here!” France had helped the United States gain its freedom. Now American soldiers would help the French to preserve theirs.

When American troops began arriving in France, the British and French commanders wanted to integrate them into their armies under British and French command. Pershing refused, and President Wilson supported him. Pershing insisted that American soldiers fight in American units under American command.

Despite French and British pleas that they needed American soldiers to replace their own losses, Pershing held firm with one exception. The 93rd Infantry Division—an African American unit—was transferred to the French. Its soldiers became the first Americans to enter combat.

**Germany’s Last Offensive** On March 21, 1918, the Germans launched a massive attack along the Western Front, beginning with gas attacks and a huge artillery bombardment. German forces, strengthened by reinforcements from the Russian front, pushed deep 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 an 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. In mid-September, American troops drove back German forces at the battle of Saint-Mihiel. Next, an American offensive was launched in the region between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest. General Pershing assembled over 600,000 American troops, 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. German positions slowly fell to the advancing American troops. The Germans inflicted heavy casualties, but by early November the Americans had shattered German defenses and opened a hole on the eastern flank of the German lines. Soon after, all across the Western Front, the Germans began to retreat.

**American Heroes**

Although the brutal trench warfare of World War I led to many acts of astonishing bravery, the actions of two Americans, Corporal Alvin York and Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, captured the nation’s imagination.

**Alvin York** Born in 1887, Alvin York grew up poor in the mountains of Tennessee, where he learned to shoot by hunting wild game. Opposed to war, he initially tried to avoid the draft as a conscientious objector—a person who refuses to obey the law because of his moral or religious beliefs. As a Christian, York
believed he was not allowed to kill anyone. Eventually, he decided that he could fight in a war if the cause was just.

On October 8, 1918, during the Battle of the Argonne Forest, German machine guns on a fortified hill fired on York’s platoon and killed nine men. York took command and charged the machine guns. By the end of the battle, 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 poor Tennessee children.

**Eddie Rickenbacker** Born in Columbus, Ohio, Eddie Rickenbacker was a famous race car driver before the war. Rickenbacker’s car-racing reflexes served him well as a combat pilot. He was named commander of the 94th Aero Squadron, the first all-American squadron to enter combat. In all, he fought in 134 air battles and shot down 26 aircraft, becoming the top American combat pilot. In one battle, he single-handedly fought seven German aircraft—a feat for which he was later awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

**The War Ends**

While fighting raged along the Western Front, a revolution engulfed Austria-Hungary. In October 1918, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia declared independence. By early November, the governments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire had surrendered to the allies.

On November 3, sailors in Kiel, the main base of the German fleet, mutinied. Within days, groups of workers and soldiers seized power in other German towns. As the revolution spread, the German emperor decided to step down. On November 9, Germany became a republic. Two days later the government signed an **armistice**—a truce, or agreement to stop fighting. At the 11th hour on the 11th day of the 11th month, 1918, the fighting stopped.
A Flawed Peace

**MAIN Idea** The United States Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and rejected the League of Nations.

**HISTORY AND YOU** How might your feelings toward a peace plan differ if you lived in a defeated country compared to a victorious country? Read on to learn why the U.S. Senate did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

Although the fighting stopped in November 1918, World War I was not over. A peace treaty had to be negotiated and signed. In January 1919, delegates from 27 countries traveled to France to attend the peace conference. The conference took place at the Palace of Versailles, near Paris, and the treaty with Germany that resulted came to be called the Treaty of Versailles. The conference also negotiated the Treaty of Saint-Germain, ending the war with Austria-Hungary.

Negotiations on the Treaty of Versailles lasted five months. The most important participants were the so-called “Big Four” of the Allies: President Wilson of the United States, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando.

Representatives from Russia were not invited to the conference. Wilson and the other Allied leaders refused to recognize Lenin’s government as legitimate. At the time of the peace conference, a civil war was raging in Russia between communist and non-communist forces. In mid-1918, the United States, Great Britain, and Japan had sent troops to Russia to help the anti-communist forces. Nearly 15,000 American troops remained in Russia—which had been renamed the Soviet Union by the Bolsheviks—until the spring of 1920. By that time, it had become clear that the Bolsheviks had won the civil war.

The Fourteen Points

When President Wilson arrived in Paris in January 1919, he brought with him a peace plan known as the Fourteen Points. Wilson had presented the plan to Congress in January 1918 to explain the goals of the United States in the war. The president believed that if the Fourteen Points were implemented, they would establish the conditions for a lasting peace in Europe.

The Fourteen Points were based on “the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities.” In the first five points, Wilson proposed to eliminate the causes of the war through free trade, freedom of the seas, disarmament, an impartial adjustment of colonial claims, and open diplomacy instead of secret agreements.

The next eight points addressed the right of national self-determination. This is the idea that the borders of countries should be based on ethnicity and national identity. A group of people who feel that they are a nation should be allowed to have their own country. Wilson and other supporters of national self-determination believed that when borders are not based on national identity, border disputes will occur and nations are more likely to go to war to resolve them.

The principle of national self-determination also meant that no nation should be allowed to keep territory taken from another nation. Wilson’s Fourteen Points required the Central Powers to evacuate all of the countries invaded during the war. Wilson also wanted the territory...
What Did the Allies Agree to Do?

Treaty of Versailles (peace with Germany)
- German troops will return all captured territory to Belgium, Russia, and France.
- Germany will be divided in two; some German territory will be given to Denmark, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Belgium.
- Germany will be held responsible for all wartime losses and must pay reparations.
- Germany’s army and navy will be limited in size. Germany cannot have an air force, and cannot have military forces west of the Rhine.

Treaty of Saint-Germain (peace with Austria)
- The Austro-Hungarian Empire is dissolved and replaced by the nation of Austria.
- Four new nations are recognized: Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia.
- Austria may not unite with Germany; its army is limited to 30,000 men.

The Covenant of the League of Nations (included in both peace treaties above)
- Members agree to reduce armaments.
- Members agree to protect each other against aggression.
- Colonies of the Central Powers will now be supervised by League members.
- Parts of the Ottoman Empire will be made independent under League supervision.

Changes in Europe, 1919

Analyzing VISUALS
1. Comparing How many of the Fourteen Points were accepted at the Paris Peace Conference?
2. Analyzing What nations received territory from the Austro-Hungarian Empire?

Not everyone was impressed by President Wilson’s ideas. Premier Clemenceau of France, in particular, wanted to punish the Germans for the suffering they had inflicted on the French people. He was also determined to end the German threat once and for all. Other Allied governments tended to agree.

Despite Wilson’s hopes, the peace terms were harsh. The Treaty of Versailles, reluctantly signed by Germany on June 28, 1919, included many terms designed to punish and weaken Germany. Germany’s armed forces were greatly reduced in size and Germany was not allowed to put troops west of the Rhine River—the region near the French border. The treaty also specifically blamed Germany for the war, stating that it had been caused by “the aggression of Germany.”
When the German government signed the treaty, it, in effect, acknowledged that Germany was guilty of causing the war. This allowed the Allies to demand that Germany pay reparations—monetary compensation for all of the war damage it had caused. A commission set up after the treaty was signed decided that Germany owed the Allies approximately $33 billion. This sum was far more than Germany could pay all at once and was intended to keep Germany’s economy weak for a long time.

Wilson had somewhat better success in promoting national self-determination. Four empires were dismantled as a result of World War I and the peace negotiations: the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the German Empire, and the Ottoman Empire. The various peace treaties signed after the war created nine new nations in Europe: Austria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Yugoslavia. In general, the majority of people in these new countries were from one ethnic group.

National self-determination was not, however, applied to Germany. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia were given territory where the majority of the people were German. Germany was even split in two in order to give Poland access to the Baltic Sea. By leaving a large number of Germans living outside Germany, the Treaty of Versailles helped set the stage for a new series of crises in the 1930s.

The Treaty of Versailles did not address several of Wilson’s Fourteen Points. It did not mention freedom of the seas or free trade. It also ignored Wilson’s goal of a fair settlement of colonial claims. No colonial people in Asia or Africa were granted independence. Germany’s colonies in Africa and the Middle East were placed under the supervision of Britain and France. Japan was given responsibility for Germany’s colonies in East Asia.

The treaty also stated that new countries were to be created from the Ottoman Empire. In 1920 the Ottoman Empire was divided into the nations of Turkey, Syria (including Lebanon), Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan. Syria was put under French supervision and Iraq, Palestine, and Transjordan were put under British supervision.

Although disappointed with many parts of the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson achieved his
primary goal. The treaty called for the creation of a League of Nations. League members promised to reduce armaments, to submit all disputes that endangered the peace to arbitration, and to come to the aid of any member who was threatened with aggression by another state.

The U.S. Senate Rejects the Treaty

President Wilson was confident the American people would support the Treaty of Versailles, but he had badly underestimated the opposition in Congress. All treaties signed by the United States must be ratified by two-thirds of the Senate, and in November 1918, the Democratic Party had lost control of the Senate. Even though he needed Republican support to ratify the treaty, Wilson refused to take any Republican leaders with him to the peace conference. This ensured that Wilson’s views prevailed, but it also meant that Republican concerns were not addressed.

Opposition in the Senate focused on the League of Nations. One group of senators, nicknamed the “Irreconcilables,” refused to support the treaty under any circumstances. They assailed the League as the kind of “entangling alliance” that the Founders had warned against. A larger group of senators, known as the “Reservationists,” was led by the powerful chairman of the Foreign Relations committee, Henry Cabot Lodge. The Reservationists were willing to support the treaty if certain amendments were made to the League of Nations.

The Reservationists pointed out that the Constitution requires Congress to declare war. Yet the League of Nations could require member states to aid any member who was attacked. The Reservationists argued that this might force the United States into a war without Congressional approval. They agreed to ratify the treaty if it was amended to say that any military action by the United States required the approval of Congress. Wilson refused, fearing the change would undermine the League’s effectiveness.

To overcome Senate opposition, Wilson decided to take his case directly to the American people. If public support for the treaty was strong enough, the senators would back down. Starting in September 1919, Wilson traveled 8,000 miles and made over 30 major speeches in three weeks. On September 25, the president collapsed from the physical strain and soon afterward suffered a stroke. Bedridden, Wilson ignored the advice of his wife and Democratic leaders and refused to compromise on the treaty.

The Senate finally voted in November 1919. It voted again in March 1920. Both times 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.

Examining What was national self-determination and why did Wilson think it would help prevent 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.

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**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)

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**VERBATIM**

*My message was one of death for young men. How odd to applaud that.*

**WOODROW WILSON,**
on returning to the White House after asking Congress for a declaration of war, 1917

*Food is Ammunition—Don’t Waste It*

**POSTER FROM U.S. FOOD ADMINISTRATION,** administered by Herbert Hoover

*I have had a hard time getting over this war. My old world died.*

**RAY STANNARD BAKER,**
journalist

*Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks shoulder to shoulder with our own white fellow citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy.*

**W.E.B. DU BOIS,**
African American scholar and leader, 1918

*America has at one bound become a world power in a sense she never was before.*

**BRITISH PRIME MINISTER DAVID LLOYD GEORGE,**
on the U.S. entry into World War I, 1917

*In the camps I saw barrels mounted on sticks on which zealous captains were endeavoring to teach their men how to ride a horse.*

**THEODORE ROOSEVELT,**
on touring U.S. military training facilities, 1917

*The war was over, and it seemed as if everything in the world were possible, and everything was new, and that peace was going to be all we dreamed about.*

**FLORENCE HARRIMAN,**
Red Cross volunteer, in Paris on Armistice Day, 1918
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)

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**Milestones**

**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. The English fighter pilot Edward Mannock said, “I hope he roasted all the way down.”

**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.”

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**CRITICAL THINKING**

1. **Analyzing** What pioneer qualities was Jeanette Rankin referring to when she said women “got the vote in Montana because the spirit of pioneer days was still alive”?

2. **Drawing Conclusions** How do you think the inventions in “Color My World” kept up spirits on the home front during World War I? Why was this important?
America’s victory overseas led to turmoil at home. The end of the wartime economy led to a depression and fears of communism, as strikes, riots, and bombings took place.

An Economy in Turmoil

**MAIN Idea** The country suffered economic uncertainty, strikes, and riots in the year after the war.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Do you know anyone who has participated in a strike? Read why millions of workers went on strike in 1919.

With the war over, Americans welcomed the soldiers back as heroes. Parades were thrown in their honor, and a new organization, the American Legion, was created to support the veterans. But their arrival home was also bittersweet. Two million men now needed to find jobs in an economy that was shutting down its production of war materials and sliding into recession.

When the war ended, government agencies removed their controls from 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 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. Orders for war materials evaporated, so factories laid off workers. Soldiers returned home looking for civilian employment but found jobs scarce. In short, 1919 was a year of economic turmoil.

**Inflation Leads to Strikes**

Many companies had been forced to raise wages during the war, but inflation now threatened to wipe out the gains workers had made. While workers wanted higher wages to keep up with inflation, companies resisted 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 implementing strikes. 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, where some 35,000 shipyard workers walked off the job demanding higher wages and shorter hours. Other unions in Seattle soon joined the shipyard workers and organized a general strike.

A general strike is a strike that involves all workers in a community, 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, where roughly 75 percent of the police force walked off the job. Riots and looting soon erupted in the city, forcing the governor, Calvin Coolidge, to call in the National Guard. When the strikers tried to return to work, the police commissioner then fired the strikers and hired a new police force instead.

Despite protests, Coolidge agreed that the men should be fired, declaring: “There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime.” Coolidge’s response earned him widespread public support and convinced the Republicans to make him 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, he 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, to keep the mills running, the company hired African Americans and Mexicans as replacement workers. Clashes between company guards and strikers were frequent. In Gary, Indiana, a riot left 18 strikers dead. The strike collapsed in early 1920 and its failure set back the union cause in the steel industry. Steel workers remained unorganized until 1941.
Racial Unrest

The economic turmoil after the war also contributed to widespread racial unrest. Many African Americans had moved north during the war to take factory jobs. As people began to be laid off and returning soldiers found it hard to find work and affordable housing, many gave in to feelings of racism and blamed African Americans for taking their jobs. Frustration and racism combined to produce violence.

In the summer of 1919, 25 race riots broke out across the nation. African American leader James Weldon Johnson called the summer of 1919, “the red summer” because of the amount of blood that was spilled. The riots began in July, when a mob of angry white people burned shops and homes in an African American neighborhood in Longview, Texas. A week later, in Washington, D.C., gangs of African Americans and whites fought each other for four days before troops got the riots under control.

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 Chicago riot lasted for almost two weeks and the government was forced to send in National Guard troops to impose order. By the time the rioting ended, 38 people had been killed—15 white and 23 black—and over 500 had been injured.

The race riots of 1919 disillusioned some African Americans who felt their wartime contributions had been for nothing. For others, however, the wartime struggle for democracy encouraged them to fight for their rights at home.

The race riots of 1919 were different in one respect. For the first time, African Americans organized and fought back against the white mobs. Many African Americans also dedicated themselves to fighting for their rights politically. The NAACP surged in membership after the war, and in 1919, it launched a new campaign for a federal law against lynching.

Analyzing Why did the end of the war lead to race riots?
The Red Scare

**MAIN Idea** Fear of a Communist revolution caused a nationwide panic.

**HISTORY AND YOU** Many Americans believed the country was in danger in 1919. Read on to see similarities with today’s concerns about security.

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 Communists seized power in Russia and negotiated a separate peace agreement with Germany. Many Americans viewed this as a betrayal, and hostility toward Communists increased. Communism became associated with disloyalty and treachery.

Americans had long been suspicious of communist ideas. Since the late 1800s, many Americans had accused immigrants of importing radical socialist and communist ideas and blamed them for labor unrest and violence. Events in Russia seemed to justify fears of a Communist revolution. The Soviet establishment of the Communist International in 1919—an organization for coordinating Communist parties in other countries—appeared to be further proof of a growing threat.

The strikes of 1919 fueled fears that Communists, or “reds,” as they were called, might seize power. This led to a nationwide panic known as the Red Scare. Many people were particularly concerned about workers using strikes to start a revolution. Seattle’s mayor, Ole Hanson, for example, claimed that the Seattle general strike was part of an attempt 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 containing homemade bombs addressed to prominent Americans. In May, union members, socialists, and communists organized a parade in Cleveland to protest the jailing of Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs. The parade turned into a series of riots. By the time police and army units got the violence under control, two people were dead and another 40 were injured.

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. Most people believed the bombings were the work of radicals trying to destroy the American way of life.

**MAKING CONNECTIONS**

1. **Comparing** How was the government’s response to the 1919 and 1920 attacks similar to its response to the attacks of September 11, 2001? How was it different?

2. **Synthesizing** How do you think the government should have responded to the bombings of 1919 and 1920? In what ways were the government’s policies inappropriate?
Many political historians used to think of the election of 1920 as the end of the Progressive Era. It is true that the 1920 election represented a dramatic shift from the progressive Woodrow Wilson to the much more traditionally conservative Warren Harding. But did the election really show a great change in voting habits throughout the country?

### 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. This division, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, eventually became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Although evidence pointed to no single group as the bombers, Palmer’s agents targeted the foreign-born. On November 7, 1919, Palmer ordered a series of raids on offices of the Union of Russian Workers in 12 cities. Less than seven weeks later, a transport ship left New York for Russia carrying 249 immigrants who had been deported, or expelled from the country.

In January 1920, Palmer ordered another series of raids, this time on the headquarters of various radical organizations. Nearly 6,000 people were arrested. That same month, the New York state legislature expelled five members of the Socialist Party who had been elected to the legislature. Over the next few months, 32 states passed sedition laws making it illegal to join groups advocating revolution. Palmer’s raids continued until the spring of 1920. Authorities detained thousands of suspects and nearly 600 people were deported.
Palmer’s agents often ignored the civil liberties of the suspects. Officers entered homes and offices without search warrants. People were mistreated. Some were jailed for indefinite periods of time and were not allowed to talk to their attorneys. Many of the immigrants who were deported were never granted a court hearing to challenge the evidence against them or to contest the deportation order.

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 prediction that violence would rock the nation on May Day 1920—a celebration of workers in Europe—proved wrong, Palmer lost much of his credibility and support.

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.

The Election of 1920

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 progressive ideals. President Wilson tried to convince the Democrats to make the campaign a referendum on the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, but the party chose not to take a strong stand on the issue for fear of alienating voters.

The Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, called for a return to “normalcy.” His vice-presidential running mate, Calvin Coolidge, was chosen because people admired the way he had handled the Boston police strike. Harding argued that what the United States needed was a return to simpler days before the Progressive Era reforms:

**Primary Source**

“[O]ur present need is not herosics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but [bold] restoration; not agitation, but adjustment; not surgery, but serenity; not the dramatic, but the dispassionate; ... not submergence in internationality, but sustainment 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. Many 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.

**Examining** After World War I, why were Americans suspicious of some union leaders?
Chapter 16  VISUAL SUMMARY

Causes of America’s Entry Into World War I

- Americans hear stories of German atrocities and many become anti-German.
- Many of President Wilson’s advisors support the Allies.
- American banks lend the Allies large amounts of money and American companies sell the Allies food, weapons, and military supplies.
- Germany angers the United States by ordering submarines to attack neutral ships carrying goods to the Allies.
- Germany sinks the passenger ships *Lusitania* and *Sussex* enraging Americans. To keep America out of the war, Germany stops sinking ships without warning in 1916.
- Germany tries to make an alliance with Mexico, further angering Americans.
- In a last attempt to win the war, Germany orders submarines to attack ships without warning in 1917; six American ships are sunk.
- The United States declares war, April 1917.

Social and Cultural Effects of World War I

- Northern factories recruit African Americans from the rural South; African Americans migrate to northern cities in large numbers, improving their standard of living and changing politics in northern cities.
- In search of workers, companies also hire large numbers of women for jobs traditionally reserved for men.
- Labor shortages cause many Mexicans to migrate north to take work in the United States. Many Hispanic Americans leave farm work for factory work.
- Laws limiting civil rights in wartime are upheld by the Supreme Court in the cases of *Schenck* v. *U.S.* and *Abrams* v. *U.S.*
- During the war, anti-German feelings are widespread.
- The end of the war leads to economic and social tensions; many workers go on strike; race riots erupt in many cities.
- After the war, many Americans become anti-immigrant, anti-communist, and anti-union.
Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. The British used _______ to convince Americans to support the Allied war effort.
   A espionage  B armistice  C conscription  D propaganda

2. The _______ system ensured that American troops arrived safely in Europe.
   A nationalism  B convoy  C reparations  D cost of living

3. British officials ordered a naval blockade to prevent _______ or prohibited materials, from entering Germany.
   A contraband  B cost of living  C conscription  D self-determination

4. Soldiers in World War I dug a complex _______ of trenches to protect themselves.
   A emphasis  B stability  C restoration  D network

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

Section 1 (pp. 548–555)

5. 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

6. The event that triggered the American entry into World War I was
   A the sinking of the Lusitania.
   B the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare.
   C the invasion of neutral Belgium.
   D the interception of the Zimmermann telegram.

Section 2 (pp. 556–561)

7. During World War I, which federal mobilization agency introduced daylight savings time and shortened the work week for some factories?
   A War Industries Board
   B Committee on Public Information
   C National War Labor Board
   D Fuel Administration

8. Both the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act of 1918 were designed to
   A provide plans for rebuilding Germany after the war.
   B help the British and French economies during the war.
   C limit opposition to the war in the United States.
   D protect the rights of German Americans.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Go to Page . . . 552 566–567 554 564 548–550 554–555 556–557 558
Section 3 (pp. 564–573)

9. Which of the following technologies was first used during World War I?
   A tanks
   B cannons
   C aircraft carriers
   D hot air balloons

10. Why did the Senate reject the Treaty of Versailles?
   A to keep the United States free from foreign entanglements
   B to express opposition to the harsh sanctions imposed on Germany
   C to avoid the dues for membership in the League of Nations
   D to reduce United States military forces in Europe

Section 4 (pp. 576–581)

11. The Red Scare was a fear that
   A nuclear power would result in widespread destruction in the United States.
   B Communists would seize power in the United States.
   C fire would spread quickly through overcrowded American cities.
   D the Soviet Union would develop an atomic bomb.

12. The organization that eventually became the Federal Bureau of Investigation was originally formed to
   A uncover German spies during World War I.
   B spread propaganda within the United States in support of World War I.
   C infiltrate unions to head off strikes.
   D raid the headquarters of radical organizations in order to look for evidence of a Communist conspiracy.

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. How did Congress ensure that the United States would have enough troops to serve in World War I?
   A Congress allowed women to serve in the armed forces.
   B The Selective Service Act of 1917 required all men ages 21 to 30 to register for the draft.
   C Congress allowed African Americans to serve in the armed forces.
   D Congress offered a free education and cheap land to anyone willing to serve.

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and your knowledge of Chapter 16.

14. Which countries lost territory as a result of World War I?
   A Germany, Russia, France
   B Germany, France, England
   C Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary
   D Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia
15. President Wilson’s Fourteen Points plan called for
   A Germany to pay war reparations to the Allies.
   B Germany to acknowledge guilt for the outbreak of World
     War I.
   C the creation of the United Nations.
   D the creation of the League of Nations.

16. The cartoonist is expressing the opinion that
   A England’s blockade of Germany was beneficial for
     neutral shipping.
   B England’s blockade of the United States hurt neutral
     shipping.
   C England’s blockade of the United States hurt American
     shipping.
   D England’s blockade of Germany hurt American shipping.

17. According to Debs, what were some problems in American
    society at this time? How did he believe change should be
    brought about?

18. How did Debs seem to feel about the Espionage Act? Do
    you agree with him? Why or why not?

19. After World War I, the United States Senate refused to ratify
    the Treaty of Versailles despite the intense efforts of
    Woodrow Wilson to convince Americans that ratification
    would help ensure that the peace would be an enduring
    one. Choose to either support or oppose the United States’s
    ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. Write a persuasive
    essay that includes an introduction and at least three
    paragraphs that support your position.