The Nation at War
1914 - 1920
Chapter 24
A New World Power

- American foreign policy aggressive, nationalistic since late 19th century
- Colonialism drew U.S. into international affairs
- Roosevelt promoted “big stick” diplomacy, or the policy of creating and using, when necessary, a strong military to achieve America’s goals.
“I Took the Canal Zone”

- 1903: Colombian senate refused to allow U.S. to build Panama Canal
- Roosevelt abetted revolution to separate Panama from Colombia
- Independent Panama permitted construction
- 1914: Panama Canal opened
Construction work on the Gaillard Cut is shown in this photograph from 1907.

SS *Kroonland* at the Culebra Cut while transiting the Panama Canal on 2 February 1915.
The Roosevelt Corollary

- U.S. treated Latin America as a protectorate
- "Roosevelt Corollary": U.S. would ensure stability of Latin American finance
- Roosevelt Corollary spurred intervention in:
  - Dominican Republic
  - Panama
  - Cuba

Political cartoon depicting Theodore Roosevelt using the Monroe Doctrine to keep European powers out of the Dominican Republic.
Ventures in the Far East

- 1905: Roosevelt mediated the Russo-Japanese War
- Taft-Katsura Agreement
  - Korea under Japanese influence
  - Japan to respect U.S. control of Philippines
- 1907: In "Gentleman’s Agreement," Japan promises to stop immigration
- Great White Fleet demonstrate U.S. naval power
- 1908: Root-Takahira Agreement
  - Maintain status quo in Far East
  - Accept Open Door and Chinese independence
- 1915: Japan seized German colonies in China and claimed authority over China
Taft and Dollar Diplomacy

- Taft substituted economic force for military
- American bankers replaced Europeans in Caribbean
- Taft’s support for U.S. economic influence in Manchuria alienated China, Japan, Russia
- Intervention in Nicaragua to protect American investments
- The Lodge Corollary opposed by Taft
Foreign Policy Under Wilson

- Wilson inexperienced in diplomacy
- Tried to base foreign policy on moral force
- Wilson negotiated “cooling-off” treaties to try and settle disputes without war
- Resorted to military force in Latin America
  - Intervened there more than Roosevelt or Taft
Troubles Across the Border

- 1913: Huerta led coup in Mexico
- Wilson denied Huerta recognition
  - Revolutionary regimes must reflect “a just government based upon law”
- Wilson blocked arms shipments to Mexico
- 1914: U.S. seized Vera Cruz
Wilson and the War
Visual Source Documents 3–5
Toward War

- **Sarajevo, June 28, 1914:** A Serbian terrorist assassinates Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand – the heir apparent to the throne of the Austro-Hungarian empire – and his wife.

- **Vienna, July 23:** The Austrian government issues an ultimatum threatening war against Serbia and invades that country four days later.
Toward War

- **Berlin, August 1:** As Austria’s ally, the German government under Kaiser Wilhelm I declares war against Russia, an ally of Serbia.

- **Berlin, August 3:** Germany declares war against France, an ally of Russia, and immediately begins an invasion of neutral Belgium because it offers the fastest route to Paris.

- **London, August 4:** Great Britain, as an ally of France, declares war against Germany.

Archduke Ferdinand on day of assassination
The Major Players: 1914-17

**Allied Powers:**
- Nicholas II of Russia
- President Poincaré of France
- Charles V of Great Britain

**Central Powers:**
- Victor Emmanuel II of Italy
- Franz Josef of Austria-Hungary
- William II of Germany
- Enver Pasha of Turkey

Switched sides!
The Neutrality Policy

- Wilson sympathized with England, sought U.S. neutrality
- Progressives saw war as wasteful, irrational
- Suspicion that business sought war for profit
- Immigrants preferred U.S. neutrality
- A long tradition of U.S. neutrality
- Americans saw little national stake in war
Freedom of the Seas

- England’s blockade of Germany
- U.S. ships to Germany seized
- Wilson accepted English promise of reimbursement at war’s end
- Germans used U-boats to interrupt trade with Allies
- U.S. trade with Allies boomed, but was increasingly financed by loans from American banks
- Allies owed U.S. banks $2 billion by 1917
The U-Boat Threat

- German submarines violated international law by shooting without warning
- Bryan advised Wilson to ban travel, Wilson refused
- 1915: *Lusitania* sunk by U-Boat
  - Wilson demanded Germans protect passenger ships and pay for losses
  - Bryan resigned, replaced by Robert Lansing, who favored Allies
The U-Boat Threat

- April, 1916: Wilson issued ultimatum: call off attacks on cargo and passenger ships or U.S.–German relations would be severed

- May, 1916: *Sussex Pledge*—Germany pledges to honor U.S. neutrality

*Sussex* at Boulogne after being torpedoed in March 1916. The entire forepart of the ship was destroyed in the attack.
He Kept Us Out of War

- 1916: Wilson campaigned on record of neutrality
- Republican Charles Evans Hughes campaigned on tougher line against Germany
- Wilson won close election
  - Won large labor, progressive vote
  - Won majority of women’s vote
The Final Months of Peace

- February, 1917: Germany renewed U-Boat attacks
- Zimmerman Telegram
- Wilson’s response
  - Ordered U.S. merchant vessels armed
  - Ordered U.S. Navy to fire on German U-Boats
- April 6, 1917: War declared on Germany

Mexican territory in 1917 (dark green), territory promised to Mexico in the Zimmerman telegram (light green), and original Mexican territory (red line)
Over There

- U.S. allies were in danger of losing war
  - Germans sunk 881,000 tons of Allied shipping during April, 1917
  - Mutinies in French army
  - British drive in Flanders stalled
  - Bolsheviks signed separate peace with Germany; German troops to West
  - Italian army routed

- Allies braced for spring, 1918 offensive
U.S. Losses to the German Submarine Campaign, 1916–1918

Tonnage of vessels sunk (thousands)

American Declaration of War (April 1917)
Mobilization

- No U.S. contingency plans for war
- 200,000 troops at war’s beginning
- Selective Service Act created draft
  - Conscripted 2.8 million by war’s end
  - African Americans drafted as well

American soldiers on the Piave front hurling a shower of hand grenades into the Austrian trenches

Two Allied soldiers run towards a bunker.
European Alliances and Battlefronts, 1914–1917
War in the Trenches

- Teaming of U.S., English navies halved Allied losses to submarines
- June, 1917: U.S. troops arrived in France
- Spring, 1918: U.S. forces helped halt final German offensive
  - Battle of Chateau Thierry
  - Battle of Belleau Wood
- September: Germans out of St. Mihiel

(Above) Russian troops awaiting a German attack.

(Below) Russian forest trench at the Battle of Sarikamish
Over Here

- Victory on front depends on mobilization at home
- Wilson consolidates federal authority to organize war production and distribution
- Wilson begins campaign for American emotions

"Weapons for Liberty – U.S.A. Bonds" by J. C. Leyendecker, 1918
The Conquest of Convictions

- Wartime laws to repress dissent
  - **Espionage Act**: Outlawed acts to aid the enemy, including encouraging disloyalty
  - **Trading with the Enemy Act**: Government can censor foreign language press
  - **Sedition Act**: Criticism of the war made a crime
    - 1500 dissenters imprisoned, including Eugene Debs
The Conquest of Convictions

- German internments – 2,048 German citizens were imprisoned from 1917 to 1920 for allegations of spying or endorsing German war effort

- Restrictions to use and teaching of German language; *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1919) ruled practice unconstitutional

- Summer, 1918: Anticommunism prompts deployment of U.S. troops to Russia

- 1918–1919: “Red Scare” resulted in domestic suppression of “radicals”

- *Palmer Raids* were conducted, in which 1000s of resident aliens were illegally arrested and deported (few than 600 deportations were substantiated with evidence).
A Bureaucratic War

- War Industries Board and other agencies supervised production, distribution to maximize war effort
- Government seized some businesses to keep them running
- Cooperation between government and business the norm
- Business profits from wartime industry
Labor in the War

- Victory gardens & economizing food
- Union membership swells
- Labor shortage prompts:
  - Wage increase
  - Entry of Mexican Americans, women, African Americans to war-related industrial work force
African American Migration Northward, 1910–1920
Labor in the War

- 200,000 blacks served in France
  - 42,000 combat troops

- Great Migration to northern factories
  - Blacks must adjust industrial work pace
  - Encounter Northern racism

- 1917–1919: Race riots in urban North

- Wartime experience prompted new surge of black resistance
The Treaty of Versailles

- Common concern about Bolshevik revolution
- Wilson’s Fourteen Points call for non-punitive settlement
- England and France balk at Fourteen Points
  - Want Germany disarmed and crippled
  - Want Germany’s colonies
  - Skeptical of principle of self-determination
A Peace at Paris

- Wilson failed to deflect Allied punishment of Germany in treaty
- Treaty created Wilson’s League of Nations
  - Article X of League charter required members to protect each others’ territorial integrity
- League’s jurisdiction excluded member nations’ domestic affairs
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Point</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Open covenants of peace openly arrived at</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Absolute freedom of navigation on 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>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Reduction of armaments to the level needed only for domestic safety</td>
<td>Not fulfilled</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Impartial adjustments 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>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Self-determination for the former subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Evacuation of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro; free access to the sea for Serbia</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Self-determination for the former subjects of the Ottoman Empire; secure sovereignty for Turkish portion</td>
<td>Compromised</td>
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<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>
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Rejection in the Senate

- William Borah (R–ID) led “irreconcilibles” who opposed treaty on any grounds
- Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (R–MA) led “strong reservationists” that demanded major changes, including to Article X
- October, 1919: Stroke disables Wilson
- November: Treaty fails in Senate
- January, 1920: Final defeat of Treaty
Rejection in the Senate

- July, 1921: U.S. peace declared by joint Congressional resolution
- Wilson hopes Democratic victory in 1920 election would provide mandate for League of Nations
- Landslide for Republican Warren Harding
- Defeat of League of Nations brought defeat of Progressive spirit
The Election of 1920

<table>
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<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Popular Vote</th>
<th>Electoral Vote</th>
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<tr>
<td>Harding</td>
<td>Republican</td>
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<td>404</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cox</td>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>9,140,884</td>
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<td>Debs</td>
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Postwar Disillusionment

- To the next generation, the war seemed futile, wasteful
- The progressive spirit survived but without enthusiasm or broad-based support
- Americans welcomed Harding’s return to “normalcy”