**Safe for Democracy: The U.S. and WWI 1916-1920**

**I.** **Introduction: American Liberal Internationalism**

The U.S. was now an international empire after the Spanish American War, but our overseas holdings were small compared to everyone else. Our empire was economic, cultural, and intellectual rather than territorial. By 1914, the U.S. produced 1/3 of the world's manufactured goods. American racial and ethnic groups began to participate in politics overseas. Everyone was looking out for their "brothers" back home. As a result, there was also increased military and political involvement. The open door beliefs of free flow of trade, investment, information, and culture were the key principles of American Foreign Trade. Our involvement in other countries was often discussed using the language of freedom. Everything we did was to further liberty and democracy - not for our own individual gains. Wilson was the embodiment of this philosophy. Outsiders called his foreign policy "liberal internationalism" and was based on the belief that economic and political progress went hand in hand. - As the U.S. was more involved so would freedom. Many thought this to be a mask for American power and self-interest. but there was also sincere effort to bring freedom to others - change in focus from promoting freedom through example to active intervention. World War I was the first great test of "making the world safe for democracy". Progressives generally supported the war as it was a way to spread Progressive ideas. But instead of bringing it to other people, it destroyed it at home. Critics were enemies of democracy and freedom.

**An Era of Intervention**

The Progressive Presidents not only expanded the government at home, but also wanted to show how powerful we really were outside as well. Originally this was all maintained to the Western Hemisphere since the U.S. had special rights to since the Monroe Doctrine of 1823.

**I.** **"I Took the Canal Zone"**

**A.** **Roosevelt**

was more active in international diplomacy than most of his predecessors. Divided the world into civilized and uncivilized nations. He believed those that were civilized were obligated to help the others out.

**1.** **Russo-Japanese War**

helped negotiate a peace treaty that ended the war and earned him the Noble Peace Prize.

**2.** **Big Stick Policy**

This was actually an African Proverb and although he said he was not trying to take over territory, he continued to pursue a policy of intervention in Central America.

**3.** **Panama**

This was his first major action. He helped Panama gain its independence from Colombia after Colombia would not allow the U.S. to build a canal. We orchestrated a revolution without a shot being fired by positioning a gun boat off the coast so that the Colombian army could not invade when Panama declared their independence.

**a.** **Panama Canal**

the Bunau-Varilla Treaty was signed which gave the U.S. control and sovereignty over the Canal Zone so they could construct and operate the Canal. Although Roosevelt claimed he took the Canal Zone, the way he did it caused tensions for many years. It wasn't until 1977 with President Carter were negotiations made to return the canal zone to Panama which was done in 2000.

**II.** **Roosevelt Corollary**

Roosevelt pursued a policy of intervention in Central America.

**A.** **Police Force**

The United States had the right to exercise “an international police power” in the Western Hemisphere.

**1.** **Venezuela**

Early on British, German, and Italian naval forces blockaded Venezuela to make sure they would pay back their debts to European bankers. Roosevelt convinced them to withdraw, but this taught him that financial instability would invite intervention from the Old World.

**2.**  **Dominican Republic**

In 1904 he ordered forces to seize the customhouses to ensure payments of its debts to European and American investments. He created an "executive agreement" in which American banks controlled the finances of the Dominicans.

**3.** **Other examples**

He continued to do such things throughout his Presidency. He sent troops to Cuba in 1906 to oversea an election and they stayed put until 1909.

**B.** **Dollar Diplomacy**

Taft followed in Roosevelt's footsteps to some degree. He emphasized economic investment and loans from American banks, rather than direct military intervention. During his Presidency he pressed for more efficient revenue collection, stable government, and access to land and labor by American companies in countries such as Honduras, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic and even Liberia.

**III.** **Moral Imperialism**

Wilson had a different take all together. He had more of a missionary approach. He appointed William Jennings Bryan, an Anti-Imperialist to Secretary of State. He repudiated Dollar Diplomacy and promised a new foreign policy that would respect Latin America’s independence.

**A.** **Moral Responsibility**

He believed that the export of American manufactured goods and investments went hand in hand with the spread of democratic ideals. Expanding economic influence was more than just making a profit. Americans "were meant to carry liberty and justice throughout the world."

**B.** **More military interventions**

in Latin America than any president before or since. He sent Marines to Haiti after the government refused to allow American banks to oversee its financial dealings. He established a military government in 1916 in the Dominican Republic until 1924 and in Haiti until 1934. They helped modernize the infrastructure, building roads and schools, but did little to actually promote democracy.

**C.** **Talk the Talk**

The funny thing is that those presidents who spoke the most about freedom tended to intervene the most in other countries.

**IV.** **Wilson and Mexico**

Mexico is really the first place that Wilson used his Missionary diplomacy or moral diplomacy.

**A.**  **The Mexican Revolution**

Mexico had a revolution in 1911 that was led by Francisco Madero. Two years later, he was assassinated by Victoriano Herta (a military leader) who had been helped by the U.S. Ambassador and American companies that controlled Mexico's oil and mining industries. (but Wilson didn't know this) Wilson was upset and would not recognize the new government.

**B.** **Vera Cruz**

Civil war broke out in Mexico and Wilson sent troops to Vera Cruz to stop a shipment of weapons meant for Heurta's forces. But the marines were treated like invaders (Wilson forgot his history lesson, that Vera Cruz is where Hernan Cortes landed as well as Winfield Scott during the Mexican War) 100 Mexicans and roughly 19 American soldiers died in the skirmish. Heurta left office in 1914, but the civil war did not end there.

**C.** **Pancho Villa**

In 1916, the Civil War spilled over to the U.S. when Pancho Villa attacked Columbus, New Mexico and killed seventeen Americans. Wilson ordered 10,000 troops to Northern Mexico to look for Villa, but he was unsuccessful. This was a type of warning to Wilson that it might be more difficult to use American might to redo internal affairs of other countries.

**America and the Great War**

In June 1914, a Serb assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, he was the heir to the Austrian Hungarian Throne. This set in motion a series of events that would ultimately lead to World War I. Several events that had been occurring throughout the world helped set the stage for this to happen.

**I.** **Causes of the War in Europe**

yes, the war itself was caused by the assassination, but there were other factors in play before this.

**A.** **Imperialism**

most European nations were scrambling to obtain colonial possessions overseas.

**B.** **Nationalism**

Although countries were trying to gain as much territory as they could, those countries that were gobbled up were not happy. They wanted to be independent and free. That led them to do many crazy things - like assassinating the Archduke.

**C.** **Militarism**

Each country was building up its military knowing that if they wanted to be dominate they would have to back it up.

**D.** **Alliances**

Were created to help keep the delicate balance that was occurring. Within a month of Austria-Hungary declaring war on Serbia, the allies (Britain, France, Russia, and Japan) were at war with the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire.

**II.** **The War in Europe**

**A.** **The Beginning**

Germany very quickly ran over Belgium and invaded Northern France

**B.** **The stalemate**

Both sides dug in with Trenches and for the next three years very little land was gained for either side.

**1.** **New technology**

the use of submarines, airplanes, machine guns, tanks and poison gas resulted in immense slaughter. At the battle of Verdun, that lasted five months, nealry 600,000 soldiers died - from both sides.

**C.** **The Great War**

The war dealt a severe blow to the optimism and self-confidence of Western civilization. It had appeared as if mankind had moved beyond wars to settle their disputes, but this proved them wrong.

**III.** **Neutrality and Preparedness**

**A.** **Americans divided**

As war engulfed Europe, Americans found themselves sharply divided.

**1.** **Immigrants**

Many of the divisions were based on the ethnicity of the Americans. Most sided with their nation of origin. Many Americans sided with Great Britain because they associated it with liberty and democracy and Germany with a repressive monarchy. German Americans sided with their homeland while Irish Americans were opposed to any aid to the British. Russian Jews did not want the U.S. to aid the Czar who had persecuted them. Even the fact that Russia - one of the most despotic states at the time - being on the side of the Allies made it hard to see it as a clear cut battle between democracy and autocracy.

**2.** **Others**

Pacifists, feminists, and social reformers saw that peace was essential to continue the social justice at home.

**B.** **Neutrality**

Wilson proclaimed American neutrality, but American commerce and shipping were soon swept into conflict.

**1.** **British Blockade**

The British had created a blockade outside of Germany and stopped all contraband or war supplies including food and fertilizer. Many ships stopped were American.

**2.** **German Uboats**

in response, Germany used their uboats to stop all ships coming into England.

**a.** ***Lusitania***

In May 1915, a uboat sunk the British liner that was actually carrying a large amount of munitions. All passengers were killed including 124 Americans. Wilson tried diplomacy, but the note was so clear that Bryan resigned as Secretary of State over it. Bryan had actually warned against American traveling on belligerent ships, but Wilson thought this would show a retreat from the freedom of the seas.

**(1)** **Reaction**

This only led to more Americans supporting involvement in the war. Many were strong military supporters like TR, but others were business men who had close economic ties with Britain.

**C.** **Preparedness**

By the end of 1915 Wilson embarked on a policy of preparedness. - crash course in preparing the American economy and military for war.

**IV.** **The Road to War**

In May 1916, Germany suspended the submarine warfare against noncombatants. The belief that our preparedness did the trick to ensure American ability to travel freely on the open seas.

**A.** **He Kept Us Out of War**

Wilson won the reelection in 1916 on the slogan “He Kept Us Out of War.” It was a close election as the Republican had mended their split. Wilson won by only 23 electoral votes. To some degree this is because of the fact that he kept the U.S. out of war, but he also took 10 of the 12 states that had adopted woman suffrage. Without their help, he wouldn't have been reelected.

**B.** **Peace Without Victory**

Wilson called for a “peace without victory,” He outlined his plan for world order that included freedom of the seas, restrictions on armaments, and self determination. Almost immediately Germany resumed submarine warfare. The Germans knew this would probably cause the U.S. to get involved, but they figured that their blockade of the british isles would stop all supplies and the Allies would give up before the Americans ever mobilized.

**C.** **The Zimmerman Telegram**

The Zimmerman Telegram was intercepted in 1917 by British spies. It was basically a note from the German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmerman asking Mexico to join forces with them against the United States and promising to recover last territory from the Mexican War of 1846-1848

**D.** **Russian Revolution**

In the same month, the Russian czar was overthrown. and replaced with a constitutional government. This helped the Americans who would now be fighting on the side of a democracy.

**E.** **War declared**

On April 2, 1917 the declaration of war passed the Senate 82-6 and the House 373-50

**F.** **Lenin Revolution**

American troops did not arrive until the spring of 1918. The Russians had pulled out after Communist Vladmir Lenin overthrew the Russian government. He published the secret treaties that the Allies made describing how they were going to divide up the conquered lands. Wilson who had promised a just peace was embarrassed.

**V.** **The Fourteen Points**

Since the war was being fought for a moral cause, he issued his 14 points which is his plan for world war to never happen again.

**A.** **Clauses**

Wilson issued the Fourteen Points in January 1918. This was the clearest statement of American war aims and a view for a new international order. The key principles were self determination, freedom of the seas, freedom of trade, open diplomacy (no secret treaties) the readjustment of colonial claims where colonized people were given equal weight in determining their futures. and the creation of a general association of nations to preserve the peace.

**1.** **League of Nations**

This was considered a global counterpart to the Progressive regulatory commissions created in the U.S. to stop the exploitation of the week.

**2.** **Result**

It was never sanctioned by all the Allies, but it did establish the agenda for the peace conference that followed the war.

**VI.** **Arrival of American Troops**

**A.** **Turn the tide**

When they finally arrived in the Spring of 1918, they turned the tide of the Battle. They were able to stop a German advancement into Paris. By July they were doing major counteroffensives and by September, they marched into the Argonne Forest. Known as the Meuse-Argonne campaign, they were able to push back the Germans.

**B.** **End of the war**

The German Kaiser abdicated on November 9th. Two days later Germany sued for peace. Roughly 100,000 Americans died, but it was only 1% of the 10 million soldiers killed in the war.

**The War at Home**

**I.**  **The Progressives’ War**

Some Progressives viewed the war as an opportunity to disseminate Progressive values around the globe. It was a way to reform American society along scientific lines, instilling a sense of national unity and self sacrifice, as well as expand social justice.

**A.** **Support for the war**

Since this was seen as a way to spread the Progressive ideals globally, many intellectuals jumped on board. People like Upton Sinclair, John Dewey, Samuel Gompers all supported the war. Dewey wrote this was the ability to attack the "immense inequality of power" within the U.S. and as a result, Americans could enjoy the "effective freedom" we already discussed.

**II.** **The Wartime State**

The war created a national state with unprecedented powers and a sharply increased presence in Americans’ everyday lives.

**A.** **Selective Service Act**

passed in May 1917 shortly after war was declared. This required men 21-26 to register to be drafted into the military.

**B.** **New Federal Agencies**

Several new agencies were created to regulate industry, transportation, labor relations, and agriculture.

**1.** **War Industries Board**

headed by Bernard Baruch this presided over all elements of war production from distribution of raw materials to the prices of manufacturing. It created standardization to become more efficient - everything from tire size to shoe color was standardized.

**2.** **Railroad Administration**

took control of the transportation industry

**3.** **The Fuel Agency**

rationed coal and oil

**4.** **Food administration**

introduced modern methods of cultivation and promoted more proficient methods of meal preparation. Headed by Herbert Hoover, they believed that what ever the Americans weren't eating would be sent to the Allies. Many believed the slogan "Food will win the war".

**C.** **Partners with business**

many of these agencies saw themselves more as partners than regulators. They guaranteed government suppliers a high rate of profit and encouraged cooperation among former business rivals by suspending anti-trust laws.

**1.** **War Labor Board**

this included representatives from the government, industry, and the AFL wanted to establish a minimum wage, eight hour work day, and the right to form unions. As a result wages rose throughout the war, as did working condition and union membership.

**2.** **Financing the war**

Corporate and individual income taxes rose greatly. By 1918, wealthy Americans were paying 60% in taxes. many purchased liberty bonds to pay for the war.

**D.** **Return to normalcy**

When the war ended, the wartime state quickly disappeared. For a while though it seemed as though the Progressive goals of promoting economic rationalization industrial justice and a sense of common national purpose was going to be achieved.

**III.** **The Propaganda War**

The Wilson administration decided that patriotism was too important to leave to the private sector.

**A.** **Opposition**

Many Americans were not sure if they should enter the war or not. Especially since it was between rival nations. The IWW was vehemently against it, as were the Socialists who said the declaration of war was "a crime against the people of the United States". The Socialist party became a rallying point for anti-war sentiment.

**B.** **The Committee on Public Information (CPI)**

created in April of 1917 and was headed by Gorge Creel. The purpose was to explain to America and the world why we got involved in the war.

**1.** **Use of propaganda**

CPI flooded the country with pro-war propaganda - everything from newspaper ads to pamphlets.

**2.** **Four Minute Men**

a group of roughly 75,000 Americans who delivered a brief standardized talks (sometimes in other languages) as to why Americans should support the war.

**C.** **New Precedent**

The CPI’s activities set a precedent for active governmental efforts to shape public opinion in later international conflicts.

**IV.** **The Great Cause of Freedom**

The CPI couched its appeal in the Progressive language of social cooperation and expanded democracy.

**A.** **Language of the Progressives**

Abroad it meant improving the principle of national self determination. In the United States it meant improving "industrial democracy". They knew that they just couldn't say that we were better than them considering how labor was treated here, so they also pushed through the idea that when the war was over there would be an 8 hour work day and a living wage for all.

**B.**  **Freedom took on new significance.**

The war was being fought for the cause of freedom. People, generally, draftees were posed in giant symbols of freedom such as the liberty bell. the Statue of Liberty was the most common symbol. Even the selling of Liberty bonds to pay for the war was an example of patriotism. But the symbol of liberty and freedom wasn't enough. To effectively sell it they needed to have an antithesis which was found in the Kaiser and the German people. They were often depicted as inhuman and a nation of barbaric Huns.

**V.** **The Coming of Women’ s Suffrage**

**A.** **Opposition for the war**

America’s entry into the war threatened to tear the suffrage movement apart as many supporters of the suffrage movement were against the war.

**1.** **Jeannette Rankin**

One of the opponents was Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to Congress. She lost her bid for reelection in 1918, but was later reelected and again was the sole dissenting vote in WWII which caused her to lose her seat again. At the age of 85 she participated in the march on Washington to oppose the Vietnam war.

**B.** **Support for the war**

Most women, like other Americans, were in full support of the war. they sold war bonds, organized patriotic rallies and worked in war production factories. Roughly 22,000 served as clerical staff and nurses in Europe. Many thought their war time service would help them gain the right to vote.

**C.** **The National Woman’s Party**

was militantly fighting for suffrage.

**1.**  **Alice Paul**

The NWP's leader had studied in England and watched how their suffrage movement used tactics such as getting arrested, imprisonments and vigorous denunciations of a male dominated political system. Many of these tactics were not supported by the American Women's Suffrage Party which is why the NWP was created. She would compare Wilson to the Kaiser and ask why we were fighting for democracy abroad, but denying it to women at home.

**2.** **Picketing the White House**

Part of her plan was to picket the White House. They would often come out with signs of quoting Wilson's support for Democracy and self determination. Eventually they were arrested and sentenced to a 7 month prison sentence. While there they went on a Hunger Strike and were force fed. Eventually they were freed

**D.** **Winning Suffrage**

The combined efforts of women during the war and the mistreatment of Paul helped win them suffrage.

**1.** **Nineteenth Amendment**

This was finally ratified in 1920 and the U.S. became the 27th country to allow women the right to vote.

**VI.** **Prohibition**

This had been around for a long time, but it gained renewed strength during the war

**A.** **Support**

**1.** **Employers**

thought ti would create a more disciplined labor force.

**2.** **Urban reformers**

thought it would promote a more orderly city environment and undermine urban political machines that used saloons as places to organize.

**3.** **Women**

thought it would protect wives and children from abusive husbands.

**4.** **Nativists**

thought it was a way to impose American values on immigrants.

**B.** **Strategy**

**C.** **State level**

First started on a state level. By 1915 they had won victories in 18 states. Most of these areas had small immigrant population and Protestants were dominant

**D.** **National level**

Like the suffrage movement, prohibitionists came to see national legislation as their best strategy.

**1.** **War gave them added ammunition.**

Many prominent breweries were owned by German Americans which made beer seem unpatriotic. The Food Administration said grain must be used for food not making of beer and alcohol.

**2.** **Eighteenth Amendment**

prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor was passed by Congress in 1917. It was ratified by the states in 1919 and went into effect in 1920.

**VII.** **Liberty in Wartime**

The question began to arise as how to balance between security and freedom.

**A.** **Civil Liberties**

Randolph Bourne predicted that the war would empower not reformers but the “least democratic forces in American life.” this was proven correct very quickly. According to Wilson, the goals of the United States was so virtuous that any dissent could only reflect treason to the country's values.

**B.** **The Espionage Act of 1917**

This was the first time since The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 that the government enacted laws to limit the freedom of speech. It prohibited not only spying and interfering with the draft but also “false statements” that might impede military success.

**1.** **The Mail**

the postmaster barred any mail, newspapers, or magazines that criticized the administration.

2. Eugene V. Debs was convicted in 1918 under the Espionage Act for delivering an antiwar speech. a. Debs ran for president while still in prison in 1920.

**2.** **Targets**

Socialists were one of the main targets, but so were foreign language publications and any publication that criticized the war effort.

**C.** **The Sedition Act of 1918**

made it a crime to make spoken or printed statements that were negative about the government or the war effort.

**D.** **Result**

As a result, more than 2,000 people were charged with violating these laws. Half were convicted.

**1.** **Eugene V. Debs**

was convicted in 1918 under the Espionage Act for delivering an antiwar speech He received 10 years. (Germans also cracked down on dissent, but their harshest sentence was 4 years for opposing the war) Debs ran for president while still in prison in 1920 and was not pardoned until 1921 under President Harding.

**VIII.** **Coercive Patriotism**

**A.** **The American Flag**

Attitudes toward the American flag became a test of patriotism. Those thought to be disloyal were forced to kiss the flag in public. Criticizing the flag landed you in jail.

**1.** **New Laws**

33 states outlawed the possession of a red or black flag which represented communism and anarchy and 23 created a new offense - criminal syndicalism which was the advocacy of unlawful acts to accomplish political change or a "change in industrial ownership"

**B.** **New definition of patriotism**

Patriotism now meant support for the government, the war, and the American economic system. antiwar sentiment, labor racialism, and sympathy for ht Russian Revolution were "un-American". Local governments began to institute new policies to ensure loyalty. Some towns formally investigated people who did not purchase liberty bonds or loans. Teachers were forced to sign loyalty oaths.

**C.**  **The American Protective League (APL)**

helped the Justice Department identify radicals and critics of the war. Private groups used this as a chance to repress any domestic opposition.

**1.**  **Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)**

Employers worked with the government to crush the IWW, something that had been wished for by employers for many years

**a.** **Bisbee, Arizona,**

striking copper miners were arrested put in boxcars and taken out to the desert where they were abandoned. New Mexico'a governor required that they be put up in tents and provided with food and water. Few if any returned to Bisbee.

**b.** **Frank Little**

the IWW leader in Butte Montana was lynched

**D.** **Impact**

Some progressives protested individual excesses, but most ignored the broad suppression of freedom of speech or expression. Civil liberties had never been a concern of Progressives and they weren't now.

**Who Is an American?**

Although Progressives set the stage for more social reforms of the 20th century, in terms of race, they were more like 19th century thinkers.

**I.** **The Race Problem**

**A.** **What is it?**

the tensions that arose from the country's ethnic diversity. The race problem had become a major subject of public concern. Race was just not black and white relations. At the time the Dictionary of Races and Peoples published in 1911 listed 45 immigrant races. They ranged from Anglo Saxon at the top to Southern Italians at the bottom who were considered to be undisciplined and incapable of assimilation.

**B.** **Fuel to the Fire**

Congress believed that an American woman that married an alien automatically gave up her citizenship. in 1916 a popular book entitled The Passing of the Great Race said that the influxe of new immigrants and the low birthrate of native white women threatened the foundations of American citizenship.

**C.** **Eugenics,**

which studied the alleged mental characteristics of different races, gave anti-immigrant sentiment an air of professional expertise.

**II.**  **Americanization and Pluralism**

Americanization meant the creation of a more homogenous national culture

**A.** **Israel Zangwill’s *The Melting Pot***

a 1908 play gave the name that was adopted by those that believed immigrants were to merge their identity into existing American nationality. Private and public groups took up the call to try and help immigrants become Americanized.

**B.**  **Ford Motor Company’s Sociological Department**

they would enter homes of their workers and evaluate their clothing, furniture, and food preferences. They would enroll them in English Language classes. If you failed to adapt after a reasonable amount of time, he would fire you

**C.** **Children**

The belief was that parents were too stuck with the Old Ways, that the only changes that could be made was with the children. As a result, schools took the responsibility of Americanizing immigrant children. Trying to teach them "the Anglo Saxon conception of righteousness, law, and order and popular government".

**D.** **Not everyone agreed**

A minority of Progressives questioned Americanization efforts and insisted on respect for immigrant subcultures.

**1.** **Jane Addams’s Hull House**

offered English language classes, but also insisted they value their European heritage.

**2.** **Randolph Bourne**

largest critic of the Americanization process. He wrote Trans National America and said that there was "no distinctive American culture". Interaction between groups had produced our culture. He saw a culture where immigrants and natives alike submerged their group identities in a new "trans national "culture.

**E.** **Government involvement**

President Wilson openly believed that some born "under foreign flags" were disloyal. As a result, immigrants were forced to show their devotion to the United States. The CPI renamed the 4th of July, 1918 as Loyalty Day and asked ethnic groups to participate in patriotic pageants. New York had a parade of 75,000 linking immigrants to their support and contributions to the war effort.

**F.** **Immigrant Equality**

Many immigrants leaders saw the war as a way to gain greater equal rights. They promoted enlistment and expressions of loyalty. Even the Chinese American press said insisted that even those born abroad and banned from the country should register for the draft to "bring honor to the people of our race".

**III.** **The Anti-German Crusade**

German-Americans bore the brunt of forced Americanization.

**A.** **German Immigration**

Germans first started coming to the U.S. prior to the Civil War. By 1914, German Americans neared 9 million. They had strong communities and highly recognized and admired by most Americans.

**B.** **Germans become targets**

Once the U.S. entered the war, anything that could be associated with Germany, their language, food, music and people became hated. The use of German and expressions of German culture became a target of prowar organizations.

**C.** **New laws**

local laws began to change. The Iowa Governor outlawed the use of the German language in schools, public places and over the phones. By 1919 many new laws were enacted across the U.S. restricting the teaching of foreign languages. Words such as hamburger and sauerkraut were no longer used and became liberty sandwich and liberty cabbage. Even German music from Beethoven was banned.

**IV.** **Toward Immigration Restriction**

The war strengthened the conviction that certain kinds of undesirable persons ought to be excluded altogether. Some believed that they valued democracy far less than the Anglo Saxon race and favored doctrines such as anarchism and socialism.

**A.**  **Lewis Terman**

introduced the term Intelligent Quotient saying this could measure a person's mental capacity. They began to administer them in the army and the results at the time showed that blacks and immigrants scored far below that of native white Protestants.

**B.** **Immigrant literacy tests**

In 1917, Congress required that immigrants be literate in English or another language.

**C.** **Other efforts to upgrade the American population**

laws were passed to sterilize feeble minded inmates in mental instituions so they would not pass on their defective genes to children in Iowa. This followed suit in other states as well. *Buck v Bell* (1927) upheld the constitutionality of these laws. This is often remembered by the quote of Oliver Wendall Holmes "three generations of imbeciles are enough" This practice was continued until the 1960s with roughly 63000 people involuntarily sterilized.

**V.**  **Groups Apart**

Regardless of where the European immigrants came from, it was assumed that they would be able to assimilate sooner or later. That was not the case with non white immigrants or to blacks.

**A.** **Mexicans**

The war led to further growth of the Southwest’s Mexican population.

**1.** **Progressives View**

Due to the demand, there was a temporary exemption from the literacy tests They were legally classified as white and most Progressives saw them as candidates for Americanization. Programs were created to teach them English, convert them to Protestantism and help them assimilate.

**2.** **Views in the Southwest**

the public officials in the Southwest saw them differently. They were segregated both by law and by custom. By 1920 nearly all Mexicans in California and the Southwest were educated in their own schools.

**B.** **Puerto Ricans**

On the eve of American entry into World War I, Congress terminated the status “citizen of Puerto Rico” and conferred American citizenship on residents of the island. The point was to lessen the demand for Puerto Rican independence and secure the outpost in the Caribbean. Puerto Rican men were still drafted and fought overseas even though they were denied the democracy they were fighting for.

**C.** **Asian Americans**

Even more restrictive were policies toward Asian-Americans. In 1906, all Asian students were confined to a single school in San Francisco. Japan protested and Roosevelt persuaded the city to stop the practice.

**1.** **Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907**

once the practice was terminated, it was agreed that Japan would stop migration to the U.S. except for the wives and children of men already in the country.

**2.** **New laws**

In 1913, California made it worse by barring all aliens incapable of becoming naturalized citizens (Asians) from owning or leasing land.

**VI.** **The Color Line**

The freedoms of the Progressive era did not apply to blacks. Progressive intellectuals, social scientists, labor reformers, and suffrage advocates displayed a remarkable indifference to the black condition.

**A.** **Roosevelt,**

Progressives as a whole paid no attention to race and neither did the Progressive presidents.1. Although Roosevelt had invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him at the White House, he still felt blacks were “wholly unfit for the suffrage.” A perfect example is when a group of black soldiers fired off guns killing one towns person. When none of the men would provide any names, Roosevelt dishonorably discharged 156 men - 6 of which were Congressional Medal of Honor winners.

**B.** **Wilson**

Wilson’s administration imposed racial segregation in federal departments in Washington, D.C.

**1.** ***Birth of a Nation***

D. W. Griffith's film that glorified the KKK had its premier at the White House

**VII.** **W. E. B. Du Bois and the Revival of Black Protest**

Black leaders tried to rekindle the commitment to equality that had led the way during Reconstruction. One of the most vocal was W.E.B. Du Bois.

**A.**  **Du Bois**

tried to reconcile the contradiction between what he called “American freedom for whites and the continuing subjection of Negroes.”

**1.** ***The Souls of Black Folk* (1903)**

called for those that were dissatisfied with Washington's accommodationist policy to press for equal rights. He believed the "talented tenth", men like himself who were college educated use their education and training to challenge inequality.

**B.** **Typical Progressives**

In some ways, Du Bois was a typical Progressive who believed that investigation, exposure, and education would lead to solutions for social problems.

**C.** **The Niagara movement**

sought to reinvigorate the abolitionist tradition. This was group of black leaders that met at Niagara Falls on the Canada side since no American hotel would provide accommodations for them.

**1.** **The Declaration of Principles**

called for restoring to blacks the right to vote, an end to racial segregation, and compelte equality in economic and educational opportunity.

3.

**D.** **NAACP**

Du Bois was a cofounder of the NAACP. this group was formed by both white and black members that were shocked at a lynching that occurring in Illinois. It's goal was to win the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments.

**1.**  ***Bailey v. Alabama***

One of a few victories of the NAACP. This overturned southern peonage laws that made it a crime for sharecroppers to break their labor contracts.

**2.** **Other victories**

pushed the S.C. to rule unconstitutional a Lousville zoning regulation that made it illegal for blacks to live in certain parts of the city.

**VIII.**  **Closing Ranks**

Most black leaders saw American participation in the war as an opportunity to make real the promise of freedom.

**A.** **William Trotter**

was really the only African American who was against the war. Even asking Wilson if there was a new freedom for white Americans and a new slavery for African Americans He pointed out that many of the German atrocities were no worse than the lynchings that took place in the U.S. Saying that instead of making the world safe for democracy, he should make the south safe for African Americans.

**B.** **Close the Ranks**

DuBois called for African Americans to do this and enlist in the army, tho help make our own American a real land of the free.

**C.** **Success or failure**

During World War I, closing ranks did not bring significant gains. The Navy barred blacks all together and the segregated army kept most of its 400,000 black solders to supply units versus combat units. The army even tried to persuade the French to not treat black soldiers as equal. Although some did fight in combat, they were forbidden to march in the victory parades in Paris.

**IX.** **The Great Migration**

The war opened thousands of industrial jobs to black laborers for the first time, inspiring a large-scale migration from South to North.

**A.** **Migration north**

On the eve of WWI, 90% of the nations African American population lived in the south. That drastically changed when the war started. 500,000 migrated north.

**B.** **Motives for moving**

Many motives sustained the Great Migration. Higher wages, opportunities for educating their children, escape form the threat of lynching, and the prospect of exercising the right to vote. Many considered it to be a second emancipation.

**C.** **Who moved and what they found**

Most of them were young men and women. They had a new vision of opportunity of social and economic freedom. but what they found was not great. They ended up with severely restricted employment, exclusion from unions, rigid housing segregation and outbreaks of violence. One of the problems was that more white southerners moved than black southerners, so they ended up facing many of the same racial attitudes they had left.

**X.** **Racial Violence, North and South**

As a result of the larger numbers of African Americans coupled with the demands for change created a racial tinderbox that needed only an incident to trigger an explosion.

**A.** **riot of 1917**

Dozens of blacks were killed during a 1917 riot in East St. Louis, Missouri. Black workers had been hired as way of weakening the unions.

**B.** **Chicago**

In 1919 more than 250 people died in riots in the urban north. Chicago was one of the worst when five days of rioting was the result of a black man floating into the white side of the beach at Lake Michigan. By the time the National Guard stepped in, 38 had died and over 500 were injured.

**C.** **Violence was not confined to the North.**

1919 76 people were lynched including several returning black soldiers wearing uniforms. Several more clashes broke out. 200 were killed in Phillips County Arkansas when striking sharecroppers were met by an armed white vigilantes. The worse however was in Tulsa, Ok in 1921. more than 300 blacks were killed and over 10,000 left homeless after a white mob including police, and national guardsmen burnt an all black section of town to the ground. This resulted when a group of black veterans tired to prevent a lynching of a youth who had accidentally tripped and fell on a white female elevator operator.

**D.** **New militism**

The violence of 1917 and the war helped spark African Americans to protest more openly about their treatment. In 1917 as a result of the St. Louis riots, 10,000 blacks marched through NYC in a silent parade with signs asking Why not make America safe for democracy.

**XI.** **The Rise of Garveyism**

**A.** **Marcus Garvey**

was a recent immigrant from Jamaica who launched a separatist movement

**B.** **Universal Negro Improvement Association**

an organization that sprang out of the black ghettos of the north that called for African independence and black self reliance

**C.** **Fall of Garvey**

he was deported a few years later for mail fraud, and many other black leaders were happy about this. They saw him as a demagogue, but he did create a new sense of militarism in the African American community. Many were not happy any more with their situtation and felt betrayed. It was just a matter of time before something happened.

**1919**

**I.** **A Worldwide Upsurge**

There was a worldwide revolutionary upsurge in 1919.

**A.** **Soviet Union**

Lenin had nationalized the landholdings, banks, and factories and said it was a workers' government. This caused many to be happy as well as many to worry.

**1.** **Communism spreads**

As a result of the upheaval in the Soviet Union, a communist government comes to power in Bavaria, part of Germany, and in Hungary.

**2.** **General strikes**

begin to occur throughout Europe demanding that war time promises of industrial democracy be kept.

**B.** **Counter mobilization**

As more an more were wanting a revolution, a counter revolution that was opposed to radical change was created.

**1.** **US and the Soviet Union**

The U.S. saw the Soviet Union as a threat and attempted to undermine it. IN the summer of 1918, Allied forces - US, English, French and Japanese forced landed in Russia to help Lenin's opponents.

**2.** **Contradictions of liberal internationalism**

Keeping with the idea of open trade, Wilson kept trade alive with the Soviets, but at the same time the fear of communism and political instability that communism caused in the world, Wilson intervened militaristically. The Soviet Union was not invited to the Peace Conference and Wilson refused to extend diplomatic recognition to Lenin's government.

**II.** **Upheaval in America**

1. In the United States, 1919 also witnessed unprecedented turmoil.

**A.** **Flu Epidemic**

the world was offering suffering from a flu epidemic that killed 20-40 million world wide and 700,000 Americans.

**B.** **Bombs**

A series of bombs were sent to government officials.

**C.** **New Industrial Order**

By the war’s end, many Americans believed that the country stood on the verge of what Herbert Hoover called “a new industrial order.” Wilson had linked industry and freedom - and although he wasn't necessarily serious, the workers took him at his word.

**D.** **Strikes**

In 1919, more than 4 million workers engaged in strikes. They used the rhetoric of the war to fight for their freedoms and were met with unprecedented mobilization of employers, government and private patriotic organizations.

**1.** **Seattle**

The first began in January 1919 in Seattle. It started with shipyard workers that turned into a general strike that united both the AFL and the IWW. This lasted for five days before the federal troops arrived to end the strike.

**2.** **Boston**

In Sept, the Boston police struck for higher wages and shorter working hours. Gov. Coolidge said "there is no right to strike against he public safety" and called out the national guard to put the strike down. He then fired the entire police force.

**III.** **The Great Steel Strike**

The wartime rhetoric of economic democracy and freedom helped to inspire the era’s greatest labor uprising.

**A.** **Reasons**

Striking for union recognition, higher wages, and an eight-hour day. Prior to the war, the steel mill managers controlled everything. During the war, the union was able to gain back some recognition due to the governments restrictions, but when the war ended, so did the rights of the union.

**B.** **Counterattack**

Steel magnates launched a concerted counterattack. they appealed to antiimmigrant sentiment among native born workers, and created a propaganda campaign that linked the workers to the IWW, communism, and disloyalty.

**1.** **"Americanism vs. Alienism"**

this was the title of the New York Tribune as they covered the story. they pitted middle class values against the working class. With the police openly assaulting workers on the streets, the strike collapsed in 1920.

**IV.** **The Red Scare**

This was a short-lived but intense period of political intolerance inspired by the postwar strike wave and the social tensions and fears generated by the Russian Revolution.

**A.** **The Palmer Raids**

In November 1919 and January 1920, Attorney General Palmer dispatched federal agents to raid the offices of radical and labor organizations throughout the country. The search warrants were extremely broad and vague. It was overseen by J.Edgar Hoover who was the directof the Radical Division fo the justice Department.

**1.** **Targets and Victims**

Roguhly 5000 were arrested, most without any type of warrant and held for months without charge. hundreds of radicals were deported including Emma Goldman.

**2.** **Criticism**

Both the press and Congress began to criticize Palmer. Secretary of Labor Louis Post began releasing imprisoned immigrants and the Red Scare collapsed.

**3.** **Impact**

this planted the seeds for the importance of civil liberties. But at the time, it was a blow to radical and labor organizations and rekindled an identification of patriotic Americanism with support of the political and economic status quo. The IWW was pretty much destroyed, the Socialist party crumbled.

**V.** **Wilson at Versailles**

The Versailles Treaty did accomplish some of Wilson’s goals.

**A.** **Individual Agendas.**

Each participant had their own agenda as to what they hoped to achieve with the Treaty of Versailles. Alhtough Wilson had very publicly touted the 14 pts, David Lloyd George and Geroge Clemenceau would have none of it.2. The Versailles Treaty was a harsh document that all but

guaranteed future conflict in Europe.

**1.** **Wilson's 14 pts**

Although much of the 14 pts was ignored,

**a.** **League of Nations**

Wilson was able to get a few points across including the League of Nations.

**b.** **Self determination**

the map of Europe was redrawn. Nine new countries were created. Some were more stable than others.

**B.** **Harsh realities**

**1.** **Territorial gains**

France wanted land and was given the Saar Basin and Rhineland - both were iron and coal rich regions of Germany.

**2.** **Limits to military**

Strict limits were put on the size of Germany's army and navy.

**3.** **War guilt clause**

England convinced Wilson to agree to putting the entire blame on Germany saying they were morally responsible and set reparations somewhere between 33 billion and 56 billion. which ultimately crippled Germany's economy.

**VI.** **The Wilsonian Moment**

To many, WWI seemed like a European civil war. It heightened the prestige of the US since the war seemed to undermine the European claims that they were more civilized than others.

**A.** **Wilsonian rhetoric**

of self determination took hold for many oppressed and colonial people throughout the world. They took it more serious than he did. Wilson’s idea that government must rest on the consent of the

governed and his belief in “equality of nations” reverberated across the globe, especially among oppressed minorities and colonial peoples seeking independence. Many countries took what he said to heart. Many opposing colonial rule descended on Versailles to lobby for self determination and the end to imperialism.

**B.** **False Hopes**

The British and French had no intention of applying the principle of self-determination to their own empires.

**1.** **Ottoman empire**

was carved up into several different counties including Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, and Palestine that were controlled by the Allies under the League of Nations mandates. Australia and Japan, and South Africa gained Germany territories in Africa and Asia.

**VII.** **The Seeds of Wars to Come**

**A.** **DuBois**

He had hoped that black participation in the war would promote racial justice at home and self govenrment for colonies abroad. Du Bois concluded that Wilson had “never at any single moment

meant to include in his democracy” black Americans or the colonial peoples of the world.

**B.** **Anti Western nationalism**

A new anti-Western nationalism and anticolonial nationalism emerged in non-European nations as countries realized that the 14 pts would not be applied.

**1.** **May 4 movement**

in China, a mass protest against the decision at the Versailles peace conference to award certain German concessions (parts of China governed by foreign countries) to Japan. Some leaders like Ho Chi Minh turned to communism.

**2.** **Rise of Lenin**

Lenin had actually spoken about self determination before Wilson and as the Wilsonian movement came to an end, Lenin's reputation was bolstered.

**3.** **Heritage of American revolution and Wilsonian rhetoric**

Even though many were upset with the U.S. and thought we used our democracy only for ourselves, they would still refer to these two things as they were fighting for their independence.

**C.** **Impact**

German resentment over the terms of the peace treaty helped to

fuel the rise of Adolf Hitler.

**VIII.** **The Treaty Debate**

**A.** **League of Nations**

Wilson viewed the new League of Nations as the war’s finest legacy. He said that we could not save the world without being continually involved in it.

**B.** **Opponents**

Henry Cabot Lodge led the opponents who viewed the league as a threat designed to deprive the country of its freedom of action. Many thought it would commit the United States to an open ended involvement in the affairs of other countries

**C.** **Debate**

Many would have accepted the league with reservations regarding the obligation to assist League members against attack did not supercede the power of Congress to declare war. But Wilson, who was once a great compromiser, refused to compromise.

**1.** **Wilson's stroke**

in the midst of the debates in 1919 he suffers a stroke. The seriousness of his health was never made public and he was incapacitated the rest of his term. In essence, his wife ran the country for the next 17 months.

**2.** **Votes**

The treaty came up for a vote twice and both times was defeated.

**IX.** **Legacy**

The U.S. was in the war for a little over 19 months and had lasting impacts.

**A.** **isolationism**

the immediate impact was that the U.S. isolated itself from all European affairs.

**B.** **Wilson's ideas**

his appeals to democracy, open markets and a special American mission to instruct the world in freedom, couple with a willingness to intervene abroad militarily to promote American interest and values would create ht model for twentieth century American international relations.

**C.** **Failure**

3. On its own terms, the war to make the world safe for democracy failed. Neither stability or democracy was brought to most of the world and it undermined freedom in the United States. It also brought an end to progressivism. Harding won election in 1920 with a campaign centered on a return to normalcy.