



6

## World War I Soldiers

Many African Americans learned about race relations in other countries when they served as soldiers during World War I. This was the first time most African Americans had traveled more than a few miles from home.

## Job Opportunities

7

Industries expanded for wartime production during World War I, and many workers were drafted into the armed forces. Thus job opportunities for African Americans rose sharply during the war.



**1. Summarize** What do the objects tell you about daily life for African Americans in the South and in the North?

**2. Connecting to Today** Think about the reasons people migrate today. Are they similar or different from the reasons of African Americans during the Great Migration? Report the following to your class: (a) a current example of a migration; (b) whether you think that migrating always changes life for the better.

# American ARTIFACTS



FROM EXHIBITIONS AND COLLECTIONS  
AT THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION'S NATIONAL  
MUSEUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY

## AFRICAN AMERICANS' GREAT MIGRATION

The African American poet Margaret Walker called the South "Sorrow home." Perhaps this sentiment was shared by African Americans as they began their "Great Migration" north. Beginning in 1915, hundreds of thousands of African Americans packed up their bags, eager to take advantage of northern opportunities and leave behind the poverty and discrimination of the Jim Crow South. This move would change both the lives of the migrants and the history of race relations in the North.

Life had not been easy in the South. More than two thirds of African Americans were sharecropping farmers who paid landowners a part of their crops in exchange for rent of their land. Farming was backbreaking work for the whole family, and rarely did sharecroppers earn enough money for more than survival. Most fell deeper and deeper in debt to landlords, landowners, and store owners. See **1**, **2**, and **3**.

African Americans in the South had to rely on their own efforts to get by. Since schools for African Americans were few in number and poorly funded, many children were taught at home instead. The hope that conditions would be better in the North led many African Americans to pack their few possessions and head north. See **4** and **5**.

World War I created new opportunities. For one thing, scores of African Americans served in Europe, bringing home new ideas about race relations and civil rights. In addition, job opportunities grew in the North. African Americans streamed north to fill many of the openings. While leaving their homes would not be easy, African Americans believed a better way of life awaited them. See **6** and **7**.



**January  
1918**  
Wilson announces  
Fourteen Points

**January  
1919**  
Paris Peace  
Conference opens

**June  
1919**  
Versailles  
Treaty signed

**March  
1920**  
Senate refuses to  
ratify Versailles Treaty

**April  
1921**  
Reparations Commission  
announces German  
debt to Allies

**July  
1921**  
United States declares  
formal end to war

**1918**

**1919**

**1920**

**1921**

**1922**

## 5 Global Peacemaker

### SECTION PREVIEW

#### Objectives

- 1 Describe how Wilson's vision for peace fared during the Paris Peace Conference.
- 2 Explain the main points of the peace treaty and describe Wilson's efforts to gain approval for the treaty.
- 3 Describe the difficult adjustments many Americans had to make after the war.
- 4 **Key Terms** Define: Fourteen Points; self-determination; spoils; League of Nations; reparations; Versailles Treaty.

#### Main Idea

When the fighting ended in Europe, President Wilson pressed for a treaty that would bring peace to the postwar world.

#### Reading Strategy

**Reinforcing Key Ideas** As you read, take notes on how the Versailles Treaty was created and why the United States Senate refused to ratify it.

On January 8, 1918, President Wilson stood before the Congress of the United States. The war had not ended, yet Wilson talked about peace. He hoped that the world could “be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.”

### Wilson's Vision for Peace

Wilson's program for reaching these goals came to be called the **Fourteen Points**, for the number of provisions it contained. Wilson's first point called for an end to entangling alliances, a key cause of the war. He wrote:

#### KEY DOCUMENTS

“Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.”

—Woodrow Wilson

The remaining provisions of the Fourteen Points dealt with a variety of issues related to keeping the peace after the war. They included removal of trade barriers among nations and the reduction of armaments. Wilson also sought the protection of the right of Austria-Hungary's ethnic groups to **self-determination**, or the power to make decisions about one's own future.

Wilson hoped that these points would form the basis of peace negotiations. Germany assumed they would. At first, the Allies appeared to cooperate. But it soon became obvious that Wilson's colleagues did not share his idealism. After a while, the Fourteen Points began to unravel.

### The Paris Peace Conference

In January 1919 an international peace conference was held in Paris. Wilson decided to head the United States delegation. He also chose not to name any Republicans or senators to the group, a snub that would not be forgotten.





## World War I Casualties

	Allies	Central Powers
<b>Military Battle Deaths</b>	4,889,000	3,132,000
<b>Military Wounded</b>	12,809,000	8,420,000
<b>Total Casualties</b>	17,698,000	11,552,000

**Interpreting Tables** The postwar years would find nations coping with the huge number of casualties. **Foreign Relations** How might the casualty figures have influenced the peace plan?

When Wilson arrived in Paris, Parisians threw flowers in his path and greeted the American President as a conquering hero. Wilson claimed that he was not interested in the **spoils**, or rewards, of war. That is, he did not expect the United States to gain any territory taken from the war's losers. His only goal was to establish a permanent agency to guarantee international stability. As Wilson had declared two years earlier, "There must be not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace."

**Wilson Forced to Compromise** All would not go Wilson's way. First, the Allies were interested in spoils. In particular, they wanted to divide up Germany's colonies. The French wanted more. Determined never to be invaded again, they pressed for the total humiliation if not destruction of Germany.

Russia, although absent from the conference, was on everyone's mind. In March 1918 civil war had erupted there. British, French, and American forces had become involved in the civil war on the side of Lenin's opponents. Would Lenin's government survive? Would it present a set of war claims? As it turned out, Lenin's government held on to power, and it refused to claim any spoils of war.

Russia would, in fact, sign a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with Germany in 1922.

From the start of the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson was forced to compromise on the principles outlined in the Fourteen Points. He had to give up, for example, the idea of respecting the rights of native peoples in Germany's colonies. He finally agreed that the Allied powers could simply take over the colonies.

**The League of Nations** Wilson did, however, convince the other powers to postpone further discussion of Germany's fate and move directly to his ideas for global security. After 10 days of hard work, he produced a plan for the **League of Nations**, an organization in which the nations of the world would join together to ensure security and peace for all members. Wilson then left for home, hoping to persuade Congress and the nation to accept his plan.

For Wilson, the heart of his proposal for the League of Nations was Article 10 of the plan. This provision pledged members of the League to regard an attack on one as an attack on all. Since the League would not have any military power, the force of the article was moral only. Nevertheless, 39 Republican senators or senators-elect signed a statement rejecting it.



The peace process helped lead to the transformation of the map of Europe. **Location** In what ways does this map of Europe differ from the map on page 566?



# COMPARING PRIMARY SOURCES

## LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The debate over joining the League of Nations often hinged on the effect that joining would have on American sovereignty or independence.

### In Favor of Joining the League of Nations

"The United States will, indeed, undertake . . . to 'respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League,' and that engagement constitutes a very grave and solemn moral obligation. But it is a moral, not a legal, obligation, and leaves our Congress absolutely free to put its own interpretation upon it."

—President Woodrow Wilson, testifying before the Foreign Relations Committee, August 19, 1919

### Opposed to Joining the League of Nations

"Shall we go there, Mr. President, to sit in judgment, and in case that judgment works for peace join with our allies, but in case it works for war withdraw our cooperation? How long would we stand as we now stand, a great Republic commanding the respect and holding the leadership of the world, if we should adopt any such course?"

—Senator William Borah (Idaho), testifying in the Senate, November 19, 1919

**ANALYZING VIEWPOINTS** On what basis does each speaker support or oppose American entry into the League?

They feared that the article could be used to drag the United States into unpopular foreign wars.

## The Peace Treaty

In March 1919 Wilson returned to the peace conference. The Big Four—Britain, France, Italy, and the United States—dominated the proceedings. Though the Allies accepted Wilson's plan for the League of Nations, opposition to the League from Congress and many Americans had weakened Wilson's position at the conference.

French premier Georges Clemenceau took advantage of that weakness to demand harsh penalties against Germany. Wilson feared that these demands would lead to future wars, but he could not get Clemenceau to budge.

Wilson also had to compromise elsewhere. Self-determination for the peoples of Austria-Hungary proved hard to apply. As the map on the previous page

shows, the conference created the new nations of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Their borders were drawn with the ethnic populations of the region in mind. But these arrangements failed even then to resolve all ethnic tensions.<sup>†</sup>

Wilson had more luck opposing the demands of Vittorio Orlando, Italy's prime minister. Italy claimed several pieces of territory formerly controlled by Austria-Hungary. Wilson and the other Allied leaders refused to support Italy's claims. Because of his failure at the peace conference, Orlando had to resign as prime minister.

**War Guilt and Reparations** Wilson met his greatest defeat when he gave in to French insistence on German war guilt and financial responsibility. The French wanted to cripple Germany. The demands of the British, led by David Lloyd George, supported the French goal. They insisted on billing Germany for **reparations**, or payment from an enemy for economic injury suffered during a war. In 1921 a Reparations Commission ruled that Germany owed the Allies \$33 billion, an amount far beyond its ability to pay. As Wilson had feared, Germany never forgot or forgave this humiliation.

**Signing the Treaty** The Allies presented the treaty to the Germans on May 7, 1919. Insisting that the treaty violated the Fourteen Points, the Germans at first refused to sign it. They soon gave in, however, when threatened with a French invasion. On June 28 the great powers signed the treaty at Versailles, the former home of French kings, outside of Paris. Thus, the treaty is known as the **Versailles Treaty**.

## Seeking Approval at Home

On July 8, treaty in hand, Wilson returned home to great acclaim. But many legislators had doubts. Some senators opposed the treaty because it included American commitment to the League of Nations. These senators were called the "irreconcilables," because they could not be reconciled to, or made to accept, the treaty. Irreconcilables argued that joining the League would weaken American independence.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, led another group called the "reservationists." This group wanted to impose reservations, or restrictions,

<sup>†</sup> In the early 1990s these same ethnic tensions would contribute to the breakup of the two nations.

## Main Idea CONNECTIONS

What factors forced Wilson to compromise on his plans at the Paris Peace Conference?



on American participation in the League. In particular they wanted a guarantee that the Monroe Doctrine would remain in force. Wilson's point that compliance with League decisions was "binding in conscience only, not in law," failed to persuade them.

**Wilson Tours the Country** Determined to win grass roots support for the League, Wilson took to the road in September. In 23 days he delivered three dozen speeches. After this tremendous effort, he suffered a stroke that paralyzed one side of his body. He would remain an invalid, isolated from his Cabinet and visitors, for the rest of his term.

During his illness, Wilson grew increasingly inflexible. Congress would have to accept the treaty and the League as he envisioned it, or not at all. In November 1919 the Senate voted on the treaty with Lodge's reservations included. The vote was 39 for, 55 against. When the treaty came up without the reservations, it went down again, 38 to 53. In the face of popular dismay at this outcome, the Senate reconsidered the treaty in March 1920, but once again the treaty failed to win approval.

**A Formal End to Hostilities** On May 20, 1920, Congress voted to declare the war officially over. Steadfast to his principles, Wilson vetoed it. Finally, on July 2, 1921, another joint resolution to end the war passed. By that time a new President, Warren G. Harding, was in office, and he signed it. Congress ratified separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria, and Hungary that October.

## Difficult Postwar Adjustments

The war spurred the United States economy, giving a big boost to American businesses. The United States was now the world's largest creditor nation. In 1922 a Senate debt commission calculated that European countries owed the United States \$11.5 billion.

The return to peace caused problems for the country at large, however. By April 1919 about 4,000 servicemen a day were being mustered out of the armed forces. But nobody had devised a plan to help returning troops merge back into society. The federal agencies that controlled the economy during the war had abruptly canceled war contracts. As a result, jobs proved scarce.

The women who had taken men's places in factories and offices also faced readjustment. Late in 1918, Mary Van Kleeck, head of the Women in Industry Service, reported that "the question heard most frequently was whether women would now retire from industry." Many women did, either voluntarily or because they were fired.

**Postwar Gloom** Many artists and intellectuals in the United States entered the postwar years with a sense of gloom or disillusionment. They expressed their feelings in books, paintings, and other artistic works. Social reformers experienced similar emotions. They had been encouraged by the government-business collaboration during the war. For most of them, the end of the war marked the end of an era of optimism.

## GOVERNMENT CONCEPTS

**checks and balances:** the system, established by the Constitution, that enables each of the three branches of the federal government to check the other branches

▼ **The Historical Context** After President Wilson signed the Versailles Treaty, the treaty went to the Senate. There, a two-thirds vote in favor of the treaty was needed for American acceptance of the treaty to become official. The Senate, however, failed to approve the treaty.

▼ **The Concept Today** Many people complain today that the branches of government should work together more and check each other less. Yet the system of checks and balances helps keep government responsible to the voters.

## CAUSE AND EFFECT: World War I

### CAUSES

- Imperialism leads to international rivalries, particularly within Europe.
- Nationalism between and within countries intensifies.
- Military buildup in Europe intensifies.
- Europe develops a complicated system of alliances.
- Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria-Hungary is assassinated.
- Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.

### WORLD WAR I

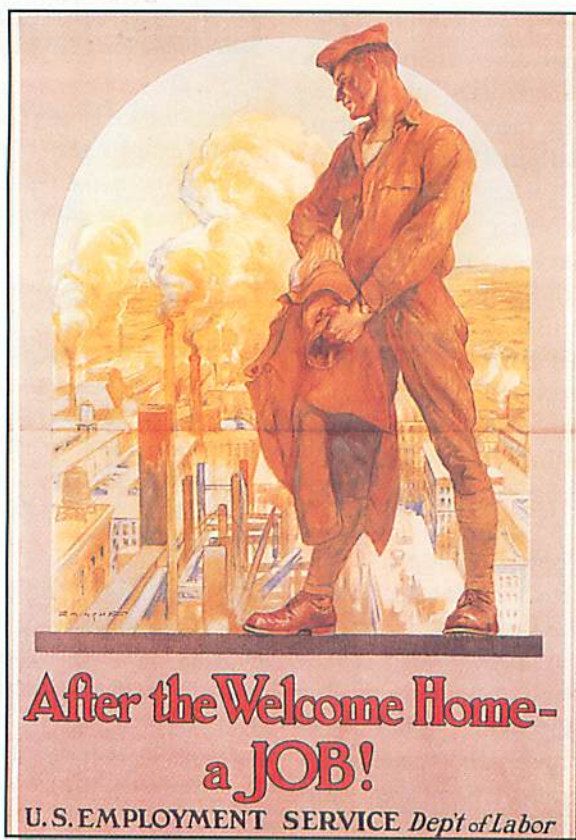
### EFFECTS

- Map of Europe is redrawn.
- League of Nations is formed.
- United States economy is boosted.
- United States suffers post-war disillusionment.



**Interpreting Charts** The assassination of Francis Ferdinand was the spark that ignited the powder keg of imperialism, nationalism, and alliances that began a world war. **Foreign Relations** Why was Congress opposed to the League of Nations?





A federal employment service kept jobs filled during the war. After the war, it had to cope with thousands of returning soldiers.  
*Economics* Why were jobs scarce?

Others felt the postwar gloom as well. The enthusiasm that had greeted the start of the Great War had faded by war's end. The realities of trench warfare, death, and destruction hit

many people very hard. Alice Lord O'Brian, a military post exchange director from Buffalo who was twice decorated, expressed the views of many who were directly involved in the war. She stated:

#### AMERICAN VOICES

“We all started out with high ideals. . . . [A]fter being right up here almost at the front line . . . I cannot understand what it is all about or what has been accomplished by all this waste of youth.”

—Alice Lord O'Brian

**African American Troops at Home** Like white troops, black soldiers came home to a hero's welcome. When they went to find jobs, however, the reception was different.

W.E.B. Du Bois, editor of the NAACP's magazine, the *Crisis*, had supported the war. In July 1918 he had written, “Let us, while this war lasts, forget our special grievances and close our ranks . . . with our white citizens and the allied nations that are fighting for democracy.” A year later, after more lynchings of African Americans, including some still in uniform, his message became defiant. “This country of ours, despite all its better souls have done and dreamed, is yet a shameful land,” he wrote in May 1919. “It lynches. . . . It steals from us. . . . It insults us. . . . We return. We return from fighting. We return fighting.”

Du Bois's views heralded a new era in the struggle for equality. The entire nation was on the threshold of a stormy era—the 1920s.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

### Comprehension

- Key Terms** Define: (a) Fourteen Points; (b) self-determination; (c) spoils; (d) League of Nations; (e) reparations; (f) Versailles Treaty.
- Summarizing the Main Idea** What kind of impact did President Wilson's ideas make at the Paris Peace Conference?
- Organizing Information** Create a web diagram to organize information about the peace-making efforts after World War I.

### Critical Thinking

- Analyzing Time Lines** Review the time line at the start of the section. Which event best

summarizes the results of Wilson's peace efforts? Explain.

- Drawing Inferences** Why did the Fourteen Points fail as a basis of peace negotiations?

### Writing Activity

- Writing a Persuasive Essay** Write an essay about the treatment of African Americans after the war. Compare the way black soldiers should have been treated with the way they were treated. Persuade your readers that despite the mistreatment, the struggle for equality will continue.