

22 World War I: The Progressive Crusade at Home and Abroad

1914-1920

With the declaration of war against Germany in 1917, the United States unmistakably asserted its status as a major power in world affairs. European nations had admired American economic might for decades and watched the politics of the nation's constitutional democracy with interest for more than a century. Now, by entering the war and claiming a decisive voice in the peace, the United States took its place as one of the powerful industrial nations that would shape global history in the twentieth century. The following documents illustrate the idealism of President Woodrow Wilson's supporters, the bitter criticism of the war by American socialists, the experience of combat, the postwar suppression of political radicals, and outbreaks of violence against African Americans.

DOCUMENT 22-1

The North American Review Considers War a Blessing, Not a Curse

Many Americans' growing determination to enter the war in Europe is captured by the following editorial from the *North American Review*, written on the eve of President Woodrow Wilson's request for a congressional declaration of war. In the selection below, the editors outlined the reasons for war and called upon all Americans to unite behind the president. The editors looked forward to a benevolent war and a prosperous peace that harmonized the interests of the government with that of industries and all citizens. Behind these bellicose arguments lay the editors' perception that some Americans remained unconvinced that war was necessary or desirable.

For Freedom and Democracy, April 1917

The point... is that Germany's only way to keep peace with us is to renounce absolutely assassination from ambush at sea, as long ago she was warned by the

president [Woodrow Wilson] she must do and as she solemnly promised him she would do. Seemingly this cannot now be achieved.... Consequently we look—hope and pray—for War to follow soon the great Message of Patriotism and hope [seeking a declaration of war] which we have no question the President will deliver to Congress, to America and to all the world....

We shall await with grimest zest [Wilson's] recital of treaties broken, of wrongs done, of lies told, of treacheries bared, of insults borne, of murders committed, of all the most shameful shocking, mean and low practices against civilization, humanity and common decency recorded even in the history of barbarism, in the face of [U.S.] forbearance for the sake of peace.... Well and truly might President Wilson say now, as President Madison did say a century and five years ago: "Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage aggression [our adversaries] perseverance and to enlarge pretensions...."

"We behold...." the President might [say].... "on the side of Germany, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Germany...."

[T]he President [recently] remarked.... that "we are provincials no longer, the tragical events of the thirty months through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world."

The fact is.... that we have not been provincials since the Fourth of July, 1776, but ever since that date have been citizens of a world Power. We proclaimed ourselves as such when we declared to the world that these States were free and independent and that as such they had "full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do[]."....

Surely it is high time for us to realize justly our own status, and to see that in taking part in the affairs of the world we are not entering upon any dubious and perilous "new departure," but are maintaining the sound and consistent policy which was enunciated and practiced by the founders of the Republic and the makers of the Constitution, which has been sustained by every President beginning with Washington and which is bound now to be upheld to the limit of his own courage and his country's resources by Woodrow Wilson.

The issue is in doubt no longer. We know now, if we have not known before, what this war is. It is the last of the great battles for Freedom and Democracy.... Personal government has disappeared forever from every part of the Western hemisphere.... Can anyone doubt that the beginning of the end of absolutism is at hand.... that liberty for the patient German people is as certain as freedom for downtrodden Hungary, for despoiled Serbia and for bleeding Armenia?

So mighty a change cannot be wrought in a month or likely in a year—and not at all unless and until the rulers of Central Europe shall yield to a world of freemen. Wholly aside, then, from the injuries and insults which America has endured at the hands of the [German] War Lord.... does not America's higher duty, her greater opportunity, lie along the path of the shot heard 'round the world? Are we to permit others to finish the glorious work which we began.... in the name of Almighty God? Shall we renounce our own professed ideals so completely that, at the end of the war, we may not deny.... the transhipment of

Liberty Enlightening the World from the harbor of New York to that of Hong Kong of Vladivostok. . . .

We are for war, of course, we are; and for reasons good and plenty, to wit: (1) Because we have reached and passed the limit of forbearance in trying to maintain amicable relations with a barbaric brute [Germany] who has presumed so far upon our good intent as to treat our most conciliatory and helpful suggestions with glaring contempt, who has incited all manner of treasonable activities and damnable outrages without our borders, has gloated over his avowed assassinations of our innocent and harmless citizens of both sexes and all ages upon the high seas and has missed no opportunity to deceive, to sneer at and to lie to our constituted authorities; because to conserve our own self-respect we are driven finally to the point where we must fight or forfeit the decent opinion of all mankind, because we cannot even seem to condone the breaking of treaties, the burning of villages to no purpose except to deprive the poor and helpless of shelter essential to mere existence, the enslavement of men who alone could save their families from destitution and death from starvation, the violating of women and young girls, the bayoneting of little children, the approved indiscriminate slaughter by the unspeakable Turks of thousands of helpless Christians in Armenia, and God only knows what else and what more that has stamped the Hun for more than one generation to come as the sublimated hero of the shambles of humanity; because, in a word, we cannot acknowledge the supremacy of might and frightfulness over right and righteousness without denying our faith in the living God; —

(2) Because we owe it to our forefathers who founded the Republic and to our fathers who saved the Union to prove ourselves not merely worthy of the happiness which flows from prosperity but eager and fearless in support of free life and full liberty the world over, to the end that the noble example set by them may not be degraded in glutinous realization by us; because as a practical matter if spies and traitors infest our land now is the time to smoke them out; if a few scattering undersea walls can break down our defense and damage our cities, let them do their utmost, that we may discover what might be anticipated from a fleet and prepare accordingly; if our navy is lopsided and deficient, our provision for a defensive army unfulfilled and unrealizable, our stores of ammunition insufficient, our air-machines and submarines but samples, to-day when only negligible harm can come to us is the day to acquaint ourselves with the facts; and if, as we are told, so many of us are pro-this or pro-that and so many more are putting [profits] above patriotism . . . , then what we need is a test — a test of body, of mind and of spirit, — a trying-out by fire while yet there is time to make America fit for any real emergency; yes, and able, through universal [military] training, to obviate the necessity of universal service; because simply and finally, in such a case, war is curative, not destructive; a blessing, not a curse.

(3) Because our going into the great conflict at this psychological moment would not only complete the ring of democracies around the doomed autocracy and so render the ultimate result certain to the dullest and the blindest, but from that very fact would infect all Germany, all Austria and all Hungary with the new spirit of Russia, and so by surely shortening and perhaps quickly ending the war, would save millions of precious lives, certain else to be sacrificed to no purpose other than impoverishment of the human race for centuries to come. . . .

So much is at least clear. . . . If at any time, while hearkening to the timorous voices of Representatives whose fair constituents did not raise their boys to be soldiers

or speaking more precisely and less agreeably, to fight for their country, Mr. Wilson may have doubted the answer to a patriotic appeal, surely all misgivings must now have disappeared before a response unprecedented in unanimity and resolution. In times of stress and danger the American people require from their Chief Magistrate neither inconclusive interpretation nor indeterminate consultation. All they ask is masterful leadership based upon mutual faith of the President in his country and of the country in its President. . . .

We may indeed hope that both Houses [of Congress] will meet in a chastened and refined spirit, intent upon rendering loyal service to the nation and thus "doing their bit" toward redeeming parliamentary government from the discredit into which it has undoubtedly fallen throughout the world during the last two or three years.

This latter circumstance is indeed one of the most noteworthy connected with the era of the world war. In the Central Empires, of course, parliaments have little to do in such an emergency. They are fulfilling the words of [Germany's] former prime minister and chancellor Otto von Bismarck fifty-five years ago, that the problems of the day are to be settled not by speeches and parliamentary decrees, but by blood and iron. But in the comparatively liberal and parliamentary countries the case is little better. The British Parliament has done little that it should have done, and much that it should not have done. . . . The French Parliament has been still less efficient. Nobody has thought of what it is doing. The real rule has been exercised by the commanding general of the army. . . .

In the United States neither House of Congress nor Congress as a whole has been distinguished for any large or masterful grasp of one of the most important and critical situations in all our history. Senators and Representatives have showed themselves largely moved by faction rather than by patriotism. Sometimes they have supinely obeyed Presidential dictation; other times they have stubbornly resisted the will of the President, even when it was most clear that his will was identical with that of the nation. Through it all they have displayed an insatiable appetite for appropriational "pork." It has been a sorry spectacle. . . .

Preparation to meet the competition [of Britain and Germany once the war is over] . . . must be effected upon the basis of . . . domestic reciprocity and co-operation between Government policy and private initiative and endeavor. . . . That does not mean, or at any rate it should not mean in America, government ownership of industries, nor corporate ownership of the government; either of these extremes would be a calamity, defeating the aims and objects of democracy. . . .

There can scarcely be a greater delusion than that government ownership and operation of industries and utilities is the only alternative to monopolies and offensive trusts. It is as unreasonable and as unfounded as to say that anarchy is the only alternative to despotism. The essential spirit of democracy requires for the individual a free initiative in industry just as much as in politics. The citizen must be as free to work as he is to vote. Moreover, there must be similar freedom of combination; and as citizens are free to combine themselves into political parties, in order to exert an influence and to accomplish ends which would be beyond their reach if acting individually, so they must be free to combine in business corporations, in order to effect results which would be impossible to individuals. That is democracy.

That does not, however, deny governmental control and regulation of corporations, as of individuals. The Government determines who may become citizens of the commonwealth, and it makes laws for the control of those citizens. So it

determines under what conditions corporations may be created . . . and it can appropriately regulate and control those corporations in their activities. That is constitutional and logical . . .

We ought . . . to realize the necessity of universal co-ordination of industries and complete co-operation between the Government and private enterprise, as the only rational and effective method of securing industrial and commercial efficiency which will enable us successfully to defend ourselves and to improve our opportunities in the era of restored peace which will presently come to the world.

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. Why did the editors believe the war was "the last of the great battles for Freedom and Democracy"? How did American ideals compare with German behavior, according to the editors?
2. The editors outlined many reasons for going to war. What, in their view, were the advantages and disadvantages of going to war? Who would benefit? Who would bear the costs?
3. Why were some congressional representatives "timorous," according to the editor? Were they simply cowardly?
4. Why did the editors consider war "curative, not destructive; a blessing, not a curse"? What would be cured? Who would be blessed?
5. Why was "complete co-operation between the Government and private enterprise" so important, according to the editors, and how would it affect the war and the expected peace?

DOCUMENT 22-2

Eugene V. Debs Attacks Capitalist Warmongers

The Socialist Party opposed American entry into World War I, calling it "a crime against the people of the United States." In June 1918, Eugene V. Debs, the party's perennial presidential candidate, spoke in Canton, Ohio, to a group of working people. In his speech, excerpted here, Debs explained that socialists opposed the war not because they were pro-German but because they were anti-capitalist. This speech precipitated Debs's arrest for violating the Espionage Act; he was convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison. In 1920, he campaigned for president from his prison cell.

Speech Delivered in Canton, Ohio, June 16, 1918

Why should a Socialist be discouraged on the eve of the greatest triumph in all the history of the Socialist movement? It is true that these are anxious, trying days for us all—trying days for the women and men who are upholding the banner of labor in the struggle of the working class of all the world against the exploiters of all the world . . .

From Jean Y. Tusey, ed., Eugene V. Debs, "Speech at Canton, Ohio," June 16, 1918, in Eugene V. Debs Speeches (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970).

Are we opposed to Prussian militarism? Why, we have been fighting it since the day the Socialist movement was born; and we are going to continue to fight it, day and night, until it is wiped from the face of the earth. Between us there is no day—and no compromise. . . . Multiplied thousands of Socialists have languished in the jails of Germany because of their heroic warfare upon the despotic ruling class of that country. . . .

I hate, I loathe, I despise Junkers' and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the Junkers in the United States.

They tell us that we live in a great free republic; that our institutions are democratic; that we are a free and self-governing people. This is too much, even for a joke. But it is not a subject for levity; it is an exceedingly serious matter.

To whom do the Wall Street Junkers in our country marry their daughters? After they have wrung their countless millions from your sweat, your agony and your life's blood, in a time of war as in a time of peace, they invest these untold millions in the purchase of titles of broken-down aristocrats, such as princes, dukes, counts, and other parasites and no-accounts. Would they be satisfied to wed their daughters to honest workingmen? To real democrats? Oh, no! . . .

These are the gentry who are today wrapped up in the American flag, who shout their claim from the house-tops that they are the only patriots, and who have their magnifying glasses in hand, scanning the country for evidence of disloyalty, eager to apply the brand of treason to the men who dare to even whisper their opposition to junker rule in the United States. No wonder Sam Johnson declared that "patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel." He must have had this Wall Street gentry in mind, or at least their prototypes, for in every age it has been the tyrant, the oppressor, and the exploiter who has wrapped himself in the cloak of patriotism, or religion, or both to deceive and overawe the people. . . .

Socialism is a growing idea, an expanding philosophy. It is spreading over the entire face of the earth. It is as vain to resist it as it would be to arrest the sunrise on the morrow. It is coming, coming, coming all along the line. . . . It is the mightiest movement in the history of mankind. . . . It has enabled me . . . to feel life truly worth while; . . . to be class-conscious, and to realize that, regardless of nationality, race, creed, color, or sex, every man, every woman who toils, who renders useful service, every member of the working class without an exception, is my comrade, my brother and sister—and that to serve them and their cause is the highest duty of my life. . . .

[O]ur hearts are with the Bolsheviks of Russia. Those heroic men and women, those unconquerable comrades have by their incomparable valor and sacrifice added fresh lustre to the fame of the international movement. . . . The very first act of the triumphant Russian revolution was to proclaim a state of peace with all mankind, coupled with a fervent moral appeal, not to kings, not to emperors, rulers or diplomats, but to the people of all nations. . . .

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder. . . . The feudal barons of the Middle Ages, the economic predecessors of the capitalists of our day, declared all wars. And their miserable serfs fought all the battles. The poor, ignorant serfs had been taught to revere their masters, to believe that when

Junkers: Members of the Prussian aristocracy, an especially militaristic and politically reactionary class in German society at that time.

their masters declared war upon one another, it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another and to cut one another's throats for the profit and glory of the lords and barons who held them in contempt. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives. . . .

And here let me emphasize the fact—and it cannot be repeated, too often—that the working class who fight all the battles, the working class who make the supreme sacrifices, the working class, who freely shed their blood and furnish the corpses, have never yet had a voice in either declaring war or making peace. It is the ruling class that invariably does both. They alone declare war and they alone make peace. . . .

What a compliment it is to the Socialist movement to be persecuted for the sake of the truth! The truth alone will make the people free. And for this reason the truth must not be permitted to reach the people. The truth has always been dangerous to the rule of the rogue, the exploiter, the robber. So the truth must be ruthlessly suppressed. That is why they are trying to destroy the Socialist movement. . . .

We do not attack individuals. We do not seek to avenge ourselves upon those opposed to our faith. . . . There is no room in our hearts for hate, except for the system, the social system in which it is possible for one man to amass a stupendous fortune doing nothing, while millions of others suffer and struggle and agonize and die for the bare necessities of existence. . . .

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican party and the corrupt Democratic party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class counts for something. It counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle, and fights for a cause. This will be the most important change you have ever made. . . .

Give me a hundred capitalists and let me ask them a dozen simple questions about the history of their own country and I will prove to you that they are as ignorant and unlettered as any you may find in the so-called lower class. They know little of history; they are strangers to science; they are ignorant of sociology and blind to art but they know how to exploit, how to gouge, how to rob, and do it with legal sanction. They always proceed legally for the reason that the class which has the power to rob upon a large scale has also the power to control the government and legalize their robbery. . . .

They are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not their but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

And now among other things they are urging you to "cultivate" war gardens, while at the same time a government war report just issued shows that practically 52 percent of the arable, tillable soil is held out of use by the landlords, speculators, and profiteers. They themselves do not cultivate the soil. They could not if they would. Nor do they allow others to cultivate it. They keep it idle to enrich themselves, to pocket the millions of dollars of unearned increment. Who is it that makes this land valuable while it is fenced in and kept out of use? It is the people. Who pockets this tremendous accumulation of value? The landlords. And these landlords who toil not and spin not are supreme among American "patriots." . . .

This lord who practically owns the earth tells you that we are fighting this war to make the world safe for democracy—he, who shuts out all humanity from his private domain; he, who profiteers at the expense of the people who have been slain and mutilated by multiplied thousands, under pretense of being the great American patriot. It is he, this identical patriot who is in fact the arch-enemy of the people; it is he that you need to wipe from power. It is he who is a far greater menace to your liberty and your well-being than the Prussian junkers on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. . . .

[W]ar comes in spite of the people. When Wall Street says war the press says war and the pulpit promptly follows with its Amen. In every age the pulpit has been on the side of the rulers and not on the side of the people. . . .

Political action and industrial action must supplement and sustain each other. You will never vote the Socialist republic into existence. You will have to lay its foundations in industrial democracy. The industrial union is the forerunner of industrial democracy. In the shop where the workers are associated is where industrial democracy has its beginning. Organize according to your industries! . . .

Then unite in the Socialist party. Vote as you strike and strike as you vote. . . . When we unite and act together on the industrial field and when we vote together on election day we shall develop the supreme power of the one class that can and will bring permanent peace to the world. . . . We shall conquer the public power. We shall then transfer the title deeds of the railroads, the telegraph lines, the mines, mills, and great industries to the people in their collective capacity; we shall take possession of all these social utilities in the name of the people. We shall then have industrial democracy. We shall be a free nation whose government is of and by and for the people.

And now for all of us to do our duty! The clarion call is ringing in our ears and we cannot falter without being convicted of treason to ourselves and to our great cause.

Do not worry over the charge of treason to your masters, but be concerned about the treason that involves yourselves. Be true to yourself and you cannot be a traitor to any good cause on earth.

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. According to Debs, why were "these . . . anxious, trying days"? What was the significance of his slogan "Vote as you strike and strike as you vote"?
2. Why did Debs object to Wilson's pledge that the war would make the world safe for democracy? Did Debs and Wilson agree about the democratic possibilities of developments in Russia?
3. According to Debs, how should working-class people respond to the patriotic appeals of leaders? How should they avoid treason? In what way could peace be achieved?
4. Do you think Debs should have opposed the war, even though U.S. troops were fighting in it? Why or why not?

DOCUMENT 22-3

A Doughboy's Letter from the Front

More than a million American soldiers, "doughboys" in contemporary slang, fought fierce German resistance in decisive battles in the Argonne forest of northern France during the fall of 1918. One anonymous soldier described his experiences to a friend back home in the following letter. The letter expresses the risks, fears, horrors, and exhilaration that many soldiers experienced in combat.

Anonymous Soldier

Letter to Elmer J. Sutters, 1918

Cote D'Or France

Dear Dad Bunkie,

Now don't go into epileptic fits or something like that when you read this letter, that is because I sent one to you as I know I haven't written you a letter for some time. Too busy with Uncle Sam's affairs just now and am working to beat hell.

I guess you would like to know of a few of my experiences over here while the scrimmage was on so I'll give you a few little yarns.

We were in the line up at Thiaccourt (St. Michel Sector) at first and although we did no actual fighting as we were in reserve at first and then in support, we got a lot of strafing from Jerry¹ in the nature of Artillery fire and Air raids.

But in the Argonne Forest was where we got in it in earnest and even if I do say it myself, the good old Lightning (78th) Division will go down in history as second to none for the work they did there.

It was here, old man, that I got my first Hun² with the bayonet. That was on the day prior to taking Grandpre and we had just broke through the enemy first line defenses when this happened.

We were pressing through a thicket when this big plug-ugly Hun suddenly loomed up in front of me and made a one-armed stab at me with his bayonet. You can make a hell of a long reach this way, but it's a rather awkward thrust as the bayonet makes the rifle heavy at the muzzle when you've got hold of your rifle at the snail of the stock like this guy had. A homelier guy I never saw before in all my life and he'd make two in size compared to Dad and you know what a big man my old Dad is.

Well you can imagine that this bud did not catch me unawares.

I was ready for him. I thought I was going to have a pretty stiff one-sided fight on my hands, with the odds in his favor, but he was a cinch. Before I even

realized it myself I parried off his blow and had him through the throat. It was my first hand to hand fight.

It was all over in a second, that is it for Jerry. He never even made a shriek. He went down like a log.

It was hard to hand all the way through that section of the woods as it was considered a vulnerable point, but we finally cleared them out and opened up the way for an attack on Grandpre itself.

We took it, but at heavy cost. I lost a buddy in that last charge. If short five or ten yard dashes can be called a charge and I certainly didn't have much love for the Boches³ after he went west. We can't mention any names of boys who were killed in our letters so I'll have to postpone it until I get home but he came from New Hampshire and a whiter fellow never lived. He was an only child too, old chap and his parents certainly have my sympathy.

Although I don't know his people I wrote a letter to them trying to make it as soft as I could. Well, he gave his all to the cause and you can't expect a fellow to do more. If a fellow goes down, it's up to the next one to carry on and make them pay dearly for every life taken. You know what I mean.

I know that the first thing you would ask me when you see me again for the first if I was afraid. Now I am not going to stick my chest out and exclaim "Like hell I was" or anything of the sort. I sure was afraid, and you and any other chap would be too, but what I was afraid of most was that I would be yellow.

If a fellow gets a yellow streak and backs down the other boys won't have anything to do with him and that was what I was afraid of the most, of getting a yellow streak.

But I didn't. I was as plucky as any other doughboy and carried on all the way through and although I didn't get as much as a scratch I had many a close call. Enough of them to make a fellow's hair turn white. I crouched for three hours one night up to my waist in water in a shell hole waiting for our barrage to lift.

The water was like ice and there [were] four or five dead Huns floating around in it too. Not very pleasant, eh?

While sneaking about the ruins of Grandpre "Mopping Up" we came across a Prussian Chap in a ruined building with a rifle. He was a sniper, alive and the reason he was still there was because he could not get out although the opening was big enough for him to crawl through. During the bombardment the roof of the building had fell through in such a way as to pin him there by the feet and although he was practically uninjured he could not get himself free. I'll explain better when I see you, as I can tell it better than I can write it. He begged us to help him and although we had been cautioned against treaty [treachery] one of the fellows who was with me put down his rifle and started to crawl through to free him. The moment he got his head and shoulders through the hole which had been smashed by a shell, by the way, this Hun hauls off and lets him have a charge right square in the face.

Poor Dan never knew what happened. His face was unrecognizable. We didn't do a thing but riddle that hole, we were that furious, and we didn't stop shooting until our magazines were empty.

¹From Anonymous Soldier to Elmer J. Sutters, 1918, in Andrew Carroll, ed., *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars* (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001), 162-67.

²Jerry: Slang term for a German soldier.

³Hun: Slang term for a German soldier.

³Boches: Slang term for German soldiers.

That Hun was the dirtiest skunk that every lived.... Dan was some husky boy and insisted on being a foot-ball player somewhere out in Tennessee where he came from....

Up near Breckinway we ran into another pretty stiff proposition. We had to fight through the woods that seemed to be full of machine gun nests. We had just cleared out one of them with hand grenades and while we were sneaking up a rather steep hill, thickly wooded, we saw these Huns suddenly appear and run about a dozen paces and disappear down into a clearly camouflaged dug-out.

The Yanks were pressing the Huns hard, they were some of the Famous Prison Guard too, and after these three birds had gone down into their hole we sneaked right up. There were three of us together, all Buck Privates. I took a hand grenade out of my bag, pulled out the retaining pin and heaved it down into the dug-out.... There was a belluva an explosion in about six seconds. I threw two more down to join the first and keep it company. Well after the big noise had stopped down there we crept down to investigate.

There was only one room down there, a big concrete affair and only one entrance, the one we came down, and that room was a mess. There were fifteen dead Huns down there and the walls, floor and ceiling were splashed with red, so you can see what damage a hand grenade can do. I don't know whether my grenades killed them all, we didn't have time to ascertain, as we had to hurry right out again, but I know I got the three we saw beating it down there.

I was also with a detachment of men who took a dozen prisoners out of a dug-out and the worst of the whole thing was that they were only mere kids, just think of it old man. Mere kids, that is the most of them and they all expected to be killed immediately.

They were all scared stiff. We begged the lot and sent them to the man under guard.

Well I was there to the finish old man and we had just mashed Fritz's last resistance up near Sedan when we were relieved by a French Division who captured Sedan next day....

Fritz pulled off a peach of an air raid.... It was about 7:30 pm and quiet, yes very dark outside when the thing started and he came back again and again at regular intervals of ten minutes and bombed the hell out of everything in sight, but what he really wanted to get... was our Supply and Ammunition Depots.... Now there is only one sure thing to do and I did it. Nothing heroic about it old man, just common sense and it wasn't the first time I did it either, even though my heart was trying to pound a hole through my ribs at the time. I went outside and walked out on the railroad and lay down flat in a shallow trench I had stumbled upon.... along the tracks and I stayed there all night too. It was an organized raid, or rather a general raid and I saw the flashes from the exploding bomb all around me all night.... [One bomb struck right near a small wooden shack where the Engineers use to store tools and blew that thing to hellaballoo.

That shed stood only about 100 or 150 yards from where I was laying.... and a big piece of that shed came down ker-smak only six feet from where I was. The next instant another landed right on the railroad and exploded with terrific force....

Fritz: Slang term for a German soldier.

This one burst about 500 yards away from me, but those things can kill at 1,000 yards and the concussion lifted me up out of this trench between the rails, about a foot or so in the air and I came down again ker-flump. It wasn't a pleasant sensation, but nothing hit me and that was better than anything....

Well I guess this will be all for just now so with best regard and good wishes to you, Elmer, Mother Suters, Pop, Mutt, and all the byoodies. I close.

Your Old Friend and Comrade in Mischievous
Dickwitch

P.S. Say you old slab of a lop-sided tin-eared Jackass, what's wrong with you anyhow. Got writer's cramp or what? Pick up a pen for the Love of Pete and write to your old bud in France. Dick

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. What was this soldier most afraid of? Why? What did his fear suggest about motivation for combat? What did he seem to mean by the term "the cause"?
2. Did this "doughboy" take pride in killing "Huns"? Did he express regrets or doubts about killing? Why or why not?
3. To what extent did his combat experiences seem different from his prewar life? Did his prewar experiences and expectations seem to influence his life as a soldier?

DOCUMENT 22-4

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer Defends America from Communists

The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia terrified many Americans. They feared communism would spread in the United States with the help of political radicals and immigrants. To suppress this "Red menace," U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer organized a series of raids to round up and deport immigrants suspected to be Communists. Civil liberties defenders denounced Palmer's raids as violations of the U.S. Constitution. Palmer defended the anti-Red crackdown in an essay, excerpted below, that described his perception of the Red menace and what had to be done to defeat it.

The Case against the "Reds," 1920

[Forum editor's note: The plans for fomenting a nation-wide revolution in this country, prepared by [Leon] Trotsky in Moscow, are in the files of the Attorney-General's office. It is upon these proofs that the Attorney-General has decided upon a vigorous system of arrest and deportation of radical aliens, which he says he will pursue till the United States is purged of Bolshevism....]

In this brief review of the work which the Department of Justice has undertaken, to tear out the radical seeds that have entangled American ideas in their

From A. Mitchell Palmer, "The Case against the 'Reds,'" *Forum* 63 (February 1920), 173-85.

poisonous theories, I desire not merely to explain what the real menace of communism is, but also to tell how we have been compelled to clean up the country almost unaided by any virile legislation. Though I have not been embarrassed by political opposition, I have been materially delivied because the present sweeping processes of arrests and deportation of seditious aliens should have been vigorous.

The anxiety of that period in our responsibility when Congress, ignoring the seriousness of these vast organizations that were plotting to overthrow the Government, failed to act, has passed. The time came when it was obviously hopeless to expect the hearty co-operation of Congress, in the only way to stamp out these vicious societies in their open defiance of law by various forms of propaganda.

Like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was eating its way into the homes of American men and women. The old institutions of law and order were licking the sharp tongues of revolutionary heat, crawling into the bellies of the school bell, leaping into the altars of the churches, leaping into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with the foundations of society.

Robbery, not war, is the ideal of communism. This has been demonstrated in libertine laws, burning up the foundations of society.

In Russia, Germany, and in America. As a foe, the anarchist is fearless of his own life, or his creed is a fanaticism that admits no respect of any other creed. Obviously it is the creed of any criminal mind, which reasons always from motives impossible to clean thought. Crime is the degenerate factor in society.

Upon these two basic certainties, first that the "Reds" were criminal aliens, and secondly that the American Government must prevent crime, it was decided that there could be no nice distinctions drawn between the theoretical ideals of the radicals and their actual violations of our national laws. An assassin may have brilliant intellectuality, he may be able to excuse his murder or robbery with fine oratory, but any theory which excuses crime is not wanted in America. This is no place for the criminal to flourish, nor will he do so, so long as the rights of common citizenship can be exerted to prevent him.

OUR GOVERNMENT IN JEOPARDY

It has always been plain to me that when American citizens unite upon any national issue, they are generally right, but it is sometimes difficult to make the issue clear to them. If the Department of Justice could succeed in attracting the attention of our optimistic citizens to the issue of internal revolution in this country, we felt sure there would be no revolution. The Government was in jeopardy. My private information of what was being done by the organization known as the Communist Party of America, with headquarters in Chicago, of what was being done by the Communist Internationale under their manifesto planned at Moscow last March by Trotsky, Lenin and others addressed "To the Proletariats of All Countries," of what strides the Communist Labor Party was making, removed all doubt. In this conclusion we did not ignore the definite standards of personal liberty, of free speech, which is the very temperament and heart of the people. The evidence was examined with the utmost care, with a personal leaning toward freedom of thought and word on all questions.

The whole mass of evidence, accumulated from all parts of the country, was scrupulously scanned, not merely for the written or spoken differences of viewpoint as to the Government of the United States, but, in spite of these things, to

see if the hostile declarations might not be sincere in their announced motive to improve our social order. There was no hope of such a thing.

By stealing, murder and lies, Bolshevism has looted Russia not only of its material strength, but of its moral force. A small clique of outcasts from the East Side of New York has attempted this, with what success we all know. Because a disreputable alien—Leon Bronstein, the man who now calls himself Trotsky—can inaugurate a reign of terror from his throne room in the Kremlin; because this lowest of all types known to New York can sleep in the Czar's bed, while hundreds of thousands in Russia are without food or shelter, should Americans be deceived by such doctrines?

Such a question, it would seem, should receive but one answer from America. My information showed that communism in this country was an organization of thousands of aliens, who were direct allies of Trotzky. Aliens of the same misshapen caste of mind and indecencies of character, and it showed that they were making the same glittering promises of lawlessness, of criminal autocracy to Americans, that they had made to the Russian peasants. How the Department of Justice discovered upwards of 60,000 of these organized agitators of the Trotzky doctrine in the United States is the confidential information upon which the Government is now sweeping the nation clean of such alien filth. . . .

There were other activities of the Reds . . . for which there was no legislation. These were:

"... The preaching of anarchy and sedition is not a crime under the general criminal statutes of the United States.

"...Advising the defiance of law is not a crime under the general criminal laws whether the same be done by printing and circulating literature or by the spoken word.

²⁰ . . . Nor is the advising and openly advocating the unlawful obstruction of industry and the unlawful and violent destruction of property a crime under the United States general statutes." . . .

One of the chief incentives for the present activity of the Department of Justice against the "Reds" has been the hope that American citizens will, themselves, become voluntary agents for us, in a vast organization for mutual defense against the sinister agitation of men and women aliens, who appear to be either in the pay or under the criminal spell of Trotsky and Lenin. . . .

WHY DEPORTATIONS CHECK BOLSHEVISM?

Behind, and underneath, my own determination to drive from our midst the agents of Bolshevism with increasing vigor and with greater speed, until there are no more of them left among us, so long as I have the responsible duty of that task, I have discovered the hysterical methods of these revolutionary humans with increasing amazement and suspicion. In the confused information that sometimes reaches the people, they are compelled to ask questions which involve the reasons for my acts against the "Reds." I have been asked, for instance, to what extent deportation will check radicalism in this country. Why not ask what will become of the United States Government if these alien radicals are permitted to carry out the principles of the Communist Party as embodied in its so-called laws, aims and regulations?

There wouldn't be any such thing left. In place of the United States Government we should have the horror and terrorism of bolshevik tyranny such as is destroying Russia now. Every scrap of radical literature demands the overthrow of our existing government. All of it demands obedience to the instincts of criminal minds, that is, to the lower appetites, material and moral. The whole purpose of communism appears to be a mass formation of the criminals of the world to overthrow the decency of private life, to usurp property that they have not earned, to disrupt the present order of life regardless of health, sex or religious rights. By a literature that promotes the wildest dreams of such low aspirations, that can occur to only the criminal minds, communism distorts our social law. The chief appeal communism makes is to "The Worker." If they can lure the wage-earner to join their own gang of thieves, if they can show him that he will be rich if he steals, so far have they succeeded in betraying him to their own criminal course.

Read this manifesto issued in Chicago:

THE COMMUNIST PARTY MANIFESTO

"The world is on the verge of a new era. Europe is in revolt. The masses of Asia are stirring uneasily. Capitalism is in collapse. The workers of the world are seeking a new legal and securing new courage. Out of the night of war is coming a new day.

"The spectre of communism haunts the world of capitalism. Communism [is] the hope of the workers to end misery and oppression.

"The workers of Russia smashed the front of international Capitalism and Imperialism. They broke the chains of the terrible war, and in the midst of agony, starvation and the attacks of the Capitalists of the world, they are creating a new social order.

"The class war rages furiously in all nations. Everywhere the workers are in a desperate struggle against their capitalist masters. The call to action has come. The workers must answer the call.

"The Communist Party of America is the party of the working class. The Communist Party proposes to end Capitalism and organize a workers' industrial republic. The workers must control industry and dispose of the product of industry. . . . The Communist Party insists that the problems of the American worker are identical with the problems of the workers of the world. . . .

Their manifesto further embraces the various organizations in this country of men and women obsessed with discontent, having disorganized relations to American society. These include the I.W.W.'s, the most radical socialists, the misbegotten anarchists, the agitators who oppose the limitations of unionism, the moral perverts and the hysterical neuroathetic women who abound in communism. . . .

It has been inferred by the "Reds" that the United States Government, by arresting and deporting them, is returning to the autocracy of Czardom, adopting the system that created the severity of Siberian banishment. My reply to such

I.W.W.: Industrial Workers of the World.

neuroathetic: Weakened by a nervous disorder.

changes is, that in our determination to maintain our government we are treating our alien enemies with extreme consideration. To deny them the privilege of remaining in a country which they have openly deplored as an unenlightened community, unfit for those who prefer the privileges of Bolshevism, should be no hardship. It strikes me as an odd form of reasoning that these Russian Bolsheviks who extol the Bolshevik rule, should be so unwilling to return to Russia. The nationality of most of the alien "Reds" is Russian and German. There is almost no other nationality represented among them.

It has been impossible in so short a space to review the entire menace of the internal revolution in this country as I know it, but this may serve to arouse the American citizen to its reality, its danger, and the great need of united effort to stamp it out, under our feet, if needs be. It is being done. The Department of Justice will pursue the attack of these "Reds" upon the Government of the United States with vigilance, and no alien, advocating the overthrow of existing law and order in this country, shall escape arrest and prompt deportation.

It is my belief that while they have stirred discontent in our midst, while they have caused irritating strikes, and while they have infected our social ideas with the disease of their own minds and their unclean morals, we can get rid of them! [And not until we have done so shall we have removed the menace of Bolshevism for good.

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. What did Palmer consider "the real menace of communism"? What did he propose to do "to clean up the country"?
2. Why did he believe Congress ignored "the seriousness of these vast organizations that were plotting to overthrow the Government"? What evidence did Palmer believe showed that "'Reds' were criminal aliens"?
3. In what ways did the "plague of revolution" sweep "over every American institution of law and order"? What evidence did Palmer cite of this "prairie-fire"? What legal basis did Palmer claim for his actions?
4. To what extent did Palmer believe that Communists were successful in recruiting American members? To what extent did "men and women obsessed with discontent" advance the cause of communism, according to Palmer?
5. Do you think Palmer successfully defended his policy? Why or why not? What did Palmer say about democracy and the Constitution? Do you think his view that the "Government was in jeopardy" was accurate? Why or why not?

DOCUMENT 22-5

An African American Responds to the Chicago Race Riot

Race riots exploded in almost two dozen American cities during the summer of 1919. White mobs attacked African Americans indiscriminately beating, shooting, and lynching them. Shortly after the bloody riot in Chicago, the governor of Illinois appointed a biracial commission to study the causes of the melee. Stanley B. Norrell, an African American Chicagoan, wrote the following letter to Victor F. Lawson, editor of the Chicago Daily

News, who had just been appointed as one of the white members of the commission to study the riot. Norrell described whites' ignorance of blacks and pointed out that a "new Negro" had been created by the experiences of World War I and the continuing injustices of white racism.

Stanley B. Norrell

Letter to Victor F. Lawson, 1919

My dear Mr. Lawson:

... I take it that the object of this commission is to obtain by investigation the cause or causes of the friction between the two races that started the moloches of race hatred into such violent motion as to cause the heterogeneous mixture to boil over in the recent race riots.

Few white men know the cause, for the simple reason that few white men know the Negro as an entity. On the other hand, I daresay that almost any Negro that you meet on the street could tell you the cause, if he would, for it is doubtful—aye, very doubtful—if he would tell you, because Negroes have become highly suspicious of white men, even such white men as they deem their friends ordinarily. The Negro has always been and is now largely a mental dependent upon the white man's generosity and charity for his livelihood, and for this reason he has become an expert crier of the white man and a veritable artist at appearing to be that which he is not. To resort to the vernacular, "coming" the white man has become his profession, his stock in trade. Take for example the Negro in Chicago—and Chicago is fairly representative—sixty per cent of the male Negro population is engaged in mental and service occupations such as hotel waiters, dining car waiters, sleeping car porters, barbershop porters, billiard room attendants, etc., where "tips" form the greater part of their remuneration. Thirty per cent are laborers and artisans, skilled and unskilled, governmental and municipal employees, while the remaining ten per cent are business and professional men.

Unfortunately it is always by the larger class—the mental, servitor and flunky class—that the race is judged. Even at that, we would not object to being judged by this class of our race, if those who did the judging had a thorough knowledge of the individuals who make up this class. Unfortunately they have not this knowledge nor can they get it except through the instrumentality of just such a commission as that to which you gentlemen have been assigned. The white man of America knows just about as much about the mental and moral calibre, the home life and social activities of this class of colored citizens as he does about Mars. ... [W]ere you to ask any white man concerning these dusky servitors further you will be surprised to know that in spite of his years of acquaintance with the subject he knows absolutely nothing about intellect, ability, ambitions, for years. He is just a "nigger" and he takes him for granted, as a matter of course...

From Stanley B. Norrell to Victor F. Lawson, in William Tuttle, ed., "Views of a Negro during the Red Summer of 1919," *Journal of Negro History* 51 (July 1966), 211–18.

I can walk down the "Boul Mich" and be surveyed by the most critical of Sherlock Holmeses and I will wager that none of them can accurately deduce what I am or what I represent. They cannot tell whether I am well off or hard up; whether I am educated or illiterate; whether I am a northerner or a southerner; whether I am a native born Negro or a foreigner; whether I live among beautiful surroundings or in the squalor of the "black belt." I defy the shrewdest of your pseudo detectives to know whether I am a reputable citizen or whether I am a newly arrived crook. They cannot tell by looking at me what my income is. ... The point is that I am only an ordinary, average Negro and that the white man is constantly making the mistake of discounting us and rating us too cheaply. He should wake up to the fact that brain is not peculiar to any race or nationality but is merely a matter of development. ...

The further causes of the apparent increased friction between the two races, in my opinion is due to the gradual, and inevitable evolution—metamorphosis, if you please—of the Negro. The Negro has also progressed in knowledge by his study of the white man, while the white man blinded by either his prejudice or by his indifference has failed to study the Negro judiciously, and as a consequence, he knows no more about him than he did fifty years ago and still continues to judge him and to formulate opinions about him by his erstwhile standards. Today we have with us a new Negro. A brand new Negro, if you please. What opportunities have you better class white people for getting into and observing the homes of the better class of colored people? Yet the duties of the colored man in his mental capacities gives him an insight of your home life. As a suggestion, if I may be permitted to make one, I suggest that the white members of this commission make it their business to try to obtain an opportunity through some of the colored members of the commission to visit the homes of some of our better class people. You will find that "Uncle Tom" that charming old figure of literature contemporary with the war of the rebellion is quite dead now and that his prototypes are almost as extinct as is the great auk, the dodo bird, old Dobbin and the chaise. ... This was all brought about by education. ... When a young colored boy of Chicago goes through the eight grades of grammar school and wins the cherished diploma; then through a four year high school course and wins a university scholarship; and then goes to college and wins a degree ... and is highly popular and well received among his fellow classmates, it is a very difficult thing for him to get it into his head that he is inferior to anybody that has no more knowledge, ability and nor money than himself. Regardless of what the eminent sociologists may say, and to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no amount of logic, nor philosophy, nor ethnology, nor anthropology, nor sociology that can convince him to his own satisfaction that he is not the possessor of all the lesser and major attributes that go to make up a good citizen by all of the standards which our republican conventions hold near and dear.

Take the late war for example, and consider the effect that it has had upon the Negro, by and large. I believe that the mental attitude of the Negro that went to war is comparable in a certain degree to the mental attitude of most of the Negroes throughout the country; so far as the awakenings are concerned. The Negro of this

¹Boul Mich: Michigan Avenue in Chicago.

²old Dobbin and the chaise: Horse and carriage.

but is a condition that will quite naturally exist when the problem is eventually solved—just a little prior to the millennium. Leastwise considering the unsettled condition of the world at large, the white man of this country has a great deal more to be sensibly alarmed about than the coming of social equality. Looking into the future I can see more ominous clouds on the horizon of this country's destiny than the coming of social equality.

When the Negro ponders the situation—and now he is beginning to seriously do that—it is with a feeling of poignant resentment that he sees his alleged inferiority constantly and blatantly advertised at every hand, by the press, the pulpit, the stage and by the glaring and hideous sign-boards of segregation. Try to imagine, if you can, the feelings of a Negro army officer, who clothed in the full panoply of his profession and wearing the decorations for valor of three governments, is forced to the indignity of a jim-crow car and who is refused a seat in a theatre and a bed in a hotel. Think of the feelings of a colored officer, who after having been graduated from West Point and having worked up step by step to the rank of colonel to be retired on account of blood pressure—and other pressures—in order that he might not automatically succeed to the rank of general officer. Try to imagine the smouldering hatred within the breast of an overseas veteran who is set upon and mercilessly beaten by a gang of young hoodlums simply because he is colored. Think of the feelings in the hearts of boys and girls of my race who are clean, intelligent and industrious who apply for positions only to meet with the polite reply that, "We don't hire niggers." Think how it must feel to pass at the top of the list and get notice of appointment to some nice civil service position that is paid for out of the taxes of the commonwealth, and upon reporting to assume the duties thereof, to be told that there has been a mistake made in the appointment.

When you think of these things, and consider them seriously it is easy to see the underlying, contributory causes of the friction that led up to the recent racial troubles. It is a well known fact that civilization is but a veneer which lightly covers the surface of mankind; that if slightly scratched, with the right kind of tool, a man will turn into a bloodthirsty savage in the twinkling of an eye. The overt act that is alleged to have started the recent conflagration, would not have in itself been sufficient to have ignited and exploded such vials of wrath had not the structure of society been long soaked in the inflammable gasoline of smoldering resentment.

As soon as the white man is willing to inform himself about the true status of the Negro as he finds him today, and is willing to take off the goggles of race prejudice and to study the Negro with the naked eye of fairness, and to treat him and then voila, you have the solution to the problem. We ask not charity but justice. We no longer want perquisites but wages, salary and commissions. Much has been said . . . [about] the white man's burden. We admit to having been a burden, just as an infant that cannot walk is at one time a burden. But in the natural order of things the infant soon ceases to be a burden and eventually grows up to be a crutch for the arm that once carried him. We feel that now we are able to take our first, feeble diffident steps, and we implore the white man to set his burden down and let us try to walk. Put us in your counting rooms, your factories and in your banks. The young people who went to school with us and who learned the three R's from the same blackboard as ourselves will surely not object to working with us after we have graduated. If they do, it will

country has gone through the same evolution that the white man has, in his own way; and in a large percentage of the total, that way is not far removed from the soldier mind. The Negro of our country . . . the Negro of the mass I mean, is comparable in his awakening and in his manner of thought after that awakening, to these white boys who went to war. The white soldiers—being young—had but little thought of anything but his immediate concerns—being segregated, had but little thought of anything but his immediate concerns, and the Negro, until lately, had but little thought of anything but his immediate concerns.

Since the war the Negro has been jolted into thinking by circumstances . . . [Negroes] have learned that there were treaties and boundaries and Leagues of Nations and mandates, and a dismembered Poland, a ravaged Belgium, a stricken France, a soviet Russia and a republic in Ireland and so on, and they have . . . for the first time in their lives taken a peep of their own volition and purely because they wanted to know, into the workings of governmental things of those other countries, and have tried to reason out the possible real cause of all of this bloodshed and woe and misery along such international, allied and foreign government and other vague lines.

Now then, this has logically . . . brought us round to a sort of realization of how our government was made and is conducted. I venture to claim that any average Negro of some education, if closely questioned, and the questions were put to him in simple understandable form, will tell you that he finally has come to know that he counts as a part of his government, that he is a unit in it. It took a world war to get that idea into general Negro acceptance, but it is there now. Centuries of the dictum, which heretofore not many of us disputed, that, "This was a white man's country, and that we were destined to always be hewers of wood and carriers of water," was set aside by circumstances and conditions and reactions and reflexes and direct contacts of this war. Negroes were pulled out of their ordinary pursuits all over the country and called upon to do things that they had to do because there was nobody at hand to do them, and those circumstances induced an awakening that must inevitably continue for all time.

The five hundred thousand Negroes who were sent overseas to serve their country were brought into contacts that widened both their perceptions and their perspectives, broadened them, gave them new angles on life, on government, and on what both mean. They are now new men and world men, if you please. . . . What the Negro wants and what the Negro will not be satisfied with until he gets is that treatment and that recognition that accords him not one jot or tittle less than that which any other citizen of the United States is satisfied with. He has become tired of equal rights. He wants the same rights. He is tired of equal accommodations. He wants [the] same accommodations. He is tired of equal opportunity. He wants the same opportunity. He must and will have industrial, commercial, civil and political equality. America has already given him those inalienable rights, but she has not always seen to it that he has received them. America must see that the Negro is not deprived of any right that she has given him otherwise the gift is bare, and in view of her recent international exploits she will stand in grave danger of losing her national integrity in the eyes of Europe and she will be forced to admit to her European adversaries that her constitution is but a scrap of paper. Social equality—that ancient skeleton in the closet of the southern negro—whose bones are always brought out and rattled ominously whenever the Negro question is discussed—is in no way a factor in the solution of the problem.

only be because they are not yet accustomed to the new conditions. That is nothing. People soon become accustomed to new things and things that seem at first preposterous soon become commonplace. We have surely proven by years of unrequited toil and by constant and unfaltering loyalty and fealty that we are worthy of the justice that we ask. For God's sake give it to us!

Stanley B. Norvell

QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. According to Norvell, what were the causes of the Chicago race riot?
2. Why did few white men "know the Negro"? How did whites judge "the race"? Why could whites not "accurately deduce what I am or what I represent," according to Norvell?
3. What did Norvell mean by saying, "Today we have with us a new Negro"? How did education influence attitudes among blacks and whites? How did World War I contribute to new attitudes among African Americans?
4. How did "the goggles of race prejudice" shape the experiences of blacks and whites? What assumptions did Norvell make about the motivations of whites and blacks and how they might be changed?

COMPARATIVE QUESTIONS

1. In what ways did the editors of the *North American Review's* arguments about American war aims differ from Eugene V. Debs's views? What accounted for the differences? How might each have responded to the other?
2. How does the doughboy's letter reinforce or dispute the pro-war stance conveyed in the *North American Review*?
3. To what extent were A. Mitchell Palmer's raids against the Red menace an outgrowth of President Wilson's wartime policies? Based on the documents in this chapter, how might Debs have responded to Palmer?
4. To what extent did Debs's advocacy of socialism address the issues raised by Stanley B. Norvell? Did Norvell endorse Debs's stance toward the war and other matters?
5. The wartime appeal to patriotism intensified domestic concerns about who was authentically American. Considering the documents in this chapter, what ideas do you think existed about who genuine Americans were, how they could be recognized, and what their duties and responsibilities were?

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