CHAPTER 24

THE NATION AT WAR

SUMMARY
In 1915, the British steamship *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine off the coast of Ireland with 1,200 fatalities, horrifying Americans. The tragedy embroiled the United States more deeply in the European crisis, and despite Wilson’s commitment to peace and neutrality, America went to war in 1917.

*A New World Power*
After 1901, the United States was becoming much more involved in international issues through its economic expansion. Policymaking was left almost entirely to the president because most Americans paid little attention to foreign affairs. From 1901-1920, American foreign policy was aggressive and nationalistic, intervening in Europe, the Far East, and Latin America, dominating the Caribbean.

“I Took the Canal Zone”
The strong desire for an isthmian canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans led to a major departure in U.S.-Latin American relations. President Roosevelt, convinced that America should achieve a more active international status, moved to consolidate American power in the Caribbean and Central America. He intervened in affairs in Colombia-Panama in order to secure the canal zone, and the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty gave the United States control of the canal zone and guaranteed the independence of Panama. Roosevelt’s actions angered many in Latin America.

The Roosevelt Corollary
With American interests entrenched in the Caribbean, the president issued the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. It threatened Latin American nations with American intervention should they fail to keep their finances in order. In particular, Roosevelt was reacting the tendency of Latin American nations to default on their debts to European nations, thereby inviting European intervention in the area—something Roosevelt wanted to prevent.

Ventures in the Far East
American action in the Far East was shaped by the Open Door Policy and possession of the Philippine Islands. After war broke out between Russia and Japan, Roosevelt sought to balance Russian and Japanese power in the Far East by mediating the conflict. The Taft-Katsura Agreement recognized Japanese control of Korea in exchange for a promise not to invade the Philippines. In 1908, after assuaging Japanese resentment over anti-Japanese action in the American West, Roosevelt sent the enlarged naval fleet around the world, with a stop in Tokyo, as a show of strength.
Taft and Dollar Diplomacy
Under President Taft, American business and financial interests were extended abroad through “dollar diplomacy,” replacing European loans with American loans. Taft’s initiatives in the Far East led to intense rivalry and increased tension with Japan.

Foreign Policy Under Wilson
Confident of his own abilities and very idealistic, President Wilson foresaw a world freed from the threats of militarism, colonialism, and war. He stressed morality rather than money, advocating a course of diplomacy that would bring about peace and the spread of democracy.

Conducting Moral Diplomacy
President Wilson and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan sought to apply a policy of human rights and national integrity to Latin America, but practical considerations softened Wilson’s idealism, and he fell back on the Roosevelt-Taft policies, intervening in Latin America more than either of his predecessors.

Troubles Across the Border
Revolution and lingering political instability caused Wilson to become embroiled in Mexican political turbulence. When the conservative General Huerta assassinated the reformer Madero, Wilson refused to recognize him, asserting a new policy toward revolutionary regimes that required not only the exercise of power but also the demonstration of a “just government based on law.” Tensions mounted between the United States and Mexico. When revolutionary leader Pancho Villa began attacking Americans, Wilson responded with military intervention further arousing the ire of Mexico. Distracted by affairs in Europe, Wilson withdrew the military from Mexico.

Toward War
The assassination of Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz Ferdinand set into motion a chain of events that by August 1914 had brought the major European nations to war. Stunned as he was, Wilson called on the American people to remain impartial.

The Neutrality Policy
At the outset of war, Wilson envisioned the nation’s role as that of a peacemaker and pillar of democracy. Americans were sharply divided in sentiment, but most sympathized with the British and French and considered German aggression largely responsible for the war. Except in Latin America, the United States had a well-established tradition of isolationism, and Americans accepted neutrality as the desirable course. Progressivism also mitigated against involvement as most reformers preferred to focus on domestic problems.

Freedom of the Seas
Maintaining the nation’s neutrality, American firms tried to trade with both the Allies and Germany. For the most part, Britain was careful to disrupt German trade without disrupting Anglo-American relations. Other than U-boats, Germany did little to disrupt
American trade with the Allies, and American goods flooded European ports, especially in Britain and France, resulting in great profits at home and increasing commercial ties with the Allies.

The U-Boat Threat
Germany’s use of the dreaded submarines posed a direct threat to American shipping. Until 1917, Germany agreed not to fire on American ships. The issue then became one of American passengers on foreign ships. The sinking of the Lusitania and the Arabic outraged Americans and forced President Wilson to pressure the German government. After the French steamer Sussex was sunk, Wilson threatened to sever relations with Germany, and German Kaiser Wilhelm issued a pledge promising that German submarines would only target enemy naval vessels.

“He Kept Us Out of War”
The “preparedness” advocates led by Theodore Roosevelt called for readiness in case of war and spoke out against pacifist sentiment in the country. Facing pressure from both sides, Wilson advocated preparedness while championing his record of peace. Wilson defeated the Republican candidate Charles Evans Hughes in 1916. Winning by a very narrow margin, Wilson continued to pledge his commitment to peace even while he advocated preparedness.

The Final Months of Peace
In January 1917, Wilson called upon the European nations to submit to a “peace without victory” and a peace between equals, but renewed German submarine attacks severely threatened relations with the United States. Public indignation against Germany soared after the exposure of the Zimmermann telegram, which encouraged a Mexican-German alliance and German support in a Mexican war against the United States. Prompted by continued sinking of American ships, Wilson at last demanded military intervention.

Over There
A wave of patriotism swept the country as hundreds of thousands of troops departed for Europe, and antiwar protest at home was crushed.

Mobilization
Wilson selected “Black Jack” Pershing to lead the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). Preferring a draft as more efficient and democratic, Congress passed the Selective Service Act, eventually drafting over two million men, including Black men, into the army.

War in the Trenches
A massive German offensive was launched in March 1918 against western Europe, but the American-supported Allied lines held. By autumn German forces were in headlong retreat, and in November, Germany agreed to armistice terms. Within the month, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria also were finished.
Over Here
All aspects of the economy and of society were needed to fight the war, and Wilson was able to mobilize the whole country both economically and emotionally.

The Conquest of Convictions
At home, the Committee on Public Information launched a propaganda campaign to evoke hatred for Germany and support for the war. Wilson encouraged the emerging vigilante repression of antiwar sympathizers and enacted and enforced the Espionage Act and the Sedition Act against those who opposed the war effort. Such efforts to smother anti-American dissent also gave rise to a “Red Scare” in 1919. Pleased at first with the Russian revolution, Americans soon became dismayed when the Communists took over. Wilson sent troops, joined in an economic blockade of Russia, and barred Russian participation in the peace conference that ended the war.

A Bureaucratic War
The War Industries Board was established to oversee all aspects of industrial production. Herbert Hoover headed the Food Administration, which fixed prices and encouraged Americans to plant “victory gardens,” while the Fuel Administration rationed coal and oil and introduced daylight savings time. Government involvement in American life had never been greater. Liberty bonds were sold, and taxes on individuals and corporations were boosted.

Labor in the War
The war secured the partnership between labor and government, and union membership swelled to more than four million by 1919. The War Labor Board standardized wages and hours and protected the rights of workers to organize and collectively bargain. Women and African Americans found economic opportunities that had never before existed. Companies sent agents into the South to recruit Black labor, setting off a great migration of Blacks to northern industrial areas, and growing competition for jobs and housing led to an increase in racial tensions. The United States emerged from the war as the greatest economic power in the world.

The Treaty of Versailles
Wilson’s plan for peace contained in his Fourteen Points outlined a far-reaching, nonpunitive settlement. Although England and France reluctantly submitted to much of Wilson’s idealistic plans, they were skeptical of its promises for world peace.

A Peace at Paris
In a dramatic break from tradition, Wilson himself attended the peace conference where he unveiled his lofty goals for a lasting peace, including national self-determination in Europe and the creation of a League of Nations. Several of Wilson’s important principles were sacrificed, however, as enormous reparations were heaped upon Germany, its Asian and African colonies were divided up among other European nations, and the doctrine of self-determination was violated in the establishment of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Additionally, there was no mention of disarmament, free trade, or freedom of the seas.
Rejection in the Senate
Because the treaty limited the power of Congress in some respects, senators with strong reservations were committed to opposing it. Wilson’s refusal to budge on a few crucial points and his inability to campaign for it with his usual zest (he suffered a debilitating stroke) led to the treaty’s final rejection. Republican Warren G. Harding’s election in 1920 assured the final demise of the treaty.

Conclusion: Postwar Disillusionment
World War I, feared before it started, popular while it lasted, and hated when it ended, confirmed the nation’s disillusionment with war and international commitment. The war and its aftermath also killed the progressive spirit of reform that had dominated the first two decades of the century.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
After mastering this chapter, you should be able to:

1. Discuss the new role of the United States in Latin America and the various diplomatic approaches of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson.

2. Describe the problems Wilson faced in Mexico and whether he handled them responsibly.

3. List and explain the causes of the war in Europe and American reactions to the war.

4. Compare and contrast the arguments of the preparedness advocates and the pacifists.

5. Understand the factors that brought the U.S. into the war and the extent to which German belligerence in the North Atlantic was responsible.

6. Compare American military involvement and wartime losses with those of the major European nations.

7. Determine the reasons for the final military collapse of Germany.

8. Show the ways in which the wartime partnership between citizens and government worked and how the war affected women and African Americans.

9. Specify the steps by which America mobilized for war.

10. Summarize the activities of the War Industries Board, the Committee on Public Information, and the War Labor Board.

11. Explain the concessions or sacrifices that Wilson had to make to the other European leaders regarding the peace structuring.
12. Define the different goals of the victorious nations at the Paris Peace Conference, and explain how Wilson’s goals were incorporated into the treaty.

13. Discuss the reasons for the failure of Wilsonian global idealism and the Versailles treaty.

14. Reflect on American disillusionment and the decline of the progressive spirit as the 1920s set in.

GLOSSARY

To build your social science vocabulary, familiarize yourself with the following terms:

1. **ultimatum** a proposition or demand with strong consequences for rejection. “... almost an ultimatum—warning Germany that the United States would view similar sinking as ‘deliberately unfriendly’.”

2. **protectorates** governments established by a major power over a dependent country. “Roosevelt also established protectorates in Cuba and Panama.”

3. **status quo** the way things presently exist. “... in which they promised to maintain the status quo in the Pacific...”

4. **militarism** a condition of aggressive military preparedness or strong military buildup. “... Wilson believed in a principled, ethical world in which militarism, colonialism, and war were brought under control.”

5. **neutrality** a policy of remaining unaligned with any one side in an international conflict. “Wilson immediately proclaimed neutrality...”

6. **jingoism** extreme nationalism, often to the point of belligerency or chauvinism. “It is jingoism run stark mad...”

7. **pacificist** one who categorically opposes war. “... while pacifists denounced any attempt at military readiness.”

8. **conscription** a forced contribution or draft of persons for military duty. “Wilson turned to conscription, which he felt was both efficient and democratic.”

9. **self-determination** the right of a people or nation to choose their own form of government and leaders. “... and they were skeptical of the principle of self-determination.”
10. **reparations** payments made for damages caused. “. . . it made Germany accept responsibility for the war and demanded enormous reparations . . .”

11. **belligerent** warring or warlike. “. . . neutral countries were permitted to trade in nonmilitary goods with all belligerent countries.”

12. **bellicose** inclined toward quarreling or aggressive arguments. “Bellicose as always, Teddy Roosevelt led the preparedness campaign.”

13. **vigilantism** preparedness for emergency. “Vigilantism, sparked often by super patriotism of a ruthless sort, flourished.”

14. **assimilated** made similar or integrated. “Society assimilated some of the shifts, but social and economic tensions grew . . .”

15. **arbitration** intervention by an impartial third party in disputes with the decision usually binding. “League members pledged to submit to arbitration every dispute . . .”

**IDENTIFICATION**

Briefly identify the meaning and significance of the following terms:

1. **Lusitania**

2. **Roosevelt Corollary**

3. **“dollar diplomacy”**

4. **“moral diplomacy”**

5. **Selective Service Act**
6. Zimmermann Telegram

7. Red Scare

8. Sedition Act

9. War Industries Board

10. League of Nations

MATCHING

A. Match the following diplomatic measures with the appropriate description:

_____1. Hay-Herran Convention  a. recognized Japan's control of Korea in return for her non-interference in the Philippines

_____2. Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty  b. was convened by Roosevelt to end the war between Japan and Russia

_____3. Taft-Katsura Agreement  c. contained a promise by the Germans not to fire on nonmilitary ships in the North Atlantic

_____4. Portsmouth Conference  d. in agreement with Colombia, gave the U.S. the right to dig a canal and a ninety-nine-year lease

_____5. Sussex Pledge  e. gave U.S. control over the Panama Canal zone in return for U.S. guarantee of Panamanian independence
f. increased American suspicion of German intervention in Mexico
B. Match the following public figures with the appropriate description:

_____ 1. George Creel  
   a. head of the wartime Fuel Administration who introduced daylight savings time

_____ 2. Bernard Baruch  
   b. Socialist party leader who was imprisoned for denouncing capitalism and the war

_____ 3. Herbert Hoover  
   c. head of the Food Administration who supplied food to American armies overseas

_____ 4. Eugene V. Debs  
   d. leader of the Committee on Public Information to publicize the war effort

_____ 5. Harry A. Garfield  
   e. person who ran the War Industries Board, which determined manufacturing priorities
   f. head of the War Labor Board, which standardized hours and wages

COMPLETION

Answer the question or complete the statement by filling in the blanks with the correct word or words.

1. The secretary of state who chose to resign rather than sign a note demanding certain pledges from Germany after the sinking of the *Lusitania* was ________________.

2. To consolidate the country’s new position in the Caribbean and to strengthen America’s two-ocean navy, Roosevelt desired ________________________.

3. With the ________________________, the United States and Japan promised to maintain the status quo in the Pacific and support Chinese independence.

4. Rejecting “dollar diplomacy,” Wilson initially intended to follow a course of ________________________ to settle international disputes by right rather than might.

5. The longtime president of Mexico who invited foreign investments into the Mexican economy was ________________________.
6. At the outbreak of war in Europe, Wilson proclaimed
_________________________ and asked the American people to remain
impartial in thought and action.

7. The new weapon that violated traditional rules of warfare and strained United
States-German relations was the _________________.

8. The issue that dominated the presidential election of 1916 was _____________ or
_________________.

9. The Mexican leader whom Wilson refused to recognize, calling him instead “the
butcher,” was ________________.

10. When Du Bois spoke of Blacks as being more proud and militant after the war, he
used the term ___________________________ to describe them.

TRUE/FALSE

Mark the following statements either T (True) or F (False):

_____ 1. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty gave the United States and Britain joint
ownership of the proposed isthmian canal.

_____ 2. The new approach to Latin American affairs promised by Wilson was to
elevate human rights and national integrity.

_____ 3. Because the Philippines were strategically crucial to American interests in the
Pacific, Congress decided to fortify the islands promptly after acquisition.

_____ 4. William Jennings Bryan was appointed secretary of state by Wilson
primarily because of his previous experience in foreign affairs through the
State Department.

_____ 5. “The dirty hunger for dollars” was to blame for the European war, according
to multimillionaire Henry Ford.

_____ 6. Because he had fought so doggedly for neutrality, Wilson was able to
sympathize with those Americans who opposed the U.S. entry into the war in
1917.

_____ 7. Because of the Zimmermann telegram and the possibility of war with Mexico
as well as because of the universal hatred for Mexicans by southwestern
Americans, Congress tightened immigration restrictions from south of the
border after 1917.
8. The fact that most African Americans actively supported the war effort had a calming effect on racial tensions at home after the war.

9. Most Irish immigrants in the United States favored Germany in World War I even though Irish troops were fighting for the British.

10. Because of the almost universal hatred for the American Socialist party expressed during and after the Paris peace talks, the party became stronger.

**MULTIPLE CHOICE**

Circle the one alternative that *best* completes the statement or answers the question.

1. The Roosevelt Corollary
   a. promised an American empire in the Caribbean.
   b. warned European nations to eliminate all economic interests in Latin America.
   c. warned of American intervention in Latin American affairs when necessary.
   d. acquired Cuba for the United States as a territory.

2. The approach of President Taft toward foreign affairs was to
   a. increase military buildup and involvement.
   b. promote American financial and business interests.
   c. oppose all non-democratic regimes.
   d. attract European capital and loans to Latin America.

3. According to Woodrow Wilson, the objectives and pursuits of the American people should be
   a. moral principle, preservation of peace, and extension of democracy.
   b. military power and increased armaments.
   c. material interests and “dollar diplomacy.”
   d. overwhelming concern for domestic progressive issues to the sacrifice or preclusion of foreign problems.

4. One of the major reasons for the war in Europe in 1914 was
   a. the fear of Britain and France toward the rising power of Russia.
   b. the fear of creeping communist revolutions throughout Europe.
   c. the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the desire for additional territories by her southeastern European neighbors.
   d. a web of entangling alliances that could cause a local problem to escalate into a major war.

5. At the outset of the European war, most Americans
   a. accepted neutrality as advisable and moral.
   b. favored entering the war on the side of Britain and France.
   c. blamed Britain for the war because of its extensive imperial system.
   d. were unconcerned with events in Europe.
6. The preparedness advocates called for
   a. American entry into the war at any cost.
   b. naval destroyers to accompany merchant vessels across the North Atlantic.
   c. Roosevelt to run for the presidency in 1916.
   d. military readiness in case of war.

7. The Committee on Public Information was responsible for
   a. giving the American people clear and objective reasons why the United States was compelled to intervene in the war.
   b. distributing news items to the major daily papers and other media.
   c. using the arts, advertising, and film industries to publicize the war and launching a propaganda campaign to popularize the war effort against the barbaric Germans.
   d. keeping a watchful eye on antiwar sympathizers and publicly discrediting them.

8. The effect of the war on organized labor was to
   a. bring labor into partnership with the federal government and greatly increase union membership.
   b. allow the government to forbid strikes or work slowdowns.
   c. weaken labor because most workers were called into the armed forces.
   d. allow women to unionize on the same basis as men.

9. African American participation in the war could best be described in which of the following ways?
   a. African Americans were not allowed in the armed forces in any capacity.
   b. African Americans were enlisted in support and supply units but were not allowed in combat.
   c. More than forty thousand African Americans served in combat but were commonly discriminated against when they returned home.
   d. African Americans were fully integrated into the armed forces and treated the same as White troops for the most part.

10. Which of the following was not a major goal of Wilson's at the Paris Peace Conference?
    a. enforcement of enormous financial reparations upon the Germans
    b. national self-determination for European ethnic and nationalist groups
    c. a League of Nations to settle international disputes
    d. reduction of tensions through disarmament and establishment of free trade

11. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty granted
    a. the United States control of a canal zone through Panama.
    b. the United States and Britain joint ownership of the canal.
    c. the United States a ninety-nine year lease on a canal zone in return for payments to Columbia.
    d. Columbia preferential treatment in using the canal.
12. Most progressives in the United States believed that the European war was the result of
   a. the failure of international diplomacy.
   b. the greed of financiers, munitions manufacturers, stockbrokers, and others eager for wartime profits.
   c. the lack of commitment on the part of European governments to liberal reforms.
   d. the absence of American leadership in encouraging other nations to establish their own progressive reform agendas.

13. The German policy that was most directly responsible for bringing the United States into the war was the
   a. support for Mexico with arms and money during the punitive expedition.
   b. decision to renew unrestricted submarine warfare in the North Atlantic against American vessels.
   c. sinking of the Lusitania.
   d. revelation of wartime objectives including territorial gains in Europe and Africa.

14. The key issue in the 1916 presidential campaign was
   a. that Wilson had kept us out of war and that Hughes was perceived to be more aggressive toward Germany.
   b. the proposed extension of suffrage to women.
   c. whether civil rights for African Americans continued in the progressive agenda.
   d. whether we would eventually come into the European war on the side of Germany or on the side of Britain and France.

15. Wilson’s attitude toward antiwar dissent after American entry was to
   a. tolerate it because of his own moral revulsion to war.
   b. crack down on super patriotic vigilantism directed against antiwar sympathizers.
   c. encourage repression and humiliation of antiwar sympathizers.
   d. refuse to concern himself because of the greater importance of directing the war in Europe.

THOUGHT QUESTIONS

To check your understanding of the key issues of this period, solve the following problems:

1. Neutrality, although the United States policy for the first three years of the war in Europe, was not actually neutral. What were the problems in remaining neutral?

2. Several factors prompted U.S. entry into the war against Germany in 1917. What do you consider to be the most important reasons for intervention?
3. How did mobilization change the habits and patterns of American society at home? To what extent did the federal government become “big brother” to the economy during the war?

4. W. E. B. Du Bois spoke of a “New Negro” during the war years. How did the war change the expectations and directions of Blacks in a still predominantly White-dominated society?

5. How did the war damage the progressive, humanitarian spirit in America? How did disillusionment affect the U.S. at home, as well as in its relations with other countries?

6. How would you compare the Latin American policies of Presidents Roosevelt and Wilson? What problems with Mexico did Wilson’s attitude of condescension and morality create?

7. Wilson attempted to apply his lofty ideals of morality and self-determination to the world arena after the war. Why were his goals difficult to achieve, and why specifically did the Senate reject his treaty?

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

After reading Boy Scouts of America from “Boy Scouts Support the War Effort” (1917), and Newton D. Baker, “The Treatment of German Americans” (1918), and F. J. Grimke, “Address of Welcome to the Men Who Have Returned from the Battlefront,”(1919) answer the following questions:

Boy Scouts of America from, "Boy Scouts Support the War Effort" (1917)

To the Members of the Boy Scouts of America!

Attention, Scouts! We are again called upon to do active service for our country! Every one of the 285,661 Scouts and 76,957 Scout Officials has been summoned by President Woodrow Wilson, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to serve as a dispatch bearer from the Government at Washington to the American people all over the country. The prompt, enthusiastic, and hearty response of every one of us has been pledged by our [Scout] President, Mr. Livingstone. Our splendid record of accomplishments in war activities promises full success in this new job.

This patriotic service will be rendered under the slogan: “EVERY SCOUT TO BOOST AMERICA" AS A GOVERNMENT DISPATCH BEARER. The World War is for liberty and democracy.

America has long been recognized as the leader among nations standing for liberty and democracy. American entered the war as a sacred duty to uphold the principles of liberty and democracy.

As a democracy, our country faces great danger-not so much from submarines, battleships and armies, because, thanks to our allies, our enemies have apparently little chance of reaching our shores.

Our danger is from within. Our enemies have representatives everywhere; they tell lies; they misrepresent the truth; they deceive our own people; they are a real menace to our country.

Already we have seen how poor Russia has been made to suffer because her people do not know the truth. Representatives of the enemy have been very effective in their deceitful efforts to make trouble for the Government.

Fortunately here in America our people are better educated-they want the truth. Our President recognized the justice and wisdom of this demand when in the early stages of the war he created the Committee on Public Information. He knew that the Government would need the confidence, enthusiasm and willing service of every man and woman, every boy and girl in the nation. He knew that the only possible way to create a genuine feeling of partnership between
the people and its representatives in Washington was to take the people into his confidence by full, frank statements concerning the reasons for our entering the war, the various steps taken during the war and the ultimate aims of the war. Neither the President as Commander-in-Chief, nor our army and navy by land and sea, can alone win the war. At this moment the best defense that America has is an enlightened and loyal citizenship. Therefore, we as scouts are going to have the opportunity of rendering real patriotic service under our slogan, "EVERY SCOUT TO BOOST AMERICA" AS A GOVERNMENT DISPATCH BEARER.

Here is where our service begins. We are to help spread the facts about America and America's part in the World War. We are to fight lies with truth.

We are to help create public opinion "just as effective in helping to bring victory as ships and guns," to stir patriotism, the great force behind the ships and guns. Isn't that a challenge for every loyal Scout? "EVERY SCOUT TO BOOST AMERICA" AS A GOVERNMENT DISPATCH BEARER: HOW?

As Mr. George Creel, the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information, says in his letter, scouts are to serve as direct special representatives of the Committee on Public Information to keep the people informed about the War and its causes and progress. The Committee has already prepared a number of special pamphlets and other will be prepared. It places upon the members of the Boy Scouts of America the responsibility of putting the information in these pamphlets in homes of the American people. Every Scout will be furnished a credential card by his Scoutmaster. Under the direction of our leaders, the Boy Scouts of America are to serve as an intelligence division of the citizens' army, always prepared and alert to respond to any call which may come from the President of the United States and the Committee on Public Information at Washington.

... Each Scoutmaster is to be furnished with a complete set of all of the government publications, in order that all of the members of his troop may be completely informed. Each scout and scout official is expected to seize every opportunity to serve the Committee on Public Information by making available authoritative information. It is up to the Boy Scouts to see that as many people as possible have an intelligent understanding of any and all facts incident to our present national crisis and the World War. ... PAMPHLETS NOW READY FOR CIRCULATION

Note:-A set will be sent to every Scoutmaster. You will need to know what is in these pamphlets so as to act as a serviceable bureau of information and be able to give each person the particular intelligence he seeks.

Newton D. Baker, "The Treatment of German-Americans" (1918)

The spirit of the country seems unusually good, but there is a growing frenzy of suspicion and hostility toward disloyalty. I am afraid we are going to have a good many instances of people roughly treated on very slight evidence of disloyalty. Already a number of men and some women have been "tarred and feathered," and a portion of the press is urging with great vehemence more strenuous efforts at detection and punishment. This usually takes the form of advocating "drum-head courts-martial" and "being stood up against a wall and shot," which are perhaps none too bad for real traitors, but are very suggestive of summary discipline to arouse mob spirit, which unhappily does not take time to weigh evidence.

In Cleveland a few days ago a foreign-looking man got into a street car and, taking a seat, noticed pasted in the window next to him a Liberty Loan poster, which he immediately tore down, tore into small bits, and stamped under his feet. The people in the car surged around him with the demand that he be lynched, when a Secret Service man showed his badge and placed him under arrest, taking him in a car to the police station, where he was searched and found to have two Liberty Bonds in his pocket and to be a non-English Pole. When an interpreter was procured, it was discovered that the circular which he had destroyed had on it a picture of the German Emperor, which had so infuriated the fellow that he destroyed the circular to show his vehement hatred of the common enemy. As he was unable to speak a single word of English, he would undoubtedly have been hanged but for the intervention and entirely accidental presence of the Secret Service agent.

I am afraid the grave danger in this sort of thing, apart from its injustice, is that the German Government will adopt retaliatory measures. While the Government of the United States is not only responsible for these things, but very zealously trying to prevent them, the German Government draws no fine distinctions.

F. J. Grimke, "Address of Welcome to the Men Who Have Returned from the Battlefront" (1919)

Young gentlemen, I am glad to welcome you home again after months of absence in a foreign land in obedience to the call of your country—glad that you have returned to us without any serious casualties. I am sure you have acquitted yourself well; that in the record that you have made for yourselves, during your absence from home, there is nothing to be ashamed of; nothing that will reflect any discredit upon the race with which you are identified. . . .

While you were away you had the opportunity of coming in contact with another than the American type of white man; and through that contact you have learned what it is to be treated as a man, regardless of the color of your skin or race identity. Unfortunately you had to go away from home to receive a man's treatment, to breathe the pure, bracing air of liberty, equality, fraternity. And, while it was with no intention of bringing to you that knowledge, of
putting you where you could get that kind of experience, but simply because they couldn't very well get along without you, I am glad nevertheless, that you were sent. You know now that the mean, contemptible spirit of race prejudice that curses this land is not the spirit of other lands; you know now what it is to be treated as a man. And, one of the things that I am particularly hoping for, now that you have had this experience, is that you have come back determined, as never before, to keep up the struggle for our rights until, here in these United States, in this boasted land of the free and home of the brave, every man, regardless of the color of his skin, shall be accorded a man's treatment.

Your trip will be of very little value to the race in this country unless you have come back with the love of liberty, equality, fraternity burning in your souls. . . . In the struggle that is before us, you can do a great deal in helping to better conditions. You, who gave up everything-home, friends, relatives-you who took your lives in your hands and went forth to lay them, a willing sacrifice upon the altar of your country and in the interest of democracy throughout the world, have a right to speak-to speak with authority; and that right you must exercise.

We, who remained at home, followed you while you were away, with the deepest interest; and, our hearts burned with indignation when tidings came to us, as it did from time to time, of the manner in which you were treated by those over you, from whom you had every reason, in view of the circumstances that took you abroad and what it was costing you, to expect decent, humane treatment, instead of the treatment that was accorded you. The physical hardships, incident to a soldier's life in times of war, are trying enough, are hard enough to bear-and, during this world war, on the other side of the water, I understand they were unusually hard. To add to these the insults, the studied insults that were heaped upon you, and for no reason except that you were colored, is so shocking that were it not for positive evidence, it would be almost unbelievable. . . .

I know of nothing that sets forth this cursed American race prejudice in a more odious, execrable light than the treatment of our colored soldiers in this great world struggle that has been going on, by the very government that ought to have shielded them from the brutes that were over them. . . .

If it was worth going abroad to make the world safe for democracy, it is equally worth laboring no less earnestly to make it safe at home. We shall be greatly disappointed if you do not do this-if you fail to do your part.

1. What is the inherent contradiction or paradox in the article taken from “Boy Scouts Support the War Effort”?

2. Does the call for support from Boy Scouts have any element of vigilantism or what Newton D. Baker calls “drum-head courts-martial”? Would a member of the Boy Scouts be free to oppose the war?