

2019

American Bolsheviki: The First Red Scare in the United States, 1917 to 1920

Jonathan Dunning

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.murraystate.edu/etd>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Dunning, Jonathan, "American Bolsheviki: The First Red Scare in the United States, 1917 to 1920" (2019).
Murray State Theses and Dissertations. 129.

<https://digitalcommons.murraystate.edu/etd/129>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Murray State's Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Murray State Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Murray State's Digital Commons. For more information, please contact msu.digitalcommons@murraystate.edu.

American Bolsheviki: The First Red Scare in the United States, 1917 to 1920

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Murray State University
Murray, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts in History

by Jonathan Dunning
Spring 2019

Abstract

This thesis looks to reframe the timeline of the First Red Scare in United States History. Historians of this period have consistently viewed the First Red Scare as occurring from 1919 to 1920. However, by viewing the First Red Scare as beginning in 1919, historians missed the fear of communism that developed in the US government and the American press and society throughout 1917 and 1918, starting immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution. Moreover, in the past, historians have done little to detail the connections between the Allied Intervention in Russia from 1918 to 1920 and the First Red Scare, despite that these events happened at the same time. Using the reframed timeline of 1917 to 1920, this work looks at US participation in the Allied Intervention in Russia as part of the First Red Scare. Furthermore, this study views 1919 as a year in which American fears of communist activity in the US escalated, as opposed to the year in which those anxieties began.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Chapter 1: Introduction and Historiographical Essay.....	1
Chapter 2: To Create an Enemy: American Reactions to the Bolshevik Revolution, 1917 to 1918.....	18
Chapter 3: American Bolsheviki: The Beginning of the First Red Scare, 1917 to 1918.....	41
Chapter 4: First Red Scare Continued, 1919 to 1920.....	63
Conclusion.....	87

Chapter 1: Introduction and Historiography

Historians often describe the First Red Scare as a time when fear of Communism swept throughout the United States, causing intense hysteria and panic to consume American society. Historians have consistently framed the First Red Scare as occurring from 1919 to 1920, as during these years the press and government officials alleged that the Bolsheviks lurked behind mass labor protests, bomb plots, and leftist groups across the US. However, upon inspection, the timeline of 1919 to 1920 is problematic for numerous reasons. By claiming that American hysteria over Bolshevism began in 1919, historians have ignored the initial fears Americans held concerning leftists and Bolshevik uprisings in the US that began shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution in November 1917 and carried on throughout 1918. During these earlier years, the American press stirred anxieties about Bolshevik plots in the country and the US government persecuted alleged Bolshevik conspirators. In truth, American panic about Bolshevik activity in the US began in late 1917 and did not begin to decrease until 1920. Moreover, by viewing the First Red Scare as occurring from 1917 to 1920, historians can incorporate important factors into the era that have often been isolated from it. These include American reactions to the rise of Bolshevism in Russia throughout 1917 and 1918 and US participation in the Allied Intervention in Russia from 1918 to 1920. By adding these elements, it becomes apparent that the First Red Scare emerged out of the events of World War I, as Americans came to think of the Bolsheviks as German agents and thus enemies of war. As the First Red Scare occurred throughout the US, Americans

constantly read in newspapers stories of both Bolshevik terror and treachery abroad, as well as stories of US and Allied troops fighting the Bolsheviks in Russia. Articles like these surely added to American hatred of Bolshevism.

As of now, there is little connection between the historiographical fields of World War I American home-front counter-subversivism and the Allied Intervention in Russia with that of the First Red Scare. Historians of American counter-subversivism during World War I have written numerous works focused on the persecution of Industrial Workers of the World members, socialists, women, and African Americans endured from the US government for being suspected German agents. While most of the works within this field do usually mention the First Red Scare briefly, the era is considered by historians to be separate from World War I as historians see counter-subversive measures to be focused on German agents and First Red Scare measures to target Bolshevik radicals. Scholars have overlooked the Bolshevik hysteria that occurred in America during World War I, and thus do not strongly connect the issue of World War I counter-subversivism in the US with the First Red Scare. Additionally, historians of US participation in the Allied Intervention in Russia from 1918 to 1920 have not tied the First Red Scare to the intervention, despite these events occurring at the same time. Most debate Woodrow Wilson's motives in leading the US to participate in the intervention, or they are concerned with the intervention itself. Historians of American participation in the intervention have not focused on how the Bolsheviks or the intervention was depicted to Americans at home, but these important factors help better explain what fueled the hysteria of the First Red Scare.

While historians of the First Red Scare have written great histories of the period, they mostly have not attempted to connect their works to World War I counter-subversivism. Historians have come to a consensus that the First Red Scare began in early 1919, but they have largely ignored in their works the persecution leftists faced for being alleged Bolshevik conspirators during 1917 and 1918. Moreover, First Red Scare historians isolate the First Red Scare from the Allied Intervention in Russia, despite that stories of American troops fighting Bolsheviks were common in newspapers through 1918 to 1920. While labor unrest, bomb plots, and raids provided significant agitation for the fear of the era, the intervention did as well by essentially making the Bolsheviks wartime enemies. Overall, by studying World War I counter-subversivism, the First Red Scare, and the Allied Intervention in Russia as interconnected events that occurred between 1917 to 1920, historians can research more in depth the ways in which World War I influenced and created the First Red Scare and American perceptions of Communism in the decades that followed.

Most of the historiography on counter-subversivism on the American home front during World War I is focused on the anti-radical methods utilized by the United States government. In 1979, Paul L. Murphy researched the impact of the federal government's counter-subversive methods on Americans' civil liberties in his book *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States*. Murphy argued that the federal government developed a national policy of counter-subversion to suppress dissent and force Americans to support the country's war effort.¹ Murphy claimed that prior to America's entrance into World War I, state government and the private sector punished

¹ Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York: Norton & Company, 1979), 10.

dissent, but once the US joined the war, the federal government took over this responsibility.² According to Murphy, to suppress the IWW, the Socialist Party of America and other suspected anti-American radicals, the federal government developed a policy to fight dissent. It built this policy on laws such as the Espionage Act of 1917, the Sedition Act of 1918, and the Immigration Act of 1918.³ Murphy further pointed out that the federal government created a network to suppress these groups by using both the Justice Department to arrest suspected radicals and the Postal Service to ban these individuals and groups from sending mail.⁴

Although Murphy did mention that Americans considered Bolsheviks a threat in 1918, his book is focused on how the US government suppressed groups suspected of being pro-German agents during World War I.⁵ Murphy dedicated about a page of his work to the First Red Scare, which he believed began after the war.⁶ The author saw World War I and the First Red Scare as separate events, but believed they shared a connection because national leaders intended to maintain the system of wartime repression in the years after the war.⁷ Overall, Murphy's analysis did explore suppression of dissent in American society during the World War I. However, the connections he made between the war and the First Red Scare, as well as his lack of information about how the government handled suspected Bolshevik agents during the war, left room for further research.

² Murphy, *World War I*, 51-52.

³ Murphy, *World War I*, 79, 82, 85.

⁴ Murphy, *World War I*, 92-95, 98-101.

⁵ Murphy, *World War I*, 133.

⁶ Murphy, *World War I*, 85.

⁷ Murphy, *World War I*, 177-178, 270.

Like Murphy, in 2008, William Thomas Jr. studied the federal government's campaign to suppress dissent during World War I in *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent*, but Thomas chose to look specifically at the role of the Justice Department during this period. He argued that the Justice Department used intimidation methods such as threats, interrogation, and warnings to curtail dissent and sedition.⁸ Thomas wrote about multiple groups that the Justice Department regularly targeted as pro-German subversives, such as women, African Americans, German Americans, clergy, pacifists, and leftists such as socialists and IWW members.⁹ The focuses of *Unsafe for Democracy* made it a special addition to the historiography on American counter-subversivism during World War I, as prior to this book, historians had not given the Justice Department's use of intimidation as a form of suppression much attention.¹⁰

Additionally, Thomas mentioned the First Red Scare in his book, stating that the counter-subversive policies established during the war period helped to create the Red Scare.¹¹ He also briefly explained that Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer later continued to use the Justice Department to suppress and intimidate suspected enemy agents in 1919 and 1920.¹² Due to Thomas' analysis, it is clear he saw connections between World War I and First Red Scare periods based on suppression of suspected subversives. However, Thomas did not explore the American government's persecution of those accused of being Bolshevik supporters during 1917 and 1918. Additional

⁸ William H. Thomas Jr., *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 3-5.

⁹ Thomas, *Unsafe for Democracy*, 4.

¹⁰ Thomas, *Unsafe for Democracy*, 3-5.

¹¹ Thomas, *Unsafe for Democracy*, 6.

¹² Thomas, *Unsafe for Democracy*, 175.

research would show that the government viewed groups such as the IWW and the Socialist Party of America as both German and Bolshevik agents during most of America's participation in World War I.

Taking a new approach to the study of American anti-radicalism during World War I, in 2010, Steven C. Levi focused on how it was implemented in Alaska in *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska: Elite Panic, Government Hysteria, Suppression of Civil Liberties, Union-breaking, and Germanophobia, 1915-1920*. He argued that hysteria and counter-subversivism in Alaska represented the fear and suppression of dissent throughout the US.¹³ While the title of Levi's book made it seem as if it would be a study of World War I and the First Red Scare in Alaska together, he only briefly discussed the period of 1919 to 1920, making the book almost entirely a study of counter-subversivism against alleged German agents during the war.¹⁴ Still, his title and analysis suggested the continuation between World War I anti-radicalism and the First Red Scare was so strong, these two periods needed to be considered as one instead. While he did not effectively study the First Red Scare in depth, Levi's concept overall supports the idea that these two periods need to be researched together as part of a greater continuum.

Since Levi primarily focused on World War I in his book, he wrote more on Alaskans' fears of German agents infiltrating their society. Levi claimed that Alaskans became suspicious of German sympathizers when the US entered the war and increased

¹³ Steven C. Levi, *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska: Elite Panic, Government Hysteria, Suppression of Civil Liberties, Union-breaking, and Germanophobia, 1915-1920* (Palo Alto: Academia Press, 2010), x-xi.

¹⁴ Levi, *The Great Red Scare*, 157, 160-161.

its military presence in the territory.¹⁵ In order to counter German agents and suppress dissent, councils of defense developed in communities across Alaska with the intent of seeking out and stopping subversive plots.¹⁶ Alaskans viewed IWW members and draft dodgers as German sympathizers and promoted 100 percent Americanism as well.¹⁷ Looking at the First Red Scare, Levi supported the idea that the First Red Scare began in 1919 and wrote that after the war ended, Alaskans also became hysteric over the possibility of a Bolshevik coup.¹⁸ While Levi's book does lend credence to the idea of studying the World War I and First Red Scare periods together, his work leaves readers wondering if Alaskans feared a Bolshevik uprising earlier than 1919.

In 2014, Eric Thomas Chester released a study on the impact American counter-subversive methods made on the IWW during World War I in *The Wobblies in Their Heyday: The Rise and Destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World during the World War I Era*. Chester argued that the US government targeted the IWW as un-American and attempted to destroy the union, due to the labor demonstrations and protests the IWW organized in important wartime industries such as lumber and mining. Moreover, he claimed that the federal government, and specifically the Justice Department, violated the civil liberties of IWW members.¹⁹ *The Wobblies in Their Heyday* is an interesting and useful book, as Chester's research emphasized the

¹⁵ Levi, *The Great Red Scare*, 38-40.

¹⁶ Levi, *The Great Red Scare*, 40.

¹⁷ Levi, *The Great Red Scare*, 70, 108-109.

¹⁸ Levi, *The Great Red Scare*, 176, 186.

¹⁹ Eric Thomas Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday: The Rise and Destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World during the World War I Era* (Amherst: Levellers Press, 2014), xii-xiii.

perspective of a group suspected of anti-American sentiment and targeted by the government's campaign to suppress dissent.

Even though the IWW did not take an official stance against the war effort, Chester showed that the federal government accused IWW members of being German agents.²⁰ Moreover, the Justice Department raided IWW headquarters and meeting places around the country beginning in 1917, and its agents arrested hundreds of IWW members. In a raid on the IWW headquarters in Chicago, the Justice Department arrested IWW leader Big Bill Haywood and over 90 other members, who the courts charged with sedition and gave long prison sentences.²¹ Chester claimed that, while the IWW did survive persecution during and after the war, the numerous raids, arrests, and jail sentences severely weakened the IWW.²² Regarding the First Red Scare, Chester did make several connections between it and the wartime persecution of the IWW. He showed that the IWW praised the Bolshevik revolution for being the most successful socialist revolution in history, but that the rise of Communist parties in the US ended up hurting the IWW because these parties absorbed 5,000 of the union's members.²³ He also differentiated the approaches the Justice Department used to combat the IWW during these two periods, stating that the Justice Department stopped arresting IWW members under the Espionage and Sedition acts when the war ended.²⁴ While Chester in some ways tied together the World War I period and the First Red Scare, he did not answer how early the IWW faced persecution for being Bolshevik sympathizers.

²⁰ Chester, *The Wobblies*, 117-120, 136.

²¹ Chester, *The Wobblies*, 150-151, 186-187.

²² Chester, *The Wobblies*, 202, 210.

²³ Chester, *The Wobblies*, 110, 204-206.

²⁴ Chester, *The Wobblies*, 203.

Shifting focus to First Red Scare historiography, in 1955, Robert K. Murray released *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*. The author claimed *Red Scare* to be the first time a historian covered the entire history of the First Red Scare period in a book. While Murray stated that he did not argue a thesis in *Red Scare*, the book became an authoritative account on the First Red Scare years and is still one of the best histories of the era today.²⁵ *Red Scare* is an in depth analysis, based on Murray's use of newspapers, government documents, and radical literature to detail the events of the period, including strikes, the bombing of A. Mitchell Palmer's house, and the Palmer raids.²⁶

While Murray's writing focused on the First Red Scare, the author did limited exploration of the influence of World War I on the hysteric years following the war. Murray claimed that Americans were first introduced to Bolshevism during the October Revolution and that the Bolsheviks enraged Americans when they pulled Russia from the war with the 1918 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and allowed the eastern front to collapse. In some cases, following the October Revolution, some Americans even thought the Bolsheviks were German agents.²⁷ The author also discussed American intervention in Russia during 1918, stating that since a vast majority of Americans believed the Bolshevik government to be tied to the Germans, it confused and scared them when the Bolshevik government outlasted Germany's defeat.²⁸ While Murray did make connections between the First Red Scare and the events of World War I, he only

²⁵ Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), x.

²⁶ Murray, *Red Scare*, 61, 78, 210-213, 220, 282-288.

²⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 33-34.

²⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 40-42.

mentioned them in passing without providing much analysis. Also, Murray did not explore persecution alleged Bolshevik conspirators faced in America in 1917 or 1918, since he believed that the First Red Scare occurred between 1919 and 1920.

In 1972, another First Red Scare historian, Julian Jaffe, released *Crusade Against Radicalism: New York during the First Red Scare, 1914-1924*. Jaffe focused on the First Red Scare in New York, as opposed to doing a national study of the event. He wanted to compare the First Red Scare in New York to the rest of the country, and he concluded that, while the First Red Scare ended in 1920 for most of the country, it did not end in New York until 1924, due to the significant immigrant populations and strong leftist presence throughout the state.²⁹ Whereas Murray focused his writing and research on 1919 to 1920, Jaffe covered the years 1914 to 1924, allowing him to better describe the differences among and the history of leftists groups in New York such as the Socialist Party, the IWW, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.³⁰ Like Murray, however, Jaffe argued that the First Red Scare began in 1919.³¹ However, he saw it was necessary to cover the war years, as Jaffe believed that the counter-subversivism against leftists during that time helped create the First Red Scare.³² Writing on the Bolshevik Revolution of November 1917, the author also claimed that it helped create the hysteria of 1919 because Americans saw the Bolsheviks as opposite of American ideals.³³ Yet, while he did discuss these topics in his

²⁹ Julian F. Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism: New York during the First Red Scare, 1914-1924* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1972), 7, 238.

³⁰ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 10-13, 25-35.

³¹ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 77-79.

³² Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 74-75.

³³ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 77-80.

book, Jaffe did not cover the persecution leftists faced in 1917 or 1918 for being suspected Bolshevik agents.

Jaffe went on throughout the rest of the book to give a highly interesting and detailed account of the First Red Scare in New York. He wrote about the Lusk Committee's raids in New York on the Russian Bureau, the Rand School, Socialist Party headquarters, and Communist Party meeting places.³⁴ He also detailed an event that occurred in 1920 when the New York State Legislature barred five socialists from taking office.³⁵ The author concluded that by 1924 in New York, the state government finally stopped prosecuting in the First Red Scare as fewer immigrants entered the state.³⁶ Jaffe's book is intriguing since it focused on an individual state, and the historiography of the First Red Scare could benefit from more such studies that show how long the hysteria of the Scare lasted in different places in the US.

In 1998, Theodore Kornweibel Jr. departed from other First Red Scare historians when he explored the period from the viewpoint of African Americans in his book *"Seeing Red": Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*. He argued that during this time, Americans came to suspect African Americans of being radicals and vulnerable to Communist influence.³⁷ Kornweibel's focus on African Americans and their experience during the First Red Scare both added to and challenged the historiography on the period, as Murray only mentioned the role of African Americans in the First Red Scare in passing in *Red Scare* and Jaffe did not feel that African Americans

³⁴ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 119-124, 126-132.

³⁵ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 145-146.

³⁶ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 227-236.

³⁷ Theodore Kornweibel Jr., *"Seeing Red": Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

held a prominent role in the event.³⁸ Thus, “*Seeing Red*” is a groundbreaking work and additionally, it is well researched.

In offering background for his topic, Kornweibel briefly explored the World War I period, noting that organizations such as the Military Intelligence Division, the Bureau of Investigation, the Office of Naval Intelligence, and the Post Office Department assigned to combat subversives during World War I continued their offensive into the First Red Scare.³⁹ Focusing on the First Red Scare, the author wrote that the authorities often accused African Americans of being IWW members, socialists, Bolsheviks, or anarchists for merely agreeing with individual unorthodox political theories. Moreover, the agencies investigating Bolshevism in the US often categorized cases of black militancy in 1919 as Bolshevik activity.⁴⁰ Furthermore, federal authorities came to believe that the NAACP held connections with Bolsheviks and they feared Marcus Garvey was a Bolshevik revolutionary.⁴¹ Authorities also worried that the IWW held major influence in the black community and was radicalizing African Americans with Bolshevik ideology.⁴² While “*Seeing Red*” stands as an excellent and original study of the First Red Scare, it would be great to see this study expanded upon to show how early African Americans faced suspicions of being Bolshevik agents. By beginning the book in 1917, Kornweibel would have been able to show a continuation of blacks being targeted as subversives during both World War I and the First Red Scare. Moreover, these connections would allow historians to track how intelligence agencies investigated the

³⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 101-102; Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 95.

³⁹ Kornweibel, “*Seeing Red*,” 1, 7-16.

⁴⁰ Kornweibel, “*Seeing Red*,” 20-22.

⁴¹ Kornweibel, “*Seeing Red*,” 70, 131.

⁴² Kornweibel, “*Seeing Red*,” 155-170.

African American community over time, and if these agencies differentiated their methods during the war and postwar periods.

Erica J. Ryan also contributed a significant work to the First Red Scare historiography in 2015 with *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender and Americanism in the First Red Scare*. In her book, Ryan studied how Americanism during the First Red Scare influenced and shaped gender and family roles in American society. She concluded that the prevalence of Americanism during this period helped bolster and solidify heterosexuality and patriarchy in the years that followed.⁴³ Not only did her book help flesh out the ways in which the First Red Scare shaped American life outside of labor and the government by demonstrating how it affected American families, but Ryan also developed a strong study of how most Americans perceived the concepts of Americanism and Bolshevism during 1919 to the early 1920s.⁴⁴ *Red War on the Family* is not only a welcome addition to the scholarship on the First Red Scare, but it also is a useful book for researching the early adversarial relationship between the US and Soviet Russia.

Similar to Murray, Ryan blamed the inflation and unemployment from the end of the war for helping cause the First Red Scare.⁴⁵ She also argued that 100 percent Americanism developed during the war years, and its advocates used it to help define the postwar period.⁴⁶ During the First Red Scare, Ryan claimed that Americanism solidified the notion that Americans needed to be a part of a patriarchal family. Moreover, Americanism shaped dominant norms, as it prescribed men as the breadwinner of the

⁴³ Erica J. Ryan, *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 15.

⁴⁴ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 25.

⁴⁵ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 21-22.

⁴⁶ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 30-32,39, 113-114.

family and women as homemakers.⁴⁷ According to this ideal, feminism was rejected during the First Red Scare, and people accused feminist activists of being Bolshevik sympathizers. A stereotype of feminists even developed during this time, and these women were often portrayed as Bolshevik radicals who could only be tamed through marriage and having a family.⁴⁸ Americans expected women to instill patriotic values in their children as well.⁴⁹ Even though Ryan's *Red War on the Family* is an informative account of the war's and Red Scare's impact on gender roles during the First Red Scare, her work also could be expanded. While she did focus on the rise of Americanism during World War I, she did little to elaborate on the experiences of women living in the US during wartime. As Thomas showed in *Unsafe for Democracy*, women faced many of the same problems and accusations during the war as they did in the First Red Scare.⁵⁰ Thus, there is room in the historiography for a work on American women and their experiences with anti-radicalism from 1917 to 1920. This study would provide an interesting comparison of the roles of women during the war and the First Red Scare and define radical behavior in both periods. Moreover, such a study could demonstrate how quickly after the Bolshevik Revolution American society and the government became worried that women might be susceptible to the Bolsheviks.

Turning to works on the Allied Intervention and looking at the participation of the US specifically, historians have debated in depth the motivations and goals of President Woodrow Wilson and the US government in the intervention or they have written about the intervention itself. Some historians like Betty Miller Unterberger, George F. Kennan,

⁴⁷ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 44, 100-104.

⁴⁸ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 139-141, 67-78.

⁴⁹ Ryan, *Red War on the Family*, 116-117.

⁵⁰ Thomas, *Unsafe for Democracy*, 50.

and George C. Guins, among others, claimed Wilson did not aim to interfere with the self-determination of the Russian people. Instead, these historians assert Wilson participated in the intervention to save the Czech Legion and to stop Japan should it try to colonize Siberia.⁵¹ Arthur S. Link also argued that Wilson sent soldiers to Russia to aid in the evacuation of the Czech Legion, “keep an eye” on Japanese military actions in Siberia, and protect Allied military supplies in Russian ports from German forces.⁵² According to Link, Wilson was “the one person who prevented large-scale military intervention in Russia.”⁵³

Other historians such as Robert J. Maddox and David S. Foglesong disagreed, arguing that Wilson wanted to overthrow or harm the Bolshevik regime.⁵⁴ Likewise, Robert H. Wiebe claimed that Wilson worried over “the military implications of Bolshevism,” and that he “drifted rather easily into a support of the counterrevolutionaries whom Britain and France were sponsoring” against the Bolsheviks.⁵⁵ John Lewis Gaddis argued that Wilson’s opposition to the Bolsheviks ended up having long lasting effects on the US, as Gaddis claimed that Wilson’s “ill-conceived and half-hearted military intervention against the Bolsheviks” was one factor

⁵¹ Betty Miller Unterberger, “President Wilson and the Decision to Send Troops to Siberia,” *Pacific Historical Review* no. 1 (Feb. 1955): 63-74, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3635232>, 71-72, 74; George F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Decision to Intervene* vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 397-399; George C. Guins, “The Siberian Intervention, 1918-1919,” *The Russian Review* no. 4 (Oct. 1969): 428-440, accessed May 6, 2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/127162>, 433-434; ⁵¹ George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 414-415.

⁵² Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace* (West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 1979), 96-97.

⁵³ Link, *Woodrow Wilson*, 97.

⁵⁴ Robert J. Maddox, *The Unknown War with Russia: Wilson’s Siberian Intervention* (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977), 6-7; David S. Foglesong, *America’s Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, 2nd ed (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 5-9.

⁵⁵ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 276.

that inspired Americans to return to isolationism following World War I.⁵⁶ While historians have held significant debate over American motivations in the Allied intervention, there is little study done on the American home front in regards to US involvement in the intervention despite that while the intervention occurred from 1918 to 1920, Americans at home feared Bolshevik activity within the US from 1917 to 1920. Press coverage of US relations with Russia and US involvement in the intervention during these years portrayed the Bolsheviks as wartime enemies and German agents to the American people, giving the public further reason to fear suspected Bolshevik agents.

While previous attempts to study the First Red Scare, World War I counter-subversivism on the American home front, and US participation in the Allied intervention have been informative and well done, these are fields that should be viewed as being more connected. By expanding the currently accepted First Red Scare timeline of 1919 to 1920 to include American anxieties over possible Bolshevik agents in the US during 1917 and 1918, historians can see that the First Red Scare did not just follow World War I but emerged during it. Likewise, the expanded timeline of 1917 to 1920 allows historians to better tie the First Red Scare with the Allied Intervention in Russia to study how the intervention influenced American fear of Bolsheviks at home. The chapters that follow will more demonstrate the benefits of studying the First Red Scare using an expanded timeline of 1917 to 1920. Chapter 2, dedicated to American relations with Russia from 1917 to 1918, shows that actions taken by the US government and press defined and helped create the Bolsheviks as enemies of the US to the American people.

⁵⁶ John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 16, 87-88.

Chapter 3 focuses on America's fear of Bolshevik agents within the US from November 1917 to December 1918. Moreover, it argues that November 1917 should be considered the start of the First Red Scare. Chapter 4 examines the First Red Scare from 1919 to 1920. In this chapter, 1919 is viewed as an escalation in First Red Scare hysteria, as opposed to the year that it began. Additionally, this chapter includes press coverage of US participation in the Allied intervention and argues that this press coverage helped fuel the First Red Scare.

Chapter 2: To Create an Enemy: American Reactions to the Bolshevik Revolution, 1917 to 1918

Before the First Red Scare and American fear of Bolshevism developed as reactions to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, the administration under President Woodrow Wilson and the American press celebrated the Provisional Government that became Russia's governing body following the abdication of Nicholas II. Additionally, the Wilson administration and the American press portrayed the Provisional Government as a new democracy and as a valuable ally in the fight against autocracy to the American people. However, the press and government offered this praise without taking into consideration the threat the Petrograd Soviet and the Bolsheviks posed to the Provisional Government's stability and ability to govern Russia. Thus, due to the government and press' validation of the Provisional Government, when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in November 1917, it seemed that the Bolsheviks had destroyed a healthy democracy to the American people. Throughout 1917 and 1918, both the Wilson administration and press continued to worsen American perceptions of Bolsheviks. The US government intervened in the Russian civil war in 1918 and portrayed Bolshevik leaders as German agents. Likewise, the press depicted the Bolsheviks as German conspirators and bringers of chaos. Overall, the actions of both the Wilson administration and American press aided in causing the American public to view the Bolsheviks as a great threat to American life. These factors should be considered as part of the origins of the First Red Scare.

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, the Triple Entente hoped to divide and overwhelm the armies of the Central Powers by forcing them to fight a two-front war in which Britain and France planned to apply pressure from Western Europe, while Russia intended to push from Eastern Europe.⁵⁷ However, as the war raged, Russia lost ground to the German military and suffered shortages of food and fuel at home.⁵⁸ These conditions caused disaffection to spread among the Russian people, as they saw Russia's war against the Central Powers as the "Tsar's War."⁵⁹ By March 15, 1917, this unrest led to revolution that caused the dissolution of Russia's monarchy.⁶⁰ After the collapse of the monarchy, Petrograd's politicians established a Provisional Government.⁶¹ This transitional form of government defined itself as democratic and liberal, as it supported free speech and it promised to allow the Russian people to elect a constituent assembly purposed to establish a new government.⁶²

However, almost immediately, the Provisional Government faced antagonism from the Petrograd Soviet, another governing body, made up of Mensheviks, Bolsheviks, and Socialist Revolutionaries among others, that also rose to power after the collapse of the tsarist regime.⁶³ These socialist groups held heavy influence over both Russia's workforce and military, giving the Petrograd Soviet domestic authority within Russia. Thus, the

⁵⁷ Robert J. Maddox, *The Unknown War with Russia: Wilson's Siberian Intervention* (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977), 11; William Kelleher Storey, *The First World War: A Concise Global History* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009), 29-33.

⁵⁸ Abraham Ascher, *Russia: A Short History*, rev. ed. (London: One World, 2009), 155.

⁵⁹ Ascher, *Russia*, 156; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 12.

⁶⁰ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 44-45; Ascher, *Russia*, 159-160.

⁶¹ Fitzpatrick, *Russian Revolution*, 45-46; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 10-11.

⁶² Ascher, *Russia*, 160.

⁶³ George F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 10-11; Fitzpatrick, *Russian Revolution*, 30-31, 46; Ascher, *Russia*, 160-161; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 15.

Provisional Government could not act without the endorsement of the Petrograd Soviet.⁶⁴ However, the socialists lacked the knowledge and experience to govern a country, forcing them to rely on the Provisional Government to govern Russia.⁶⁵ This dual power relationship became volatile as the two sides took opposing stances on Russia's continued involvement in the war. The Provisional Government still planned to continue fighting, as it felt morally obligated to Britain and France to aid in defeating the Central Powers.⁶⁶ Yet, the socialist parties did not want to stay in the war.⁶⁷ This disagreement threatened both the Provisional Government's stability and the country's stamina to continue fighting the Central Powers.⁶⁸

As George F. Kennan argued, the US government formed its policy towards the Provisional Government almost completely oblivious to its dual power relationship with the Petrograd Soviet.⁶⁹ The US ambassador in Petrograd, David R. Francis, felt excited about the abdication of the Tsar and the rise of the Provisional Government. He hated the tsarist regime, as he never managed to function well with it, due to the extreme differences between Russia's autocratic system and the US government. Furthermore, he believed that the Russian people wanted to get rid of the Tsar in favor of political freedom.⁷⁰ Francis also saw the Provisional Government as a vessel purposed to disperse democratic and liberal ideas throughout the country.⁷¹ Without surveying the conditions of the country

⁶⁴ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 11; Ascher, *Russia*, 160-161.

⁶⁵ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 10-11.

⁶⁶ Ascher, *Russia*, 160-162.

⁶⁷ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 16.

⁶⁸ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 15-16; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 11-12.

⁶⁹ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 11-12.

⁷⁰ Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2004), 9; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 16.

⁷¹ Morgan, *Reds*, 9; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 16.

more, the ambassador quickly established relations with the new Russian government and immediately began to press Washington DC to be the first to declare its recognition of the Provisional Government.⁷²

Along with Francis, US Secretary of State Robert Lansing pushed for the US to be the first to recognize the Provisional Government. In a letter to US President Woodrow Wilson, Lansing claimed that the Provisional Government built itself on “its hatred of absolutism” and that recognition from the US government “would encourage and strengthen the new democratic government in Russia.”⁷³ At first, Wilson hesitated to declare Russia a democratic power.⁷⁴ However, on March 22, Wilson made the US the first country to recognize Russia’s new government, based upon the advice of Francis and Lansing.⁷⁵ France and Britain followed in their recognition of the Provisional Government shortly afterwards.⁷⁶ This recognition helped to build a positive perception of Russia throughout America. Newspapers across the nation carried the news of the government’s recognition of the Provisional Government. The press told the American people of Russia’s newly established democratic principles and of the similar values between Russians and Americans.⁷⁷ Wilson’s recognition of the Provisional Government and the American media’s coverage of his recognition helped to establish the Provisional Government as a

⁷² Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations*, 17.

⁷³ Robert Lansing to Woodrow Wilson, March 19, 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 41, *January 24-April 6, 1917*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 426; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 14.

⁷⁴ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 15.

⁷⁵ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 14-15.

⁷⁶ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 15.

⁷⁷ *New York Times*, March 23, 1917; *San Bernardino County Sun*, March 23, 1917; *Tennessean*, March 23, 1917.

democracy in the minds of Americans, and not as a government struggling to sustain its existence.

Additionally, with America's entrance into World War I, the US government gave even more validation of the democratic values it saw in the Provisional Government. This can be observed in President Wilson's address to Congress on April 2, 1917, in which he asked Congress to end US neutrality in the war, as Germany persisted in sinking American vessels and putting American lives at risk through its use of unrestricted submarine warfare.⁷⁸ Wilson referenced Russia's February Revolution directly when discussing his thoughts on autocratic and democratic systems, calling the abdication of the Tsar and the rise of the Provisional Government "wonderful and heartening."⁷⁹ Furthermore, Wilson stated that he believed that the transition of Russia's government from autocratic to democratic governing would boost Russian morale and help the country turn the war in their favor.⁸⁰ Wilson also proclaimed in his address that "Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart," ignoring the reality that most Russians led lives of poverty and exclusion from channels of power.⁸¹ Yet, Russia's recognition as a democratic power allowed President Wilson to make the war to be one of democratic governments against those of autocratic governments. Wilson felt autocracies lacked the ability to maintain peace in the world, and that only free people possessed the ability to further the interests of humanity.⁸²

⁷⁸ Woodrow Wilson, "An Address to a Joint Session of Congress," April 2, 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 41, eds. Link, 519-527.

⁷⁹ Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress," 524.

⁸⁰ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 15.

⁸¹ Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress," 524; Morgan, *Reds*, 10.

⁸² Wilson, "Address to a Joint Session of Congress," 524.

Again, American newspapers provided national coverage to Wilson's speech. To the American people, Wilson's words further solidified Russia as a free country and valuable ally in the war against Germany.⁸³ The *New York Times* published Wilson's words that Russians now fought "for justice and for peace," while the *St. Louis Dispatch* claimed that "the President had put a textbook of democracy into the hands of the oppressed throughout the world."⁸⁴ The *Los Angeles Times* referenced Russia's emancipation of the serfs to exemplify the democratic spirit of Russia, and claimed that Russia's latest "bloodless revolution" served as a step in helping bring world peace.⁸⁵ Most importantly, news of President Wilson declaring the newly democratic Russia as a US ally excited many Americans, because for them these developments came as a national victory.⁸⁶ However, Wilson's words on Russia too quickly validated to the American people both Russian democracy and Russia's ability to stay in the war.⁸⁷ Moreover, just as Wilson at first felt hesitant to recognize Russia as a democracy, he privately expressed in the days that came after his speech that he did not feel certain about what might occur in Russia following the fall of the Tsar.⁸⁸ Arguably, Wilson did not publicly express doubt concerning Russia's future, as this would have jeopardized the argument that the war served as a fight between autocracy and democracy.

⁸³ *New York Times*, April 3, 1917; *Ashville Citizen Times*, April 3, 1917; *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1917; *St. Louis Dispatch*, April 4, 1917; Peter G. Filene, *American Views of Soviet Russia, 1917-1965* (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1968), 1-2.

⁸⁴ *New York Times*, April 3, 1917; *St. Louis Dispatch*, April 4, 1917.

⁸⁵ *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1917.

⁸⁶ Filene, *American Views of Soviet Russia*, 1.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *Reds*, 10.

⁸⁸ John Howard Whitehouse, "Memorandum," April 14, 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 42, *April 7-June 23, 1917*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 67.

However, on November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks staged a coup, overthrowing the Provisional Government.⁸⁹ Within hours of the start of the coup, the Bolsheviks achieved success, as the insurrection faced little resistance.⁹⁰ In America, the press received information of the Bolshevik usurpation of power before the US government and published news stories covering the event.⁹¹ The *New York Times* wrote that an illegal, revolutionary organization in Russia took over the state buildings.⁹² Furthermore, it wrote that the Provisional Government fell victim to the anarchy of the Bolsheviks, and that the success of the Bolsheviks only meant the worst for the Allied cause in Europe.⁹³ The news organization also declared that the Bolsheviks planned to bring Russia back under the control of absolutism and the State Church. It lamented that the Bolsheviks spread their “red terror” through Russia, and not Germany instead.⁹⁴ Moreover, the *Chicago Tribune* wrote that the Bolsheviks wanted to end the war by getting all countries to reject capitalism and to agree to “live happily ever after in a Socialist paradise.”⁹⁵ The *Oregon Daily Journal* raised the suspicion that Germany stood behind the Bolshevik coup.⁹⁶ Interestingly, the *Wichita Daily Eagle* exploited the revolt to connect the Socialist Party in America to the ideas of “the Russian Bolshevik,” “disloyalty,” and “German subserviency.”⁹⁷

These stories shocked the American public. Officials in Washington and the President had seemed optimistic about the Provisional Government.⁹⁸ After all, Wilson

⁸⁹ Ascher, *Russia*, 166-167; Fitzgerald, *Russian Revolution*, 64.

⁹⁰ Ascher, *Russia*, 166-167.

⁹¹ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 77.

⁹² *New York Times*, November 8, 1917.

⁹³ *New York Times*, November 9, 1917.

⁹⁴ *New York Times*, November 10, 1917.

⁹⁵ *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1917.

⁹⁶ *Oregon Daily Journal* November 10, 1917.

⁹⁷ *Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 8, 1917.

⁹⁸ Lasch, *American Liberals*, 57.

projected the Provisional Government to be a growing democracy and American ally, not a weak and unstable governing body.⁹⁹ Moreover, prior to the coup of the Provisional Government, the Bolsheviks only played a small role in the American press. They appeared occasionally but went without being clearly defined to the American populace.¹⁰⁰ Now, from what the American people could tell, this previously unknown group appeared as revolutionaries with the power to destroy democracy. Some Americans even came to think of the Bolsheviks as anarchists, while others viewed them as “agitators, fanatics, pacifists,” and “doctrinaire idealists.”¹⁰¹ Furthermore, through rumors spread by the press in the days following the Bolshevik takeover of Russia, it seemed that the Bolsheviks might be a puppet of the German government. This development created a sentiment of hostility and hatred towards not just the Bolsheviks, but Russia. This sentiment would also color American perceptions of Bolsheviks in the years to come, and cause fear of a similar uprising in the US to emerge within months of the October Revolution.

Following the coup in Russia, official word that the Bolsheviks seized power did not reach Washington DC until November 10, leaving many in the US government unsure as to what actually had occurred.¹⁰² Francis wrote to Lansing informing him that Kerensky escaped Petrograd and requested that Wilson not recognize the new Bolshevik government.¹⁰³ On November 12, President Wilson gave his first public reaction to the Bolshevik revolution. He stated that it amazed him that “any group of persons should be

⁹⁹ Wilson, “Address to a Joint Session of Congress,” 524.

¹⁰⁰ Lasch, *American Liberals* 57.

¹⁰¹ Lasch, *American Liberals*, 58.

¹⁰² Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 77.

¹⁰³ David Rowland Francis to Robert Lansing, November 7, 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 44, *August 21-November 10, 1917*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 532; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 77.

so ill-informed” to believe that any interests of the Russian people could survive a Germany “powerful enough to undermine or overthrow them by intrigue or force” and that he found himself opposed to the stupidity of the “dreamers in Russia.”¹⁰⁴ On November 13, Wilson received word that the Bolsheviks proposed an immediate end to hostilities between belligerent countries.¹⁰⁵ The Bolsheviks issued this “Decree on Peace” the day after they assumed power in Russia.¹⁰⁶ In this decree, the Bolsheviks declared that the war served as a way for capitalists to exploit the working class. Additionally, they called for all belligerent countries to negotiate peace as opposed to continuing to fight a war over the annexation of territory.¹⁰⁷

On November 20, the new Soviet government proposed an armistice to Germany. By November 28, the Germans agreed to accept a truce with the Russians. This agreement ceased hostilities between the two countries and signaled the start of the close of the Eastern Front, meaning Germany held the ability to now move its 147 units in the east to focus solely on the Western Front. The Allies now faced a problem they had worked to prevent throughout the war, and dashed any hopes that the Bolsheviks might continue to fight against Germany.¹⁰⁸ Many Americans and others among the Allied countries felt betrayed

¹⁰⁴ Woodrow Wilson, “An Address in Buffalo to the American Federation of Labor,” in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 45, *November 11-January 15, 1918*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 11; Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 78.

¹⁰⁵ Kennan, *Russia Leaves the War*, 79.

¹⁰⁶ Vladimir Ilyrich Lenin, “Decree for Peace,” November 8, 1917, in *Lenin: Collected Works*, vol. 26, trans. Sdobnikov, 249-251.

¹⁰⁷ Lenin “Decree for Peace,” 250-253.

¹⁰⁸ John Swettenham, *Allied Intervention in Russia 1918-1919: And the Part Played by Canada* (London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1967), 28; Robert Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of Anticommunism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 2; Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1964), 33.

by Russia pulling its support from the war, as the country came to be known as the “Judas of nations” and “traitors” as well as “escaped murderers,” “hysterical,” and “criminal.”¹⁰⁹

The press covered the armistice by putting forth sensational claims. Some papers said that German military advisers visited Petrograd, meaning soon the Bolsheviks would become an “active ally” of the Central Powers.¹¹⁰ The *York Daily* stated that “German staff advisers arrived in Petrograd to aid Bolsheviki in betrayal” and the *Asheville Citizen-Times* referred to Lenin as an agent of Berlin and the “prince of spies.”¹¹¹ Other publications emphasized that German propaganda created the Bolsheviks and that the Bolsheviks were now making secretive negotiations with the Germans that put the Allies in danger.¹¹² For many Americans, this perceived treachery colored their first impressions of Bolshevism and many felt the armistice might lead to military defeat at a crucial point in the war.¹¹³ American sentiment towards Bolsheviks following the announcement of the armistice between Germany and Russia additionally demonstrated that anxiety about the Bolsheviks emerged as early as 1917. Fear of losing to Germany caused Americans to see the Bolsheviks as wartime enemies and negatively influenced American perceptions of the Bolsheviks and Russia.

Additionally, Wilson refused to recognize the Soviet regime as Russia’s official governing. Instead he waited to see if the Bolsheviks possessed staying power, as he hoped that they might prove to be merely a short phase.¹¹⁴ Wilson’s administration also declined

¹⁰⁹ *New York Times*, December 8, 1917; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 4.

¹¹⁰ *Times Recorder*, November 28, 1917; *Daily Press*, November 28, 1917; *Leavenworth Times*, November 28, 1917.

¹¹¹ *York Daily*, November, 28, 1917; *Asheville Citizen-Times*, November 27, 1917.

¹¹² *Sun*, November 27, 1917; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 29, 1917; *Republican-Northwestern*, November 27, 1917;

¹¹³ Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 4.

¹¹⁴ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 34.

to recognize the Bolsheviks because it claimed the Bolsheviks ruled through class despotism and did not represent the Russian people. Misguidedly optimistic, Wilson's administration still felt that Russia possessed a democratic spirit and the administration held out hope that a stable democratic government might rise in Russia.¹¹⁵ However, by refusing to recognize the Bolsheviks, the Wilson administration only strained relations between the US and the new Russian government. This denial of recognition by the US significantly hurt the possibility of future cooperation with the Bolsheviks.¹¹⁶ Moreover, the armistice between Russia and Germany caused the US great stress, because it forced Wilson to attempt to send additional troops and supplies to France quicker in order to counter any new German offensive once Germany moved its troops from the east to the west.¹¹⁷

On January 8, 1918, in response to the Bolshevik's "Decree on Peace," Wilson issued his "Fourteen Points Address" in the hopes that the speech might motivate the Bolsheviks to remain in the war.¹¹⁸ Wilson opened by discussing the peace negotiations between Russia and Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. The President described how the Central Powers offered no concessions to Russia in the peace talks, but instead demanded the eventual addition of occupied Russian lands to the territories of the Central Empires.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Wilson claimed that for the Allies to succeed at creating a peaceful society, the Central Powers needed to be beaten. He argued that Russia and other countries around the

¹¹⁵ Robert Lansing, "A Statement by Robert Lansing," December 4, 1917, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 45, eds. Link, 205-207.

¹¹⁶ Lasch, *American Liberals*, 83-85.

¹¹⁷ Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 4.

¹¹⁸ Woodrow Wilson, "The 14 Points Address," January 8, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 45, 534-535; Lasch, *American Liberals*, 85.

¹¹⁹ Woodrow Wilson, "The 14 Points Address," 534-535.

globe would not be able to determine their own governing institutions or be guaranteed safety so long as autocracies like the one that governed Germany remained.¹²⁰ Thus, Wilson found Russia's separate peace to be unacceptable. Wilson did not understand the goal of Bolshevik diplomacy, and he further denied that Russia did not possess the ability to continue fighting.¹²¹

In spite of how much he disliked the negotiations between Germany and Russia, Wilson continued his address by claiming that the US still wanted to help the Russian people achieve liberty. At the end of the war, he planned to evacuate German troops from Russian territory and to give the Russian people an opportunity at independent determination. Overall, Wilson seemed hopeful that the Russians might oust the Bolshevik regime.¹²² The address outlined other goals Wilson hoped to accomplish by the end of the war. These aims included equal trading conditions for all nations, self-determination of all peoples, reduction in armaments globally, and the creation of an association of countries to help prevent armed conflict throughout the world.¹²³ Through his "Fourteen Points Address," Wilson aimed to create a liberal world based on American values, and he viewed the Bolsheviks as merely an obstacle to realizing this goal globally.¹²⁴

Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks held different designs for achieving peace than those Wilson proposed in the "Fourteen Points Address." In March 1918, Russia signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, which effectively turned the armistice between the two countries into an official peace agreement. However, Russia lost over a quarter of both

¹²⁰ Woodrow Wilson, "The 14 Points Address," 538; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 5.

¹²¹ Lasch, *American Liberals*, 86.

¹²² Woodrow Wilson, "The 14 Points Address," 536-537.

¹²³ Wilson, "The 14 Points Address," 537-538.

¹²⁴ Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 5.

its arable land and population as part of the deal.¹²⁵ Once again, the press ran stories accusing Lenin of being an agent of Germany. The *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune* claimed that Lenin was “playing into German hands” to “deliver the Russian government into Teuton control” and that Lenin advocated against opposing “German militarism.”¹²⁶ The *Evening Star* argued that the Bolsheviks signed “away Russia’s birthright” with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and that Lenin deceitfully made the Russian people pawns of Germany.¹²⁷ Other newspapers responded to the signing of the treaty by claiming Lenin and Germany were working together to cause a global uprising. These papers claimed that Lenin intended to “aid (a) Hun plot to stir rebellion” by letting Germany use Russian ships to bring German agents to the US, Japan, France, and England to create an industrial revolt.¹²⁸

Papers also ran articles that accused Lenin of betraying the Russian people by welcoming German invaders into Russia following the peace treaty, and that claimed Germany and Lenin were promoting “German-Lenin propaganda” in Russian Europe.¹²⁹ To many Americans, the news of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk came as an utter disappointment. They looked upon Russia with frustration for the country’s refusal to fight against Germany.¹³⁰ Moreover, press coverage of this event reinforced supposed connections between Lenin and the Germans, and made the Bolsheviks appear to be wartime opponents to American readers. Focusing on some of the writings of the media,

¹²⁵ Ascher, *Russia*, 167.

¹²⁶ *Chillicothe Constitution-Tribune*, March 6, 1918.

¹²⁷ *Evening Star*, March 3, 1918.

¹²⁸ *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*, *the Evening News*, March 9, 1918; *Seattle Star*, March 9, 1918; *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 9, 1918.

¹²⁹ *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader*, *the Evening News*, March 9, 1918; *Seattle Star*, March 9, 1918; *Wisconsin State Journal*, March 9, 1918.

¹³⁰ Lasch, *American Liberals*, 87.

hysterical fear of a German-Russian sponsored coup in democratic countries spiked in the American press following the signing of the Brest-Litovsk as well.

With the Russians out of the war, the Eastern Front completely disintegrated and discussions amongst the Allied governments shifted to focus on intervention in Russia. Mostly these governments hoped that the Eastern Front could be re-opened through this action.¹³¹ Furthermore, the Allies felt other objectives might be achieved by intervening. Sentiments from Britain and France called for the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime by intervening in Russia's developing civil war.¹³² Moreover, Japan and even officials within the US government sought American participation in a civil war intervention.¹³³ The Allies wanted to prevent Germany from reaching Siberia and gaining the immense amount of war supplies that had accumulated in the port of Vladivostok during the war.¹³⁴ These supplies included "various kinds of munitions and explosives, motor cars and trucks," and "agricultural machinery."¹³⁵ The Allies did not want these materials to aid the German war effort in any way. Furthermore, the Allies worried about the hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war from the Central Powers that became free under the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. Several Allied representatives became concerned that Germany might use these prisoners to gain control of Siberia. However, the Allies believed intervention could prevent such a

¹³¹ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 37; George F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*, vol. 2, *Decision to Intervene* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), 4-5.

¹³² Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 4, 13.

¹³³ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 37; Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 4-5.

¹³⁴ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 37.

¹³⁵ Frank L. Polk to Woodrow Wilson, March 6, 1918, in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 46, *January 16-March 12, 1918*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 555.

strategy from succeeding.¹³⁶ Despite Russia's exit from the war, there still seemed to be a lot to lose within the country for the Allies.

In crafting a strategy for Russian intervention, the French and the British argued that the Japanese should take the most significant role in the effort to intervene in Siberia.¹³⁷ They hoped that Japan's increased participation in the campaign might at the very least rattle Germany, in the event none of the other objectives of the Russian intervention could be accomplished.¹³⁸ At first, Wilson refused to agree to intervention in Russia by any country. He felt suspicious of the motives of the other Allied governments. Wilson believed that Britain sought a new way to access the Middle East through Siberia, while France wanted to save part of its investment in Siberian and Manchurian railways.¹³⁹ Moreover, Wilson felt that the Japanese held no desire to move into the country any further than Siberia and might attempt to use the intervention and occupation to expand the Japanese empire.¹⁴⁰

However, Wilson soon changed his mind toward intervention in Russia, due to various factors. On March 21, 1918, German forces began the Spring Offensive against Britain and France.¹⁴¹ At the time of the new offensive, the US only possessed six divisions of soldiers in France.¹⁴² Looking for aid in the fight, Britain and France both began to pressure Wilson to help open the Eastern Front once more through intervention in

¹³⁶ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 71-72; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 37.

¹³⁷ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 82; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 38.

¹³⁸ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 38.

¹³⁹ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 82.

¹⁴⁰ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 38.

¹⁴¹ George F. Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 3-4.

¹⁴² Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 4-5.

Russia.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Wilson received the Sisson documents in early May.¹⁴⁴ These documents, delivered to the President by journalist Edgar Sisson, seemed to be evidence from the German Great General Staff that demonstrated that Lenin and Trotsky worked as German agents.¹⁴⁵ Moreover, the documents claimed that the German government financed the revolution.¹⁴⁶ Sisson obtained these documents on a trip to Russia while working for the Committee of Public Information.¹⁴⁷ At the time, some suspected the Sisson documents to be forgeries, which George F. Kennan proved to be fake several decades later.¹⁴⁸ However, Wilson believed the papers to be authentic.¹⁴⁹ The documents pushed Wilson closer to intervention, as it made the idea seem less like interfering with the self-determination of the Russian people.¹⁵⁰

As Wilson further studied intervention, he learned of the Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, a special unit of Czechs and Slovaks that had deserted Austria-Hungary and Germany to join the Russian military and fight against the Central Powers.¹⁵¹ When the Russian military exited the war, it left the Czechs in a tough situation. The Czechoslovak Legion wanted to continue to fight the Central Powers, but did not have a clear path through the front lines to reach the Allies.¹⁵² A plan eventually developed to put the Czech unit

¹⁴³ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 37; Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 4-5.

¹⁴⁴ Morgan, *Reds*, 37; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 13-14.

¹⁴⁵ US Committee on Public Information, *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, October 1918, accessed November 6, 2016, <https://archive.org/stream/germanbolshevikc00unit#page/n0/mode/2up>, 1 (The Sisson Documents); George F. Kennan, "The Sisson Documents," *The Journal of Modern History*, no. 2 (Jun 1956): 130-154, accessed November 6, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1872537>, 130-154. Maddox, *Unknown War*, 78.

¹⁴⁶ US Committee on Public Information, *German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*, 1, 8.

¹⁴⁷ Kennan, "The Sisson Documents," 130.

¹⁴⁸ Kennan, "The Sisson Documents," 134-136; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 78.

¹⁴⁹ Morgan, *Reds*, 37; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 78.

¹⁵⁰ Powers, *Not Without Honor*, Morgan, *Reds*, 37.

¹⁵¹ Morgan, *Reds*, 38.

¹⁵² Maddox, *Unknown War*, 47.

under French command and send them via the Trans-Siberian railway to Vladivostok to be shipped to the Western Front.¹⁵³ The Bolsheviks decided to allow the Czech unit to travel on the railway so long as the group disarmed. However, after the Bolsheviks discovered smuggled weapons on train cars carrying Czechs, conflict broke out between the two groups.¹⁵⁴ The Czech Legion managed to take control of a significant portion of the Trans-Siberian railway, and opposed the Bolsheviks through armed resistance and with the support of the White army.¹⁵⁵ This situation intensified the demands of Britain and France for intervention to provide aid for the Czech allies. It also gave Wilson a justifiable reason for intervening, as he wanted to help the stranded Czech unit.¹⁵⁶

With German pressure on the Western Front, the Sisson documents, and the fate of the Czech unit weighing on his mind, Wilson began to plan to send troops to Russia. On July 17, 1918, Wilson agreed to send American troops to north Russia to participate in an intervention.¹⁵⁷ He approved of sending soldiers to the Russian ports of Archangel, Murmansk, and Vladivostok.¹⁵⁸ He also agreed to a unilateral plan with the Japanese to send roughly several thousand troops to Vladivostok.¹⁵⁹ Wilson demanded that all countries involved in the intervention state clearly to the Russian people that no military planned to interfere with the sovereignty of Russia, nor did they plan to take control of Russian territory. He felt that any violence or aggression towards the Russians might only

¹⁵³ Morgan, *Reds*, 39.

¹⁵⁴ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 47; Morgan, *Reds*, 39.

¹⁵⁵ Morgan, *Reds*, 39.

¹⁵⁶ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 47-49; Morgan, *Reds*, 40.

¹⁵⁷ Miles Hudson, *Intervention in Russia 1918-1920: A Cautionary Tale* (South Yorkshire: Leo Cooper, 2004), 54.

¹⁵⁸ Morgan, *Reds*, 40.

¹⁵⁹ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 415.

end up helping Germany.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, Wilson stated that the only objectives of American troops in Russia were to protect Allied military stockpiles in the ports and aiding the Czechoslovak Legion.¹⁶¹

While the US government conceived and implemented plans for intervention, stories about treachery and terror in Russia ran in newspapers across the country. After returning to America following a six-month stay in Russia, *New York Herald* reporter Herman Bernstein started publishing an eight-part series of articles in newspapers across the nation in June aimed at exposing the “system of German espionage in Russia and elsewhere,” “German domination in Russia,” “Bolshevik reign of terror and tyranny in Russia.”¹⁶² Through his articles, Bernstein promoted the theory that German espionage caused the collapse of both tsarism and the Provisional Government, arguing that Germany premeditated and implemented these plans even before the war began. He wrote that Russian soldiers believed German sympathizers influenced Nicholas II to take charge of the Russian military and that the soldiers hated Empress Alexandra because they suspected she secretly acted in the interest of Germany.¹⁶³ Additionally, Bernstein argued that Kaiser Wilhelm II riddled “Russia with German spies” by having German agents enter Russia as “photographers, salesmen, cattle dealers, or lumber merchants.”¹⁶⁴ According to Bernstein, during the war, German spies infiltrated the Russian military and government. He also

¹⁶⁰ Woodrow Wilson, “Memorandum July 17, 1918,” in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 48, eds. Link, 642-643.

¹⁶¹ Wilson, “Memorandum July 17, 1918,” 642-643.

¹⁶² Herman Bernstein, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 24, 1918; Herman Bernstein, *Greenville News*, July 20, 1918; Herman Bernstein, *Akron Evening News*, July 25, 1918; *Albuquerque Journal*, July 25, 1918.; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 21, 1918.

¹⁶³ Herman Bernstein, *Buffalo Enquirer*, July 20, 1918; Herman Bernstein, *Akron Evening Times*, June 27, 1918; Herman Bernstein, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 25, 1918.

¹⁶⁴ Herman Bernstein, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 25, 1918.

claimed that they sabotaged the Russian war effort by agitating strikes in factories and completely shutting factories down by taking ownership of them.¹⁶⁵ Bernstein's writings portrayed Russia as a "German colony" from the start of the war, playing to American fears of German sabotage in their own country.¹⁶⁶

Bernstein's series of articles on Bolsheviks continued to appear in the press. Bernstein traveled to Russia following the Bolshevik Revolution in hopes that the Bolsheviks would create a functioning government, but said he left disappointed. The *New York Herald* reporter accused Lenin and Trotsky of being German agents and described the Red Guards as a murderous "band of thieves."¹⁶⁷ Bernstein also discredited the soviets throughout Russia, accusing them of being unrepresentative of the Russian people. He further warned Americans that the soviets were full of Bolsheviks who were attempting to spread propaganda to win American favor, even though the Bolsheviks hated the US and President Wilson.¹⁶⁸ Overall, Bernstein's articles appealed to American fears that the Bolsheviks were enemies of the US, allies of Germany, and oppressors of the Russian people.

In mid-August, American participation in the Allied Intervention began as two infantry regiments of US troops landed in Vladivostok.¹⁶⁹ Between these two regiments, the US placed nearly 3,000 troops in Russia.¹⁷⁰ Another 5,000 US troops landed at the

¹⁶⁵ Herman Bernstein, *Washington Post*, July 29, 1918; Herman Bernstein, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 25, 1918.

¹⁶⁶ Herman Bernstein, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 24, 1918.

¹⁶⁷ *News and Observer*, June 24, 1918; *Decatur Herald*, June 24, 1918; *Newton Journal*, June 28, 1918

¹⁶⁸ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 1, 1918; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 1, 1918; *Washington Post*, August 2, 1918.

¹⁶⁹ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 56.

¹⁷⁰ Morgan, *Reds*, 42.

beginning of September.¹⁷¹ General William Graves, who commanded the troops, realized that the mission that Wilson sent them on did not align with neutrality. By aiding the Czechs in any form, they helped a group fighting alongside the White Army against the Bolsheviks in a civil war.¹⁷² Still, he tried his best during the campaign in Russia to hold his men to Wilson's orders to avoid violent conflict with the Russian people.¹⁷³ On September 4, 1918, an estimated 4,500 US soldiers arrived at Archangel to participate in the Russian intervention under British control.¹⁷⁴ The British placed General F.C. Poole in charge of their operations in Russia. Poole held vastly different designs on Russia than Wilson. He wanted to invade deep into the country, hoping to rally Russians against the Bolsheviks.¹⁷⁵ The British also wanted to push to Finland to open a front there against the German army.¹⁷⁶ The US did not agree to this plan, however¹⁷⁷

Furthermore, the British helped to overthrow Archangel's local soviet in August, and remained engaged in combat with the Bolsheviks at the time of the American arrival.¹⁷⁸ Prior to the intervention, Wilson threatened to pull American support if the British used US troops in a way that he disliked. However, despite the British implementing US troops in a way Wilson advised against, he did not uphold his threat nor did he do anything to prevent the British from deploying US soldiers against the Bolsheviks.¹⁷⁹ Wilson's failure to hold the British to his demands allowed the Bolsheviks to claim that the US used military

¹⁷¹ Morgan, *Reds*, 42.

¹⁷² Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 415-415; Maddox, *Unknown War*, 62.

¹⁷³ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 61-62.

¹⁷⁴ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 379.

¹⁷⁵ Morgan, *Reds*, 40-41.

¹⁷⁶ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 417.

¹⁷⁷ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 417-418.

¹⁷⁸ Morgan, *Reds*, 41.

¹⁷⁹ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 420-421.

power to interfere in Russia, which strained US and Russian relations thereafter.¹⁸⁰ The Japanese and British overreaches in Russia also showed that Wilson did not hold enough power to control the situation and keep the Allied forces in check as he hoped.

Despite the problems the Wilson administration faced with the opening months of the Allied Intervention, the press portrayed the allies and the American troops entering Russia as heroes. In some cases, newspapers published stories about how the Russian people welcomed the Allied troops as liberators against their Bolshevik oppressors.¹⁸¹ Articles also portrayed Allied troops as saviors and restorers of Russia.¹⁸² Even though the Wilson administration claimed no desire to interfere with the Bolsheviks, newspapers wrote that the Allied troops were working to overthrow the Bolsheviks and give Russia back to the Russian people. The *Dispatch* in Moline, Illinois published a story about Edward Heald, an American soldier in Russia with a “story of brave struggle to hold the Bolsheviks,” while the *Buffalo Evening News* declared that “Bolshevist terror ends when Allies march in.”¹⁸³ Some articles continued to connect the Bolsheviks to the Germans and made the intervention out to be a military move against Germany. In an article in the *Evening Star* in Washington DC, a journalist declared that there were “no longer any doubts as to Lenine’s desire to assist Germany” and the article argued that the untrustworthy Bolsheviks would fall to the Allies.¹⁸⁴ The *Times* from Shreveport, Louisiana called the Bolsheviks “tools of the Kaiser” and wrote that the Bolshevik forces fleeing the Allied armies of Britain, France, Japan, and the US in Russia amounted to a significant blow to

¹⁸⁰ Kennan, *Decision to Intervene*, 421.

¹⁸¹ *Daily Ardmoreite*, August 6, 1918.

¹⁸² *Evening Star*, August 11, 1918; *Times*, August 16, 1918.

¹⁸³ *Evening Star*, August 11, 1918; *Baltimore Sun*, August 16, 1918; *Buffalo Evening News*, August 19, 1918; *Dispatch*, August 20, 1918.

¹⁸⁴ *Evening Star*, August 11, 1918.

Germany.¹⁸⁵ The *Cincinnati Enquirer* wrote that the “Bolsheviki are masks covering Germans” and it went on to claim that the German government intended to use the Bolsheviks to conquer Siberia.¹⁸⁶ Articles like these show that, no matter what Wilson hoped to achieve with US participation in the Allied Intervention, the press portrayed the operation as a military struggle against Germany and the Bolsheviks.

On September 15, Wilson played into fears that the German government stood behind the Bolsheviks when he decided to release the Sisson documents to the American people. He used these to portray the Bolsheviks to the public as German agents in order to gain popular support for the deployment of American troops to Russia.¹⁸⁷ The press spread the contents of the Sisson documents to readers throughout the country. The *Albuquerque Journal* ran a headline declaring Lenin and Trotsky “paid Kaiser Agents,” while the *Philadelphia Inquirer* claimed that the two Communist leaders betrayed Russia.¹⁸⁸ Meanwhile, the *Oregon Daily Journal* published a paper with a headline reading “Helping hand of America may yet save Russians,” which expressed the hope that the US might break Germany’s control of Russia.¹⁸⁹ The September 15, 1918, issue of the *New York Times* contained the Sisson documents in full and declared that “Berlin financed the revolution” and the documents proved that Germany hired Lenin and Trotsky.¹⁹⁰ Head of the Finnish Information Bureau, S. Nuorteva, declared the Sisson documents to be forgeries days following their release. However, the US government defended the documents and

¹⁸⁵ *Times*, August 16, 1918.

¹⁸⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, August 25, 1918.

¹⁸⁷ Morgan, *Reds*, 43.

¹⁸⁸ *Albuquerque Journal*, September 16, 1918; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 15, 1918.

¹⁸⁹ *Oregon Daily Journal*, September 15, 1918.

¹⁹⁰ *New York Times*, September 15, 1918.

claimed them to be “authentic.”¹⁹¹ By releasing the documents, Wilson failed to be transparent with the American people about the US government’s true objectives in Russia, instead making it seem that the government sent US troops to Russia to oppose Germany. Moreover, Wilson validated false rumors that the Bolsheviks were German puppets.

Even though Wilson did not want US troops to engage in combat with Bolshevik fighters, American soldiers still at times found themselves in conflict with the Red Army. During the fall of 1918, the press covered these stories from Russia. On September 18, the newspapers reported that Bolsheviks attacked American soldiers in Archangel. Red Army forces raided and shelled the American position, leading to the first American casualty of the intervention. However, according to the papers, the Americans withstood the attack and inflicted significant damage on the Bolshevik attackers. The *San Francisco Examiner* covered the story under the headline “Bolsheviki Defeated by Americans,” while the *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* published an article about the skirmish under the headlines “First Dead of U.S. in North Russia Buried” and “Bolshevik Raid Made on American Outpost is Cause of Casualties.”¹⁹² Other articles from early October stated that the American forces were approaching Bolshevik territory and facing the threat of Bolshevik gunboats.¹⁹³ Ultimately, Wilson’s decision to intervene led to Americans fighting Bolsheviks, even if that is not what he intended. As American newspapers published articles about the experiences of American troops in Russia, the Bolsheviks became enemies of war to the American public. This development should be considered one of the factors that shaped

¹⁹¹ *New York Times*, September 22, 1918.

¹⁹² *San Francisco Examiner*, September 25, 1918; *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, September 25, 1918; *Emery County Progress*, October 5, 1918.

¹⁹³ *New Castle Herald*, October 3, 1918; *Daily Arkansas Gazette*, October 4, 1918; *Times Dispatch*, October 17, 1918; *Boston Globe*, October 17, 1918.

both American perceptions of the Bolsheviks in the First Red Scare and the hostilities that would lead eventually to the Cold War.

On November 11, 1918, World War I ended when Germany signed an armistice.¹⁹⁴ Germany had lost the war.¹⁹⁵ However, the Allied forces still remained in Russia, as the French and British kept trying to find ways to weaken the Bolshevik regime, the Japanese continued to occupy parts of Siberia, and the US pushed to evacuate the Czechs.¹⁹⁶ To the American public, this situation could only be perceived as confusing, since the supposed German puppet, the Bolsheviks, still remained in power, despite Germany's surrender. As US troops remained in Russia, the Bolsheviks came to be viewed as America's primary enemy.¹⁹⁷ The press continued to cover the Allied Intervention, publishing articles titled "Bolshevik War Still on Going" and "Bolshevik Rulers Continue Reign of Terror."¹⁹⁸ Newspapers wrote about conflicts American troops continued to experience against the Bolsheviks. One of these battles happened on November 1, when British and American troops fought Bolshevik infantry and experienced shelling from Bolshevik gunships. Some papers wrote that "as long as the enemy gunboats are able to move the Americans and British are combatting great odds."¹⁹⁹ Newspaper articles also reminded Americans that even though the war with Germany was finished, Americans still needed to defeat the anarchism of the Bolsheviks both at home and abroad.²⁰⁰ Even with World War I over, the

¹⁹⁴ Storey, *The First World War*, 152.

¹⁹⁵ Storey, *The First World War*, 156-157.

¹⁹⁶ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 97.

¹⁹⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 42.

¹⁹⁸ *Wausau Daily Herald*, November 20, 1918; *Santa Maria Times*, November 23, 1918.

¹⁹⁹ *Ithaca Journal*, November 20, 1918; *Wausau Daily Herald*, November 20, 1918

²⁰⁰ *Emancipator*, December 14, 1918; *Washington Herald*, November 15, 1918; *Detroit Free Press*, November 15, 1918.

press made it seem as if there was still a war left to fight. The Bolsheviks lingered, despite Germany's defeat, and the US could not rest until the red threat also surrendered.

In many ways, the Wilson administration and the American press together created the image of the Bolshevik enemy for the American public. By confidently claiming the unstable Provisional Government in Russia to be a great ally of democracy against autocratic Germany, both unintentionally made the Bolshevik coup out to be the overthrowing of a strong democracy. Throughout the remainder of 1917 and the rest of 1918, the Wilson administration and the American press stoked the worst fears of the American public about the Bolsheviks, connecting them to American anti-German sentiment. Moreover, the US government and American press would continue to stir hysteria and bolster American fears of Bolshevism in 1919 and 1920 in much the same way they did in the year following the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Moreover, the fear of the Bolsheviks that manifested in America during the First Red Scare would cause US-Russian relations to deteriorate in the decades that followed.

Chapter 3: American Bolsheviki: The Beginning of the First Red Scare, 1917 to 1918

A consensus has developed among historians that in the early months of 1919, widespread panic consumed the American public and government as many came to fear a Bolshevik coup of the United States government and the undermining of the American way of life, and this fear persisted until 1920. Known as the First Red Scare, this period became one of the most well-known episodes of American fear of Communism in US history. Americans accused labor protestors, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Socialist Party of America of being Bolshevik agents. With this focus on the events of 1919 to 1920, however, historians of the First Red Scare have often ignored the initial American reaction to the October Revolution in late 1917 and throughout 1918. A study of this earlier period demonstrates that American fear and hatred of Bolshevism emerged immediately after the Bolshevik coup of the Provisional Government. For over a year prior to 1919, the American press, American authorities, and American leaders claimed the American Bolsheviki plotted to seize control of the US. Moreover, during this time, these American entities labeled anarchists, socialists, and Industrial Workers of the World members as Bolshevik agents and persecuted anyone they felt to be supporting Bolshevism or associated with it. While fear of Bolshevism in American society during the period of 1917 to 1918 did not become as widespread as it did from 1919 to 1920, a study of these early years aids historical understanding of how the First Red Scare developed in American society and challenges widely accepted notions of when the First

Red Scare began. Also, by expanding the timeline of the First Red Scare, the connections between this period and World War I become clearer.

While members of the Socialist Party and IWW became prominent targets of First Red Scare hysteria, the persecution they faced from late 1917 to 1920 came as a continuation of harassment these groups faced since early 1917 when America entered World War I. As the US went to war, the US government became concerned with suppressing and apprehending suspected enemy agents within America to prevent them from hindering the American war effort. As IWW members and Socialists opposed the war, the government began suppressing these groups in June 1917 with the passing of the Espionage Act. One of the first steps the federal government took under this new law was to exclude Socialist and IWW publications from the mail, as the government categorized these groups' newspapers and magazines as suspicious and un-American.²⁰¹ These publications included Socialist literature such as *American Socialist*, *Appeal to Reason*, and *International Socialist Review* and IWW periodicals such as *Solidarity* and *Industrial Worker*.²⁰² As the war continued, the federal government used its power in an attempt to destroy leftist publications and literature.²⁰³ Moreover, the government believed that Socialists and IWW members were pro-German activists, and that the best way to stop their disloyal ideas from infecting the American public would be to silence their voice in the press.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), 98-101.

²⁰² Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930* (Corvallis: Oregon University Press, 2001), 149; Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties*, 99.

²⁰³ Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties*, 101.

²⁰⁴ Eric Thomas Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday: The Rise and Destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World during the World War I Era* (Amherst: Levellers Press, 2014), 136.

Even though the federal government accused both the Socialist Party and the IWW of being pro-German, it seemed to despise the IWW the most.²⁰⁵ During the spring and summer of 1917, the IWW organized workers and led strikes within industries necessary for the war movement such as lumber, agriculture, and mining.²⁰⁶ With the union's influence in these vital wartime industries, the government viewed the IWW as a domestic threat to the economy and war effort. Thus, the government began plotting to destroy the IWW.²⁰⁷ As the IWW carried on strikes for better working conditions in wartime industries, the government came to believe that the IWW might be using these demonstrations as an attempt to purposefully hinder the war effort.²⁰⁸ Moreover, the government suspected that Germans might be funding IWW to organize these strikes.²⁰⁹ In an effort to acquire evidence to prove this suspicion, on September 5, 1917, the Justice Department raided over 48 IWW meeting places throughout the country. Federal agents seized tons of IWW propaganda, letters, publications, literature, and financial records.²¹⁰ However, the Justice Department found no evidence of German connections in the documents it collected.²¹¹ Yet, the federal government still perceived the IWW to be a threat to the nation's security for its ability to organize strikes. While the evidence collected did not point to the IWW being supported by the Germans, it did put the union in violation of the Espionage Act. On September 28, over 166 IWW members were

²⁰⁵ William H. Thomas Jr., *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008), 101.

²⁰⁶ Hall, *Harvest Wobblies*, 120-121, 131; Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 40-41, 89, 138.

²⁰⁷ Hall, *Harvest Wobblies*, 153; Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 156-157.

²⁰⁸ Renshaw, *The Wobblies*, 174.

²⁰⁹ *Asheville Citizen-Times*, September 7, 1917; Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 149-150.

²¹⁰ *The Houston Post*, September, 6, 1917; Renshaw, *The Wobblies*, 174; Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 173.

²¹¹ Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 150-151.

indicted with conspiracy to obstruct the draft, including Bill Haywood, the leader of the radical union.²¹² Thus, even before the First Red Scare, the US government suspected members of the Socialist Party and the IWW of being German sympathizers. By the end of 1917, however, members from both of these groups would be simultaneously perceived as supporters of Germany and Bolshevik agents.

Prior to the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, Americans grew fond of the Provisional Government that succeeded the tsarist regime in March 1917. On March 22, The US became the first country to recognize the Provisional Government.²¹³ In his war message to Congress on April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson cited the Provisional Government as an example of Russia's natural democratic values and claimed that the rise of this new government in Russia made World War I a battle between democratic and autocratic governments.²¹⁴ Likewise, newspapers across the country celebrated the democracy of the Provisional Government as progress towards a more peaceful world and portrayed American and Russian values as similar.²¹⁵ Thus, for most Americans, the Bolshevik coup of the Provisional Government on November 7, 1917 came as a harsh

²¹² Chester, *The Wobblies in Their Heyday*, 170.?

²¹³ George F. Kennan, *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Russia Leaves the War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), 14-15.

²¹⁴ Woodrow Wilson, "An Address to a Joint Session of Congress," April 2, 1917, World War I Document Archive, accessed October 28, 2017, https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress.

²¹⁵ *New York Times*, March 23, 1917; *San Bernardino County Sun*, March 23, 1917; *Tennessean*, March 23, 1917; *New York Times*, April 3, 1917; *Asheville Citizen Times*, April 3, 1917; *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1917; *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April, 4, 1917.

introduction to the Bolshevik Party.²¹⁶ The American press labeled the Bolsheviks as illegitimate usurpers, criminals, and dictators.²¹⁷

In a speech to the American Federation of Labor on November 12, President Wilson vaguely referenced the Bolsheviks as unrepresentative of the interests of the Russian people and expressed fear that groups in America had developed plots to cause anarchy and lawlessness throughout the country and that their “mob spirit” held sway over parts of the American population.²¹⁸ He also stressed a need for unity between classes and groups of people to avoid class struggle.²¹⁹ Given these statements, Wilson expressed worry for the first time that an event similar to the Bolshevik Revolution might happen in the US. Newspapers immediately reported on Wilson’s speech to the AFL. *Brainerd Daily Dispatch* stated that some claimed “German agents” and “American Bolsheviki” plotted to gain control of the AFL from the organization’s president, Samuel Gompers.²²⁰ In an article titled “Opponents of Samuel Gompers called ‘American Bolshevikers,’” the *Anniston Star* in Alabama wrote that Gompers ran for re-election as president of the AFL on a pro-war campaign, and declared his opponents “American Bolsheviki.”²²¹ Also according to the *Anniston Star*, A.A. Landon, President of the Chamber of Commerce, gave a speech at the AFL meeting in which he warned of internal

²¹⁶ Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 64; Christopher Lasch, *The American Liberals and the Russian Revolution* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), 58.

²¹⁷ *New York Times*, November 8, 1917; *Wichita Daily Eagle*, November 8, 1917; *Chicago Tribune*, November 9, 1917; *New York Times*, November 10, 1917; *Oregon Daily Journal*, November 10, 1917.

²¹⁸ Woodrow Wilson, “An Address in Buffalo to the American Federation of Labor,” in *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, vol. 45, *November 11-January 15, 1918*, eds. Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 11.

²¹⁹ Wilson, “An Address in Buffalo,” 11.

²²⁰ *Brainerd Daily Dispatch*, November 12, 1917.

²²¹ “Opponents of Samuel Gompers Called ‘American Bolshevikers,’” *Anniston Star*, November 12, 1917.

divisions in the organization and not to let the AFL fall victim to the work of pacifists and German sympathizers.²²² The *News Herald* in Franklin, Pennsylvania stated the same warning.²²³

Other newspapers reporting on Wilson's speech and the Bolshevik revolution declared that the American Bolsheviks planned to infect American labor through the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party and to spread anarchy and terror in American society.²²⁴ The immediate reaction of Wilson, Gompers, Landon, and the American press to the October Revolution demonstrated the worry that Bolshevik agents plotted to use American labor as a vehicle for revolution developed almost instantly following the coup against the Provisional Government in Russia. Likewise, the national press coverage showed that fears of Bolshevik radicalism infiltrating American institutions and causing a Bolshevik revolution in the US spread quickly throughout the country following the October Revolution.

Also, directly following the Bolshevik Revolution, the American press published panicked stories telling of Leon Trotsky's time in the US from January to April 1917.²²⁵ The *Bridgeport Times and Evening Farmer* in Bridgeport, Connecticut said that before Trotsky became "the new president of Russia," he built a renowned reputation in New York as a radical socialist.²²⁶ Some articles presented Trotsky as a threat that the US fortunately avoided, as the *Charlotte News* claimed the government labeled him a

²²² "Opponents of Samuel Gompers Called 'American Bolsheviks,'" *Anniston Star*, November 12, 1917.

²²³ *News Herald*, November 12, 1917.

²²⁴ *Bridgeport Times and Evening Farmer*, November 13, 1917; *Ottumwa Semi-Weekly Courier*, November 13, 1917.

²²⁵ Frederick M. Kerby, "Here's Story of Trotsky as Told by Pals in New York," *Seattle Star*, November 14, 1917.

²²⁶ *Bridgeport Times and Evening Farmer*, November 9, 1917.

troublemaker and the *Detroit Free Press* wrote in a headline that “Leon Trotsky Attempted to Organize Treason in the United States.”²²⁷ William G. Shepherd, a United Press correspondent, published an article that appeared in multiple newspapers across the country in which he claimed not only Trotsky, but Lenin, had stayed in New York.²²⁸ He went on to say that Germany “poisoned and paralyzed” Russia by allowing Lenin to return there freely, and that if either Lenin or Trotsky had remained in America, then the Bolshevik Revolution might have occurred in the US instead of Russia.²²⁹ Shepherd cautioned readers, though, warning that “friends and sympathizers” of Trotsky and Lenin remained in the US and aimed to create their own Bolshevik revolution on American soil.²³⁰

Various articles described the relations Trotsky built with American radicals. Frederick M. Kerby published an article based on interviews he conducted with Trotsky’s colleagues in New York, learning that Trotsky helped edit a socialist paper for the Socialist Party.²³¹ Other articles stressed that radical socialists in America of both Russian and German descent welcomed and aided Trotsky during his residency in New York, even offering him places to stay and giving him furniture.²³² Like the press coverage centered around Wilson’s speech to the AFL in Buffalo, the media’s nation-

²²⁷ “Leon Trotsky Attempted to Organize Treason in the United States,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 15, 1917; *Charlotte News*, November 20, 1917.

²²⁸ William G. Shepherd, “Has Returned from Petrograd,” *Daily Gate City and Constitution-Democrat*, November 9, 1917; William G. Shepherd, “Has Faith in Kerensky,” *Evening News*, November 9, 1917; William G. Shepherd, “Pro-Germans Free Handed in U.S.,” *Belle Plaine News*, November 15, 1917.

²²⁹ Shepherd, *Daily Gate City*, November 9, 1917; Shepherd, *Evening News*, November 9, 1917; Shepherd, *Belle Plaine News*, November 15, 1917.

²³⁰ Shepherd, *Daily Gate City*, November 9, 1917; Shepherd, *Evening News*, November 9, 1917; Shepherd, *Belle Plaine News*, November 15, 1917.

²³¹ Kerby, “Trotsky as Told by Pals in New York,” *Seattle Star*, November 14, 1917.

²³² “Leon Trotsky Attempted to Organize Treason in the United States,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 15, 1917; *Oregon Daily Journal*, November 18, 1917.

wide attention to the time Trotsky spent living in New York evidenced a rapid formation of collective fear of the Bolsheviks in American society directly following the Bolshevik Party's overthrow of the Provisional Government. Stories of Trotsky's presence in the US prior to the October Revolution made it seem as if the coup could have happened in America and that the threat still lingered, due to the ties he built with other radicals while in New York.

On November 16, Theodore Roosevelt gave further credence to a radical Bolshevik threat lurking within America during a speech he delivered in Princeton, New Jersey. As the primary purpose of the speech, Roosevelt advocated for the US to declare war on Austria and Turkey as part of the fight to safeguard democracy around the world. In listing other threats to democratic governments, Roosevelt also labeled the Bolsheviks the "worst foes of liberty and democracy" and claimed pacifists, German sympathizers, American socialists, and the Industrial Workers of the World wanted to destroy the US in the same way the Bolsheviks decimated "free Russia."²³³ Additionally, he accused individuals such as Robert La Follette, Morris Hillquit, and Victor Berger of being Bolshevik sympathizers.²³⁴ La Follette was a progressive senator from Wisconsin, while Hillquit and Berger were prominent socialist politicians.²³⁵ Roosevelt's speech marked the first time following the October Revolution a renowned American political figure directly named groups and people he considered to be involved in the plotting a socialist revolution in America. Furthermore, his speech received nation-wide coverage in the press. Papers around the country discussed how Colonel Roosevelt attacked the IWW and

²³³ *New York Times*, November 17, 1917; *York Daily*, November 17, 1917.

²³⁴ *New York Times*, November 17, 1917.

²³⁵ Thomas., *Unsafe for Democracy*, 5, 91, 118-119; *New York Times*, November 30, 1917?

assailed the “American Bolsheviki,” a term that was becoming a catch-all for radical activity in the US.²³⁶ This speech reversed the argument made in April 1917 by President Wilson that Russia fought on the side of democracy.²³⁷ Arguably, at this moment, Roosevelt helped set the national tone of the hysteria surrounding Bolshevism in America for years to come.

Following Roosevelt’s speech, the American media represented the Socialist Party as one of the most prominent representatives of the American Bolsheviki. The *New York Times* claimed that the Socialist Party and the Bolsheviks in Russia held strong connections to each other, and that both of their ideologies possessed Germanic origins and influence. The paper further explained that the socialists acted as a “menace” to America and its war effort, due to their pro-German stance.²³⁸ Meanwhile, the *News-Journal* in Mansfield, Ohio, claimed that American Bolsheviki wanted the US to surrender its independence and become subservient to warmongering Germany.²³⁹

Likewise, the IWW began to be labeled by the American press as prominently connected with the Bolsheviks following Roosevelt’s address. On December 23, a Russian ship called the *Shilka* docked in a port in Seattle, Washington.²⁴⁰ Members of the IWW invited the sailors to their local hall to discuss the revolutionary events occurring in Russia. However, when authorities discovered the IWW was socializing with the sailors, they arrested twenty-one of the IWW members.²⁴¹ Moreover, members of the Office of

²³⁶ *Lincoln-Journal Star*, November 17, 1917; *Statesman Journal*, November 17, 1917; *Atlanta Constitution*, November 17, 1917; *Courier-Journal*, November 17, 1917; *Altoona Times*, November 17, 1917; *New York Times*, November 7, 1917; *Arizona Daily Star*, November 17, 1917.

²³⁷ Wilson, “An Address to a Joint Session of Congress,” *New York Times*, November 7, 1917.

²³⁸ *New York Times*, November 30, 1917.

²³⁹ *News-Journal*, November 27, 1917.

²⁴⁰ *New York Times*, December 24, 1917; *Evening News*, December 24, 1917.

²⁴¹ William D. Haywood, *The Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1929), 308; *New York Times*, December 24, 1917; *Evening News*, December 24, 1917.

Naval Intelligence feared that ship held a cargo of revolutionary Bolshevik literature to spread to radicals throughout America, Europe and Australia.²⁴² The *New York Times* also reported that authorities worried that the *Shilka* brought \$100,000 in gold to help pay legal fees of IWW members facing trial in Chicago for conspiracy charges.²⁴³ After searching the ship, however, the Bureau of Investigation uncovered no evidence of criminal or revolutionary conspiracies. Instead, the ship's cargo consisted of licorice root, peas, and beans.²⁴⁴ Found innocent, the *Shilka* received a load of pig iron and left to return to Russia in early January 1918.²⁴⁵

Still, throughout the first few months of 1918, fear of the American Bolsheviks remained prevalent in the press. During January, a political cartoon titled "A Warning to American Bolshevism" appeared in newspapers across the country.²⁴⁶ The image represented the American Bolshevik as an unkempt, bearded, and ill-looking man and depicted him with his head and hands locked in a pillory with "social law and order stocks" written across the wooden bar.²⁴⁷ He wore a coat, and pieces of paper stuck out of his pockets that read "I.W.W.," "plots," "anarchy," "revolution," and "Bolshevism."²⁴⁸

²⁴² Edward McCauley to A. Bruce Belaski, December 29, 1917, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1428498>; Edward McCauley to A. Bruce Belaski, January 8, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1428493>; *New York Times*, December 24, 1917.

²⁴³ *New York Times*, December 24, 1917.

²⁴⁴ Chas Petrovitsky to A. Bruce Belaski, December 27, 1917, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21; accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1428495>; *New York Times*, December 24, 1917.

²⁴⁵ Bureau of Investigation, *S.S. Shilka: European Neutrality*, by Chas Petrovitsky, January 8, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1428501>.

²⁴⁶ "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Asbury Park Press*, January 4, 1918; "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Lincoln-Journal Star*, January 5, 1918; "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Oshkosh Northwestern*, January 15, 1918; "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 16, 1918; "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Arizona Daily Star*, January 24, 1918.

²⁴⁷ "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 16, 1918.

²⁴⁸ "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 16, 1918.

Beside him, a sign warned other American Bolsheviks of the US government's intolerance for any protest or action that might hinder America's war effort. Through the message of the sign, the cartoon portrayed the American Bolshevik as a criminal conspiring against the US and a violator of the Espionage Act of 1917, showing Americans feared the American Bolshevik as a threat to the country's ability to win the war.²⁴⁹

On February 17, the press reported that a disturbance involving over 4,000 Bolshevik sympathizers erupted in Chicago. According to an article in the *Chicago Tribune* titled "Judge Driven from Hall by Bolshevik Din," the group of sympathizers gathered in Douglas Park auditorium to hear Professor George Lomonosoff, President of the Russian mission on ways and communication, speak on ways to offer aid to poor Russians.²⁵⁰ A man the paper referred to as Alderman Rodriguez, a renowned Chicago socialist, was supposed to chair the meeting, but did not attend. When Judge Harry M. Fischer filled the position of chair in Rodriguez's place, it surprised the crowd, and they shouted at the judge: "who are you?," "where is Rodriguez?," "Bolsheviki," and "Down with Fischer."²⁵¹ Fischer ended up leaving the meeting, but Dr. Moses Sahud, a socialist, managed to fill the chair position and calm the crowd. Lomonosoff gave a speech inside and another to a crowd of leftists outside of the auditorium. After Lomonosoff finished speaking, the *Chicago Tribune* reported that an "unidentified anarchist" claimed

²⁴⁹ "A Warning to American Bolshevism," *Arkansas Democrat*, January 16, 1918; The Espionage Act of 1917, Mintz, S., & McNeil, S. (2016). *Digital History*, accessed November 10, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3904.

²⁵⁰ "Judge Driven from Hall by Bolshevik Din," *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1918; *Washington Post*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵¹ "Judge Driven from Hall," *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1918.

Lomonosoff represented the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat of Russia.²⁵² However, police forced the heckler to leave.²⁵³

While the *Chicago Tribune* described the Bolshevik sympathizers as highly energetic and disruptive audience members, many newspapers reported on this event with great hysteria and sensationalism. The *Salt Lake Herald-Republican* wrote that 4,000 Bolsheviks rioted in the streets of Chicago to silence Lomonosoff, and that the city called in the police to put the “mob” down.²⁵⁴ Likewise, the *Nebraska State Journal* called the meeting “a Bolshevik rough house” and claimed that 4,000 American Bolsheviks led two riots throughout Chicago that police had to use clubs and guns to stop.²⁵⁵ *The Journal Gazette* in Mattoon, Illinois, stated that it took 15 police to halt a “mob of 4,000 Trotsky disciples,” who started a riot at the meeting concerning Russia.²⁵⁶

Other papers stressed the role of the police in these riots. The *Washington Post* ran a headline titled “Chicago Police Rout Bolsheviks,” while both the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *El Paso Herald* wrote that Bolshevik rioters shouted “long live the Bolsheviks” in Chicago until the police scattered the 4,000 person crowd.²⁵⁷ Moreover, some of these papers claimed that the rioting began after the Bolshevik sympathizers became upset when Lomonosoff said that the same hunger problems throughout Russia that brought about the end of the tsar would also destroy the Bolshevik regime.²⁵⁸

²⁵² “Judge Driven from Hall,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵³ “Judge Driven from Hall,” *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵⁴ “4,000 Bolsheviks Riot in Chicago,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵⁵ “A Bolshevik Rough House,” *Nebraska State Journal*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵⁶ “Bolsheviks Riot in Chicago,” *Journal Gazette*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵⁷ “Chicago Police Rout Bolsheviks,” *Washington Post*, February 18, 1918; “‘Long Live Bolsheviks’ Shouted in Chicago,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 18, 1918; *El Paso Herald*, February 18, 1918.

²⁵⁸ “Chicago Police Rout Bolsheviks,” *Washington Post*, February 18, 1918; “‘Long Live Bolsheviks’ Shouted in Chicago,” *Atlanta Constitution*, February 18, 1918; “4,000 Bolsheviks Riot in Chicago,” *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, February 18, 1918.

Ultimately, the national press coverage and the local reporting describe the same event much differently, with the local press portraying a much less violent and chaotic scene than that of other newspapers across the country.

On March 23, University of Michigan President Harry B. Hutchins called on Americans to be alarmed by the presence of the American Bolsheviki throughout the US in a speech he gave at the University of California as the Charter Day speaker during the University's semi-centennial celebration.²⁵⁹ In his address, titled "The World War and Some of Its By-Products," Hutchins claimed that the conflict would cause a strong movement "to bring about social and economic revolution."²⁶⁰ He argued that American Bolsheviki planned to lead this move for change, but he did not specifically define American Bolsheviki. Hutchins claimed that the American Bolshevik movement drew their numbers from foreigners, who held hostile and hateful feelings for the established government and economic systems in the US.

Additionally, Hutchins believed "ignorance" and "evil leadership" shaped the sentiments of this "foreign contingent," and that they aimed to destroy the stable American government and replace it with anarchy.²⁶¹ The University of Michigan President also mentioned that many of these foreigners worked in numerous industries throughout the US, giving them an opportunity to influence the minds of American workers and shut down production of materials important to the war effort.²⁶² Just as Landon, Gompers, and Wilson's reactions in the immediate aftermath of the October

²⁵⁹ "Social and Industrial Revolution Threatens as By-Product of War," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

²⁶⁰ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

²⁶¹ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

²⁶² "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

Revolution showed fear that Bolsheviks aimed to use American labor to devastate the country, Hutchins' analysis of the Bolshevik threat five months after the revolution continued to demonstrate that same panic.

Furthermore, in facing the threat of the American Bolsheviks, Hutchins argued Americans must adopt a new conception of Americanism and American citizenship.²⁶³ By Americanism, Hutchins meant an ideological nationalism that encapsulated conservative American values. The term Americanism first originated in the mid-1800s during the nativist Know-Nothing movement, and it resurfaced again at the start of World War I. During the war, promoters of Americanism used this concept to define their vision of an ideal American. According to them, Americans needed to align with Protestant beliefs, learn English, and conform to capitalist and patriarchal systems. Additionally, Americanism called for US citizens to participate in all patriotic displays and ceremonies, and to support their country.²⁶⁴

Hutchins put the tenets of Americanism on display in his speech as he quoted Theodore Roosevelt, saying that every alien that came to the US needed to learn English and start taking steps to becoming a citizen within the first few years of residency. Hutchins further argued that the government needed to enact naturalization laws.²⁶⁵ He also believed it necessary for the US government to limit immigration to the US, thus lessening the country's chances of allowing violent and radical aliens to infiltrate its borders. He proposed internment camps for aliens as another solution to neutralize the

²⁶³ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918; Columbia University, *Columbia University Quarterly* (Columbia University Press: 1918), Hathi Trust Digital Library, accessed November 12, 2017, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwxtntn;view=1up;seq=82>, 64.

²⁶⁴ Erica J. Ryan, *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015), 5, 30.

²⁶⁵ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918; Columbia University, *Columbia University Quarterly*, 64.

foreign threat of the American Bolsheviki.²⁶⁶ Importantly, Hutchins' concerns demonstrate both a hysteric fear of Bolsheviks infiltrating American labor and an emphasis on using Americanism to fight Bolshevism just short of a year prior to the First Red Scare.²⁶⁷ Also, the press carried his warning to the American people nationwide, helping to make Americans alarmed at the supposed threat of Bolshevism as well.²⁶⁸

Following Hutchins' speech, Theodore Roosevelt gave a speech on March 22, criticizing the American Bolsheviki once again.²⁶⁹ Roosevelt began his speech by ridiculing President Wilson's handling of the war, claiming the Wilson administration's "kid gloves and fine phrases" approach to fighting Germany to be ineffective.²⁷⁰ He stated that the US went unprepared into the war and now needed to declare war on Austria and Turkey. Roosevelt attacked German-Americans and pacifists in the US as part of the problem as well, claiming they held the war effort back and infected the nation with "red folly."²⁷¹ He warned Americans that "the Bolsheviki have no more to teach America than the Romanoffs" about inefficiency and despotism and that Americans should avoid following the path of the American Bolsheviki, unless they wanted to cause chaos and ruin within the US.²⁷² Again, many press outlets throughout the country carried Roosevelt's call for alarm.²⁷³ While his speech mostly focused on war with Germany,

²⁶⁶ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

²⁶⁷ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

²⁶⁸ "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918; "President Hutchins Warns of American Bolsheviki," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 23, 1918; "'U.S. is in Anarchy Peril,' U. of M. Head," *Detroit Free Press*, March 24, 1917; "Warns of Anarchy Here, American Bolsheviki Grows," *Baltimore Sun*, March 24, 1918; "Warning Sounded Against the 'American Bolsheviki' by President Hutchins," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 24, 1918.

²⁶⁹ "T.R. Fears Reds Here," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1918.

²⁷⁰ "T.R. Fears Reds Here," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1918.

²⁷¹ "T.R. Fears Reds Here," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1918.

²⁷² "T.R. Fears Reds Here," *Washington Post*, March 29, 1918.

Roosevelt worried that the American Bolsheviki, if unchecked, could hurt the American war effort and harm the US in the same way the Bolsheviks damaged Russia.

On May 15, American panic concerning a Bolshevik revolution spiked once again when police arrested three Russian anarchists in New York City and charged them with plotting to overthrow the US government and bring about a “reign of terror” in America.²⁷⁴ The *New York Times* reported that police thwarted a secretive “nation-wide anarchist plot” purposed to spread Bolshevism across America.²⁷⁵ The paper named one of those arrested as Ivan Novikoff, a Russian who worked at Nova Mir, a press company which the *New York Times* claimed held connections to Leon Trotsky.²⁷⁶ During the arrest, police seized 30,000 copies of a radical monthly periodical known as *Kolokol*, a publication in which the *New York Times* claimed the radicals wrote about staging an uprising against the government and planned to send to cities across the country such as Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, San Francisco, and Boston.²⁷⁷

Moreover, the paper stated the police possessed a list of names of thousands of suspected “sympathizers and supporters” of the New York City anarchist group from across the US.²⁷⁸ The authorities boasted that the arrest of these three anarchists came as the most significant apprehension of radicals since they took Emma Goldman and

²⁷³ “T.R. Fears Reds Here,” *Washington Post*, March 29, 1918; “Roosevelt Scores German Alliance,” *Evening Star*, March 29, 1918; *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 29, 1918; “‘Beat Germany to Her Knees’ Says Roosevelt,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 29, 1918; “Roosevelt States Prussian People Must Be Crushed,” *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 29, 1918; “Fine Words and Kid Gloves Can’t Win, Roosevelt Affirms,” *Dixon Evening Telegraph*, March 29, 1918; “Roosevelt Decries Kid Glove Policy in U.S. War Plans,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 29, 1918.

²⁷⁴ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918.

²⁷⁵ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918; “Alleged Anarchists Held,” *New York Times*, May 16, 1918; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15, 1918.

²⁷⁶ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918.

²⁷⁷ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918; “Alleged Anarchists Held,” *New York Times*, May 16, 1918; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15, 1918.

²⁷⁸ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918.

Alexander Berkman into custody. Additionally, the *New York Times* reported that a Justice Department agent believed the anarchist group arrested in New York City was the “most dangerous group of anarchists” to operate on American soil, and that the agent feared the radicalizing effects of the group’s propaganda might influence the many Russian workers laboring in US shipyards and factories.²⁷⁹

Media outlets throughout the country also reported on these arrests. The *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the *Natchez Democrat*, the *Reno Gazette-Journal*, and the *Courier-Journal* claimed the three arrested Russians to be “adherents of Lenine and Trotsky” and connected to the IWW.²⁸⁰ These papers also warned readers that the anarchist group in New York City worked alongside many other anarchists in numerous other American cities to overthrow the government.²⁸¹ Meanwhile, the *Asbury Park Press* praised the police for stopping the anarchists from carrying out their Bolshevik plot.²⁸² The *Washington Post* wrote that the three Bolsheviki-affiliated anarchists passed around pamphlets “printed in Russian and conveying instructions as to how to ‘overthrow the government.’”²⁸³ Ultimately, the treatment of these three Russian anarchists as dangerous revolutionaries capable of and plotting to stage a Bolshevik revolution in the US by the authorities and the national press demonstrated a failure of newspapers and the police to differentiate between anarchists and communists. Moreover, the reaction of the national

²⁷⁹ “Anarchists Plot Against America,” *New York Times*, May 15, 1918.

²⁸⁰ “Russians Arrested on Charge of Plot to Overthrow the U.S.,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15, 1918; “Arrest 3 Alleged Russian Anarchists,” *Natchez Democrat*, May 15, 1918; “Russ Anarchists Under Arrest in New York,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, May 15, 1918; “Conspiracy to Overthrow Government is Charged,” *Courier-Journal*, May 15, 1918.

²⁸¹ “Russians Arrested on Charge of Plot to Overthrow the U.S.,” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 15, 1918; “Arrest 3 Alleged Russian Anarchists,” *Natchez Democrat*, May 15, 1918; “Russ Anarchists Under Arrest in New York,” *Reno Gazette-Journal*, May 15, 1918; “Conspiracy to Overthrow Government is Charged,” *Courier-Journal*, May 15, 1918.

²⁸² “Check Anarchist Plot,” *Asbury Park Press*, May 15, 1918.

²⁸³ “3 Held as Anarchists,” *Washington Post*, May 15, 1918.

press specifically provided proof that bouts of hysteric fear of a Bolshevik uprising throughout the United States occurred earlier than 1919.

Throughout 1918, American authorities, specifically the Bureau of Investigation, also maintained suspicion of anyone they viewed as connected with the Bolsheviks. In July 1918, the Bureau investigated the Manhattan Finnish Workman Association, a group it labeled a “Finnish Bolshevik Society,” for alleged Bolshevik propaganda.²⁸⁴ In September, an investigator took note of a Bolshevik group’s activity in Baltimore, Maryland. The investigator reported that the Bolshevik radicals met to organize terror and trouble within both Baltimore and America.²⁸⁵ Similarly, in September, Bureau investigators kept watch over a “Soviet of Workmen Deputies in San Francisco” that they believed consisted of Russian Bolsheviks and American IWW members.²⁸⁶ Bureau investigators feared that the San Francisco Soviet used and spread radical propaganda to indoctrinate members to commit illegal and disloyal acts against the US. Moreover, they claimed that groups like the one in San Francisco had been established throughout the country, and the authorities deemed Russian workers the most vulnerable to these groups’ ideals. Like Hutchins’ speech in March, the perspectives of these investigators demonstrate worry that foreigners and members of the working class were more likely to support the Bolsheviks. Their investigations also show that authorities feared widespread Bolshevik activity in the US prior to 1919.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ Bureau of Investigation, *Finnish Bolsheviki Society, Alleged Bolsheviki Propaganda*, by V. J. Valjavec, July 29, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/1099741>.

²⁸⁵ Bureau of Investigation, *J. Kuoseruk..Bolshevik Matter*, by Wm. M. Doyne, September 23, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October

²⁸⁶ Bureau of Investigation, *Socialistic and Bolsheviki Activities*, by E. B. Oulashin, September 11, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/3157466>.

²⁸⁷ Bureau of Investigation, *Socialistic and Bolsheviki*.

In other instances, the Bureau of Investigation investigated individuals such as Carl G. Bedrit for disloyalty and association with the Bolsheviks. In October 1918, the Bureau targeted Bedrit because he was Russian and his coworkers nicknamed him “Bolsheviki.”²⁸⁸ After interrogating Bedrit, however, the Bureau discovered that Bedrit did not harbor disloyal feelings towards the US. Rather, Bedrit’s coworkers assigned him the nickname because he did not buy a liberty bond and they accused him of being a Bolshevik or IWW member.²⁸⁹ In the summer and fall of 1918, the Bureau also looked into cases involving Bolshevik newspapers, Bolshevik teachings deemed “against the US”, and other “Bolshevik matter(s).”²⁹⁰ Overall, the Bureau of Investigation’s activity during 1918 demonstrated that the agency viewed Bolshevism as a national threat and wanted to keep track of Bolshevik activities throughout the country.

As 1918 continued, leftists faced trouble. On November 24, the Socialist Party of Minnesota and Hennepin County planned to hold a rally at the Gateway Park in Minneapolis. However, when Sheriff Otto Langum received word of the socialist gathering, he banned the meeting from taking place. Despite Langum’s orders, socialists still planned to gather for the rally in Gateway Park. Langum responded by asking Governor Joseph A. A. Burnquist for help in stopping the socialists from meeting, and Burnquist sent National Guard infantry regiments.²⁹¹ Over 12,000 socialists gathered for

²⁸⁸ Bureau of Investigation, *Carl G. Bedrit. Alleged Disloyal Remarks*, by J. G. Shuey, October 21, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/3065988>.

²⁸⁹ Bureau of Investigation, *Carl G. Bedrit*.

²⁹⁰ Bureau of Investigation, *Daily Digest of Clippings*, August 17, 1918, *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/2788390>; Bureau of Investigation, *P. Kuresuk or J. Kucseruk*, October 26, 1918, *Fold3.Com*, Old German Files, 1909-21, accessed October 12, 2018, <https://www.fold3.com/image/33132313>.

²⁹¹ “Crowd Halts Tiny Parade of Socialists,” *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918; “The Proscribed Socialist Rally,” *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918.

the meeting, and the *Star Tribune* wrote that some of the socialists carried signs advocating that the US recognize the new Soviet government in Russia.²⁹² However, faced with National Guard units and sheriff deputies, the crowd of socialists dispersed quickly. The *Star Tribune* defended the actions of the Governor and the police, stating that the country was still at war and since the US socialists supported the Bolsheviks in Russia, the “radical adherents of the red flag have themselves to blame for the state of the public mind towards them.”²⁹³ Moreover, the paper declared that no true American could find it within themselves to support socialist doctrine.²⁹⁴ The actions of Burnquist and Langum demonstrated the ways red hysteria influenced both local and state political operations following the end of World War I on November 11. Even though the US signed an armistice, socialists continued to face discrimination due to their support of the Bolshevik government.

Socialists faced persecution in New York City even after the war ended, when on November 19, Mayor John Francis Hylan banned displays of red flags and any unauthorized meetings in the city to prevent the “horrors and outrages of unrestricted mobs, which are now causing anxiety in neutral countries abroad.”²⁹⁵ On November 25, Hylan’s ban became the center of controversy, when over 10,000 socialists met at Madison Square Garden for a Socialist Party gathering. Even though Hylan banned red flags, the *New York Times* reported that “there was three to four times as much red on display” at this socialist rally than usual.²⁹⁶ Men attending the meeting wore red neckties

²⁹² “Crowd Halts Tiny Parade of Socialists,” *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918.

²⁹³ “The Proscribed Socialist Rally,” *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918.

²⁹⁴ “The Proscribed Socialist Rally,” *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918.

²⁹⁵ “Ban Red Flags in New York,” *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*, November 19, 1918; *Wall Street Journal*, November 20, 1918.

²⁹⁶ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918.

and attached red ribbons and red rosettes to their shirts, while the women wore red dresses, red sweaters, red sashes, and red hats.²⁹⁷ In observance of the many people wearing red, Socialist Alderman Abraham Beckerman even said “we are thankful to Mayor Hylan for popularizing this color.”²⁹⁸ On occasion throughout the meeting, some socialists put red flags on display for seconds at a time.²⁹⁹

However, when soldiers and sailors staying in the city heard word of the socialist gathering, they decided to disrupt the meeting because they believed the socialists to be “attacking” and “insulting” the American flag.³⁰⁰ According to the *Buffalo Commercial*, when around 1,000 soldiers and sailors gathered outside of Madison Square Garden during the meeting, denunciations of Bolshevism and calls for “loyal Americans” to help stop the socialists came from the crowd of military men and American civilians met their cries with cheers.³⁰¹ The soldiers and sailors attempted to enter Madison Square Garden, but a line of police providing security for the socialist meeting stopped them from entering. So, the soldiers and sailors waited outside of the venue until the meeting ended to stage their attack. The police proved unable to stop the military crowd, and the sailors and soldiers used fists and clubs against the socialists leaving the meeting. Some socialists fought back, while others ran. Eventually, the situation calmed down as socialists managed to escape the scene by either fleeing on their own or being helped by police.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 11, 1918; “Men in Service Not Sorry They Beat Up ‘Reds,’” *Ithaca Journal*, November 26, 1918.

²⁹⁸ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918.

²⁹⁹ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918.

³⁰⁰ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918.

³⁰¹ “Incensed Troops Attack Socialists,” *Buffalo Commercial*, November 26, 1918.

³⁰² “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918; “Men in Service Not Sorry They Beat Up ‘Reds,’” *Ithaca Journal*, November 26, 1918; “Incensed Troops Attack Socialists,” *Buffalo Commercial*, November 26, 1918.

Despite the anger of the military mob, the violence they caused only resulted in minor injuries. Throughout the night, authorities took nine socialists into custody, charging them with disturbing the peace and attempting to start a riot. However, police did not arrest any of the soldiers or sailors, nor did New York City authorities develop plans to punish them. An article in the *Ithaca Journal* titled “Men in Service Not Sorry They Beat Up ‘Reds’” claimed that “only” the soldiers and sailors showed pride from the battle scars they endured fighting against the red flag, but the Bolsheviki remained quiet.³⁰³ Moreover, the *Buffalo Labor Journal* declared that the “Bolshevik sympathizers” who praised “Bolshevik principles” “brought” the anger of the troops on themselves for their unpatriotic display.³⁰⁴

On the night of November 26, the violent attacks on socialists from soldiers and sailors continued in New York City when over 1,000 of them attempted to disrupt a Women’s International League meeting at Palm Garden, a “Bolshevist Rally” according to the *New York Times*.³⁰⁵ The soldiers explicitly stated that they came to the meeting to oppose Bolshevism and attack Bolsheviks. While police confronted the crowd of soldiers and sailors for three hours and tried to hold them back, the men eventually broke through the line of police and beat the attendees as they exited the meeting. One of the people attacked was a bystander who had no connection to the socialists.³⁰⁶ Following this night of rioting, city officials took two steps of action. To discourage soldiers and sailors from

³⁰³ “Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in Garden,” *New York Times*, November 26, 1918; “Men in Service Not Sorry They Beat Up ‘Reds,’” *Ithaca Journal*, November 26, 1918; “Incensed Troops Attack Socialists,” *Buffalo Commercial*, November 26, 1918.

³⁰⁴ *Buffalo Labor Journal*, November 28, 1918.

³⁰⁵ “Soldiers and Sailors Again Rush Meeting of Socialists,” *New York Tribune* (New York City, New York), November 27, 1918; “Soldiers Riot at Bolshevist Rally,” *New York Times*, November 27, 1918.

³⁰⁶ “Soldiers and Sailors Again Rush Meeting of Socialists,” *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1918; “Soldiers Riot at Bolshevist Rally,” *New York Times*, November 27, 1918.

attacking socialists, the police commissioner threatened to turn machine guns on the next group of military rioters.³⁰⁷ Moreover, the Board of Aldermen altered the ban on red flags to include black flags, banners, and signs that symbolized opposition to “organized government,” and made violating the ban punishable with a hundred-dollar fine and up to ten days in jail.³⁰⁸ Thus, the battle between Americanism and the suspected Bolshevik agents in New York City for the time being came to a close. While the city directed the soldiers and sailors to stop rioting, the men in uniform had won, as the city further encroached on the right of assembly of socialists than it had done previously.

Given the events of late 1917 and 1918, 1919 did not mark the beginning of American fears of Bolshevism, but rather came as a continuation of red hysteria. As early as the October Revolution, Americans became paranoid and anxious that the same event could happen on American soil. Meanwhile, American politicians and media outlets expressed suspicions of groups they believed to be supporters of the Bolshevik Party such as the Socialist Party and the IWW, without making distinctions among these groups. Throughout this period, the American press ran sensational stories about these organizations, while American leaders greatly exaggerated and emphasized the danger of the American Bolsheviks lurking in their midst. These two groups helped shape American perceptions of Bolshevism, and increasingly created anxious, hateful, and hysteric feelings towards anything or anyone representative of the Bolsheviks or even leftist radical groups in American society. Furthermore, neither the press nor the government made attempts to educate the American public about the differences among Bolsheviks,

³⁰⁷ “Police Ready to Stop Riots with Bullets,” *New York Tribune*, November 28, 1918.

³⁰⁸ “Red Flag is Barred from City in Bill Passed by Aldermen,” *New York Tribune*, November 28, 1918.

socialists, IWW members, and anarchists. This lack of differentiation among these groups made the American Bolsheviki seem larger and helped set the tone of American understandings of Communism for decades to come.

Chapter 4: The First Red Scare Continued, 1919 and 1920

As the past two chapters demonstrated, Americans started to perceive Bolshevism as a domestic threat as early as November 1917 and continued to see the Bolsheviks as a menace to American society throughout 1918. During this period, hysteria surrounding the possibility of a Bolshevik coup of the United States government became prevalent in America, and Americans began to view groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World, Socialist Party, and anarchists, among others; as Bolshevik supporters willing and capable of infiltrating labor and building networks of radicals. Moreover, in July 1918, the US sent troops to participate in an Allied intervention in Russia, causing Americans to act against Bolsheviks as a wartime enemy. Given these events, 1919 did not mark the beginning of the First Red Scare, but rather came as a culmination of precedents against Bolshevism that had already been set in American society in the past year. However, while 1919 did not mark the start of the First Red Scare, American fear of Bolshevism did intensify throughout the country, as labor strikes became more prevalent, radicals carried out bombings, and government persecution of radicals increased. Additionally, stories concerning the intervention of US and Allied troops in Russia persisted in American newspapers during 1919 and 1920. Press coverage of the intervention should be considered another factor of the First Red Scare because it led Americans to view the Bolsheviks as enemies both at home and abroad.

To better understand the events of 1919, however, it is necessary to look back to the Progressive Era of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries when an organized labor movement took place aiming to accomplish better conditions for American workers.³⁰⁹ The American Federation of Labor became an important group during this time, led by its president, Samuel Gompers. By 1897, the group held two-million workers from over one-hundred unions in its ranks.³¹⁰ The AFL and groups like it often chose to either work within the economic system or utilize strikes to achieve their goals. Ultimately, this culminated in legislation which achieved better benefits for unions and workers, such as expanding the right to strike and regulated work days and pay.³¹¹ However, the Progressive Era came to a close with America's involvement in World War I.³¹² In attempts to keep war production flowing smoothly, labor made an agreement with the US government to halt labor strikes.³¹³ In turn, the government decided to cooperate with non-radical unions in an effort to preserve workers' rights and living standards achieved during the Progressive Era, and even went as far as to enter a partnership with the AFL so that the labor organization could help establish these conditions during the war. Gompers saw this new partnership as an avenue to gain further benefits for labor, and the AFL and the US government cooperated well throughout the war.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ Lewis L. Gould, *The Progressive Era* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974), 1-3.

³¹⁰ Catherine Cocks, Peter C. Holloran, Alan Lessloffm, *The A to Z of the Progressive Era* (Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009), 13.

³¹¹ Cocks, *The A to Z of the Progressive*, 83, 131, 386; Gould, *The Progressive Era*, 1-3.

³¹² Gould, *The Progressive Era*, 1; Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1979), 18

³¹³ Julian F. Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism: New York During the Red Scare, 1914-1924* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1972), 4.

³¹⁴ Hawley, *The Great War*, 24; William M. Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America* (New York: Kennikat Press, 1972), 137

However, the AFL and the government's wartime relationship came to a close as the war ended, resulting in the loss of government support for workers.³¹⁵ Furthermore, inflation swept through the country and lowered the purchasing power of the dollar, making it difficult for the average worker to afford the necessities of life.³¹⁶ This problem intensified even more with the demobilization of America's total war economy, as the 9,000,000 war-industry workers and the 4,000,000 armed servicemen began to face unemployment.³¹⁷ This economic unrest led to unions calling for better wages and hours for workers and reignited a drive for reforms like those of the Progressive Era. Instead, labor met a strong anti-union sentiment from industrialists and employers across the country who decided to stand against collective bargaining, which led to an estimated 3,600 organized labor strikes throughout 1919 alone.³¹⁸ During late 1917 and 1918, Americans already began to fear that labor might become a vehicle for the Bolsheviks to carry out a Marxist revolution in the US. The presence of radical labor groups that Americans already viewed as Bolshevik supporters, such as the IWW and the Socialist Party, in the strikes of 1919 only affirmed to Americans that labor had been infiltrated by Bolshevik radicalism. With these circumstances in play, the hysteric reactions to Bolshevism that had emerged in American society over the year prior intensified.

Of the thousands of strikes in 1919, Seattle saw one of the earliest.³¹⁹ On January 21, 1919, over 35,000 shipyard workers went on strike to advocate for higher wages and

³¹⁵ Hawley, *The Great War*, 45-46.

³¹⁶ Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 3.

³¹⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 5.

³¹⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 8-9; Hawley, *The Great War*, 48; Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 3; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 18-19.

³¹⁹ Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 3; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 18-19.

shorter work days.³²⁰ The Seattle Central Labor Council, a non-radical representative of organized labor within the region, attempted to assist the shipyard employees by organizing a general strike for February 6 and calling for all of Seattle's organized laborers to go on strike. If successful, the general strike held the potential to shut the entire city down for its duration. When hearing of these plans, the American press over-exaggerated the council's aim, making it seem like the first step to a Red revolution.³²¹ Days before the strike, the *Oregon Journal* declared that radicals controlled the organized labor movement in Seattle, claiming that a poison of Bolshevik "illusions and frenzy" manifested within the city's workers.³²² The *Seattle Star* begged workers to avoid use of the general strike because "this is America, not Russia."³²³ Newspapers such as these predicted the worst for the city. As planned, the general strike in Seattle commenced on February 6, with over 60,000 laborers protesting; only 3,500 of whom held membership with the IWW.³²⁴ The strike also remained non-violent, but still the media portrayed the event as an attack from the Bolsheviks with such headlines as "Reds Directing Seattle Strike-To Test Chance for Revolution" and "Belief Grows That Strike is Start of Bolshevik Revolt."³²⁵ Pennsylvania's *Warren Times Mirror* told its readers of the paralysis of Seattle, caused no doubt by the Bolsheviks using the city as the starting point of a revolution in America.³²⁶ Feeling threatened by the idea of a Bolshevik takeover, Seattle's Mayor, Ole Hanson, swore in an extra 1,000 police officers and personally led 800 federal troops into the city

³²⁰ Murray, *Red Scare*, 58-59.

³²¹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 58-61.

³²² *Oregon Daily Journal*, February 5, 1919.

³²³ *Seattle Star*, February 4, 1919.

³²⁴ Murray, *Red Scare*, 61.

³²⁵ Murray, *Red Scare*, 61; *Albany Daily Democrat*, February 7, 1919; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 19; *Warren Times Mirror*, February 7, 1919.

³²⁶ *Warren Times Mirror*, February 7, 1919.

in his American flag-draped car.³²⁷ He gave the order to these men to kill on sight anyone attempting to break the law or start a riot.³²⁸ Hanson's summoning of police and troops to end a suspected Bolshevik resembled the tactic used on November 24, 1918 by Minnesota Governor Joseph A. A. Burnquist, who mobilized police and National Guard soldiers to suppress a gathering of socialists in Minneapolis.³²⁹

The commotion of the media and Mayor Hanson's action promoted the public's hostility to the strike. Fearing that this hostility could harm aspirations of organized labor across the nation, the AFL called for the demonstration to conclude. The AFL's pressure ended the strike on February 10, but Mayor Hanson took its closing to be a result of his summoning extra forces.³³⁰ He believed he stopped the revolution and prevented a duplication of Petrograd from happening in Seattle.³³¹ The press obliged him, producing headlines such as "Mayor Hits Bolsheviki of Seattle" and "Seattle's Mayor a Champion of Order."³³² Becoming a national hero, Hanson left Seattle the day after the strike subsided to go on a cross-country speaking tour to "warn the nation of the Bolshevik threat."³³³ Also, he authored a book titled *Americanism versus Bolshevism*, in which he told of his experience of putting down the Bolsheviks in Seattle and the differences between

³²⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 63; *New York Times*, February 7, 1919; *Oregon Daily Journal*, February 8, 1919.

³²⁸ Ole Hanson, *Americanism versus Bolshevism* (New York: Double Day, Page, and Co., 1920), 91, Accessed April 7, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/americanismversu00hansuoft>.

³²⁹ "Crowd Halts Tiny Parade of Socialists," *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918; "The Proscribed Socialist Rally," *Star Tribune*, November 25, 1918.

³³⁰ Murray, *Red Scare*, 63-65.

³³¹ Hanson, *Americanism versus Bolshevism*, 92; *Oregon Daily Journal*, February 8, 1919.

³³² *Oregon Daily Journal*, February 8, 1919; *New York Times*, February 9, 1919.

³³³ Ann Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear in America: 1919* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 88.

Americanism and Bolshevism, only further fueling confusion and anxiety across the country.³³⁴

Around the time of the events in Seattle, the federal government prepared to further investigate the threat of Bolshevism. On February 4, a senatorial sub-committee, known as the Overman Committee, purposed to investigate pro-German propaganda during World War I, found itself repurposed for “an investigation of Bolshevism and all other anti-American radicalism in the United States” and to “inquire concerning any party exercising or claiming to exercise authority in Russia.”³³⁵ The committee’s switch of focus from Germany to Russia showed that the US now considered Bolshevism to be America’s largest threat. The investigation began February 11, and the sub-committee heard testimonies of Americans who had traveled to Russia and witnessed Bolshevism first-hand.³³⁶ The *New York Times* reported one man told Senators about “mass terror by Bolsheviki,” and the “Reds’ hatred of Americans.”³³⁷ Out of two dozen testimonies heard over the following month, a third expressed anti-Bolshevik sentiment.³³⁸ As the Overman Committee’s investigation ended on March 10, it expressed several findings. It first claimed the Socialist Party of America, IWW, and Bolsheviks to be working together to stage a revolution in America, as evidenced by all three groups’ history of using a red flag, thus putting the country at risk. Also, the committee members felt union members and labor organizers to be most vulnerable to Bolshevik propaganda, with up to 8,000 unions potentially being

³³⁴ Hanson, *Americanism versus Bolshevism*, 84-96, 281-299.

³³⁵ *New York Times*, February 4, 1919; *Bolshevik Propaganda: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*, S. Res. 439 and 469, 65th Cong., 3rd sess., February 11, 1919, to March 10, 1919

³³⁶ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 88.

³³⁷ *New York Times*, February 11, 1919.

³³⁸ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 147.

influenced.³³⁹ The committee suggested that to fix this, the country needed new laws restricting the activities of aliens and radicals, more censorship, and a continued military presence in Russia.³⁴⁰ As the *New York Times* reported the committee's findings with "extremists here plan[ning] a revolt to seize power," the Overman Committee helped further hysteria throughout America by giving Congressional validation to fears that developed throughout 1917 and 1918 that Bolsheviks would attempt to use American workers to overthrow the government.³⁴¹

Meanwhile, throughout the early months of 1919, the press published stories about American troops in Russia and the Allied Intervention. Often, news articles covered combat between American and Bolshevik forces. On January 1, the *Los Angeles Times* printed a story about an American patrol of seventeen men being led on a mission by a Serbian in North Russia to raid Bolshevik outposts. According to the report, the Americans exchanged gunfire with Red Army machine gunners, killing seven Red soldiers, while the Americans took no casualties.³⁴² Another article told of how soldiers from Michigan and Wisconsin managed to capture a dozen villages from Bolshevik control.³⁴³ The *Wichita Beacon* reported news of combat between Bolshevik and American forces. In separate instances, Red Army troops shelled American troops at both Ust Padenga and the Vologda railway. The same article included information on an American plane bombing key Bolshevik positions.³⁴⁴ Some papers covered stories from the perspectives of individual

³³⁹ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 147-148.

³⁴⁰ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 149; *New York Times*, March 11, 1919.

³⁴¹ *New York Times*, March 11, 1919; "Anarchists Plot Against America," *New York Times*, May 15, 1918; "Social and Industrial Revolution," *Santa Ana Register*, March 23, 1918.

³⁴² *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1919.

³⁴³ *Fulton County Tribune*, January 10, 1919.

³⁴⁴ *Wichita Beacon*, January 23, 1919.

American soldiers. One newspaper featured a report from Colonel George F. Steward, a commanding officer of American soldiers in north Russia, who claimed that the American troops stationed in Russia were holding strong “against the whole of the Bolshevik army.”³⁴⁵ In another story, the *El Paso Herald* published a piece about Roy Mitchell, the only Texan serving with the American forces in Archangel. According to Mitchell, the US soldiers endured numerous “hardships while engaged in holding back the Bolshevik forces.”³⁴⁶ Overall, news about Bolshevik and US forces fighting certainly aided in Americans perceiving the Bolsheviks as not only terrorists and spies, but also as military enemies.

Some articles portrayed Allied troops as a saving force that would liberate Russia from the disorder of the Bolsheviks. The *Grand Forks Herald* of North Dakota ran an article titled “Withdrawal of Troops in Russia would be Calamity Says Dunham.” In the article, Canadian Captain W.E. Dunham claimed that Bolshevik rule had brought “complete chaos” throughout Siberia, but that Allied troops had restored “order” and “safety” in “life, property and travel.”³⁴⁷ As the headline of the story read, Dunham also believed that Allied troops were the only force keeping Bolshevism from overrunning Siberia, and that to withdraw those soldiers would be a grave mistake.³⁴⁸ The *Daily Times* printed a picture entitled “U.S. Guards Feed ‘Red’ Prisoners.”³⁴⁹ In the picture, an American soldier at Archangel served food to Bolshevik soldiers taken prisoner by the Allied forces. Underneath the image, a caption read “The Bolsheviks, fighting against the

³⁴⁵ *St. Helens Mist*, March 14, 1919.

³⁴⁶ *El Paso Herald*, March 17, 1919.

³⁴⁷ *Grand Forks Herald*, March 13, 1919.

³⁴⁸ *Grand Forks Herald*, March 13, 1919.

³⁴⁹ “U.S. Guards Feed ‘Red’ Prisoners,” *Daily Times*, March 15, 1919.

U.S. troops and every other agency representing law and order in Russia, are glad to accept wholesome food when taken prisoner by allied troops.”³⁵⁰ Articles like those published in the *Grand Forks Herald* and the *Daily Times* presented Allied and American troops as defenders of stability to American readers, while also describing Bolsheviks as bringers of lawlessness and disorder. In short, these stories portrayed Bolshevism as the total opposite of the Americanism.

On April 12, it seemed that the Bolshevik propaganda Americans feared at home infected the ranks of American soldiers stationed in Russia, troops in Archangel mutinied and refused to the frontlines. American officials blamed Bolshevik leaflets discovered among the soldiers for the mutiny, and the press carried news of this event. A headline in the *Concord Daily Tribune* read “Bolsheviki Fooled Yanks into Mutiny.”³⁵¹ Other newspapers carried a variation of the same story with headlines reading “Blames Mutiny on Bolsheviki,” “Red Propaganda Cause of Mutiny in Archangel,” and “Shows Bol Propaganda was Cause of Mutiny Among the U.S. Troops.”³⁵² Each of the articles also blamed the source of the leaflets on one person among the soldiers, saying that most of the troops would change their behavior and perspective on their mutinous actions once they discovered how Americans back home disapproved of their Bolshevik-influenced actions.³⁵³ The *New York Tribune* offered a different perspective in its coverage, however. Instead of blaming Bolshevik propaganda for the mutiny, the paper said that the troops disobeyed orders because they felt “the war with Germany was over and that the United

³⁵⁰ “U.S. Guards Feed ‘Red’ Prisoners,” *Daily Times*, March 15, 1919.

³⁵¹ *Concord Daily Tribune*, April 15, 1919.

³⁵² *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1919; *Hartford Courant*, April 13, 1919; *Star Press*, April 13, 1919.

³⁵³ *Los Angeles Times*, April 13, 1919; *Hartford Courant*, April 13, 1919; *Star Press*, April 13, 1919.

States was not at war with the Bolsheviki.”³⁵⁴ In answering whether the US and the Bolsheviks were at war, the *New York Tribune* claimed that although the US disapproved of Bolshevism and felt that their leaders were “monsters,” the paper did not know if anyone could say accurately that the US was at war with the Bolsheviki.³⁵⁵ According to the paper, there was little evidence the US was at war with the Bolsheviki morally, politically, or economically. Overall, the paper sympathized with the troops and stated the US government sent them to Russia “with no rational purpose in view.”³⁵⁶ While the *New York Tribune* article shows that the press held differing perspectives on the causes of the mutiny, the claim that Bolsheviki propaganda inspired the insubordination of US soldiers in Russia held strong in newspapers throughout the country. These articles show that fear emerged that the Bolsheviks conspired to not only use Americans for revolt, but also American soldiers overseas.

On the home front, violent actions on April 28 seemed to confirm suspicions of a radical uprising, as an explosive package arrived at Mayor Hanson’s house. The bomb did not explode though, because Hanson did not open the package. On April 29, however, a bomb sent to Senator Thomas Hardwick’s home in Atlanta, Georgia detonated, maiming Hardwick’s maid.³⁵⁷ Over the next few days, mail employees discovered thirty-four more explosive packages addressed to targets such as Senator Lee Overman, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, J.P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller. Worse, no suspects could be found.³⁵⁸ The American press jumped to conclusions. The *New York Times* pinned the

³⁵⁴ *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1919.

³⁵⁵ *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1919.

³⁵⁶ *New York Tribune*, April 12, 1919.

³⁵⁷ Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 22.

³⁵⁸ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 184-185.

bombings on Bolsheviks, anarchists, and IWW members.³⁵⁹ Additionally, the *Harrisburg Telegraph* ran the headline “Trying to Track Reds Responsible for Bomb Plots,” and claimed the failed assassinations meant to spark a nationwide revolution on May Day, a holiday celebrated by labor organizations.³⁶⁰ Some doubted the media, questioning how a progressive and labor supporter like Senator Hardwick fit into the “radical” inspired assassination plot, and yet higher priority targets were left out.³⁶¹ Despite the confusion, radical labor groups celebrating May Day felt the wrath of society following the April bomb plot.

May Day, an American labor holiday observed by workers across the nation since 1890, drew out “socialists, anarchists, labor leaders, and union workers” to participate in parades and other festivities.³⁶² As American radical groups paraded under red flags on May 1, 1919, riots broke out in major cities across the nation; as both police and civilians used force against the participants.³⁶³ A group of socialists in Boston found themselves in trouble for holding a red flag parade without a permit. When confronted by police, the group refused to stop, which led to a conflict that left four participants wounded and one police officer killed, as well as a mob attack on the Boston socialist headquarters.³⁶⁴ In New York City, police and soldiers beat socialist participants with clubs, arrested them, and forced them to sing the National Anthem. These men also confiscated a number of pamphlets and literature from the Russian Workers’ House in the city.³⁶⁵ Newspapers in

³⁵⁹ *New York Times*, May 2, 1919.

³⁶⁰ *Harrisburg Telegraph*, May 2, 1919.

³⁶¹ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 185.

³⁶² Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 185.

³⁶³ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 185-186; Murray, *Red Scare*, 74.

³⁶⁴ Murray, *Red Scare*, 74; *Fitchburg Sentinel*, May 2, 1919.

³⁶⁵ *New York Times*, May 2, 1919.

Chicago reported that a combination of rain and police stopped socialists from succeeding in a Red revolution.³⁶⁶ Cleveland saw the worst of the day's events, as soldiers and police used guns, clubs, and tanks to stop red flag parades from occurring in the city. Police arrested over 100 people in Cleveland, and gunfire injured several victims.³⁶⁷ Police and vigilantes wrecked the socialist headquarters in Cleveland as well.³⁶⁸ The precedent for using mob violence against leftists for their supposed connections to Bolshevism had already been set in November 1918, when soldiers and sailors stationed in New York City attacked socialists at socialist meetings. During these episodes, police had attempted to protect the socialists from the large crowds of troops.³⁶⁹ However, the violence leftists endured in 1919 developed as an escalation in American society's fear of Bolshevism as police attacked leftist demonstrators and civilians participated in these acts of violence as well. Additionally, violence against participants marked the first-time that suppression of leftists occurred simultaneously in numerous cities across the US. While fear of and opposition to suspected Bolshevik supporters had existed in America since November 1917, anti-Bolshevism reached a new level in May 1919.³⁷⁰

On June 2, fear of Bolsheviks became further reinforced as bombs exploded in eight cities.³⁷¹ While all caused terror, the bombing of Attorney General Palmer's house in Washington D.C. became the most significant. The bomb exploded in the middle of the night, strangely killing the bomber and leaving the Palmer family unscathed. However, the

³⁶⁶ *Decatur Herald*, May 2, 1919.

³⁶⁷ *Lima News*, May 1, 1919.

³⁶⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 74-76.

³⁶⁹ "Soldiers in Khaki Storm Socialist Meeting in the Garden," *New York Times*, November 26, 1918; "Soldiers and Sailors Again Rush Meeting of Socialists," *New York Tribune*, November 27, 1918.

³⁷⁰ Murray, *Red Scare*, 74-76.

³⁷¹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 78.

explosion destroyed Palmer's house, leaving debris, human remains, and "Red literature" all over the lawn.³⁷² These flyers, which called for class warfare, were signed "the Anarchist Fighters."³⁷³ While this seemed to be a revolutionary act, all evidence pointed to the bomber being Luigi Calisieri, a member of Luigi Galleani's anarchist group, the Galleanists, a group with only held 50 to 60 members, not nearly enough to overthrow the government. Calisieri more than likely carried out this bombing out retaliation for the deportation of Galleani scheduled later in the month.³⁷⁴ Still, newspapers across the country blamed the bombing on the Bolsheviks and anyone under the "red banner" such as IWW members, German sympathizers, and anarchists.³⁷⁵ Palmer agreed.³⁷⁶ Around this time, propaganda posters and political cartoons consistently portrayed radicals as anarchists and foreign extremists with unkempt hair, who carried bombs and red flags in their unwitting and failing attempts to defeat America.³⁷⁷ Cartoons likewise depicted leftists as dangerous and disheveled revolutionaries as early as January 1918, and the anti-Bolshevik drawings of 1919 continued to show leftists as opposers of Americanism.

On June 11, David Francis, the former American ambassador to Russia, spoke gravely of the situation in Russia in a speech he gave in Rye Beach, New Hampshire. Francis claimed that Russia, under the unstable government of the Bolsheviks, could potentially fall victim to Germany and German influence. If this happened, Francis feared

³⁷² *Washington Post*, June 3, 1919.

³⁷³ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 221.

³⁷⁴ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 224.

³⁷⁵ *New York Times*, June 8, 1919; *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1919; *Times*, June 3, 1919; *Washington Post*, June 3, 1919; *New York Herald*, June 4, 1919.

³⁷⁶ *New York Times*, June 8, 1919; Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 22-23.

³⁷⁷ "The Bomb-erang", *Literary Digest*, May 5, 1919; "The Patriotic American," *Literary Digest*, June 28, 1919, *Red Scare (1918-1921)*, image database ed. Leo Robert Klien, Baruch College, accessed April 12, 2018, http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/library/alumni/online_exhibits/digital/redscare/HTMLCODE/CHRON/C1_12.HTM.

that Germany would use Russia's significant resources to become powerful enough to once again terrorize Europe.³⁷⁸ Newspapers throughout the US carried his speech, causing events in Russia to continue to fuel the hysteria of the First Red Scare at home. The *Muskogee Times-Democrat* published Francis' speech under the headline "Francis Warns of Hun Designs if Reds are not Quieted Soon: Germany Will Mobilize Immense Man Power and Use Helpless Nation for Own Ends if Bolsheviki are not Defeated."³⁷⁹ Other papers ran headlines such as "Francis Warns of Peril from Russia," "Ambassador Francis Believes Germany may be Menace in Russia," and "If Russia Falls Prey to Germany, Danger may be Great."³⁸⁰ Francis' speech and the news coverage of it show that panic over the Bolsheviks still could be traced to World War I and the initial fear that the Bolsheviks were German agents.

Persecution of leftists continued in June when the Lusk Committee, a group created by the New York State Legislature in early 1919 to investigate seditious acts and prevent a Bolshevik revolution, decided to start its investigations one month earlier than planned.³⁸¹ Led by Senator Clayton R. Lusk, the committee sent police on June 12 to raid New York City's Russian-Soviet Bureau, an entity the committee feared aimed to incite a revolution.³⁸² Police arrested everyone who worked there and confiscated all forms of literature within the building.³⁸³ Using this material, the committee claimed they possessed evidence that Bolsheviks and other radical groups were plotting revolutionary acts.³⁸⁴ On

³⁷⁸ *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, June 11, 1919.

³⁷⁹ *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, June 11, 1919.

³⁸⁰ *St. Louis Dispatch*, June 11, 1919; *Montpelier Evening Argus*, June 12, 1919; *News-Press*, June 11, 1919.

³⁸¹ Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 119, 122-123; Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 152.

³⁸² Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 186, 231; Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 119, 123-124.

³⁸³ Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 124.

³⁸⁴ *New York Times*, June 20, 1919.

June 21, the committee led raids on the city's IWW Headquarters, the Left Wing Socialist Headquarters, and the Rand School of Social Science, a socialist college. Only the raid on the Rand School provided substantial evidence; papers which the committee claimed linked the school to the Russian Soviet Bureau in a plot for revolution.³⁸⁵ According to the *Evening World*, the committee found books authored by Lenin at the Rand School, leading to the committee to question whether people should be free to circulate what it deemed violent propaganda.³⁸⁶ The committee also claimed these organizations planned to radicalize "negroes" to help overthrow the government, and the committee opened a case to have the Rand School's charter removed.³⁸⁷ Overall, the Lusk Committee's actions continued a practice of using police raids and seizure of leftist documents as methods of suppressing suspected Bolshevik revolutionaries, which had begun as early as May 1918 when police arrested Russian anarchists and confiscated thousands of copies of their monthly periodical. In comparison though, the Lusk Committee used raids to more extensively investigate leftists by targeting multiple groups and places at once.³⁸⁸ Yet, the Lusk Committee did not prove ultimately successful. By late July, it became clear that the committee did not actually possess evidence to back up its claims against the Rand School and the court declined to go through with proceedings against the institution.³⁸⁹

Throughout the summer of 1919, press coverage of the Allied intervention continually reminded Americans of the US soldiers stationed in Russia. In early June, the US government withdrew the 1,600 American soldiers of the 339th infantry from the

³⁸⁵ Murray, *Red Scare*, 100-101; *New York Tribune*, June 22, 1919; *New York Tribune*, June 27, 1919; *Evening World*, June 26, 1919.

³⁸⁶ *Evening World*, June 26, 1919.

³⁸⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 102; *New York Times*, June 28, 1919; *Emancipator*, July 26, 1919.

³⁸⁸ "Anarchists Plot Against America," *New York Times*, May 15, 1918.

³⁸⁹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 102; *New York Times*, June 28, 1919.

Russian front to bring them home.³⁹⁰ When they returned, Detroit hosted the soldiers as guests and on July 4, held a parade for them.³⁹¹ With thousands in attendance, the 339th infantry were treated as heroes for their service. The *Detroit Free Press* ran a headline that said “339th Attacked, Missiles are Flowers, Enemy, Pretty Girls” in describing a scene in which Red Cross Canteen workers “showered” the soldiers with flowers as they welcomed them into the city.³⁹² Moreover, in the days leading up to the parade, the *Detroit Free Press* published stories about the bravery and valor of the 339th in their struggle against the Bolsheviks.³⁹³ Additionally, the press carried stories of the soldiers denying that Bolshevik propaganda tempted them to mutiny earlier in the year. The *Detroit Free Press* said an officer claimed it was “ridiculous even to suggest that Bolshevik propaganda” influenced US troops, while the *Union County Journal* of Marysville, Ohio quoted Major J. Brooks Nichols saying that “the men of the 339th are the best disciplined and most courageous of any outfit.”³⁹⁴ Overall, the return of the soldiers from the 339th infantry demonstrated that the American people viewed the soldiers serving in Russia as heroes, and the press depicted these troops as fighters against the Bolshevik menace.

Furthermore, after a skirmish between Bolshevik and American forces on June 25 at Romanovka, stories about the battle appeared in newspapers around the US. According to accounts, a group of 300 Bolsheviks ambushed the camp of Company A, 31st Infantry, which held 74 US troops purposed to guard the railways to Vladivostok. Early in the morning, while the Americans slept in their tents, the Red Army soldiers fired on them,

³⁹⁰ *Brainard Daily Dispatch*, June 5, 1919; *Taylor Daily Press*, June 7, 1919.

³⁹¹ *New York Herald*, July 5, 1919.

³⁹² *Detroit Free Press*, July 5, 1919.

³⁹³ *Detroit Free Press*, July 1, 1919.

³⁹⁴ *Detroit Free Press*, July 1, 1919; *Union County Journal*, July 4, 1919; *Charleston Daily Mail*, July 3, 1919.

killing 19 US soldiers and injuring 27. Following the initial attack, American and Bolshevik forces engaged in a 3-hour battle, while the Americans awaited reinforcements. The papers likened the battle to that of the era of American westward expansion, saying that “for three hours, Americans fought as in an Indian battle of the frontier days.”³⁹⁵ Some papers even developed headlines based on this comparison. The *Cincinnati Enquirer* wrote “Indian Methods are Used by Bolsheviki during Attack on Yank Camp in Russia,” and inversely the *San Francisco Examiner* claimed “Yanks Fight Like Indians Against ‘Red Army’ in Siberia.”³⁹⁶

The articles did not end with the battle though, but also described a Bolshevik ambush that occurred the following day. According to the press, this time the US soldiers were prepared for the attack, with the Americans enduring two casualties, while the Bolsheviks lost 25 soldiers.³⁹⁷ Some newspapers ran the story of the two-day battle under headlines that depicted the Americans as the victors. The *Journal Gazette* from Mattoon, Illinois claimed “U.S. Men Hurl Back Red Attack,” while the *New York Tribune* wrote “Americans in Russia Avenge Reds’ Victory.”³⁹⁸ Some of the articles described the feelings of American soldiers after the conflict, writing that these troops felt intense hatred for the Bolsheviks and wanted to further avenge the Americans killed by them.³⁹⁹ The news coverage of the fighting in Romanovka showed readers in the US that American and Bolshevik forces were not neutral in their interactions, but fought as enemies. News articles

³⁹⁵ *Indianapolis News*, July 12, 1919; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 12, 1919; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 12, 1919; *Journal Gazette*, July 12, 1919; *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1919.

³⁹⁶ *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 12, 1919; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 12, 1919.

³⁹⁷ *Indianapolis News*, July 12, 1919; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 12, 1919; *San Francisco Examiner*, July 12, 1919; *Journal Gazette*, July 12, 1919; *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1919.

³⁹⁸ *Journal Gazette*, July 12, 1919; *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1919.

³⁹⁹ *Indianapolis News*, July 12, 1919; *Cincinnati Enquirer*, July 12, 1919; *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1919.

like these helps re-contextualize the First Red Scare as not only a hysteric reaction to the idea of Bolshevik revolution in the US, but also as a fear of a wartime enemy.

The antics of the First Red Scare continued in late August and early September, when Communist parties formed for the first time in America. The Communist Labor party formed, containing 10,000 predominantly English-speaking members who pledged to “the organization of workers as a class, the overthrow of the capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers.”⁴⁰⁰ Also, over 60,000 members formed the Communist Party of America, a group of primarily foreigners, who stated in their manifesto: “The Communist Party shall keep in the foreground its consistent appeal for proletarian revolution, the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”⁴⁰¹ The creation of these parties drained both membership in the Socialist Party and the IWW, taking approximately 60,000 socialists and 2,000 IWW members. While this did prove support for Communism existed among both these groups, it also showed these groups maintained their identities; the Socialist Party continued to work legally through the existing political system to achieve its goals, while the IWW never fully committed itself to Communism.⁴⁰² This went against the notion that these organizations together plotted a Bolshevik takeover. Furthermore, the membership of both communist parties only reached 70,000 in 1919, which “represented less than one tenth of one percent of the adult

⁴⁰⁰ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 346-347.

⁴⁰¹ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 347; Murray, *The Red Scare*, 51; United States Department of Justice, *Red Radicalism as Described by Its Own Leaders, Exhibits Collected by A. Mitchell Palmer, Including Various Communist Manifestos, Constitutions, Plans, and Purposes of the Proletariat Revolution, and Its Seditious Propaganda* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 40, accessed April 16, 2015.

<https://archive.org/details/RedRadicalismAsDescribedByItsOwnLeadersExhibitsCollectedByA>.

⁴⁰² Murray, *Red Scare*, 51-53, *New York Times*, September 4, 1919.

population of the country.”⁴⁰³ Clearly, these two parties did not come close to possessing the power to stage a coup.

Even though the two American communist parties made up an insignificant amount of the American population, hysteria only worsened in the country throughout the rest of September as labor strikes raged on. In Boston, the police force wanted better pay, hours, and working conditions and to unionize under the AFL (The AFL had just recently denounced Communism and refused recognition of Soviet Russia at its annual convention in June).⁴⁰⁴ However, the police met considerable opposition from both the city’s police commissioner and people, with some taking an anti-union stance, while others feared the police becoming puppets of radicals.⁴⁰⁵ Due to this, the police in Boston went on strike on September 9, and a Massachusetts newspaper claimed that “the city was abandoned virtually to the hoodlum and criminal” in a “night of terror” and “anarchy.”⁴⁰⁶ Looting occurred throughout the night, which did not bode well for public opinion of the strike or the police. As chaos ensued, Governor Calvin Coolidge and Mayor Andrew J. Peters summoned the volunteer police force and 5,000 State Guard troops to aid what little of the police force remained on the job to keep peace in the city.⁴⁰⁷ Riots occurred, resulting in the deaths of three people and a great amount of disorder erupting within Boston.⁴⁰⁸ In relation to the police strikes, Montana Senator Henry L. Meyers claimed “the nation will see a Soviet Government set up within two years’ time.”⁴⁰⁹ Many across the nation felt that

⁴⁰³ Murray, *Red Scare*, 53.

⁴⁰⁴ Murray, *Red Scare*, 123, 109.

⁴⁰⁵ Murray, *Red Scare*, 109.

⁴⁰⁶ *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 10, 1919.

⁴⁰⁷ Murray, *Red Scare*, 126-127.

⁴⁰⁸ *Fitchburg Sentinel*, September 11, 1919; *North Adams Transcript*, September 11, 1919.

⁴⁰⁹ *New York Times*, September 12, 1919.

Bolshevik influence instigated the strike, and the police on strike became known as “deserters.”⁴¹⁰ With the walk out continuing, Samuel Gompers urged the strikers to halt their activities and to see if mediation between the AFL and Massachusetts government could solve the problem. Gompers asked both the Governor and the Mayor to allow the strikers back to their jobs, but on September 13, they made the decision to fire all striking police officers and instead to recruit a new police force. Coolidge claimed “there is no right to strike against the public safety of anybody, anywhere, anytime,” ultimately bringing an end to the strike and earning himself national attention as a champion of order.⁴¹¹ Like in Seattle, organized labor failed yet again and continued to be accused of bolshevist affiliation.

Demonstrations persisted throughout the month of September, when another significant strike occurred in the steel industry. In July 1919, the AFL wanted Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, to re-negotiate the rights of steel workers to include collective bargaining, regulated work hours, better wages, and days off.⁴¹² Gary refused, and on September 22, over 275,000 steel workers went on strike nationwide, and the number rose to 365,000 just four days later.⁴¹³ Yet again, the American press connected these strikers’ efforts to Bolshevism. The *New York Times* claimed that it came as a shock that “organized labor was prepared to accept such a radical brand of state socialism,” and a clergyman wrote in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* that “the American Federation of Labor, however, seems to have fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviki and

⁴¹⁰ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 352; *North Adams Transcript*, September 12, 1919.

⁴¹¹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 130-133.

⁴¹² Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 348-349.

⁴¹³ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 350-352.

the Reds.”⁴¹⁴ Also, a propaganda cartoon depicted a giant arm waving a red flag over a steel mill, with the words “steel strike” displayed.⁴¹⁵ On October 4, violent rioting broke out in Gary, Indiana, where steel companies attempted to use African American strikebreakers to try to stop a strike. This led to a conflict between the strikers and strikebreakers, and Governor James P. Goodrich ordered state militia to help end the chaos.⁴¹⁶ Then, a bomb plot was discovered in Gary, and the press declared that the Bolshevik radicals in the country planned to use organized labor as a vehicle to overthrow the US government. Allegations emerged that those taken into custody for the bomb plot happened to be the makers of the bombs connected to both the April and June incidents, and, unfortunately, for the steel workers, authorities confiscated Communist party “hand bills” from these alleged plotters.⁴¹⁷ Steel workers denied association with this incident, but it was too late, as the strike became even more highly criticized. The movement lasted another two months, but the workers gained nothing in the process.⁴¹⁸

Within a month following this strike, Attorney General Palmer began raids to rid America of suspected radicals. He had prepared for an attack against them since June after the bombing of his home, when he asked for and received \$500,000 from Congress in order for the Justice Department to apprehend “those who sought to destroy law and order.”⁴¹⁹ Then, in August, he created the anti-radical General Intelligence Division (GID) within the Bureau of Investigation, putting J. Edgar Hoover at the helm. Hoover created an index

⁴¹⁴ *New York Times*, September 22, 1919; *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 28, 1919.

⁴¹⁵ “Coming Out of the Smoke,” *Literary Digest*, October 11, 1919, *Red Scare (1918-1921)*, image database ed. Leo Robert Klien,

⁴¹⁶ Murray, *Red Scare*, 146-147; *New York Times*, October 6, 1919.

⁴¹⁷ *Fort Wayne Sentinel*, October 14, 1919; *Huntington Herald*, October 14, 1919.

⁴¹⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 148-152.

⁴¹⁹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 193.

system which contained a vast amount of information about suspected radical organizations, such as membership rosters, officers, and time and place of meetings.⁴²⁰ Under Palmer and Hoover's direction, the GID's hunt for radicals became driven by xenophobia. The GID estimated that foreigners made up 90 percent of America's radicals, and that neutralizing this percentage would put an end to the threat of revolt.⁴²¹ Following the events of the fall, the GID decided to act on these suspicions.

On November 7, the GID sent agents to raid the meeting halls of the Union of Russian Workers in twelve cities. They emptied out these halls, taking anything that appeared to be evidence, and they arrested thousands of the union's Russian immigrant members.⁴²² Then, on November 8, working with the Lusk Committee, the Justice Department raided over seventy radical meeting places and offices in New York and worked with other police departments to conduct raids across the country.⁴²³ Of all those arrested, 246 "were detained and considered deportable."⁴²⁴ The *New York Times* cast Palmer as a hero who struck a significant blow to Bolshevik revolutionaries throughout the country, and said he "will deport Reds as alien plotters."⁴²⁵ That is exactly what the Justice Department intended to do, when on December 21, it loaded approximately 249 alien radicals, most of whom did not even have a criminal record, onto the SS *Buford* for deportation. The *Buford* left New York for Hargo, Finland, where Palmer planned to send

⁴²⁰ Murray, *Red Scare*, 193-194.

⁴²¹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 196.

⁴²² Powers, *Not Without Honor*, 25.

⁴²³ Jaffe, *Crusade Against Radicalism*, 133; Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 382-383.

⁴²⁴ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 383.

⁴²⁵ *New York Times*, November 9, 1919.

the radicals to Russia by train. As the ship became known as “the Soviet Ark,” both the Justice Department and the public called for more deportations.⁴²⁶

Palmer and the Justice Department next targeted the communist parties in America, and raided communist establishments and meetings in thirty-three cities across the country. On January 2, 1920, a “regular meeting night in all parts of the country” for Communists, authorities arrested over 4,000 members, and American citizens in these parties faced anarchist charges by their respective states, while the federal government planned to deport alien members.⁴²⁷ The press praised Palmer yet again, and other publications justified the actions against the communist parties as stopping revolution.⁴²⁸ The *Washington Post* claimed that preaching Bolshevism should not be protected under the First Amendment, and many Americans agreed, not caring if the rights of those arrested were being infringed upon.⁴²⁹ Additionally, Palmer endorsed a bill to make legal the deportation of both aliens and naturalized citizens for seditious acts.⁴³⁰ He also called for the deportations of 2,720 of those arrested in January with three more “Soviet Arks.”⁴³¹

However, these deportations needed to go through the Labor Department’s Assistant Secretary Louis F. Post, who made the final decisions. Believing that the Justice Department illegally obtained evidence and also refused those arrested the right to counsel, Post released almost half taken into custody in January. He also refused to categorize

⁴²⁶ Hagedorn, *Hope and Fear*, 412-413; Murray, *Red Scare*, 207-209; *New York Times*, December 23, 1919; *Washington Post*, December 22, 1919.

⁴²⁷ A. Mitchell Palmer, *Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on Charges Made Against Department of Justice by Louis F. Post and Others* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office.) 50, Accessed November 29, 2018, <https://archive.org/details/attorneygeneral00rulegoog>; Murray, *Red Scare*, 213, *New York Times*, January 5, 1920.

⁴²⁸ *New York Times*, January 5, 1920; *Washington Herald*, January 3, 1920.

⁴²⁹ *Washington Post*, January 4, 1920; Murray, *Red Scare*, 217.

⁴³⁰ *New York Times*, January 5, 1920.

⁴³¹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 221-222.

Anarchists, IWW members, Socialists, and Communists together.⁴³² This became the first in a series of events which started the decline of the First Red Scare. Post's actions dealt a significant blow to the First Red Scare, but another would come in early 1920, when the New York Legislative Assembly kept five Socialists from taking the offices they had been elected to fill.⁴³³ The members of the assembly accused the Socialists of being supporters of Communism, and claimed that these Socialists thus would pose a threat to the country if they took office.⁴³⁴ The barring of these Socialists from participating in the assembly continued a precedent set during the war in which government members questioned allowing Socialists to take part in the government. However, in an unexpected turn of events, the press came out in support of the Socialists and covered this story extensively, causing it to garner national attention.⁴³⁵ The public reacted negatively to the government's actions, arguing the assembly had violated their right to representative government. Due to this situation, many Americans came to realize that the hysteria of the First Red Scare had started to impede their own rights.⁴³⁶ Yet, despite the public uproar, the assembly never allowed the Socialists to take office.⁴³⁷

Throughout the winter of 1919 to 1920, the press seemed to change its tone about the intervention as well. In December 1919, newspapers across the US carried an article written by Frank H. Simonds that argued that the Allies had been defeated in Russia. Simonds reasoned that no Russian army could overpower the Bolshevik military, and that

⁴³² Murray, *Red Scare*, 247-248.

⁴³³ Murray, *Red Scare*, 237, 242.

⁴³⁴ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 157-159.

⁴³⁵ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 143, 148-149.

⁴³⁶ *Billings Gazette*, April 2, 1920; *Atlanta Constitution*, April 2, 1920; Murray, *Red Scare*, 244-245.

⁴³⁷ Jaffe, *Crusade against Radicalism*, 163-164.

as border states made peace with the Bolsheviks, the Allies would lose the ability to access Russia. Ultimately, Simonds blamed the Allies for the survival of the Bolshevik regime, accusing the US, Britain, and France, among others, of failing to rid the world of the Bolshevik menace because these countries were unwilling to make further necessary sacrifices following World War I.⁴³⁸ This negative coverage of the Allied Intervention continued into January 1920, when the press released an article on former Secretary of State Elihu Root's views on the Russian situation. Root claimed that "U.S. Promises to Russia were but Words" and that "the American people" were "in default to Russia."⁴³⁹ Root believed that the US failed in its friendship to the Russian people because the country did so little to stop the Bolsheviks from gaining control. He criticized the raids of the First Red Scare, stating that arresting a handful of Bolshevik agents and deporting them would never be enough to stop the flow of Bolshevism into the US. Instead, Root argued that Russia was the battleground on which to overthrow the Bolsheviks and that the Russians would gladly fight against their Bolshevik oppressors if the US provided "munitions of war, shoes and clothing and money" to the anti-Bolshevik forces.⁴⁴⁰ Despite Root's plea, in March and April 1920, the US ended its participation in the intervention in Russia once the evacuation of the remaining Czech fighters began.⁴⁴¹ As the US government began evacuating soldiers, the press reported on the operation with little flare. Papers did not frame the intervention as a battle between Americans and Bolsheviks. Rather, the press simply reported that after a year and a half, the US planned to remove all American soldiers

⁴³⁸ *Greensboro Daily News*, December 7, 1919; *Atlanta Constitution*, December 7, 1919; *New York Tribune*, December 7, 1919.

⁴³⁹ *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 26, 1919.

⁴⁴⁰ *Charlotte News*, January 24, 1920; *Tampa Tribune*, January 25, 1920; *Topeka Daily Capital*, January 26, 1920.

⁴⁴¹ Maddox, *Unknown War*, 130; Morgan, *Reds*, 52.

from Russia by April 1, 1920.⁴⁴² As panic about the Bolshevik threat at home began to decline and the Bolsheviks began stabilizing their hold on Russia, the American press seemingly became less concerned with stories about the Bolshevik enemy abroad.

As the First Red Scare continued to wane, Palmer persisted in trying to convince the nation of the threat of a Bolshevik overthrow. He still feared homegrown radicalism, and he attempted to keep fear alive to stay relevant as he aspired to win the presidency in the upcoming 1920 election.⁴⁴³ Furthermore, Palmer claimed he exposed a plot designed by radicals to take over the government on May Day, stating that the entire nation needed to be aware and on alert.⁴⁴⁴ The entire nation panicked, resulting in cities all across the country keeping large numbers of police active for the day, calling up bomb squads, and ensuring that federal officials were protected. In some cases, like in Chicago, authorities locked up suspected radicals for the day.⁴⁴⁵ However, May 1 quietly came and went, without a disturbance. The *Decatur Herald* ran a headline stating “May-Day Red ‘Plots’ A Fizzle” and the *New York Times* claimed “Peaceful Celebrations All over the Country As Result of Precautions by the Government.”⁴⁴⁶ Whatever the cause, the calmness of the day showed the public that the Red threat really posed no threat at all.

Conclusion

Toward the end of 1920, two events proved that the fear of radicals in American society during the First Red Scare subsided. The first being the Wall Street Bombing in

⁴⁴² *Charlotte News*, March 17, 1920; *Bridgport Telegram*, March 17, 1920; *Salisbury Evening Post*, March 27, 1918; *New York Tribune*, March 28, 1920.

⁴⁴³ Murray, *Red Scare*, 252.

⁴⁴⁴ *New York Times*, April 30, 1920.

⁴⁴⁵ Murray, *Red Scare*, 252-253.

⁴⁴⁶ *Decatur Herald*, May 2, 1920; *New York Times*, May 2, 1920.

September, when a bomb exploded outside of the Wall Street building in New York City intending to kill banker J.P. Morgan. The explosion killed twenty-nine, but missed its target.⁴⁴⁷ Again, Palmer tried to stir fear by claiming the bombing as a Bolshevik plot, but the public did not buy into it. A symbol of capitalism itself had been attacked, and yet the American people finally realized that such plots did not have the support to be successful.⁴⁴⁸ The Presidential Election of 1920 became another event which brought an end to the frenzy. Americans took their focus off of radical plots to focus on choosing a new president. Besides Palmer, the other candidates steered away from claims of radical overthrow in their campaign platforms as they seemed unpopular with voters. Palmer's insistence on these claims did not bode well for his presidential chances and, indeed, he failed to win his party's nomination.⁴⁴⁹ These two events showed that fear of radical takeover no longer captivated the American public.

Still, the persecution leftists faced in the US from 1917 to 1920 severely damaged the far left in America for the following decade.⁴⁵⁰ Even when communists began to gain strength again in the 1930s during the Great Depression, the Communist Party USA continued to struggle to gain members because of the stigma that had become associated with being a communist in American society.⁴⁵¹ Regarding the Allied Intervention in Russia, since the US managed to help the Czech Legion escape, the mission proved successful in that regard. However, for years following the intervention, the US faced the

⁴⁴⁷ *New York Times*, September 17, 1920; Murray, *Red Scare*, 258.

⁴⁴⁸ Murray, *Red Scare*, 258-259.

⁴⁴⁹ Murray, *Red Scare*, 259-260.

⁴⁵⁰ Fraser M. Ottanelli, *The Communist Party of the United States from the Depression to World War II* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 9-16.

⁴⁵¹ Ottanelli, *The Communist Party*, 43-45, 156-157.

accusation that it had interfered within Russia's domestic affairs and attempted to weaken the Bolshevik government. Indeed, the intervention only hurt US and Soviet relations.⁴⁵²

Overall, the First Red Scare of 1917 to 1920 profoundly influenced American life, diplomacy, and politics during the Scare itself and in the century that followed. By expanding the First Red Scare to include the years 1917 and 1918, as well as the Allied Intervention, historians can better contextualize and understand Americans' first perceptions and interactions with Bolshevism. The animosity that emerged between the US and communists during World War I intensified after WWII, and developed into the Cold War in the latter half of the twentieth century. As early as late 1917, Americans viewed communists and communism as an infectious threat to democratic society. Through 1918 to 1920, this perception of communism in America only strengthened, as Americans came to see the Bolsheviks as wartime enemies through Russia's withdrawal from the war and the Allied Intervention and as revolutionary spies lurking behind American labor and leftists. Even though the hysteria surrounding the fear of a Bolshevik revolution in America weakened significantly by the end of 1920, it would be the image of the Bolsheviks that Americans developed in the First Red Scare that they would use to contrast with American capitalism and democracy in the decades that followed.

⁴⁵² Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2004), 52.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Bureau of Investigation. *Carl G. Bedrit. Alleged Disloyal Remarks*. By J. G. Shuey. October 21, 1918. *Fold3.com*. Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/3065988>.
- Bureau of Investigation. *Daily Digest of Clippings*. August 17, 1918. *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/2788390>.
- Bureau of Investigation. *Finnish Bolsheviki Society, Alleged Bolsheviki Propaganda*. By V. J. Valjavec. July 29, 1918. *Fold3.com*. Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/1099741>.
- Bureau of Investigation. *P. Kuresuk or J. Kucseruk*. October 26, 1918. *Fold3.Com*. Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/33132313>.
- Bureau of Investigation. *Socialistic and Bolsheviki Activities*. By E. B. Oulashin. September 11, 1918. *Fold3.com*, Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/3157466>.
- Bureau of Investigation. *S.S. Shilka: European Neutrality*, by Chas Petrovitsky. January 8, 1918. *Fold3.com*. Old German Files, 1909-21. Accessed October 12, 2018. <https://www.fold3.com/image/1428501>.
- Columbia University. *Columbia University Quarterly*. Columbia University Press, 1918. Hathi Trust Digital Library. Accessed November 12, 2017. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hwxtntn;view=1up;seq=82>.
- Hanson, Ole. *Americanism versus Bolshevism*. New York and London: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1920. <https://archive.org/details/americanismversu00hansuoft>.
- Haywood, William D. *The Autobiography of Big Bill Haywood*. New York: International Publishers, 1929.
- Klein, Leo Robert. "Red Scare (Image Database)." Baruch College. Accessed April 14, 2015. http://www.baruch.cuny.edu/library/alumni/online_exhibits/digital/redscar/default.htm.
- Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich. *Lenin: Collected Works*. Vol. 26, *September 1917-February 1918*. Translated by Yuri Sdobnikov and George Hanna. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1964.
- Newspapers.com Online Database.

New York Times Online Database.

Palmer, A. Mitchell. *Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on Charges Made Against Department of Justice by Louis F. Post and Others*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1920.
<https://archive.org/details/attorneygeneral00rulegoog>.

The Espionage Act of 1917. Mintz, S., & McNeil, S. (2016) *Digital History*. Accessed November 10, 2017.
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=3&psid=3904.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Vol. 41, *January 24-April 6, 1917*. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Vol. 42, *April 7-June 23, 1917*. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Vol. 44, *August 21-November 10, 1917*. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Vol. 45, *November 11-January 15, 1918*. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

The Papers of Woodrow Wilson. Vol. 48, *May 13-July 17, 1918*. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985.

US Congress. Senate. *Bolshevik Propaganda: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary*. 65th Cong., 3rd sess., February 11, 1919, to March 10, 1919

United States Department of Justice. *Red Radicalism as Described by Its Own Leaders, Exhibits Collected by A. Mitchell Palmer, Including Various Communist Manifestos, Constitutions, Plans, and Purposes of the Proletariat Revolution, and Its Seditious Propaganda*. Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1920. Accessed April 16, 2015.
<https://archive.org/details/RedRadicalismAsDescribedByItsOwnLeadersExhibitCollectedByA>.

Wilson, Woodrow. "An Address to a Joint Session of Congress." April 2, 1917. World War Document Archive. Accessed October 28, 2017.
https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_War_Message_to_Congress.

Wilson, Woodrow. "An Address in Buffalo to the American Federation of Labor." In *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*. Vol. 45, November 11-January 15, 1918. Edited by Arthur S. Link, David W. Hirst, John E. Little, Frederick Aandahl, Manfred F. Boemeke, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984.

Secondary Sources

Ascher, Abraham. *Russia: A Short History*, rev. ed. London: One World, 2009.

Chester, Eric Thomas. *The Wobblies in Their Heyday: The Rise and Destruction of the Industrial Workers of the World during the World War I Era*. Amherst: Praeger, 2014.

Cocks, Catherine, Peter C. Holloran, Alan Lessloff. *The A to Z of the Progressive Era*. Plymouth :Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2009.

Dick, William M. *Labor and Socialism in America*. New York: Kennikat Press, 1972.

Filene, Peter G. *American Views of Soviet Russia, 1917-1965*. Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1968.

Fitzpatrick, Sheila. *The Russian Revolution*, rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Foglesong, David S. *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920*, 2nd ed. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Cold War: A New History*. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.

Gould, Lewis L. *The Progressive Era*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1974.

Guins, George C. "The Siberian Intervention, 1918-1919." *The Russian Review*, no. 4 (Oct. 1969): 428-440. Accessed May 6, 2018.
<http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.waterfield.murraystate.edu/stable/127162>.

Hagedorn, Ann. *Hope and Fear in America: 1919*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007.

Hall, Greg. *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930*. Corvallis: Oregon University Press, 2001.

Hawley, Ellis W. *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1979.

Herring, George C. *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Hudson, Miles. *Intervention in Russia 1918-1920: A Cautionary Tale*. South Yorkshire: Leo Cooper, 2004.
- Jaffe, Julian F. *Crusade against Radicalism: New York during the First Red Scare, 1914-1924*. New York: Kennikat Press, 1972.
- Kennan, George F. *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*. Vol. 1, *Russia Leaves the War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956.
- Kennan, George F. *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920*. Vol. 2, *Decision to Intervene*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Kornweibel, Jr., Theodore. *"Seeing Red": Federal Campaigns against Black Militancy, 1919-1925*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Lasch, Christopher. *The American Liberals and the Russian Revolution*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.
- Leuchtenburg, William E. *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932*, 2nd ed. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958.
- Levi, Steven C. *The Great Red Scare in World War One Alaska: Elite Panic, Government Hysteria, Suppression of Civil Liberties, Union-breaking, and Germanophobia, 1915-1920*. Palo Alto: Academia Press, 2010.
- Link, Arthur S. *Woodrow Wilson: Revolution, War, and Peace*. West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 1979.
- Maddox, Robert J. *The Unknown War with Russia: Wilson's Siberian Intervention*. San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1977.
- Morgan, Ted. *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Random House, 2004.
- Murphy, Paul L. *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States*. New York: Norton & Company, 1979.
- Murray, Robert K. *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964.
- Ottanelli, Fraser M. *The Communist Party of the United States from the Depression to World War II*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- Powers, Richard Gid. *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.

Ryan, Erica J. *Red War on the Family: Sex, Gender, and Americanism in the First Red Scare*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015.

Storey, William Kelleher. *The First World War: A Concise Global History*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2009.

Swettenham, John. *Allied Intervention in Russia 1918-1919: And the Part Played by Canada*. London: George Allen & Unwin LTD, 1967.

Thomas Jr., William H. *Unsafe for Democracy: World War I and the U.S. Justice Department's Covert Campaign to Suppress Dissent*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2008.

Unterberger, Betty Miller. "President Wilson and the Decision to Send Troops to Siberia," *Pacific Historical Review* no. 1 (Feb. 1955): 63-74.
Accessed May 6, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3635232>.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.