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The Colby Community in World War I

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Introduction

Six months into his service with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in Europe, former Colby student Murray Morgan wrote to his friend and former classmate, Ernest R. Scribner (“Scrib”), Colby Class of 1917.¹ In his letter, Morgan, the first Colby student to fight in World War I, as well as the first to die, told Scribner about “the ravages of war” he had experienced.² Morgan described how he and his comrades at arms slept in ruined houses or stables when they did not fight in the trenches, but he assured Scribner that he had good food and claimed the British army to be the best fed army in the world.³ Morgan said that while he had “seen war and endured hardships,” he had “never been sorry for one minute that [he] took the step [he] did.”⁴ Morgan felt that “man never fought for a nobler cause” than World War I, a feeling reinforced by the destruction he had seen while serving in Belgium, for which he blamed the German army.⁵ Lastly, Morgan implored Scribner to give his regards to his friends at Colby and asked Scribner to tell his friends to send him letters to the front as he had not heard from them.⁶ Scribner in turn decided to give Morgan’s letter to Colby’s student newspaper, the *Echo*, and the paper published it in December 1915.

In its two-hundred-year history, the Colby community has participated in almost every war in the United States. Given that one hundred years have passed since the Americans joined World War I on the side of the British and the French, now seems an appropriate time to investigate the Colby community’s role in the war and examine how that role fits into general American history. The current period begs to reflect upon this major world event; as Colby

¹ “Murray Morgan Still Doing His Bit in the Trenches,” *The Echo*, December 15, 1915.

² “Murray Morgan Still Doing His Bit in the Trenches,” *The Echo*, 1915.

³ “Murray Morgan Still Doing His Bit in the Trenches,” *The Echo*, 1915.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

College provided players to that event in multiple capacities, the college should reflect upon its successes and failures contributing not only directly to the fighting of the war, but also living on the home front during World War I.

The Colby community can be defined as anyone who has a connection to Colby College and acted upon it. This includes the students, professors, alumni, parents, and relatives. It also includes students who briefly attended Colby and then left as well as parents and siblings of Colby students. All these different people at Colby are unified by playing a part in the network of the college. This included returning to campus, contributing to publications by the college and its students, receiving a copy of the school newspaper or alumni publication, writing a letter to a friend from Colby, and writing to the college to provide an update on a student. It also includes the Colby College campus community, which must be differentiated from the rest of the home front mostly due to the extreme influence of the hypernationalism of the war, which will be discussed in the second section of this paper. The definition of the Colby community must extend to anyone who played any sort of role in the vast network connecting to Colby College because without this broadness, connections that made up the spirit of the community during the war could be lost.

Colby community members include Murray Morgan, who would have graduated in 1915 if he had not joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force and gone off to Europe before the Americans went to war. It also includes Harold Osgood, a student who would go to Europe with the American Expeditionary Force, along with several of his classmates, and who would write a detailed account of his experience home to his parents. The campus community must also be explored to see how the war impacted even those not directly involved in the fighting.

It also includes the parents and relatives of soldiers who received information of their soldiers and sent it along to the college when appropriate, typically, when a student died. An example of these members is Raymond Stowell, brother of John Arthur (Artie) Stowell, who sent a telegram to the school describing how Artie died in combat. Anyone who contributed to the Colby community regarding the war must be considered to achieve full understanding of the community in the war.

The Colby community can also be split into two fronts, the Western front, which will be explored through the lives of the soldiers, and the home front. The home front includes both the Colby College campus and the students and professors in residence there, and the relatives of students and alumni who did not participate in the war in Europe. Separately, there are the lives of the soldiers enlisted in the army who had not yet arrived in Europe when the war ended or whose unit did not get deployed abroad. Some of these soldiers died due to disease.

Already in 1914, members affiliated with Colby became involved in the war. While the war rarely influenced day-to-day life for most of the Colby community, it did come into play significantly on a few occasions, most notably with the death of Murray Morgan in 1916, which elicited a response from much of the campus community from speeches by the administration to meetings in Morgan's fraternity. Once the United States entered the war, it began to touch the lives of those associated with Colby more consistently, as the college had to adapt to being part of the home front, and students and alumni went away to become soldiers. Nineteen members of the Colby community died before the end of the war either from disease or in combat; they are listed on the base of the flagpole in the academic quad at Colby College. The base serves a memorial to Colby students and alumni who died in war. Throughout this time, the community at home and abroad stayed in contact through letters, either telling stories or announcing the

deaths of members of the community. World War I's direct involvement in the lives of the Colby community can be shown through the level of active engagement with the war through both action and correspondence, specifically on the home front, with the soldiers, the Colby-affiliated members of the Y.M.C.A. and in the communications between members of the community.

This paper looks to answer how the Colby community engaged in the war and how the war influenced the Colby community. The war and the Colby community intersect at three different levels of engagement. On the first level, the Colby community directly engaged with the war as soldiers went to fight, such as student-soldiers Harold Osgood and Gordon Brownville, who both fought with the 26th Division of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) on the Western Front, and Murray Morgan, who fought with the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF). On a second level, the war influenced the Colby community through indirect means, such as the influence of war on the ideas of the Colby campus home front regarding Germany and German-Americans. The third level of engagement involves the letters and other written documents regarding the war that circulated through the Colby community because of the war, like the letter Morgan wrote to Scribner, or the articles Professor Russell Johnson wrote for *The Echo* while working with prisoners of war (POWs) on the Western Front.

The Colby Community in World War I Before 1917

While America did not enter World War I until 1917, individual Americans joined the war as early as 1914. Americans could fight in the war by enlisting with one of the armies already in the war, such as the Canadians; they could drive with the American Ambulance Field Service, an American unit independent of the American Armed Forces that drove ambulances in France and Italy; or they could volunteer with the Y.M.C.A. to provide comfort to soldiers and prisoners of war. While Americans could fight in the war, the war did not seem to concern too many Americans. This can be demonstrated in the 1916 presidential election between Woodrow Wilson and Charles Hughes. According to Michael Neiberg in his book *The Path to War*, German-Americans, the group who most wanted to stay out of war, would presumably not have voted for the pro-British Woodrow Wilson. However, German-Americans voted for Wilson due to his opposition to prohibition, and Wilson won the election.⁷ This would suggest that even the group most skeptical about going to war cared more about domestic policy than foreign policy. However, despite the public not prioritizing the war, World War I still managed to be influential. Yet, despite the United States not formally being part of the war, the war affected the Colby community before most of the Colby community directly affected the war as shown through the war service of Murray Morgan, the volunteers in the Y.M.C.A., and the publications in the student run *Echo* newspaper.

Murray Morgan demonstrates the influence of the war on the Colby community despite the community not being directly involved in the war. Morgan began fighting for the CEF in January 1915, later joining Princess Patricia's Light Brigade in May 1915. Morgan, a New Brunswick native, could enlist with the CEF and serve abroad without violating America's

⁷ Neiberg, Michael S., *The Path to War*, Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 193.

neutrality. *The Alumnus* provided one update informing the Colby alumni community of his service, and a second announcing his death, and the local newspaper, the *Waterville Sentinel*, published Morgan's letters to Waterville resident Harold Pepper, a former soldier and influential figure in Waterville, who took an interest in enhancing the education of several Colby students, like Morgan, without being officially associated with the college itself.⁸

By January 1915, Morgan had begun fighting in the trenches in Belgium.⁹ Morgan's letters from the front contained a plethora of information about his service, like that his field position lay merely four hundred yards from the Germans.¹⁰ In his first letter to Harold Pepper, Morgan describes the continuous fire between the Canadian and German trenches, stating, "Our guns are playing merry hell with the Dutchmen tonight. We are paying them back for a few they sent over today."¹¹

By July, Morgan's unit left Belgium and arrived in Shorncliffe, England, where it joined the Princess Patricia's Light Infantry.¹² Morgan reports that the soldiers rested in England and that he did some travelling around the country.¹³ However, by late August, Princess Patricia's Light Infantry left England for France.

The detail in Morgan's letters should be noted, as it is shocking that he gave so much information given the high levels of censorship, such as his proximity to the German position, and the details of battles. Some of his letters came days or even hours after skirmishes while he remained on the front lines. However, Morgan does withhold some information. While on rest in Shorncliffe he could give specific information, but once on the front lines again, he never

⁸ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1915-1916, November 1915, p. 24; *The Colby Alumnus* 1915-1916, July 1916, p. 106; Murray Morgan Letters, Special Collection, Colby College Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, November 20, 1915.

⁹ Murray Morgan Letters, Special Collections, Colby College, Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, January 13, 1915.

¹⁰ Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, January 13, 1915.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Murray Morgan Letters, Special Collections, Colby College, Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, July 17, 1915.

¹³ Ibid.

gives an exact location, typically stating that he is “somewhere in Belgium” or “somewhere in France.” Morgan also never provides specific landmarks or other contextual information that could potentially give away the exact location where his unit fought. Presumably, Morgan would know his own location as he would need to know where to attack when told to go over the top, or where to defend when the Germans in turn would attack. A lack of information from soldiers writing home would protect the army from giving up any knowledge should letters be intercepted. The Entente, which consisted of the English and the French and later the Americans, used a censorship policy for their soldiers’ letters. A letter would be censored at the point of origin, then sent to London where it would be censored again. After London, the army sent the letter to its intended recipient.¹⁴

Morgan’s letters indicate the level of censorship used in the Entente. After being checked twice by censors in two different locations, the army still sent Morgan’s letters with all the details he included. As mentioned, Morgan’s letters from the front never provided enough information for the enemy to find the exact location of the unit, but the army did allow him to describe his condition at the front, from the continuous shelling to the gruesome deaths, in detail. The army did not feel the need to cover up the horrors of World War I in favor of keeping high morale on the home front as demonstrated by Morgan’s graphic description of one of his comrades in arms being blown to pieces in one engagement, which he described in his letter to Pepper.¹⁵

While on the front, Morgan saw the Germans across the trenches and came under heavy shell fire. He reported that one of his comrades in arms took a piece of shell through the arm and

¹⁴ *The United States Army in the World War 1917-1919*, Center of Military History, United States Army, Washington D.C., 1992, p. 2.

¹⁵ Murray Morgan Letters, Special Collections, Colby College, Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, August 13, 1915.

another got hit by a shell.¹⁶ Morgan observed that they could not find the man's body upon being shelled, declaring, "such is war."¹⁷ Morgan's description of the front line and the death of his comrade in arms demonstrates the death of one kind of warfare and the beginning of another. As Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau and Annette Becker describe in *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, soldiers had gone from standing "shoulder to shoulder" to hiding in the ground.¹⁸ The weapons Morgan describes, especially the shells, caused this shift, as men tried desperately to hide. While courage and training still gave a soldier a higher chance of surviving battle, it did not help them much, as even buried in the ground, men could not hide from these extremely powerful weapons, as seen by the destruction of Morgan's friend.¹⁹ Morgan's testimony demonstrates another change that occurred during World War I; the dehumanization of the war. Morgan blames shells rather than the German soldiers for the death of his friend described above because he could not see his enemy. Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker describe this phenomenon as well, explaining that soldiers in previous wars had always been able to see their enemy.²⁰

Morgan became a prominent topic during the 1915-1916 school year when word reached the college that he had died in battle. An article in *the Alumnus* announces his death, stating, "Murray Alexander Morgan, ex-14, was killed in battle in Verdun...."²¹ It should be mentioned that Morgan did not actually die in Verdun, but during at the Battle of Sanctuary Wood in Ypres.²² Morgan's parents believed he died in Verdun and said so in their letter to Colby to inform the institution of Morgan's death leading to the confusion that Morgan died in Verdun.²³

¹⁶ Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, August 13, 1915.

¹⁷ Murray Morgan to Harold Pepper, August 13, 1915.

¹⁸ Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane and Becker, Annette, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 26.

¹⁹ Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 26-27.

²⁰ Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 26.

²¹ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1915-1916, July 1916, p. 106.

²² Weaver, "From Waterville to the Western Front," p. 10.

²³ "Murray Morgan Dies in Battle," *Waterville Sentinel*, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

It should also be noted that Morgan's year of graduation changed from the first *Alumnus* publication to the second. According to the centennial General Catalogue of the college, Morgan was a non-graduate of the class of 1914, meaning the earlier publication, which stated Morgan was ex-1915, contained a mistake about his class year.²⁴ This is odd, since Morgan would have left to enlist after the 1914 school year.

The Waterville Sentinel also reported Morgan's death, indicating that the news "shocked" Colby College and a "gloom of sadness" swept over the campus.²⁵ Upon receiving the news, Morgan's fraternity, Delta Upsilon, called a special meeting to make the appropriate resolutions, and President Arthur Roberts made remarks in the Chapel on the campus regarding Morgan's death.²⁶ *The Sentinel* obituary hails Morgan as a patriot, fighting in the name of the oppressed (most likely the Belgians and the French) against the oppressor (the Germans), and the college felt the effects of Morgan's death and paid him his due.²⁷ Morgan's death briefly connected the Colby community to the war as they remembered and celebrated his life.

Two years later, once the United States had entered the war, Morgan's old fraternity, Delta Upsilon released a war letter, discussing the fraternity's role in the war, dedicated to Morgan.²⁸ The letter mostly consisted of updates from the Delta Upsilon students in the war service, such as William H. Erbb (Class of 1917) and Charles G. Reed (Class of 1913), both serving in the 26th Division on the Western Front at the time of the newsletter.²⁹ While the letter

²⁴ General Catalogue of Colby College, 1820-1920, Waterville, Maine, published by the college, 1920, p. 330.

²⁵ "Colby Shocked at News of Death of Murray Morgan," *Waterville Sentinel*, 1916, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Delta Upsilon Publishes War Letter, *The Echo*, March 6, 1918.

²⁹ Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, William Helms Erbb Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Charles Granvill Reed Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

dealt only with the current events of the war, the dedication to Morgan did acknowledge that he had served before the United States and the college became involved in the war.

Morgan's service forced the Colby community to directly interact with the war. Due to Morgan's service, the Colby community witnessed his war experience through the letters he wrote home, hearing about the horrors of the war abroad and realizing that these horrors not only applied to the people of Europe, but to a member of their own community. Additionally, the death of Morgan brought the issue of the war back to campus as the community dealt with his loss on the battlefield and had to adjust their lives accordingly, through the remarks made by Roberts as well as the mandates made by Delta Upsilon. The newspapers, both student and town run, as well as *the Alumnus*, informed the community of the tragedy. Morgan's service forced these adjustments, proving that the war had affected the community by changing their behavior.

The Colby student body paid careful attention to the war, following it closely, as the *Echo* demonstrates, further demonstrating how the war affected the Colby community. The *Echo* published numerous articles about the war ranging from three articles tracking the service of Murray Morgan to a note on Professor Clarence Johnson's work with POWs, and a public speaking event hosted by students where the students had chosen the topic of the war for the discussion.

The *Echo* tracked Morgan from the start of his war service in 1915 until his death, publishing parts of the letters to Harold Pepper and Ernest Scribner, with such praising titles as "Murray Morgan Still Doing His Bit in the Trenches."³⁰ The publication of Morgan's letters by The *Echo* demonstrates the interest of the student body. Not only did the paper feel the need to

³⁰ "Murray Morgan, Ex-1915, at the Front in France," *The Echo*, September 29, 1915, "Murray Morgan Still Doing his Bit in the Trenches," *The Echo*, December 15, 1915, "Murray Morgan, Ex-15 Writes of life in the Trenches," *The Echo*, November 3, 1915.

publish the letters for the student body, but Scribner provided his own personal letters to the paper to share Morgan's experience, which the *Echo* would then quote directly in the article. Through Morgan, the war mattered to the students and began directly influencing their lives on campus, starting with the information the students cared about knowing and publishing given the continuous publications on Morgan updating The *Echo*'s readership on his well-being and service. Evidently, Morgan's service must have been discussed by the student body given how many times the *Echo* published information about him.

Another example of the student body being invested in the war comes again from an *Echo* article relating to an advanced speakers' presentation. The article did not specify exactly what the advanced speakers did, but it appeared to be a public speaking club that gave a colloquium on a topic of the club's choosing. The presentation appeared to be done by a public speaking society for students and appeared to be student run with T.F. Joyce, Colby class of 1917, acting as the presiding officer of the event and the club.³¹ The students' topics covered multiple perspectives on the war: E.D. Record, 1917, spoke about Russia in the war, Raymond Rogers, 1917, presented on French policy in the war, W.E. Burton, 1916, lectured on what lessons America should take away from the situation in Europe to stay out of war, N.W. Lindsay, 1916, talked about Belgium, M.R. Thompson, 1917, spoke about England, Ralph Koseth, 1916, presented on the efficiency of the German army, and W.C. Lincoln, 1916, discussed the potential of world peace after the war.³² The fact that a student club made the war the topic of their event the war and took the time to research and present on many different perspectives demonstrates a close following as well as knowledge of the war, and it proves that the student body felt connected to the war.

³¹ "Advanced Speakers Present Intensely Interesting and Instructive Program," *the Echo*, May 10, 1916.

³² "Advanced Speakers Present Intensely Interesting and Instructive Program," *the Echo*, May 10, 1916.

The student newspaper's interest in the war comes from several influences. First, the student body had an immediate connection to the war through the service of Murray Morgan. The publication of Morgan's letters to his fellow classmates would have immediately connected the student body to the war in a way the administration and the alumni may not have been connected. The students did not have the same access to the outside world through the news that many others had, especially in a pre-internet world. In a world where the students could not easily access news sources in seconds, they relied on the information in the *Echo* to learn about the outside world, as well as *The Waterville Sentinel*. This meant the *Echo* had the responsibility to report on the war for the sake of keeping the student body educated, if members of the student body did not have access to the *Sentinel* or simply needed another source of news.

Another way the Colby community became connected to the war was through the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.), which also began work abroad before America joined the war. In November of 1914, the chapter of the Y.M.C.A. in London went with the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to France, and by 1918, over three hundred Y.M.C.A. centers had been established in Paris.³³ The centers featured film showings, libraries, folk dances, concerts, and educational lectures.³⁴

While the Y.M.C.A. ran the huts, they welcomed soldiers of all religions and included female volunteers who worked at the canteens.³⁵ American volunteers worked with the Y.M.C.A. abroad in France including Clarence R. Johnson, an instructor of Romance Languages at Colby as well as three Colby alumni, John M. Maxwell, class of 1910, James Perry, class of

³³ Hanna, Emma: "Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)," in: 1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War, ed. by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2015-01-29. DOI: [10.15463/ie1418.10544](https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:hbz:5:1-63864-p0101-9).

³⁴ Hanna, "Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)" International Encyclopedia of the First World War.

³⁵ Sykes, Ella C., "With the YMCA in France," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 65, No. 3350 (February 2, 1917), pp. 205-211, p. 205.

1911, and Victory R. Jones, class of 1908.³⁶ The Trustees granted Johnson a year of leave in 1916 to volunteer abroad with the Y.M.C.A.³⁷ Maxwell had been born in Ballynacally, County Derry, Ireland, and joined the British Y.M.C.A. in 1916, working with them in Ireland until 1919.³⁸ Maxwell opted to stay in his native Ireland for a time after the war rather than return to his job as a pastor in Fairfax, Vermont. He came back to the United States only in 1921.³⁹ Perry had been a student in Geneva, Switzerland, since the outbreak of the war, and in 1916 became a member of *Foyer du Soldat*, a French welfare organization setting up canteens, in Bordeaux.⁴⁰ He then worked in the Y.M.C.A. with the A.E.F. in Bordeaux from 1917 to 1918 and served the *Foyer du Soldat* again from 1918 to 1919 in Lorraine and Germany.⁴¹ Perry died while working as Acting Chief Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in Constantinople, when Turkish brigands killed him near Aintab, Syria, in 1920.⁴² Victor Jones took up studies at the University of Berlin after his graduation from Colby, but left when the war broke out.⁴³ Like Perry, Jones joined the *Foyer du Soldat* with the French Army, and later the Y.M.C.A.⁴⁴ After the war, Jones also stayed in Europe, studying at the University of Bucharest for a year.⁴⁵

Johnson went to France to aid prisoners of war in camps, another one of the roles the Y.M.C.A. filled during the war.⁴⁶ The Y.M.C.A. aimed to bring physical, intellectual, and emotional comfort to the POW camps by distributing supplies and setting up educational and

³⁶ General Catalogue of Colby College, Centennial Edition 1820-1920, Waterville, Maine, Published by the College 1920, p. 177, 179.

³⁷ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1915-1916, July 1916, p. 103.

³⁸ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 177.

³⁹ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 177, John Moore Maxwell Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴⁰ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 179.

⁴¹ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 179.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Colby College Bibliographic Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Victor Ray Jones Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴⁴ Colby College Bibliographic Record for Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Jones Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴⁵ Bibliographic Record, Jones Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴⁶ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1915-1916, July 1916, p. 103.

recreational activities.⁴⁷ This included libraries, classes, and physical education.⁴⁸ Effectively, Johnson's work with the POWs would have been the same as the work of the other Y.M.C.A. volunteers supporting the soldiers at the front, with the goal of making those affected by the war, either as soldiers or prisoners, as happy and comfortable as possible. Through these comforts, the Y.M.C.A. hoped to allow the soldiers to retain as much of their sanity and humanity as possible.⁴⁹

While no Colby students participated in the American Field Service (AFS) before America entered the war, it also offered an opportunity for Americans to go serve abroad. Since 1915, the American Field Service supported the French Army as a volunteer ambulance unit.⁵⁰ European armies began using motorized ambulances on a small scale shortly before 1914, but they realized the benefit of the motorized ambulances once the war began due to the unprecedented number of casualties (France lost 301,000 in 1914 alone) and the number of lives medical units managed to save since they could get injured soldiers to medical help faster.⁵¹ The American units proved to be the most efficient at evacuating injured soldiers with the help of their Ford ambulances, which were the fastest and largest.⁵² The *Section Sanitaire Etats-Unis* 1 (SS1) evacuated approximately 56,000 wounded soldiers between January 1915 and November 1918.⁵³ Men enlisted for six-month periods and could stay for three-month extensions as they wished.⁵⁴ The ambulance units mostly consisted of university students and recent graduates.

⁴⁷ Davis, Donald E., Trani, Eugene P., "The YMCA and the Russian Revolution," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Sep. 1974), pp. 469-491, p. 472.

⁴⁸ Davis, Trani, "The YMCA and the Russian Revolution," p. 472.

⁴⁹ Laugesen, Amanda, "'Another Great World': Australian Soldiers and Wartime Libraries," *The Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (October 2006), pp. 420-437, p. 423.

⁵⁰ Larrabee, Jeffrey C., "A Tale of Two Trucks: American Casualty Evacuation in World War I," *Icon*, Vol. 14 (2008), pp. 123-150, p. 123.

⁵¹ Lafon, Alexandre, "War Losses (France)," *International Encyclopedia on the First World War*, October 8, 2014, <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/home/>.

⁵² Larrabee, "A Tale of Two Trucks: American Casualty Evacuation in World War I," p. 123.

⁵³ Larrabee, "A Tale of Two Trucks: American Casualty Evacuation in World War I," p. 123.

⁵⁴ Fenton, Charles A., "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No 4 (Winter 1951), pp. 326-343, p. 330.

They came in the spirit of humanitarianism, discontent with America's position of neutrality, and wanting to help the wounded.⁵⁵ Some went for the sake of adventure, like the American author Ernest Hemmingway, who used his experience driving an ambulance during the "Great War" to write his novel *A Farewell to Arms*.⁵⁶

The country's relationship to the war changed in 1917 as it became clearer the United States would be entering the war. In early February 1917, the German government announced they would resume unrestricted submarine warfare.⁵⁷ While the Germans intended to use the decision for unrestricted submarine warfare to gain the upper hand on the British by denying them supplies, they also knew it would most likely drag America into the war. After the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the German government had placed restrictions on the submarines after the U.S. government had threatened war.⁵⁸ In early 1917, the American press took unrestricted submarine warfare as an unofficial declaration of war. Several newspapers suggested in early 1917 that America had only one choice: to go to war.⁵⁹

The *Echo* did not call for war, but it did publish an article making it clear the Colby community would serve. On February 15, 1917, the *Echo* wrote an article about a rally earlier that week saying that while the *Echo* hoped America would find some way to avoid the war, if war became inevitable, Colby men would "defend the rights and honor" of the country.⁶⁰ The article declared that Colby men would display patriotism if called to serve, and they would go to do their duty, regardless if it caused the temporary shutdown of the college.⁶¹ While this was not

⁵⁵ Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," p. 327.

⁵⁶ Fenton, "Ambulance Drivers in France and Italy: 1914-1918," p. 334.

⁵⁷ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p. 215.

⁵⁸ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p. 216.

⁵⁹ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p. 216.

⁶⁰ "Colby Patriotism," *The Echo*, February 15, 1917.

⁶¹ "Colby Patriotism," *The Echo*, February 15, 1917.

a direct call for war like the other newspapers, the *Echo* did make it clear that the community would support the decision to go to war and would participate to the fullest.

The readiness for war among the students would become magnified once the United States formally declared war on April 6, 1917. Students became hyperpatriotic, as will be discussed in the next section. The *Echo*'s declaration of being ready for war also demonstrates how the war influenced the Colby community, changing attitudes, from being interested in the war to immersing themselves into the war in preparation to join it. While the student body hoped they would not have to go to war, they wanted to defend the rights of their country and would stop at nothing to be patriotic Americans. Intense patriotism seized many colleges during 1917-1918, while the U.S. was at war, including Colby.

Colby College in War: 1917-1919

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. The Colby Company, a military drill company made up of students and younger professors that did not have a formal association with the US army, formed on April 4, 1917, in anticipation of the declaration of war, and did its first drill on April 5, 1917.⁶² President Roberts reacted positively, addressing the college on the day the United States declared war, and one hundred men enlisted in the Colby Company in the first week after the declaration of war. While the Colby Company did not affiliate with the federal army, its creation and popularity showed the excitement of many students to go to war. By the start of the 1917-1918 school year, twenty-five seniors, twenty-five juniors, and between fifteen and twenty sophomores had joined the armed forces, totaling between sixty-five and seventy-five students who did not return to Colby for the start of the school year.⁶³ More would be drafted as the school year continued. Hundreds of alumni also flocked to join the cause. The administration prided itself on the Colby honor roll, which listed which students participated in the war effort and in which branch they served, while also stating its pride in those students who continued their college educations, making it clear that above all, Colby valued loyalty to the United States and its allies.⁶⁴ In 1918, Colby became a war college, under the occupation of the United States government and the Student Army Training Corps (SATC), a corps set up by the government to train students not yet old enough to serve, but who wanted to participate in the war effort. If the war had lasted longer, SATC students would have gone straight into various positions in the army once they reached the appropriate age. With the beginning of the government occupation, Colby changed drastically. Students trained in four

⁶² Libby, Herbert, "Colby in the Great War," *The Colby Alumnus 1917-1918*, October 1917, p. 38.

⁶³ Libby, Herbert, "Colby in the Great War," *The Colby Alumnus 1917-1918*, January 1918, p. 87.

⁶⁴ Libby, "Colby in the Great War," October 1917, p. 36.

groups: infantry, air service, chemical warfare, and motor transportation and truck service.⁶⁵

Students also took “Allied Subjects” as elective courses, which included French, German, international and military law, and math.⁶⁶

Colby’s situation in World War I was not unique. All over the country colleges and universities turned their campuses into war colleges as students left to join the army. Schools demonstrated immense amounts of patriotism, ostracizing students who did not go fight. At many schools, German professors and those of German descent came under scrutiny unless they displayed hypernationalism to the United States and openly insulted Germany. The prejudice against Germans began before the war, however it did not generally extend to German-Americans. The public simply thought of these people as Americans as they had been educated in the United States and spoke English.⁶⁷ However, this changed with hypernationalism.

Hypernationalism can be defined as nationalistic tendencies in an extreme situation. Nationalism differentiates from patriotism in this situation, because while nationalism exhibits pride in country, it exhibits this pride without being able to take criticism or have a differentiation of opinion. In this situation, nationalism will often be seen in the treatment of pacifists who have pride in country, but disagree against going to war. “Hyper” has been added to nationalism due to the extreme degree in which the nationalism plays out, such as the witch hunts and dismissals of professors from academic communities, which are the communities being discussed in this section.

Examples of hypernationalism and ostracism of those believed to not be completely supportive of the war tended to occur at the same time. Examples included incidents of

⁶⁵ Marriner, Ernest C., *The History of Colby College*, Colby College Press, Waterville, ME, 1963, p. 308.

⁶⁶ Marriner, *A History of Colby College*, p. 308.

⁶⁷ Neiburg, *The Path to War*, p. 192.

prejudice at the University of Indiana, the University of Illinois, the University of Michigan, and the University of New Mexico, among others. While Colby as an institution displayed patriotism and anti-German sentiments through enthusiasm for war and anti-German publications, the school did not appear to adopt the extreme behaviors of prejudice, instead taking a more moderate view towards German-Americans and German culture. This section will compare Colby with other institutions during World War I to demonstrate Colby's moderate views. The institutions discussed in this section along with Colby are the University of Georgia, the University of Illinois, the University of Michigan, the University of New Mexico, Indiana State Normal School (Indiana State University), Harvard University, and the University of Vermont. These institutions will be used because they had specific incidents occur within the faculty that became widely known. The geographic diversity of the schools also offers a better image of the country as opposed to just New England, to see how Colby fits into the greater context of American history.

As mentioned, Colby students, professors, and alumni began enlisting and training upon the declaration of war. When the Colby Company began, the alumni and the Board of Trustees gave their support, presenting the company with a company flag, and throughout the war they continued to support the student soldiers.⁶⁸ When the war ended, the Board of Trustees decided to give academic credit to those students who fought in the war so they would not have lost a full year of education.⁶⁹ The faculty also supported the student-soldiers, as shown in the case of Raymond Rogers, class of 1917. Rogers led the Colby brigade before going on active duty with the 26th Division and had completed all his requirements before he left.⁷⁰ However, the faculty

⁶⁸ Libby, "Colby in the Great War," October 1917, p. 39.

⁶⁹ Marriner, *A History of Colby College*, p. 312.

⁷⁰ Colby College Faculty Meeting, June 14, 1917, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

decided to allow him to graduate in 1917, because of his work leading the brigade.⁷¹ A similar situation occurred with A. Prince, class of 1918, who also left Colby to serve with the 26th Division before completing his requirements.⁷² The faculty allowed Prince to graduate as well.⁷³ *The Colby Echo* reported that the Colby community continuously demonstrated its dedication to the nation through military drill and the number of enlistments.⁷⁴

The female students also found their lives affected by the war. Student Marion Campbell, Class of 1919, kept a scrap book while at Colby that included numerous references to the war. In the autographs section of her scrapbook, another student, Helene Blackwell, references the war song “When You Come Back and You Will Come Back,” by George M. Cohan. Blackwell wrote in Campbell’s scrapbook, “‘Just before the battle Cammie’ when I come back and I will come back,” which could have been an inside joke between the two students.⁷⁵ Campbell’s scrapbook also contains scraps of *Echo* articles, one a poem called “Sacrifice” about a young man dying in the war and another about the Student Army Training Corps (SATC) roster.⁷⁶ Campbell’s scrapbook also contains a program of a “Military Hop” hosted by the SATC on December 11, 1918.⁷⁷ Marion herself had a more personal connection to the war. She had a brother or cousin in the war with Co. B of the 103rd Regiment of the 26th Division, H.W. Campbell, whose commanding officer was George N. Bourque, Colby class of 1918.⁷⁸ Campbell wrote to Marion on September 24, 1918, while on the front. He wrote asking Marion to “Please send as much candy as possible.”⁷⁹ Marion Campbell’s scrapbook

⁷¹ Colby College Faculty Meeting, June 14, 1917.

⁷² Colby College Faculty Meeting, May 29, 1918, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁷³ Colby College Faculty Meeting, May 29, 1918.

⁷⁴ Libby, “Colby in the Great War,” October 1917, p. 39.

⁷⁵ Scrapbook of Marion Campbell, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁷⁶ Scrapbook of Marion Campbell, Colby College Special Collections.

⁷⁷ Scrapbook of Marion Campbell, Colby College Special Collections.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

demonstrates the continuous influence of the war on the women of Colby's campus, from receiving letters from loved ones abroad, to the social events they could attend. The war factored into their language and jokes, such as the one Blackwell made in Campbell's autographs section, into their recreational plans, into their families. Even though women could not fight on the front, the war still held a place in their lives.

The war also influenced Colby athletics during the 1917-1918 school year. The Delta Kappa Epsilon annual chapter letter, published June 7, 1918, discussed the football and baseball seasons at the college. The letter reported that Colby tied both Bates and the University in Maine in football that year, in which the team had been "severely handicapped" due to so many men being away at war.⁸⁰ The baseball team had their two best pitchers drafted during the season, though luckily, this paved the way for young talented players to help the team win the New England championship that year.⁸¹

Apart from activities on campus, war also swept the college publications, from *The Alumnus* to the student run *Echo*. One student, Porter Emerson Brown, wrote a passionate piece called "America, Awake!" where he calls on America to realize the war must be won and saved from the power-lusting Germans to preserve the country's freedom.⁸² Brown states that Germany has not progressed like the rest of the world, explaining that the Germans think "might is right; that decency is weakness; that forbearance is cowardice."⁸³ He begs America to realize the world cannot be "half-civilized and half-German."⁸⁴ He requests that America take on its role as a savior of civilization, by realizing that "Right fights Wrong; Good fights Evil."⁸⁵ He

⁸⁰ Delta Kappa Epsilon Annual Chapter Letter, June 7, 1918, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁸¹ Delta Kappa Epsilon Annual Chapter Letter, June 7, 1918.

⁸² Brown, Porter Emerson, "America, Awake!" *The Echo*, March 6, 1918.

⁸³ Brown, "American Awake!" *The Echo*.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

ends by telling Americans to make their choice between defeating and losing the civilized world or to win and save it.⁸⁶

Brown's article demonstrates aspects of hypernationalism, calling America "Right" and "Good" and claiming it as a savior of civilization while also demonstrating prejudice condemning the Germans as a lesser race. The two often went hand in hand, as they do in Brown's article. Brown's hypernationalism tells America that it has the greatness and ability to save the world, ignoring the English, French, and Russians who had participated in the war for three years at this point. This demonstrates the hypernationalist thought that only America had the strength and will to save civilization, and anyone who went against this war went against the mission to save the world. Additionally, where his hypernationalism places America in a place of grace, his equally strong prejudice against the Germans positioned Germany in a lesser status, not only in comparison to America, but to civilization. He condemns them as uncivilized, almost animalistic, and not as well developed as the rest of the world. Brown shows in his published article that these thoughts and prejudices lived at Colby and could be openly shared with the community.

Brown's anti-German sentiments were not unique. Anti-German-American sentiments had been growing since the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 and the Zimmerman Note in March 1917, in which the Germans tried to create an alliance with Mexico promising Mexico the American southwest.⁸⁷ Even President Wilson singled German-Americans out as "creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy..."⁸⁸ While such extreme culture was not often found at Colby,

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Zieger, Robert H., *America's Great War*, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000, p. 51.

⁸⁸ Zieger, *America's Great War*, p. 52.

it was a common sentiment. It should not be surprising that it also existed within the Colby community.

The war caused adjustments to the Colby curriculum as well as campus culture. President Roberts himself taught “Philosophical Aspects of War and Literature of Nations” with Professor Herbert Libby.⁸⁹ Colby students not only trained in the SATC, but acted as officers to train at other institutions. Fourteen Colby students received commissions to be trained at Plattsburg in New York and ultimately went to train students in the SATC at other universities instead of returning to Colby.⁹⁰ Five such officers who were not Colby students took up residence in Chemical Hall on September 16, 1918, the college academic building that housed the chemistry department and the president’s office, while living at Colby to train the students.⁹¹

While the faculty supported the students on active service, they did not like the SATC and the mix of military matters and academics. The military training conflicted with the classes, and students became increasingly overworked.⁹² Luckily, full SATC training only occurred at Colby for two months (the Colby Co. began drills April 5, 1917, but the formal government training did not begin until August 1918), since the faculty decided to get rid of military training but keep the military courses after the Armistice.⁹³ In 1919, a Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) chapter was proposed at Colby.⁹⁴ The faculty opposed the ROTC chapter after the negative experience with the SATC military training and did not want to bring military training back to campus now that there was no longer a war.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Marriner, *A History of Colby College*, p. 309.

⁹⁰ Marriner, *A History of Colby College*, p. 307.

⁹¹ Marriner, *A History of Colby College*, p. 306; Colby College Faculty Meeting, October 5, 1918, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁹² Colby College Faculty Meeting, November 5, 1918, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁹³ Colby College Faculty Meeting, November 13, 1918, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁹⁴ Colby College Faculty Meeting, April 18, May 2, 1919, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁹⁵ Colby College Faculty Meeting, April 18, May 2, 1919.

Despite the faculty's dislike of the SATC, the actions of Colby during the war years demonstrate loyalty and patriotism. The college immediately acted upon the war being declared and cooperated with the US government, making the necessary changes in both subjects taught, giving up its own students so these students could go train others, and offering up its dorms as barracks so that Colby could be used as a war college. The college dedicated itself, its students, and its resources to supporting the US government and helping to achieve victory.

While the college did demand loyalty, it did not demand service from its students, but merely requested that they continue to better themselves. The administration's lack of pressure on students who wished to continue their studies mitigated the hypernationalism of the students who rushed to join the war. It should be noted that the college did benefit financially from students staying as they would then pay tuition.

Colby demonstrated its nationalism by supporting the American effort in the war and demanding loyalty from its students as well as denouncing Germans. Colby never dismissed any professors of German or of German descent during the war and continued to teach German as an elective during its time as a war college. Robert W. Cromwell, a professor of German at Colby, published an article in the *Colby Alumnus*, explaining that while the war continued, there would be a need for German speakers to interrogate prisoners, decode messages, and soldiers would need to use German when the Americans "inevitably" crossed the frontier into Germany, and of course, to declare victory.⁹⁶ Cromwell goes on in his piece to take a sympathetic approach to the Germans, explaining that someday the war would end, and German would continue to be a useful language as German scholars would go back to research and make discoveries and that it would be a shame to have no more German speakers due to the excellence of German

⁹⁶ Cromwell, Robert W. "The War and the Study of German," *The Colby Alumnus 1917-1918*, April 1918, p. 135.

literature.⁹⁷ Cromwell clearly follows a patriotic line to learning German and keeping the department at the beginning of his contribution, but ultimately becomes more accepting. For Cromwell, the Germans did not need to be monsters forever. Cromwell's farsightedness was not always echoed across the country or even at the college.

While Cromwell's article and the continuance of the German department at Colby suggests that the anti-German prejudice of Colby was limited, Colby certainly had its preconceived notions and stereotypes, which the *Colby Alumnus* vocalized. Nathaniel Butler, class of 1873, wrote an article for the *Alumnus* during the war comparing German and American education systems. Butler explains that the German system involves training in accuracy and efficiency, leading to both the machine-like quality of the German army and the German people's love of the government and autocracy that occurred as a result.⁹⁸ Butler then goes on to explain that the American system contains a quality of freedom, leading to American individuality and thus a love of democracy and freedom and the rejection of autocracy in the United States.⁹⁹ Butler's article depicts the Germans as machines and monsters, which he blames on a flaw in the German school system, effectively brainwashing German children to support the evils of autocracy from a young age. He describes Americans as freedom-loving people who became that way due to their own society, which promoted individuality, demonstrating further prejudice.

From the moment President Wilson declared war, hypernationalism erupted in the United States. Overzealous patriots demanded public displays of loyalty to the United States such as purchasing liberty bonds and vocally supporting the Allies.¹⁰⁰ Those who did not participate in

⁹⁷ Cromwell, "The War and the Study of German," April 1918, p. 136.

⁹⁸ Butler, Nathaniel, "German Education in the Light of the War," *The Colby Alumnus 1918-1919*, October 1918, p. 16, 18.

⁹⁹ Butler, "German Education in the Light of the War," October 1918, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Wilcox, Clifford, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 33, No. 1, pp. 59-84, Cambridge University Press, p. 59.

these activities immediately came under suspicion of disloyalty from others in their communities.¹⁰¹ Loyalty had to be total, and the public did not tolerate pacifism or anything other than hostility towards Germany or German culture. In Indiana, to be loyal meant being “wholeheartedly for the war and [subordinating] everything else to its successful prosecution.”¹⁰² Watchdog groups formed, like the Indiana Patriotic League and the Liberty Guards, to search out anyone who did not offer total loyalty.¹⁰³

The University of Georgia demonstrates an example of a moderate college campus community. It showed gusto and support upon the declaration of war through enlistment. Like Colby, the University of Georgia did not manifest this patriotism through the dismissal of professors, though it did demonstrate obvious prejudice against Germany. The university’s student newspaper, *The Red and Black*, illustrated the students’ feelings when it wrote, “We can have no peace, no freedom of the seas, no independence, no liberty as long as German ideals dominate the world.”¹⁰⁴ *The Red and Black* continued to condemn the “Prussian autocracy” and the German Club, a popular social and dance organization on campus, changed its name German Club to the Cotillion Club (a “cotillion” is typically a formal ball where debutantes are introduced to society).¹⁰⁵ A Cotillion Club rival changed its name to the Allies Club, to demonstrate solidarity with the Entente.¹⁰⁶ Also like Colby, the University of Georgia had a rush of students enlist; 913 former students held or received officer commissions, including two brigadier generals, by the end of the war.¹⁰⁷ The University of Georgia had 2,890 students either

¹⁰¹ Wilcox, “World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan,” p. 59.

¹⁰² Crumrin, Timothy R., “Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher’s Dismissal from Indiana State Normal,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, Vol. 88, No. 1, pp. 26-48, Indiana University Press, p. 29.

¹⁰³ Crumrin, “Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher’s Dismissal from Indiana State Normal,” p. 29.

¹⁰⁴ Faulkner, Richard S., “‘Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad’: The University of Georgia in the First World War,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, Vol 79., No. 4, pp. 920-939, Georgia Historical Society, p. 921.

¹⁰⁵ Faulkner, “‘Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad’: The University of Georgia in the First World War,” p. 921.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Faulkner, “‘Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad’: The University of Georgia in the First World War,” p. 923.

enrolled in the military or the SATC over the course of the war, with forty-seven students and alumni dying in action, including 8% of the class of 1917.¹⁰⁸ As at Colby, university courses were altered to better train the students for their futures as soldiers.¹⁰⁹ The University of Georgia did not show as much prejudice towards Germans as the University of Michigan, but the comments in the *Red and Black* as well as the German Club's name change show prejudice towards Germans and Germany. The University of Georgia demonstrated hypernationalism, with so many students enlisting, the SATC, and the name change of the Allies Club to show solidarity with the Allies.

The University of Illinois displayed nationalism to a more extreme degree than the University of Georgia and Colby, nearly dismissing six professors for disloyalty. Like all the other universities mentioned, the University of Illinois immediately answered the call of war, forming policies regarding the upperclassmen who would soon be departing for war and setting up a military school of aeronautics on campus in the spring of 1917.¹¹⁰ The campus also participated in the "Buy a Bond and Help Equip the Army" campaign with nearly everyone on campus buying bonds.¹¹¹ However, Queen Louise Shepherd, a philosophy professor, allegedly declared that even if she had ten million dollars, she would not give a cent of it to buy war bonds.¹¹² Professor Arthur Cole of the history department also refused to buy war bonds.¹¹³ Professor Camillo Weiss, an Austrian, also did not purchase war bonds, stating he did not have enough money to spend on war bonds.¹¹⁴ The Justice Department singled out these three

¹⁰⁸ Faulkner, "'Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad': The University of Georgia in the First World War," p. 924.

¹⁰⁹ Faulkner, "'Our Patriotic Duty at Home and Abroad': The University of Georgia in the First World War," p. 925.

¹¹⁰ Tap, Bruce, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," *Illinois Historical Journal*, Vol. 85, No. 1, pp. 2-22, Illinois State Historical Society, p. 5.

¹¹¹ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 5.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 6.

¹¹⁴ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 7.

professors for investigation.¹¹⁵ Upon completing the investigation, the Justice Department demanded that the university act by punishing or dismissing the faculty members.¹¹⁶ President Edmund James responded with a patriotic speech in response to avoid being seen a neutral, which was almost as bad as being disloyal, and the Board of Trustees questioned six professors, including Shepherd, Cole, and Weiss, though in the end, the Board dismissed none of them.¹¹⁷ The continued employment of the professors relieved President James, who hoped to avoid hypernationalism and worked to stop it from manifesting itself within his university.¹¹⁸ While the University of Illinois clearly demonstrated a strong manifestation of patriotism with this incident, it did manage to remain more moderate than the University of Michigan.

The University of Michigan and the town of Ann Arbor, especially local citizens of German descent, demonstrated their patriotism by rejecting their German heritage and dismissing a professor rumored to be pro-German. Prior to the war, German could be heard in the streets of the town, and many sign postings were written in German.¹¹⁹ The town even published a German newspaper.¹²⁰ This changed once U.S. involvement in the war started. On October 12, 1917, the University of Michigan's Board of Regents dismissed Dr. Charles Eggert from the school's German department for carrying on a pro-German propaganda campaign in class, though the school did not give details of the way Eggert acted pro-German.¹²¹ Any behavior other than war-mongering patriotism could be considered pro-German. Eggert could have advocated for pacifism, and the board could have found that to be pro-German. Days after Eggert's dismissal, the *Detroit News* reported the Regents would dismiss more faculty members

¹¹⁵ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 10, 19.

¹¹⁸ Tap, "Suppression of Dissent: Academic Freedom at the University of Illinois during the World War I Era," p. 19.

¹¹⁹ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 60.

¹²⁰ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 60.

¹²¹ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 62.

for disloyalty and that they had the support of the alumni on this decision.¹²² On March 5, 1918, the university dismissed five more German language professors of varying heritage.¹²³ Despite declining enrollment due to students going to war, no other department took such deep cuts.¹²⁴ The cuts to the German department occurred due to the prejudices of the school against Germany and the German language because of the hypernationalism that had come with the declaration of war against Germany in 1917.

The University of New Mexico (UNM) exhibited the classic examples of hypernationalism through mass enlistment in the army and the termination of the German department. The US government took control of the University of New Mexico, to a greater extent than it did at Colby, with the campus eventually being transformed into a military camp named Camp Funston during the war.¹²⁵ When the fall term opened, 70% of male students did not return to campus, and those who did return performed military training in place of physical education.¹²⁶ The hypernationalism continued when Professor John Gruner of the German department became the target of complaints of pro-German sentiments.¹²⁷ While the school did not dismiss Gruner, it did shut down the German department as student enrollment in the department faltered.¹²⁸ The school relocated Gruner to the Geology department when they ended the German department.¹²⁹ The number of students who enlisted in the armed forces and the militaristic nature of the UNM campus, coupled with the termination of the German department, demonstrate hypernationalism manifesting itself not only through intense loyalty to the

¹²² Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 64.

¹²³ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 62.

¹²⁴ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 62.

¹²⁵ Welsh, Michael, "Beyond the Call of Duty: World War I at the University of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, January 1, 1989, p. 27.

¹²⁶ Welsh, "Beyond the Call of Duty: World War I at the University of New Mexico," p. 28.

¹²⁷ Welsh, "Beyond the Call of Duty: World War I at the University of New Mexico," p. 29.

¹²⁸ Welsh, "Beyond the Call of Duty: World War I at the University of New Mexico," p. 29.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

government and the war effort but also through intense prejudice against Germans, like that seen at the University of Michigan.

The Indiana State Normal School, now Indiana State University, like the University of Michigan and the University of New Mexico, demonstrated hypernationalism through the dismissal of a faculty member. Like Michigan, Indiana had a concentration of German immigrants; at least 50% of the population of Indiana had some sort of tie to Germany.¹³⁰ However, 75% of Indiana residents supported the Entente powers throughout the war.¹³¹ Indianans with German names began Americanizing their names after America's entrance into the war to demonstrate their belief in the cause of American democracy against German autocracy.¹³² Hypernationalism hit its peak with the dismissal of a professor of Latin, John Schlicher. Schlicher had been a valuable addition to the Normal School staff due to his unusually high level of education, higher than the majority of the rest of the faculty.¹³³ After a speech at the university where Schlicher stated that censoring should not occur provided someone sympathized with the mission of the US, many students and faculty suspected him of being disloyal.¹³⁴ The *Saturday Spectator*, the local newspaper in Terre Haute, argued that anyone who did not fully support America could be deemed a traitor and suggested that Schlicher was disloyal.¹³⁵ Schlicher meant to say that he felt people should be able to criticize and disapprove of the war effort and provided their loyalty still lay with the United States. However, the public did not understand Schlicher's loyalty. Eventually, the Normal School's Board of Trustees felt the need to investigate Schlicher, though they found him innocent and

¹³⁰ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 27.

¹³¹ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 27.

¹³² Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 29.

¹³³ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 30.

¹³⁴ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 33.

¹³⁵ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 33-34.

rehired him to the Normal faculty.¹³⁶ Rumors continued to fly, and the Vigo County Patriotic League, a county group that emphatically supported the war effort, denied Schlicher's application when he applied for membership.¹³⁷ Being unfit to join the Patriotic League proved to be the last straw as many saw Schlicher's statements as clear proof of his disloyalty, and the Board of Trustees ordered university president William Parsons to dismiss Schlicher, which he did on March 7, 1918.¹³⁸ Schlicher's dismissal demonstrates an example of extreme hypernationalism as the university dismissed a professor over his perceived lack of loyalty to the United States.

In contrast to the five universities presented above, situations at Harvard and the University of Vermont demonstrate that some schools stood against hypernationalism. At Harvard, the alumni threatened to withdraw a gift of \$10,000,000 unless President Abbot Lawrence Lowell dismissed the openly pro-German professor Hugo Münsterberg.¹³⁹ Lowell informed the alumni that Harvard would not accept the money and abridge freedom of speech.¹⁴⁰ Lowell retained Münsterberg despite his pro-German sentiments and refused to give in to the alumni.¹⁴¹

A similar situation existed at the University of Vermont (UVM), where the alumni pressured President Guy Peter Benton to remove Doctor Anton Appelman in reaction to rumors that Appelman harbored pro-German sentiments. Benton stated in a letter to Calvin Thomas of Columbia University that he was "not desirous of shielding Dr. Appelman if he deserves condemnation, but with the confidence [he felt] in [Appelman's] integrity, his scholarship and

¹³⁶ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 36, 39.

¹³⁷ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 43.

¹³⁸ Crumrin, "Holding a Course: Professor John J. Schlicher's Dismissal from Indiana State Normal," p. 43, 44.

¹³⁹ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 82.

¹⁴⁰ Wilcox, "World War I and the Attack on Professors of German at the University of Michigan," p. 82.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

his possibilities in the career he has chosen, [Benton was] anxious to do him absolute justice.”¹⁴²

Due to Benton’s level-headed approach, Appelmann retained his position at UVM, and Benton demonstrated that it was possible to stand against hypernationalism at the institution.¹⁴³

Given these seven examples of how other universities handled hypernationalism, a spectrum can be created to see how far Colby succumbed to the hypernationalism of the period. Based on the other universities, Colby sat somewhere in the middle, being neither extremely patriotic nor extremely prejudiced through ostracizing German culture, while still practicing both patriotism and nationalism, in this case defined as support of America’s entrance into the war. The University of Michigan, the University of New Mexico, and the Indiana State Normal School all demonstrate extreme patriotism leading to witch hunts and dismissals of professors in the name of total loyalty. The University of Illinois sits a step below these three extremes as patriotism drove the university to perform its own witch hunt against six professors, though ultimately, the actions of President Cole mitigated the situation enough that the professors retained their jobs after a full investigation and interrogation by the Department of Justice. Colby and the University of Georgia sit below the University of Illinois. Both schools’ high enlistment numbers and dedication and, in Colby’s case, demand for loyalty show patriotism. While both schools vocalized their prejudices, they never acted on them in the form of a witch hunt nor did they suspend their teaching of German. Harvard and UVM both acted the least extreme when it came to patriotism. Both schools stood their ground and refused to succumb to patriotism or outside pressure to suspend professors. Harvard especially did not allow extreme patriotism to interfere, keeping a pro-German professor so that they would not encroach on the right to free speech afforded to the professor by the Constitution. With all this in mind, it

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

becomes evident that while Colby did not act in the most extreme ways, it certainly allowed itself to succumb to prejudices in ways other institutions did not.

The Great Crusade

Despite the enormous and unprecedented destruction caused by modern warfare, many American soldiers who fought in the war considered their service a great adventure and a crusade for the greater good. These men believed that their service in war would create a safer, better world and that this would be the crowning achievement of their lives. This belief put emphasis on bravery, romanticism, and sacrifice in the name of the greater good and has been compared to an idealized notion of the crusaders from the middle ages. The romanticism of war and the crusader mentality can be found in letters written by the soldiers both from Colby and the general population. The crusader mentality describes the belief of many of the soldiers that they fought for a holy cause, propelling their continuous desire to fight in the war despite the brutality of modern warfare. While the mentality includes aspects of romanticizing warfare, the justness of the cause drives much of the mentality. Charles Genthe studied the letters of American soldiers during the war and concluded from these letters that American soldiers shared the crusader mentality. This section will inquire whether this applies to the members of the Colby community as well.

The crusader mentality already surfaced in 1914, when Europe's various states declared war on each other. Europeans on both sides of the war all had the same reaction the Americans would have three years later. Patriotism prevailed over the hearts as they went to sign up for war, ostensibly to defend their home lands.¹⁴⁴ England, the only major belligerent that entered the war without a draft, especially demonstrated enthusiasm for war. Between August and

¹⁴⁴ Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphan, Becker, Annette, 14-18: *Understanding the Great War*, p. 96-97.

December 1914, one million British men enlisted in the army.¹⁴⁵ Eventually, 30% of the eligible men in Great Britain volunteered to fight.¹⁴⁶

While the enthusiasm for the war faded as the fighting progressed, Europeans continued to believe in the justness of their cause, just as the Americans would when they entered the war.¹⁴⁷ This can be attributed to the belief that the Europeans thought that by going to war they were saving civilization, which was a critical part of the crusader mentality. In 1915, the Bishop of London said being killed was a necessary consequence

to save Liberty's own self, to save the honor of women and children, everything that is noblest in Europe, everything that loves freedom and honor, everyone that puts principle above ease, and life itself beyond mere living, are banded in a great crusade—we cannot deny it—to kill Germans: to kill them not for the sake of killing, but to save the world...¹⁴⁸

The war lost its adventure and romanticism for many Europeans, but the crusader mentality lingered on, because opponents believed that their cause was one of immense importance and that the fate of civilization rested in their hands. The American soldiers, including the Colby community, echoed this sentiment three years later upon joining the war, and felt the same justification, even as the romance died away.

The Colby soldiers' letters demonstrate an eagerness to fight and a romantic mentality, both aspects of the crusader ethos. Leslie F. Munch, class of 1915, stated he hoped to go across to France soon, to begin the "real work."¹⁴⁹ F.C. English, class of 1916, and H.B. McIntyre,

¹⁴⁵ Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 100.

¹⁴⁸ Audoin-Rouzeau, Becker, *14-18: Understanding the Great War*, p. 103.

¹⁴⁹ *The Colby Alumnus*, January 1918, p. 96.

class of 1918, echoed Munch, stating they “anxiously” wanted to get to France and begin helping the US troops and fighting on the front lines.¹⁵⁰

All these letters come from the Colby *Alumnus*, where Professor Libby published them in conjunction with his own thoughts. Professor Libby attributed the soldiers’ eagerness to get to the front lines not only to satisfy a lust for adventure, though he believed that contributed, but to fulfill a “holier desire to right a wrong, to conquer injustice and oppression, and protect the homes of our own fair land.”¹⁵¹ Libby expressed the crusader mentality perfectly. He described the need to go to the front as holy, connecting the soldiers’ service with a religious experience, as expressed by the Bishop of London. This exemplifies the crusader mentality, as crusaders fought in religious wars to assist other Christians and save the Holy Land. It should be acknowledged that the Crusades included many horrific acts by the crusaders and that their fight to reclaim the Holy Land led to death and destruction and did nothing to aid civilization. Nonetheless, soldiers viewed fighting in France like a crusade, as they hoped to free democratic land from autocratic heathens.

The desire to free the world from autocracy manifests itself in the letters of the Colby soldiers. Foster Eaton, class of 1917, wrote to Professor Libby saying a life worth living depended on the ousting of the Kaiser, and he intended to be part of that work and would be content to die so long as the Kaiser fell too.¹⁵² Eaton continued, saying that service in the war constituted “the greatest opportunity the world has ever known.”¹⁵³ Once again, the crusader

¹⁵⁰ *The Colby Alumnus*, April 1918, p. 161, 163.

¹⁵¹ *The Colby Alumnus*, April 1918, p. 158.

¹⁵² *The Colby Alumnus*, January 1918, p. 94.

¹⁵³ *The Colby Alumnus*, January 1918, p. 94.

mentality shines through as a desire to restore civilization that cannot last as long as the Kaiser continues his autocratic regime.

The crusader mentality characterized the mindsets of many American soldiers, not only the Colby students. Genthe found several similar themes in letters from American soldiers, such as comparisons to ancient heroes and knights, a great cause that the Americans believed they fought for, and the willingness to die for the cause. One soldier stated that the American volunteers who participated in the war prior to America's official entry did so due to a continuance of the "ancient crusade still stirring in [their] bones."¹⁵⁴ Another referred to America as the "Kingdom of Heroism," where the doors flung open to allow its soldiers to pour into France and save the day.¹⁵⁵ Soldiers often compared themselves to knights, even using vocabulary like "squire" when directly referring to each other as knights.¹⁵⁶ As with the Colby students, the general population of American soldiers saw the war with romanticism, considering themselves as heroes on a mission to save the world.

Along with the soldiers' self-descriptions as knights and heroes, the way in which they described deaths on the battlefield demonstrated the crusader mentality. Soldiers described death as "noble" and "glorious," and men hoped to get the opportunity to sacrifice themselves in the name of the cause.¹⁵⁷ One soldier expressed the near desire to die in battle when he said, "Why flinch? It is by far the noblest form in which death can come. It is in a sense almost a privilege to be allowed to meet it in this way. The cause is worth fighting for."¹⁵⁸ The soldiers viewed death in battle as positive because of a battlefield death's noble and glorious nature. They

¹⁵⁴ Genthe, Charles, *American War Narratives 1917-1918*, David Lewis, New York 1969, p. 26.

¹⁵⁵ Genthe, *American War Narratives 1917-1918*, p. 32.

¹⁵⁶ Genthe, *American War Narratives 1917-1918*, p. 47-48.

¹⁵⁷ Genthe, *American War Narratives 1917-1918*, p. 33, 36.

¹⁵⁸ Genthe, *American War Narratives 1917-1918*, p. 34.

welcomed such a death and hoped for an opportunity to sacrifice themselves in the name of the crusade to liberate the world from the autocratic Germans.

All the letters from the men show an eagerness to fight and the belief that they fought for a greater good and a life worth living, with Eaton going so far as to say his service would be the most important work of his life. All these men demonstrate the romanticism attached to the crusader mentality. They desperately wanted to join a horrific war because they believed in the goodness of the cause. Regardless of the adventure of war, these men wanted to be like the knights of legends, fighting to restore good in the world. There must be romanticism of the war and service in the war to create the crusader mentality, because without romanticism, the war appeared in its true form: Hell on earth, where anything living went to die in the trenches, as Harold Osgood, a Colby student in the AEF, would realize upon arriving in the trenches in 1918.

Osgood, a member of the medical attachment in the 103rd regiment of the 26th division, served on the Western Front, and his descriptions of his adventure were grim, even though adventure started as well as he could have hoped: in Paris, which he described to his mother as the “most interesting city in the world.”¹⁵⁹ Between the lights and the French women, Osgood and his comrades appeared to be living the adventure they and others, like Eaton, had dreamed about.¹⁶⁰ However, “the gloom became deeper” as he neared the “line of sausage balloons that meant trenches,” probably referring to the observation balloons that hung above the trenches.¹⁶¹ As Osgood arrived in the trenches, he stated it was “as big a disappointment as [he’d] ever had.”¹⁶² Evidently, modern warfare lacked both the aesthetics of a battlefield as well as the former opportunities for valor and heroics. World War I differed from the post-classical warfare

¹⁵⁹ “The Student-Soldier,” Edith Osgood Stephenson, *Maine Say*, November 2, 1988, Harold Abram Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

¹⁶⁰ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

and early modern warfare the soldiers had been picturing in every way. Instead, invisible enemies shot shells and gas at each other's dirty, muddy trenches, rather than face each other valiantly on a battle field. Osgood demonstrates that the same change Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker observed in the European armies also occurred quickly in the American army. While Osgood shows that the crusader mentality changed, it did not change completely, as some romanticism continued in terms of justifying the cause and battlefield death. Osgood's specific experiences on the Western Front will be discussed further in the next section.

The crusader mentality included a firm belief that service in the war would be the most significant event in a soldier's life, since they would defeat autocracy and liberate Europe. This meant soldiers eagerly waited for a chance to fight abroad and willingly gave their lives on the battlefield to attain a noble and glorious death in the eyes of their still living comrades. With this mentality, many American soldiers went off to Europe.

On the Western Front

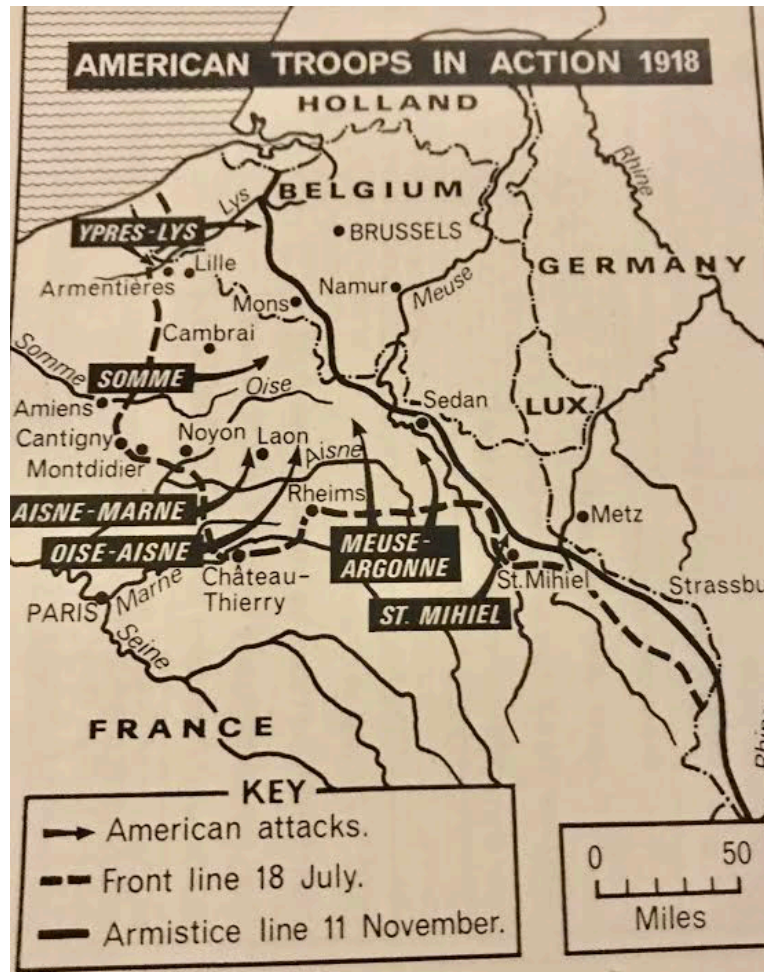


Figure 1 Banks, Arthur, *A Military Atlas of the First World War*, p. 190

On September 7, 1917, the 26th Division left the United States for the Western Front as the first full division to do so.¹⁶³ The 26th, nicknamed the “Yankee Division” was comprised almost entirely of New England men and included thirty-two former and current Colby students, primarily in the 103rd Regiment.¹⁶⁴ The Yankee Division served on the Western Front from late September and early October 1917 until the armistice on November 11, 1918, leaving France in

¹⁶³ Sibley, Frank, *With the Yankee Division in France*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1919, p. 31.

¹⁶⁴ *Colby College Alumnus*, October 1917, p. 97-103.

late March 1919, and arriving in Boston on April 4, 1919.¹⁶⁵ During its time abroad, the division served in six sectors, after concluding their training in Neufchateau in northeastern France closer to the front. Sectors were a way to organize the Western Front. Each sector had a commander who would oversee war in their sector and report activities back to high command. The sectors in which the Yankee Division served were the Chemin des Dames, the Toul sector, Chateau-Thierry during the Second Battle of the Marne, St. Mihiel, the Troyon sector, and Verdun.

Within the 26th, Colby students served in the 101st, 102nd, and 103rd regiments, and outside of the 26th Colby students also served in the medical field service including the medical detachments, the Ambulance Service, and at the United States field hospitals for a total of forty Colby students serving in the American Expeditionary Force (AEF).¹⁶⁶ In these roles, Colby students participated heavily in the war from aiding in a decisive victory for the Allies to saving thousands of lives applying new medical technologies that saved thousands of lives behind the front. This section will first explore the history of the 26th Division and the 103rd regiment as most Colby students and alumni served in this regiment, with some attention to the 101st and 102nd regiments.

On July 18, 1917, several months after the United States' official entrance into World War I, the Army ordered the New England National Guard to form the 26th Division, which came under control of the federal government a week later.¹⁶⁷ On August 27, Major General Clarence R. Edwards became the commander of the 28,000 man-division.¹⁶⁸

The 103rd regiment made up half of the 52nd brigade, one of two in the division. Colonel Frank M. Hume commanded a unit comprised of the former 2nd Maine Infantry, the 1st New

¹⁶⁵ Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 351.

¹⁶⁶ *Colby College Alumnus*, October 1917, p. 97-103.

¹⁶⁷ Shay, Michael, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, Texas A&M University Press, 2008, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 1, 3.

Hampshire Infantry, the 1st Vermont Infantry, the Rhode Island Cavalry Squadron, and a few men from the 6th and 8th Massachusetts regiments.¹⁶⁹ The unit assembled at Camp Keyes in Augusta, Maine, in July before joining the rest of the division in Westfield, Massachusetts, on August 22, 1917.¹⁷⁰ Twenty-eight Colby students and alumni can be found in the regiment, serving in a variety of roles such as a driver in the Ambulance Corps (Preston Libby) physician in the Chief Surgeon's Office (W.R. Pederson), musician (J. Arthur (Artie) Stowell), to the Battalion Sergeant-Major (J.E. McMahon).¹⁷¹

The division received less than two months of training before shipping out for Europe between September 7 and October 9th.¹⁷² Some members of the division landed in Liverpool, while some landed in St. Nazaire, France.¹⁷³ The 103rd arrived in Liverpool on October 8, stayed in Southampton, and crossed to France on October 21.¹⁷⁴ John Arthur "Nickles" Stowell, who would have graduated with Colby's Class of 1919, wrote to *the Echo* from England. Stowell said that upon arriving, he went off for a bicycle tour of his surroundings, rather than stay in camp per his orders, demonstrating the curiosity of the Americans about Europe.¹⁷⁵ However, Stowell's enthusiasm for England lessened slightly in camp, where they lived in tents and slept on the ground, which, according to Stowell, was "covered with an inch of slimy mud."¹⁷⁶ However, he reported the beauty of the countryside surrounding the camp.¹⁷⁷

Guy Whitten, of the Class of 1918, offered his perspective on the war to the *Echo* in the form of a poem called "Ode to the Kaiser." Whitten said in his poem he had no "bitter hymn of

¹⁶⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ *Colby College Alumnus*, October 1917, p. 97-103.

¹⁷² Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 31.

¹⁷³ Benwell, Harry A., *The History of the Yankee Division*, Cornhill Company, Boston, 1919, p. 32.

¹⁷⁴ Hume, Frank, "History of the 103rd infantry" (1919). *World War Regimental Histories*. 19.

http://digicom.bpl.lib.me.us/ww_reg_his/19, p. 7, January, 2018.

¹⁷⁵ "Letters from Soldiers," *The Echo*, November 4, 1917.

¹⁷⁶ "Letters from Soldiers," *The Echo*.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

hate” against the Kaiser, and although he would “[polish] off the Hun,” he would not do so with a vengeance.¹⁷⁸ Whitten references “Song of Hate Against England,” a poem by the German poet Ernst Lissauer.¹⁷⁹ Whitten also stated that while he knew some nations would want the Kaiser “boiled in oil // And his son fed to a shark” after the war, Whitten recommended instead just removing the Kaiser and all his affiliates and putting them somewhere remote where they could do no harm, such as “a sequestered farm,” or a “lonely rock.”¹⁸⁰ Whitten only “[longed] to see the German state, // Once more a happy land.”¹⁸¹ Whitten’s poem reflects a similar attitude to some members of the Colby home front. While Whitten wanted to participate, and do the work of defeating the German Army, he did not feel the need to destroy Germany, and only wanted to see order and peace restored, taking a similar attitude to *Alumnus* contributor Robert Cromwell, who suggested that one day the war would end and the need to use German would continue. While Whitten was ready to destroy the enemy army, he would not advocate the destruction of an entire state.

Whitten demonstrates the idea of the “Two Germanys” that Neiberg explores in the first chapter of *The Path to War*. Neiberg explains that Americans saw two separate Germanys: the militaristic, autocratic Prussian elite, and the rest of Germany.¹⁸² Americans, including emigrated German-Americans, saw the domineering Prussians as “strangling” the humanistic, scientific Germany that existed in previous years.¹⁸³ When war began in 1914, people blamed the Prussians rather than Germany, calling for the German people to rise against their government and take Germany back.¹⁸⁴ Whitten demonstrated this idea of two separate

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p.12.

¹⁸³ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p.12.

¹⁸⁴ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p.13.

Germanys by hoping to punish the Kaiser and the rest of the military elite who worked with them, because in his mind, typical at this time in the United States, these people should take the blame, not the common German citizen.

Another student who offers first-hand insight into war experience was Harold Osgood. Osgood, Class of 1919, was born in Epsom, New Hampshire, in 1897.¹⁸⁵ He wrote to his parents frequently, and his sister Edith published large portions of the letters years later.¹⁸⁶ During the war, he, like several of his classmates, worked as part of the medical attachment to the 103rd Division.¹⁸⁷ After the war, he taught at the Medford school and earned his master's degree from Tufts.¹⁸⁸ Osgood wrote to his parents for the first time shortly after his arrival.¹⁸⁹ His first letter was described in the previous section as his joy changed to gloom due to his arrival in the trenches.

The Yankee Division first went to Neufchateau, and moved to Chemin Des Dames in February 1918, to train with a French Division where there had recently been less action.¹⁹⁰ In July, when Osgood wrote his letter, they would have been in the Neufchateau area. The 101st, the 102nd, and the 103rd all occupied nearby villages during their stay.¹⁹¹ The army considered the sector a good place for the Americans to complete their training through first-hand experience since they considered it to be quiet.¹⁹² Chemin Des Dames, however, proved “as big a disappointment as [Osgood] ever had.”¹⁹³ Chemin Des Dames could have disappointed Osgood because of the lack of adventure while in training or because of the appearance of the

¹⁸⁵ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

¹⁸⁶ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 38, Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 46.

¹⁹¹ Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 30.

¹⁹² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 33.

¹⁹³ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

trenches, which differed from the traditional battlefield. The training occurred in several phases. First, units rotated through the front lines, then into the different support positions.¹⁹⁴

Eventually, the number of men increased and full battalions rotated through the lines.¹⁹⁵

Osgood describes one of these training missions, in which he and his fellow soldiers “packed and hiked” for thirteen hours, with men “dropping by two’s and three’s” as they walked.¹⁹⁶ Finally, the troop stopped in a forest where they slept under the trees for a few hours before being awoken by the firing of one of their own batteries nearby.¹⁹⁷ The firing turned out to be a mistake, but by the time Osgood’s troop found out, they were all awake, and it was decided they should hike the last five miles into a town.¹⁹⁸ Osgood states that he hoped they would stay there for a while to avoid any more excursions like the one he described in the letter.¹⁹⁹

Osgood, like Eaton, had initially hoped for adventure and instead introduces one of the realities of the trenches: long, gloomy walks, to arrive in obscure places, surrounded by nothing but trenches. The soldiers’ realities mostly included exhaustion, sleeping in uncomfortable places, and being awoken in unpleasant ways. Osgood’s anecdote also demonstrates the lack of preparedness of the 26th and the AEF with the description of the battery mistakenly firing.

Preston B. Libby, Class of 1918, and a member of the ambulance service, also wrote to the college on February 24.²⁰⁰ He reported that the 26th had been shelled and shot at with machine guns, and believed their training would end soon.²⁰¹ He also stated that the people at

¹⁹⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 33.

¹⁹⁶ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

¹⁹⁷ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ “Letters Received by Prof. Libby From Colby Boys in Service in France,” *The Echo*, March 27, 1918.

²⁰¹ “Letters Received by Prof. Libby From Colby Boys in Service in France,” *The Echo*.

home knew more about the war than the soldiers, and that he felt isolated on the front lines.²⁰²

Soldiers did most of their work at night since they had to hide from airplanes during the day, but they had witnessed some “excellent” air battles while hiding.²⁰³ Libby demonstrates the isolation of the front. Day in and day out, the soldiers witnessed fighting and had very little information of the general progression of the war outside their sector. When they did not fight, they hid and watched or listened to other fighting, another indication that the front did not offer the adventure many hoped for when they left for Europe.

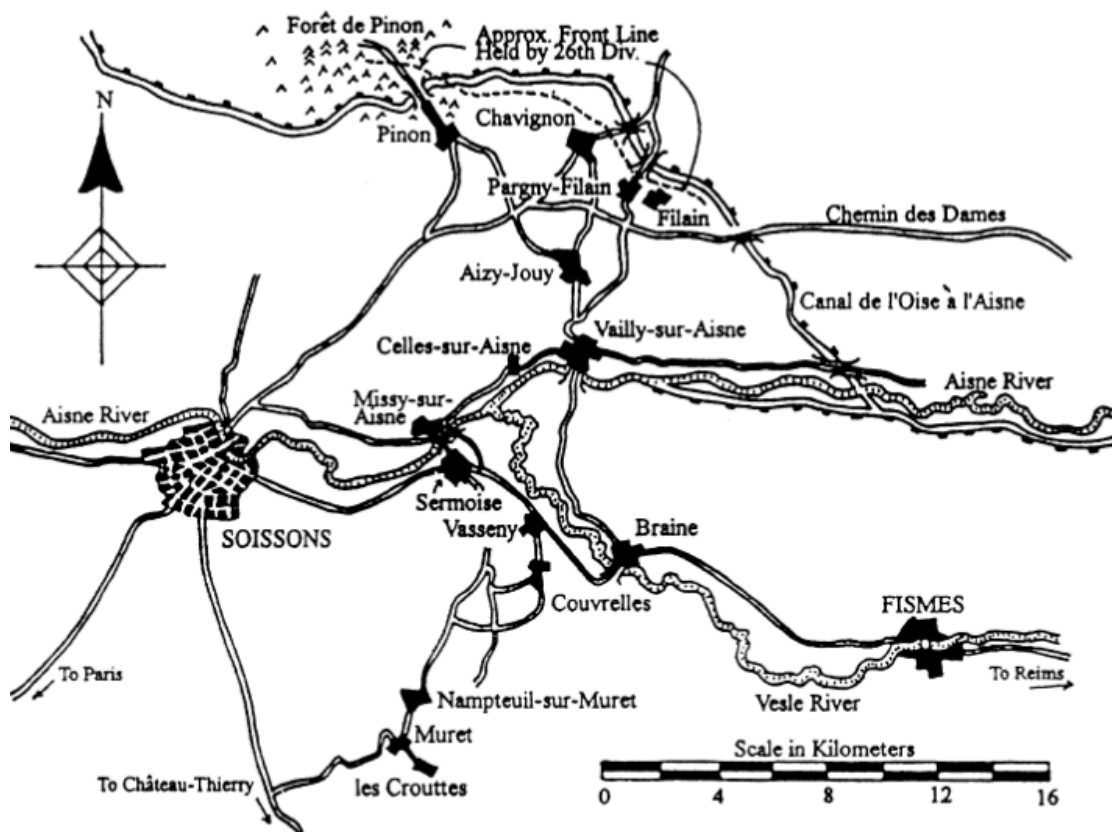


Figure 2 Chemin de Dames, Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 45, Courtesy of Edward MacEwen.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

After learning how to operate on the lines in Chemin des Dames, the Americans began taking over small missions, such as patrols or raids. While high command, which consisted of General John Pershing's staff, considered Chemin des Dames quiet, plenty of firing and warfare occurred, which enabled the Yankee Division to learn and begin to prove themselves. Nightly patrols became routine for the American soldiers, and they became superb at them as well as their other missions. Pershing inspected the division himself during training and declared them a "cracking good division."²⁰⁴ Due to their strong performance in training, Colonel George Shelton of the 104th regiment stationed near Toul, wrote to high command requesting that the 26th leave training and begin full service. Command granted the request and on March 18, 1918, the 26th set off for the Toul Sector with command of the sector passing to Edwards on March 28.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 79.

²⁰⁵ Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 107.

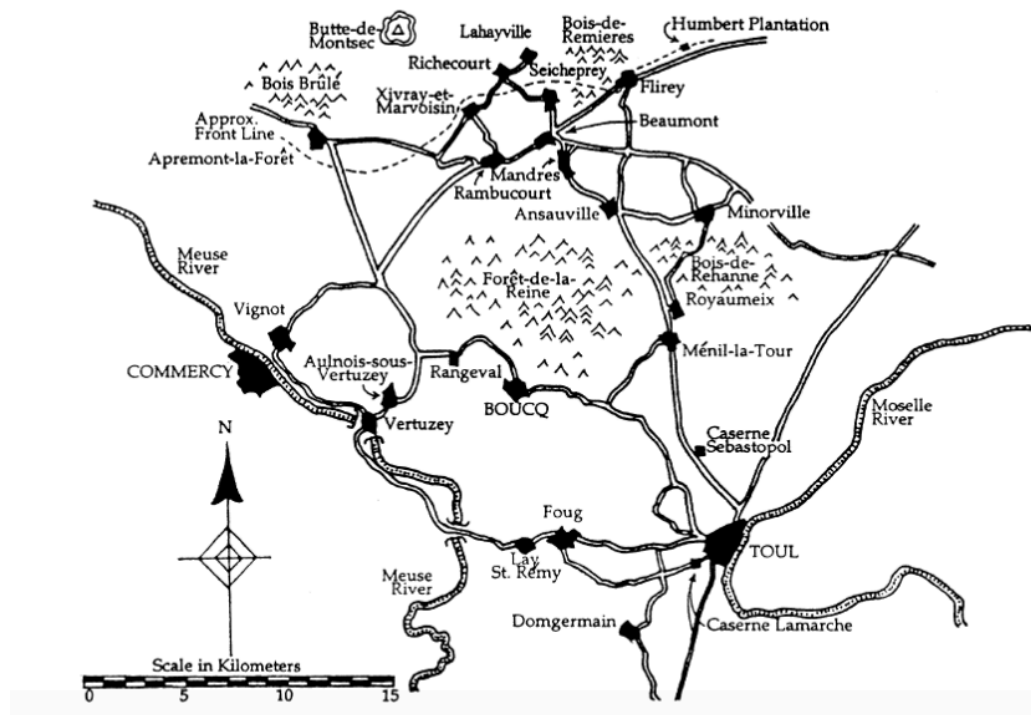


Figure 3 The Toul Sector, Shay, *The Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 68, Courtesy of Edward MacEwen

The Yankee Division continued to play an active role in the war in the Toul Sector. During their time in Toul, it experienced four major engagements: Apremont, Seicheprey, Hickey's Raid, and Xivray-et-Marvoisin. The sector contained some of the worst trenches on the Western Front. Due to the marshlands, men consistently stood knee deep in mud and water, making basic sanitation difficult.²⁰⁶ While Edwards initially wanted to shift the defense lines of the Toul Sector, he did not get the chance to do so before the Germans attacked.²⁰⁷

On April 10, the Germans launched their first attack against the 26th at Apremont, where the 104th served.²⁰⁸ Around four hundred *Sturmtruppen* (storm troopers) led the raid across No-Man's Land, but the 104th managed to receive them with timely artillery and held the position.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 71.

²⁰⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 71.

²⁰⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 74.

²⁰⁹ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 71.

The 103rd Ambulance Company, which included Preston Libby, aided the 104th during this time.²¹⁰ The company evacuated and treated nearly 200 casualties during the three-day battle.²¹¹

The Germans next attacked at Seicheprey on April 20th, where the 102nd regiment fought, including Colby class of 1916 Sargent W.F. Berry, Jr.²¹² The attack started early in morning with gas and shelling before 3,000 German troops including highly trained storm troopers appeared.²¹³ By 09:30, the Germans had begun to retreat, failing to break the line.²¹⁴ In his report, General Edwards described the 102nd as “pretty badly cut up” after the engagement due to high casualties.²¹⁵ The Germans also suffered high casualties due to the assault, so ultimately the numbers evened out.²¹⁶

The Americans launched their own offensive at the Toul Sector on May 31, 1918. The 101st regiment, which included Colby alumni P.A. Drummond and D.G. Roby, carried out Hickey’s Raid near Seicheprey with the intention of taking prisoners, destroying trenches, and lowering the enemy’s morale.²¹⁷ The raid began at 2:00 AM on May 31, and the men reached their destination quickly, finding it almost completely deserted except for one German, but they detected the smell of gas.²¹⁸ Even though most of the party that went on the raid developed varying levels of gas poisoning, command considered the raid a success because the men reached the desired position and brought back a prisoner.²¹⁹

²¹⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 76.

²¹¹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 77.

²¹² *Colby College Alumnus*, October 1917, p. 97-103.

²¹³ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 80.

²¹⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 86.

²¹⁵ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 73.

²¹⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 88.

²¹⁷ *Colby College Alumnus*, October 1917, p. 97-103; Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 90.

²¹⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 91.

²¹⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 91.

The final major assault that occurred in the Toul region happened at Xivray-et-Marvoisin, carried out by the 103rd regiment. On June 16, the Germans advanced three columns from the North and the West to surround the 103rd.²²⁰ The 103rd immediately engaged the Germans, destroying their machine gun emplacement at Xivray.²²¹ The 103rd managed to repel the assault with heavy machine gun fire.²²² The assault constituted a success for the 103rd, once again proving the strength of the Yankee division. The regiment had shown their ability to repel an attack and counter in a way that brought about victory.

During the engagement, Artie Stowell, class of 1919, died of injuries sustained during combat. John Arthur Stowell, who went by Artie, was born in Freeport, Maine, and was the first soldier from Freeport to enlist.²²³ His grave in an American cemetery in the Toul sector had wreaths from his infantry bandmates in the infantry band, another from his brother Raymond, who also fought in the 103rd, and from his Colby brothers in the Phi Delta Theta fraternity.²²⁴ F.D. Blanchard, Colby class of 1919, worked in the hospital where Stowell died of his wounds on June 16th.²²⁵ Blanchard reported that Stowell died bravely, and he hoped Colby would honor his death. Stowell's brother Raymond sent a telegram home to their parents to inform them of his brother's death stating, "Artie gone. Don't worry; I'm prouder of him than ever."²²⁶

Stowell died during Xivray, when he found himself engaged in battle. During engagements, musicians like Stowell acted as stretcher bearers. Private W.G. Hastings, also of the class of 1918, reported that Stowell received an injury, presumably due to shrapnel, while

²²⁰ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 83.

²²¹ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 83.

²²² Hume, Frank, "History of the 103rd infantry," p. 14.

²²³ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 52.

²²⁴ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 52.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

²²⁶ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 51.

evacuating his fellow soldiers out of No-Man's Land.²²⁷ Stowell dressed this injury himself in the middle of No-Man's Land and continued evacuating others.²²⁸ He worked until he received injuries to his arm and his leg, fracturing his leg so he could no longer carry men.²²⁹ Instead of being immediately removed from the battle, Stowell instead sacrificed himself and requested that another more severely injured man be removed first.²³⁰ Stowell died of his injuries a few hours later in one of the base hospitals.²³¹

Osgood, who checked the casualty lists frequently looking for people he knew, saw Stowell's name on the list.²³² He reported home to his family wondering whether he would ever get over the feeling of seeing a friend's name with the phrase "killed in action" after it.²³³ He added that seeing "Arty Stowell" on the list affected him more than he wanted it to as a soldier and hoped he would soon become immune to the "queer" feeling in his stomach at the sight of a friend's death.²³⁴ Osgood demonstrates the bond between Colby community members on the front, when seeing that one of their classmates had fallen. Osgood was at Xivray as a member of the medical detachment and could also have been evacuating injured soldiers off the battlefield. Osgood and Stowell could easily have traded places with Stowell writing home after learning of Osgood's death on the "Killed in Action" list. While Osgood clearly tries to be brave in his letter, his reaction to Stowell's death demonstrates the intense pain of the Western Front and the bonds of Colby soldiers.

²²⁷ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 52.

²²⁸ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 52.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²³³ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

In the Toul region almost all the regiments had been tested in one way or another by the Germans, and the regiments had mostly been victorious. They held their line well and captured prisoners, doing exactly what high command wanted them to do. On June 28, 1918, the 26th left the Toul Sector and went to the site of the most important battle in which they would fight: Chateau-Thierry.

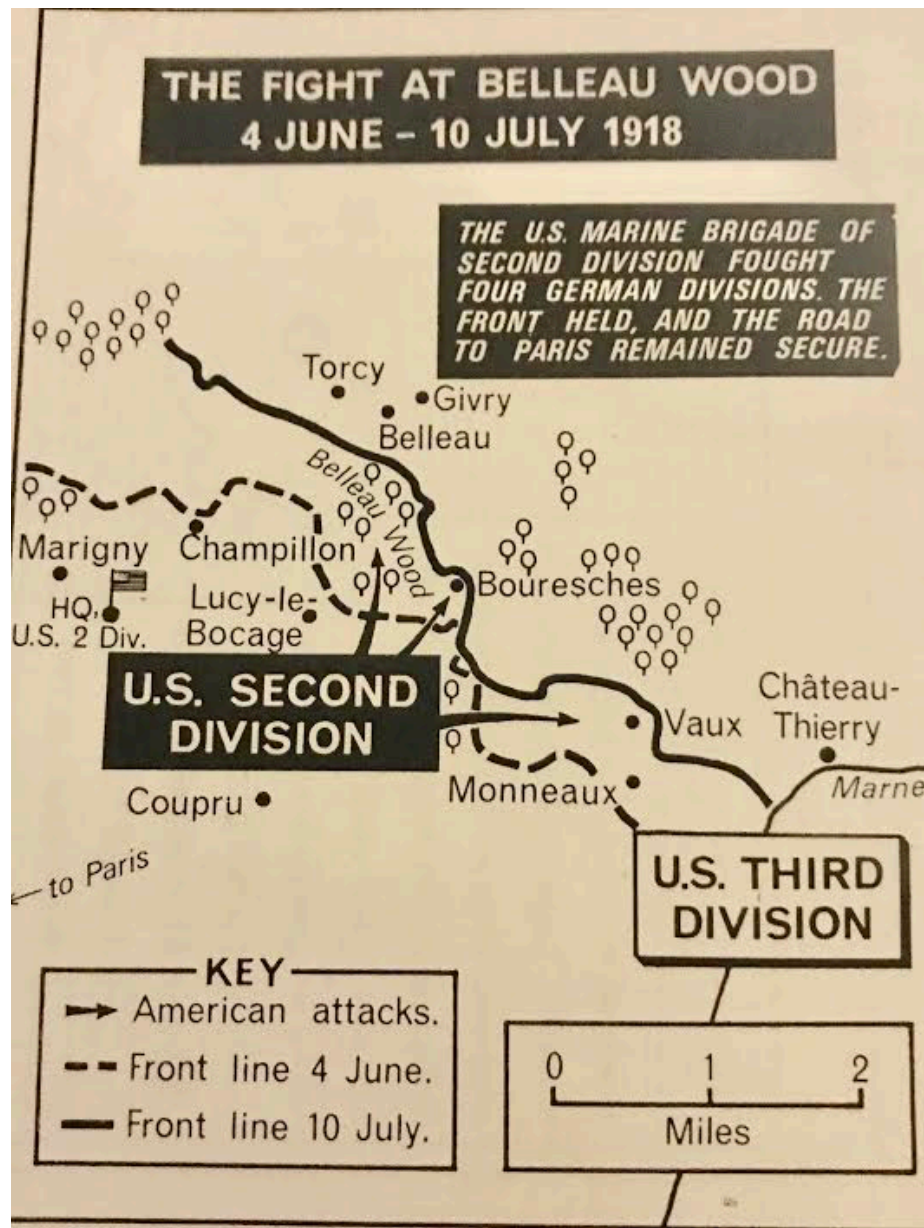


Figure 4 Banks, *A Military Atlas of the First World War*, p. 190

On June 28, the 26th division relieved the 2nd division in Chateau-Thierry.²³⁵ The 26th once again found themselves in the heat of action, especially in the Second Battle of the Marne where the division had to carry out a complicated pivot maneuver that required them to change direction twice.²³⁶ Prior to the 26th's arrival in Chateau-Thierry, Colby student Lieutenant Edward L. Eddy, class of 1917 had been stationed in the sector with the 6th division. During a charge on June 4th, Lieutenant Eddy died in action, the first of several Colby students and alumni who would die in Chateau-Thierry.²³⁷

Osgood described Chateau-Thierry as a “bad” campaign full of places like “Dead man’s curve, Hell’s Prayer bend, etc.” His activities there included such unpleasant activities as picking up soldiers with hunks taken out of them due to the intense shelling.²³⁸ Osgood described the battle as “noisy” and “disturbing” to sleep due to the shelling that raged constantly.²³⁹ Osgood and Sergeant Stanley Flagg, also from the Colby Class of 1918, came close to death by a shell while moving medical supplies along the front lines. A shell killed a mule carrying one of the wagons and injured the driver, though Flagg and Osgood escaped without injury.²⁴⁰ Osgood and Flagg would be transported in a little two-seat wagon being pulled thirty to forty miles per hour, with Flagg working the hand brake to prevent the two of them from being thrown out of the wagon.²⁴¹

At 12:30 AM on July 15, the Germans launched their last offensive.²⁴² Shelling and gas preceded the actual attack.²⁴³ The Allies managed to repel the Germans, and by July 17, they

²³⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 103.

²³⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 103-104.

²³⁷ *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 50.

²³⁸ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²³⁹ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 111.

²⁴³ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 111.

had their own counterattack in place. The 26th played a major role in the battle. The 103rd and 104th regiments held the left side of the line moving towards Belleau and Torcy, to spearhead the German lines, while the 101st and 102nd attempted to break through the German lines while also insuring the Germans could not have a successful counter attack.²⁴⁴ To the Yankee Division's left, command tasked the French 167th Division to take the critical Hill 193 and tasked the 103rd Regiment to take the village of Torcy and seize a railway embankment.²⁴⁵ Command ordered the 104th infantry to that the villages of Givry and Belleau.²⁴⁶

Despite the importance of their role, Osgood reported that the 26th had no idea that the Americans would partake in a "big drive."²⁴⁷ Osgood fought with Company C of the 103rd from July 4th to July 14th and only rested thirty-six hours before being called forward again to Belleau Wood, highlighting the greatest difficulty for the 26th during the Second Battle of the Marne: the lack of rest.²⁴⁸

On July 18, the Yankee Division began to prove themselves worthy of their assignment as the 104th and a battalion of the 102nd captured Belleau in the morning and made their way to Givry by the afternoon despite heavy machine gun fire from the Germans.²⁴⁹ They even managed to reach Hill 193, which the French had not taken by the time the Americans arrived, but they did not seize the hill as command directed the units not to do more than meet their objective.²⁵⁰ The 103rd successfully took Torcy the same day as well as the railroad embankment, and the 103rd Field Artillery began to pick off German machine gun nests.²⁵¹

²⁴⁴ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 94.

²⁴⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 114.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁴⁸ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁴⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 115.

²⁵⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 115.

²⁵¹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 118.

Osgood reported that the 103rd stayed in Belleau Woods until 3:00 pm on the 18th. He had a small dugout, with room for himself and barely anything else, as the Germans shelled the 103rd for hours on end.²⁵² Finally, at 3:00, the order came through, which command reported to the 103rd as “Go get ‘em, boys.”²⁵³ Osgood missed the first part of the advance, since command specifically ordered him to stay on the edge of the woods and receive the wounded.²⁵⁴ He states that the first part of the advance went smoothly and the men only stopped once to take out a machine gun nest.²⁵⁵ Then, just before the men reached Torcy, they met great resistance in the form of “severe fire from artillery and machine guns.”²⁵⁶ During this time, Osgood and the other men did not stop to eat or sleep while under constant fire and suffering massive losses.²⁵⁷ Of this advance, Osgood says, “Never in my life have I worked so hard, slept and eaten so little, felt less nervous, yet been scared blue.”²⁵⁸

The success of the initial advancement came at a heavy cost. Osgood describes one of the countless injured soldiers he saw during the fight. He described a “well-built lad” with his face “gauged out by machine gun bullets. Blind, nose gone and mouth just a hole, no teeth. He resembled a skeleton. Still, I’m afraid he’ll live.”²⁵⁹ Osgood’s graphic description demonstrates the horror of this day of battle. Not only did many die, but others suffered injuries so gruesome that their comrades, like Osgood, hoped they would die as it would be less painful than living in such an awful state.

²⁵² “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁵³ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

July 19th, the day after the initial assault, ended up being a quiet one with only sporadic machine gun fire.²⁶⁰ The French, unable to take Hill 193, asked the Americans for assistance, and General Edwards agreed to provide fire power, but not men for the assault.²⁶¹ The French did not take the hill, and command cancelled all American attacks that day as a result.²⁶²

Despite the lack of action, Chateau-Thierry claimed another Colby student on the 19th. Henry B. Pratt, Colby class of 1918, died in action, presumably from the sporadic machine gun fire that plagued the day.²⁶³ Only a month earlier, Pratt had written to President Roberts telling him that through the war he had remained “fat” and “harder” than ever.²⁶⁴ He also mentioned that his copies of the *Echo* came frequently and he had enjoyed the company of many other Colby students and alumni during his time on the front allowing them to exchange stories and memories of “Old Colby.”²⁶⁵

July 20th proved the exact opposite of the previous day. Command ordered a general attack where the brigades would take Les Brusses Ferme, the surrounding woods, La Gonetrie Ferme, and Hills 190 and 201.²⁶⁶ The units intended to attack at 1:30 PM, but due to German gassing, they could not attack until 3:00 PM.²⁶⁷ German machine gun fire fell heavily on the right side of the Yankee line, making it difficult for the 101st and 102nd to arrive at their objectives, but they managed to obtain Les Petits Bois, Bois de Rochets, and Hill 204, albeit with delays.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 118.

²⁶¹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 118.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ *Colby Alumnus, 1918-1919*, p. 53.

²⁶⁴ *Colby Alumnus, 1918-1919*, p. 54.

²⁶⁵ *Colby Alumnus, 1918-1919*, p. 54.

²⁶⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 118.

²⁶⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 119.

²⁶⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 119.

Meanwhile, on the left side of the Yankee line, the 103rd and 104th Regiments felt the pain of the French failure to take Hill 193.²⁶⁹ The brigade managed to reach the ridge of their target, Les Brusses Ferme, but could not advance any further due to the heavy German machine gun fire from Hill 193.²⁷⁰ By 6:00 PM, the brigade managed to close in on La Gonettrie Ferme, close to succeeding in their primary objective, though far from their secondary objective.²⁷¹ They also managed to gain a foothold on Hill 190, putting them in a place to take it the next day.²⁷² Despite the odds on July 20th, the Yankee brigade still managed to make progress, ensuring that the Allied attack on their section of the line could continue despite the failure of the French to take Hill 193. However, the division's success did come at a price. It suffered 1,752 casualties, mostly in the infantry, in the first three days of fighting.²⁷³ Despite General Edwards pleading with the sector's command to relieve his men, the generals refused, and the Yankee Division stayed on the front lines.²⁷⁴

The 101st and 102nd Regiments began their day on July 21 at 4:00 AM by firing machine guns at the German lines to clear a path for an assault.²⁷⁵ Meanwhile, the 103rd and 104th Regiments advanced 2,000 yards without meeting any Germans other than the occasional sacrifice post, where soldiers sacrificed themselves to slow the advance and allow the greater army to escape.²⁷⁶ The 103rd and 104th Regiments followed their orders, continuing to press on and on until they could go no further.²⁷⁷ The advance halted 800 yards northwest of Trugny,

²⁶⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 121.

²⁷⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 122.

²⁷¹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 121.

²⁷² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 121.

²⁷³ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 123.

²⁷⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 123.

²⁷⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 124.

²⁷⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 124-125.

²⁷⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 125.

where the silent march ended with raucous machine gun fire.²⁷⁸ The Yankee Division dug in for the night and resumed their forward march the next day.

July 22nd proved a frustrating and brutal day of fighting. In the night, General Hunter Liggett ordered the 103rd and 104th regiments to sideslip into French territory and be there by daybreak, despite not knowing the actual location of both regiments.²⁷⁹ He later rescinded the order, but the infantry did not receive the new instructions until 5:30 AM, when it had already begun the scheduled attack.²⁸⁰ Edwards eventually ordered his men to return to their original positions within the sector, but the units could not undo the damage completely, and some French and American units remained intermingled during the remainder of the assault.²⁸¹ Luckily, due to the Yankee Division's grit, the day still ended up productive as the 101st and 102nd Regiments captured Trugny, further pushing back the Germans.²⁸²

The 22nd proved to be an important day for a Colby soldier, Private C. Gordon Brownville, Class of 1920. He won a distinguished service cross for bravery on July 20th and July 22nd.²⁸³ Brownville had been born in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1898. At Colby, he pledged the Zeta Psi fraternity and played varsity football.²⁸⁴ Like many of his classmates, Brownville left Colby in 1917 to join the war, joining the medical detachment of the Second Maine, which later became the 103rd.²⁸⁵ After the war, Brownville returned to Colby to complete his studies and became a preacher after graduation.²⁸⁶ He became well-known as a preacher due

²⁷⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 126.

²⁷⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 126.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 128.

²⁸³ Charles Gordon Brownville Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

²⁸⁴ Brownville Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

to his association with Billy Graham and the Evangelist movement.²⁸⁷ Colby later awarded him a gavel for his work as a preacher.²⁸⁸

On July 20 and 22, Brownville found himself on the front lines of the Second Battle of the Marne with the rest of the 103rd. While having nearly lost his life only moments before because of machine gun fire, Brownville got his hands on a box of grenades.²⁸⁹ He and his fellow injured soldiers began hurling the grenades at the advancing enemy.²⁹⁰ They managed to take out all but one German.²⁹¹ Brownville stood to take the German on himself, and the opposing soldier shot him with a revolver.²⁹² Brownville made one final effort though, standing and throwing his bayonet at the German, slashing his throat open and ultimately killing him.²⁹³ Four of the five men with Brownville lived to see the next day due to Brownville's heroism.²⁹⁴ After the war, Brownville also received divisional and regimental citations for his overall service.²⁹⁵

The attack resumed the next morning, on July 23, at 3:55 AM with the 101st as the spearhead of the attack with the orders to "push, push, push...to the limit of endurance."²⁹⁶ General Edwards and his staff found the command ridiculous as the division had already been pushed to its limit, and he managed to delay the attack until 8:30 AM.²⁹⁷ By 8:00 PM, the Yankees won part of Trugny Forest, but they needed more for the assault to continue successfully.²⁹⁸ The Yankees still had not captured as much of the forest as needed, and

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Letter from Cecil Goddard to Gordon Brownville, Brownville Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Brownville Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

²⁹⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 130.

²⁹⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 130.

²⁹⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 131.

Edwards told Liggett that his men needed to rest.²⁹⁹ Liggett replied that Edwards should follow his orders.³⁰⁰ Luckily, the Germans pulled back during the night, making the assault the next day easier.³⁰¹ The Yankees ended their march a few miles away from Sergy where the 42nd Division came to relieve them.³⁰² The division had suffered thousands of casualties for its assault on the Germans.

The Germans never again mounted an attack in this sector. The Yankee Division pushed the Germans back eleven miles under heavy fire during their part in the tide-changing campaign, with the members who stayed behind pushing even further. Their contributions to the eventual victory cannot be disputed after their success in the Second Battle of the Marne, especially considering the brutal conditions and heavy casualties. The Yankee Division demonstrated their grit many times in the war, but no more so than during this campaign. And despite the heavy casualties and the complete exhaustion of the 26th, their service did not end. After their relief at Chateau-Thierry, the Yankees went to St. Mihiel, the Troyon Sector, and Verdun.

²⁹⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 132.

³⁰⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 132.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 133.

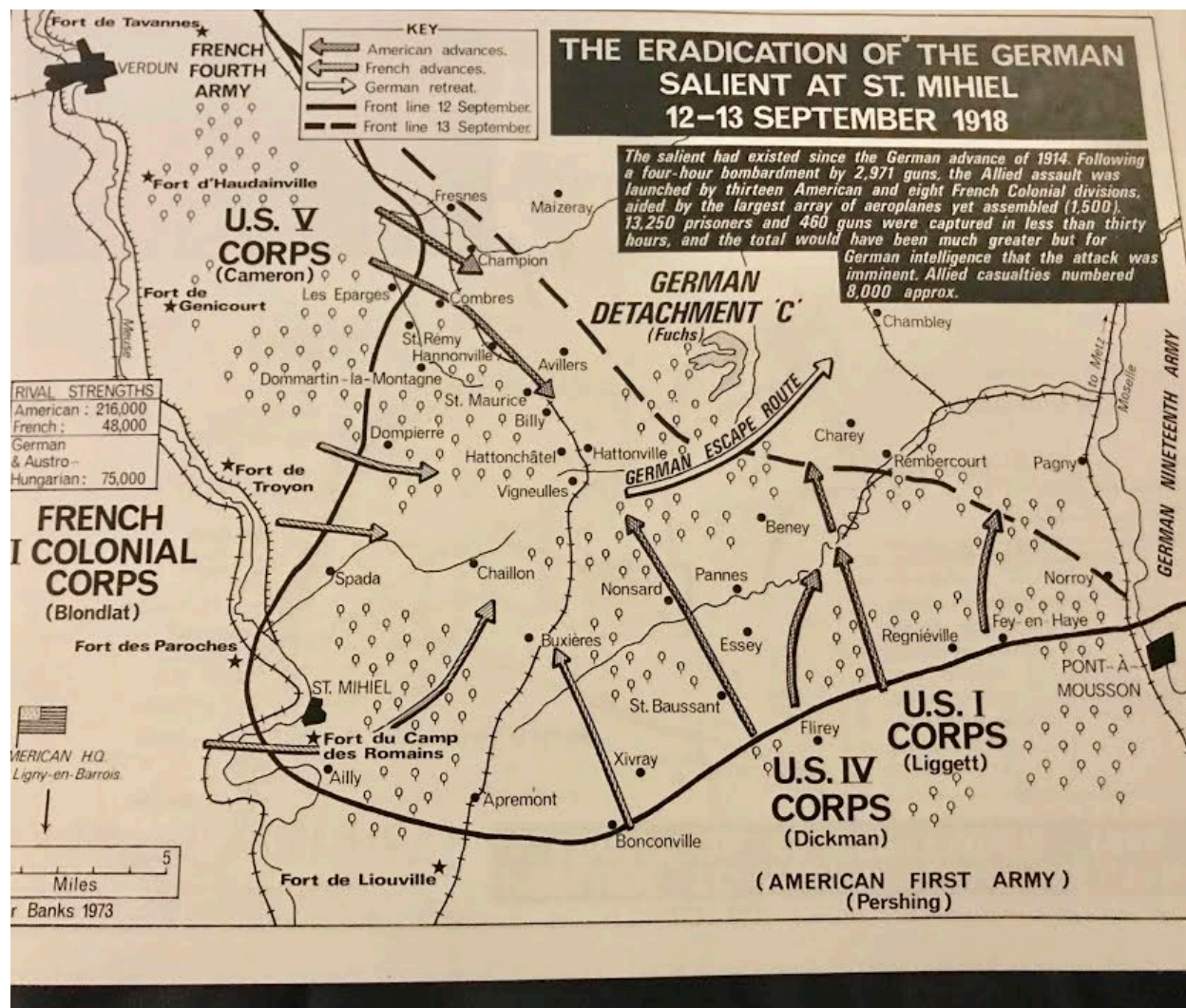


Figure 5 Banks, *A Military Atlas of the First World War*, p. 192

In August, after the Second Battle of the Marne, General Pershing wanted an assault at St. Mihiel to take the St. Mihiel salient.³⁰³ The St. Mihiel salient was a bulge of the front controlled by the Germans since 1914. It allowed the German artillery to control a rail line to Verdun. The Yankees began their journey south to participate in the assault, joining Major General George Cameron's V Corps.³⁰⁴ After a short stint in the 12th Training Area, the Yankees

³⁰³ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 144.

³⁰⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 144.

moved to St. Mihiel for the upcoming attack.³⁰⁵ The first attack was supposed to be launched September 11, however it was delayed until the 12th, taking the Germans by surprise when the attack came a day later than expected.³⁰⁶ The Yankees began their attack at 8:00, seven hours after the initial assault with the 101st in the front and the 102nd in support.³⁰⁷ Despite an uneven assault, they took out machine gun fire and arrived at their objective at 7:00 PM.³⁰⁸ However, Edwards received an order instructing the 26th to continue their march, so the Yankees marched, reaching Vigneulles at 5:00 AM on September 13.³⁰⁹ When the 26th arrived they immediately began looking for prisoners and war materials while also stumbling upon such treasures as cigars, cigarettes, beer, cognac, whisky and other goods of which they had been deprived on the front.³¹⁰

During the successful march to Vigneulles, the 103rd captured a battalion of Germans.³¹¹ Additionally, the 26th managed to go farther than their original objective and capture many prisoners in difficult, muddy conditions, with resistance from the Germans.³¹² According to Harry Benwell, a historian of the 26th, the march proved so successful because the speed at which the 26th moved surprised the Germans, despite this knowledge of an impending American attack.³¹³

The Yankees continued their success on September 13, as the 103rd Regiment continued their march.³¹⁴ The 103rd reached the crest of the hill with little opposition and limited casualties, though they had captured prisoners and materials such as ammunition and equipment

³⁰⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 146.

³⁰⁶ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 137.

³⁰⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 149.

³⁰⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 150.

³⁰⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 151.

³¹⁰ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 154.

³¹¹ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 139.

³¹² Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 155-156.

³¹³ Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 139.

³¹⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 158.

and had taken out German machine-gunners.³¹⁵ The division captured 2,400 troops, and the battle finished only two days after it started on September 14.³¹⁶

Osgood described the St. Mihiel assault as representing the most miserable days of his life.³¹⁷ He reported hiking miles in the rain and not being dry or eating or sleeping for days on end, yet being too far behind to get in on any of the best action, meaning he did not get to partake in pushing the Germans back and engaging them directly.³¹⁸ Heavy mud stuck to his feet, making the march more miserable.³¹⁹ One redeeming factor, however, was finding large amounts of German supplies, including food, furniture, utensils, clothing, shoes, games, and pictures.³²⁰ Osgood and his fellow soldiers had a feast that night of potatoes and rabbit stew, probably the best meal Osgood had eaten since his arrival in the trenches.³²¹

After St. Mihiel, the 26th moved to the Troyon Sector, just north of St. Mihiel, from September 14 to October 6. The Troyon Sector did not offer much action, except for an attack on September 26 when the division made a diversion attack to open the Meuse-Argonne Offensive.³²² While the division did divert German attention, the 103rd suffered high casualties while taking the town of Raiville, and while technically the division succeeded, the number of casualties in the already depleted ranks of the 26th made the victory far less sweet.³²³

In the attack on September 26th, Lieutenant George Bourque, Colby class of 1918 and commander of Company B in the 103rd, died in action due to machine gun fire, according to his obituary in the *Alumnus*, which presumably would have received its information from Bourque's

³¹⁵ Hume, Frank, "History of the 103rd infantry," p. 22.

³¹⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 159.

³¹⁷ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³¹⁸ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ *Ibid.*

³²¹ *Ibid.*

³²² Benwell, *The History of the Yankee Division*, p. 166.

³²³ Hume, Frank, "History of the 103rd infantry," p. 26-27.

family.³²⁴ Osgood, however, reports that a sniper shot Bourque and that he died within an hour of being shot.³²⁵ Bourque had an impressive military record, enlisting at age sixteen and spending a year at Colby after he enlisted before fighting broke out.³²⁶ His troops reported that he had often been in dangerous situations abroad and had faced them with courage that also inspired his troops.³²⁷ In his last letter to the *Alumnus*, Bourque thanked Libby for the magazine saying it cheered him up because it provided him with “friendly surroundings.”³²⁸

While Osgood could not report much about the 26th and 27th to his parents, because the censor would not allow it, he did report the death of Bourque.³²⁹ He told his parents that despite the low casualties, he sorrowfully had to tell them that yet another Colby classmate had died.³³⁰ While Osgood does not go into such detail about his feelings about Bourque’s death as he did about Stowell’s death, the fact that he told his parents demonstrates that the moment was important to him. At this point, Osgood had been in war for over six months, and death had become as much a part of life as eating and sleeping.

Osgood reported miserable conditions in the Troyon Sector. The area was cold and muddy and rainy, and Osgood’s dugout leaked.³³¹ Despite the leaking, Osgood reported wanting to stay in his dugout to sleep except for meal times, evidently exhausted from so many months on the Western Front.³³² When the rain subsided, a late September heat wave tormented the soldiers.³³³ They continuously learned on the front the immense discomforts and miseries of war, not only in terms of fighting, but also regarding the living conditions of the front.

³²⁴ *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 58.

³²⁵ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 59.

³²⁹ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³³⁰ “The Student-Soldier,” Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ *Ibid.*

On October 6, the 79th Division began relief of the 26th.³³⁴ The Yankees then headed to their final destination during the war, Verdun, also known as the Neptune Sector. Although historians mostly discuss Verdun in the context of the horrors during the great German-French battle of 1916, by the time the Yankees arrived the sector did not have much active combat. Still, the final month of the war practically destroyed the Yankee Division due to questionable calls by command. The 26th returned to position warfare in Verdun, meaning all the 26th needed to do was prevent the Germans from passing their line.³³⁵ Despite the Germans retreating further every day and the end of the war being in sight, the 26th still received orders to go over the top of the trenches multiple times. These raids proved costly, especially for the 103rd and 104th Regiments, who went over the top on October 16.³³⁶

Even worse for the division, General Pershing relieved General Edwards of command on October 20, a controversial move that greatly upset the soldiers of the 26th, with whom Edwards had been popular.³³⁷ Edward's dismissal did not surprise many as Pershing had scrutinized Edwards considerably since his arrival in France and put pressure on his immediate supervisors to relieve him.³³⁸ Why Pershing decided to relieve Edwards of command despite his excellent record on the Western Front remains controversial. Pershing could have seen Edwards as a rival due to his connections to influential people in the United States, such as former President William Taft.³³⁹ With General Edwards, and the 26th lost their leader and ally. Edwards had vouched for the 26th repeatedly throughout the war such as asking command to relieve the 26th due to overwork and exhaustion.

³³⁴ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 173-174.

³³⁵ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 175.

³³⁶ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 179.

³³⁷ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 179, 186.

³³⁸ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 183.

³³⁹ Shay, *Yankee Division in the First World War: In the Highest Tradition*, p. 183.

Along with Edwards' dismissal, more casualties occurred, despite commanders knowing an armistice would soon be signed. Osgood describes lying out in an open field all night long, being shelled the entire time, and having to move the dressing station, where he provided immediate battlefield treatment, three times during the night.³⁴⁰ While he had not sustained any injuries, he describes constant aches and pains, which he suspected the rain and a general lack of care had caused.³⁴¹ While Osgood suffered no detrimental injuries during the war, a friend reported to his parents that Osgood was shelled and gassed and suffered from a broken eardrum, which Osgood neglected to include in the letters to his parents.³⁴² The shelling and gassing especially could have contributed to the aches Osgood felt by September.

During this time, the casualties continued to be gruesome. Osgood tended to one young man who had one leg completely shot off, the other broken and mangled, and his right hand crushed to pulp.³⁴³ Osgood said the soldier complained the entire time about being sent home and died shortly after being brought in.³⁴⁴

Without the questionable orders to continue launching raids rather than use artillery or simply maintain the defensive during the last month of the war, the 26th could have stayed being stationed in France after the armistice. However, the numbers of soldiers had already been depleted after two large assaults at Chateau-Thierry and St. Mihiel and could not stand the losses at Verdun. The infantry especially had been destroyed, and any replacements who could have been brought in would have been more costly and ineffective as it would have required additional training for the entire division, which would seem counterproductive as the army began its slow exit from France right after the signing of the armistice.

³⁴⁰ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³⁴¹ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

Osgood described the moment the armistice began in a letter home. He had been engaged right on the barbed wire of No-Man's Land, and the German gunners had just started firing on him and his group.³⁴⁵ Halfway across No-Man's Land, Osgood's unit received an order to stop and on the hour, the guns stopped firing and everything became "suddenly still."³⁴⁶ They waited for an hour, expecting the guns to start again until finally, the captain got up from his shell hole and said "Boys, I think I've led you over the top for the last time, thank God."³⁴⁷ If Osgood's unit had not received their order to halt when they did and continued their march into No-Man's Land, most of them would have been killed in the last few minutes of the war.³⁴⁸

The 26th then had one day on the front to rest and another to salvage and bury their dead.³⁴⁹ They then began their ten-day hike away from the front. Osgood reports that many of the men hiked while ill or became ill while hiking.³⁵⁰ Osgood himself hiked with a one hundred and two-degree fever.³⁵¹ Although the men were sick and tired on a brutal hike, they had lived through the war, and would be going home soon.

The 26th left France aboard the *Mt. Vernon* on March 20, 1919, and arrived back in Boston on April 4, 1919.³⁵² The Yankee Division had served one of the longest campaigns of any American unit and had heavily contributed to the war effort, in critical campaigns at Chateau-Thierry and St. Mihiel, to help the Allies to victory.

Several soldiers, Osgood included, stayed behind in France to take advantage of the G.I. bill and study at a French University. Osgood studied at the University of Caen in Normandy.³⁵³

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Ibid.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Sibley, *With the Yankee Division in France*, p. 351.

³⁵³ "The Student-Soldier," Stephenson, Osgood Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

Frederick Hussey and Harold Goodrich, Colby classes of 1918 and 1920 respectively, both studied at the University of Rennes.³⁵⁴ Gerald McCarthy, also of the class of 1919 like Osgood, studied at the University of Poitiers.³⁵⁵ All these men obtained credit from Colby for their courses abroad and received degrees from Colby the next year.

Chateau-Thierry and St. Mihiel especially proved significant engagements. At Chateau-Thierry, the Allies not only stopped the German assault from breaking through the lines, they also launched a critical campaign that began pushing the Germans back. Chateau-Thierry was the beginning of the end for the German army, and the counter-attack might not have been such a success without the hard work of the 26th division to push the Germans back even in the difficult conditions under which they fought.

While the Allies made progress at Chateau-Thierry, the 26th's other major contribution, St. Mihiel, was the Americans' first major victory abroad. It made it clear that the new army would be changing the course of the war from attrition back to full assault to get the Germans out of France. Like Chateau-Thierry, St. Mihiel demonstrated that the end of the war would be arriving sooner rather than later.

The Colby students' and alumni's service in this division once again shows the high level of involvement of Colby students during the First World War, especially once the Americans officially entered the war in 1917. The men who served in the AEF made up a small number of total Colby students on the honor roll, the total of which spanned several hundred, with other men serving in camps, the Navy, or the Air Force. The war influenced the lives of the soldiers because, as Osgood demonstrates, it consumed their lives.

³⁵⁴ Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Frederick Knowlton Hussey Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Harold Wilson Goodrich File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

³⁵⁵ Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Gerald Raleigh MacCarthy Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

The American Army and the Flu

War and disease have been linked throughout history. The combination of living in close quarters with other people and the exposure to pathogens that comes with it creates a breeding ground for disease. Add in a lack of hygiene and the proximity of corpses, and an epidemic can practically be guaranteed. Napoleon's armies suffered from typhoid fever, which also affected soldiers in the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. By World War I, doctors had figured out how to contain, control, and even cure many of these diseases. However, the global pandemic of Spanish Influenza ravaged armies and civilians in 1918-1919, killing thousands, including eight Colby students in the US and abroad.

The flu managed to kill so many because of the way it spread and the respiratory symptoms it caused. It came in three waves during 1918-1919: a mild wave in the spring and summer of 1918, the most lethal wave in the fall of 1918, and a less severe third wave in the winter and spring of 1919.³⁵⁶ The first reported epidemic occurred at Camp Devens, Massachusetts, beginning on September 7, 1918, in the D Company of the 42nd Infantry, according to military reports.³⁵⁷ By September 12th, 599 cases had been admitted with the disease reaching its peak on September 20th when the hospital admitted 1,543 new cases.³⁵⁸ After hitting the peak, the new cases rapidly declined to fewer than 100 per day, admittedly still a large number, but significantly smaller than peak flu admission.³⁵⁹ However, due to the inability to control the respiratory symptoms, the flu turned into pneumonia for many patients

³⁵⁶ Barry, John M, Viboud, Cécile, Simonsen, Lone, "Cross-Protection between Successive Waves of the 1918-1919 Influenza Pandemic: Epidemiological Evidence from US Army Camps and from Britain," *The Journal of Infectious Diseases*, Vol. 198, No. 10, November 15, 2008, pp. 1427-143, Oxford University Press, p. 1427.

³⁵⁷ Soper, George A, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," *Science, New Series*, Vol. 48, No. 1245, November 8, 1918, pp. 451-456, American Association for the Advancement of Science, p. 452.

³⁵⁸ Soper, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," p. 452.

³⁵⁹ Soper, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," p. 452.

with fifty new cases reported on September 19th, and 342 new cases reported on September 24th.³⁶⁰ The cases decreased thereafter, and by October 4th, the hospital only admitted around five new cases per day.³⁶¹

During the outbreak at Camp Devens, two Colby alumni died. Charles Stuartevant, class of 1897, and Frederick Deasy, class of 1914.³⁶² Deasy died first, on September 19, 1917, as the flu outbreak turned into pneumonia for him.³⁶³ Stuartevant died on the 23rd, seven days after contracting influenza.³⁶⁴ Deasy was born in Houlton, Maine, and worked as a bookkeeper after leaving Colby.³⁶⁵ Prior to the war, he worked as a tax collector and achieved the rank of corporal at Camp Devens before he died.³⁶⁶ Stuartevant had been a physician, who studied at Boston University after Colby.³⁶⁷ He had been born in Oakland, Maine, but spent his career in Massachusetts and New Hampshire.³⁶⁸ World War I had been his second war, having previously served in the Spanish-American War and he was a captain when he died.³⁶⁹

From Camp Devens, the flu infected Fort Upton, on Long Island, then Fort Lee in Virginia, Fort Dix in New Jersey, and Fort Jackson in South Carolina.³⁷⁰ Hoboken, New Jersey, Syracuse, New York, Fort Gordon in Georgia, and Fort Humphreys in Virginia all reported flu epidemics on the same day.³⁷¹ The Sanitary Corps, the department of the army that deals with disease and sanitation in the army, reported that the flu acted in these locations as it did at Camp

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 54. General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 328.

³⁶³ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 328.

³⁶⁴ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 54.

³⁶⁵ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 328.

³⁶⁶ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 328.

³⁶⁷ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 306.

³⁶⁸ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 306.

³⁶⁹ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 306.

³⁷⁰ Soper, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," p. 453.

³⁷¹ Soper, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," p. 453.

Devens, coming and going quickly and killing through either the flu itself or through the pneumonia it caused if respiratory symptoms could not be controlled.³⁷²

The flu continued to spread, killing another six Colby students. William Weeden, class of 1912, died on October 2, 1918, at Fort Hamilton in New York.³⁷³ Hugh Kelley and Raymond Blades, students at Colby in the SATC, died the next month on November 22nd and November 28th respectively at Colby.³⁷⁴ Joseph Besse died on December 24, 1918, at his home in Maine.³⁷⁵ Edward Washburn, who had been stationed at Camp Devens before being transferred to Cleveland, Ohio, died of the flu in Ohio.³⁷⁶

Across the ocean, the flu killed 79,610 American soldiers on the Western Front.³⁷⁷ As in the camps, the flu would come in three waves, starting off mildly and building rapidly, then disappearing just as soon as it came, and spreading rapidly all over the Western Front as people carried the disease to other parts of the line.³⁷⁸ Elvin Allen, Colby class of 1901, who had been stationed in France with the Y.M.C.A. since February of 1918, contracted the flu, which turned into pneumonia, ultimately killing him.³⁷⁹

Once the bases isolated the sick soldiers, they had to figure out how to keep them alive. The flu displays a variety of symptoms, almost all of which contemporary doctors knew how to control, except for the respiratory issues. In 2011, ten scientists conducted an autopsy of sixty-eight soldiers who died in 1918. The scientists found influenza viral bronchitis in all the bodies,

³⁷² Soper, "The Influenza Pneumonia Pandemic in the American Army Camps during September and October, 1918," p. 454.

³⁷³ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 109.

³⁷⁴ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 108.

³⁷⁵ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 109.

³⁷⁶ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 182.

³⁷⁷ Byerly, Carol R, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 125, April 2010, pp. 82-91, Sage Publications Inc., p. 89.

³⁷⁸ Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," p. 86.

³⁷⁹ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 54.

demonstrating how doctors could not control the respiratory symptoms.³⁸⁰ The doctors could do little more than provide their patients with warmth, rest, and a gentle diet and hope they did not contract pneumonia, which would almost certainly kill them.³⁸¹

Due to the inability to control the flu, the disease did more damage to the American army than the Germans did. According to one tally, 227,000 soldiers went to the hospital due to battlefield injuries as compared with 340,000 soldiers hospitalized with the flu.³⁸² In total, 50% of deaths American army (57,460) occurred due to the flu as compared to the 43% (50,280) of deaths that occurred due to battlefield injury between April 6, 1917, and July 1, 1919.³⁸³ Of the deaths caused by the flu, 69% (79,610) occurred in the A.E.F. and 31% (36,000) occurred in the camps in the United States.³⁸⁴ The flu proved detrimental to the United States Armed Forces, causing over a hundred-thousand deaths. Ultimately, these flu deaths could not have been prevented. While doctors had the knowledge to stop the flu, they lacked the tools.³⁸⁵ While doctors could maybe have controlled a few cases, they stood little chance at saving the hundreds of people who would flood the hospital in a relatively short period of time. Since the flu spread quickly from person to person and the soldiers had so much contact with each other, it would have been impossible to stop it from spreading the way it did unless command had changed the setup of the Western Front to stop men from being close together, a strategy that would not be practical for ground attacks in war, regardless of the style of the war. The flu continues the long, tragic history of disease in war.

³⁸⁰ Sheng, Zong-Mei, Chertow, Daniel S, Ambroggio, Xavier, McCall, Sherman, Pryzgodski, Ron M, Cunningham, Robert E, Maximova, Olga A, Kash, John C, More, David M, Taubenberger, Jeffrey K, "Autopsy series of 68 cases dying before and during the 1918 influenza pandemic peak," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, Vol. 108, No. 39, September 27, 2011, pp. 16416-16421, National Academy of Sciences, p. 16417.

³⁸¹ Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," p. 85.

³⁸² Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," p. 89.

³⁸³ Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," p. 89.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

³⁸⁵ Byerly, "The U.S. Military and the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919," p. 86.

On November 11, 1918, people flooded the streets to celebrate the end of the war, creating the situation many health officers had worked to avoid. The congregation of people close to each other created ideal conditions for the flu to spread rapidly to many people, who in turn could spread it to others.³⁸⁶ Local governments and officials could not prevent the peace celebrations and watched as the flu continued to destroy the country. After the war had ended, the flu remained at large and would remain so for another year after the Armistice.

³⁸⁶ Navarro, Julian A, "Influenza in 1918: An Epidemic in Images," *Public Health Reports*, Vol. 125, April 2010, pp. 9-14, Sage Publications Inc., p. 13.

Service in the Y.M.C.A. in World War I

Civilians not only served abroad as soldiers, but also in relief services like the Red Cross, the *Foyer du soldat*, and the Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.). Fifteen Colby alumni served in the Y.M.C.A. as well as one Colby professor.³⁸⁷ Four of these sixteen Colby men, Professor Clarence R. Johnson, alumnus James Perry (1911), alumnus John Moore Maxwell (1910), and alumnus Victor Ray Jones (1908) joined the Y.M.C.A. prior to America's entrance into the war for a variety of reasons and all of them, except Johnson, continued to serve with the French army even after the Americans arrived.³⁸⁸ The other twelve joined in 1917. The Y.M.C.A. men from Colby tended to be older than the soldiers who served, seven led within their respective churches.³⁸⁹ This could be expected of the Y.M.C.A., as it offered an opportunity for older men to serve in the war when the army would not take them, and the Y.M.C.A.'s religious affiliation would have appealed to those who had dedicated their life to the church. Colby Y.M.C.A. volunteers also served both abroad and at the camps at home, doing reasonably similar activities. The experience of the Colby men demonstrates the overall mission of the Y.M.C.A. to make soldiers as happy as possible to remove some of the stress of the war.

The Y.M.C.A. had two major services in the war. One was the Y.M.C.A.'s work with prisoners of war (POWs) from Germany and Austria in France and the other was the Y.M.C.A. huts along the Western Front and in camps in the United States that offered a variety of services

³⁸⁷ *Colby College Alumnus* Honor Roll, 1917-1918, p. 97-103.

³⁸⁸ "James Perry HTS 1915 Massacred by Turks Near Aintab February 1, 1920," James Perry Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Maxwell Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections; Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register Jones Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

³⁸⁹ Colby College Biographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, Theodore Fieldbrave Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; "James Perry HTS 1915 Massacred by Turks Near Aintab February 1, 1920," Perry Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections; Biographical Record, Maxwell Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections; Biographical Record, Vernelle Wallace Dyer Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Biographical Record, Edward Cotton Howe Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Biographical Record, Harold Sterling Campbell Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College; Biographical Record, Frederick Allen Shepherd Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

from sports leagues to films and libraries. Professor Johnson worked with German and Austro-Hungarian POWs during his time abroad. He published an appeal for donations in the Colby *Echo* so the Y.M.C.A. could continue its work.³⁹⁰ Johnson visited over a hundred POW camps while in France, where he found the German and Austrian soldiers well fed and well lodged.³⁹¹ Johnson also indicated the donations the Y.M.C.A. would receive would go to the French Army huts, like those where Perry and Jones worked.³⁹² Only seventy French huts existed on the Western Front despite the request of General Phillipe Petáin, the commander-in-chief of the French army, that a thousand be built to serve the needs of the French Army.³⁹³ The huts had a canteen, beds, a billiards room, a phonograph, a piano, an auditorium for films, reading, writing, and game rooms for the soldiers and aimed to take them away from the misery of the Western Front for a moment, causing a correspondent of Johnson's on the front to call it "happy work."³⁹⁴ The huts also offered American magazines and sodas to make the soldiers feel more at home.³⁹⁵

As Johnson explains in his article, the American soldiers in France did not feel at home surrounded by a language they could not understand and without the usual comforts.³⁹⁶ The combination of the strangeness of a foreign country and the war created the need for the Y.M.C.A. to try and create a safe, comfortable atmosphere, in the hope that it could potentially relieve some of the stress. Demand for the huts was high, as evidenced by Petáin's request for them, and by the 1,500 huts provided by the British Y.M.C.A.³⁹⁷ The American Y.M.C.A. went so far as to buy hotels in Paris to create a home-like atmosphere on a larger scale for whenever

³⁹⁰ Johnson, Clarence, "The Y.M.C.A. in France," *the Echo*, November 4, 1917.

³⁹¹ Johnson, "The Y.M.C.A. in France," November 4, 1917.

³⁹² Johnson, "The Y.M.C.A. in France," November 4, 1917.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

American soldiers passed through.³⁹⁸ While in England, Arthur Stowell spent a good deal of time hiding in the Y.M.C.A. hut “to avoid being worked to death to the tune of 1, 2, 3, 4” in reference to marching rhythm for army drills.³⁹⁹ *The Echo* went on to report that the Colby soldiers had all sent their praises of the Y.M.C.A. work, with one stating that “The greatest thing ever for a man in the army is the Y.M.C.A.”⁴⁰⁰ Regardless of whether they helped in the long term, soldiers enjoyed and appreciated the Y.M.C.A.’s resources enough for them to be in high demand, and the Colby students appeared to be at ease and comfortable in the huts, as demonstrated by Stowell.

In a later letter to the *Echo*, Johnson reported that not only did the Y.M.C.A. help the soldiers it served to be more comfortable, but it also helped the POWs. Johnson talked about a Y.M.C.A. trip to Caen, Cherbourg, Roche Maurice, La Pallice Blaye, Bordeaux, and Trompeloup with Colby professor Anthony W. Chez.⁴⁰¹ Professor Chez spoke Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian, which made him extremely popular with the POWs from the Austro-Hungarian army, who had rarely heard their home tongues spoken by anyone outside of the camp.⁴⁰² Johnson described that the faces of the POWs “beamed with joy” at getting to properly converse with someone from outside the camp.⁴⁰³

Besides having the solace of people from the outside world, the Y.M.C.A. brought comfort to the prisoners through music, books, and cinema. The prisoners always had a few instruments and would play around the camp, with one prisoner telling Johnson that they “[wanted] to give something.”⁴⁰⁴ By playing music, the prisoners felt that they could play their

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

³⁹⁹ “Letters from Soldiers to Professor Libby,” *the Echo*, March 27, 1918.

⁴⁰⁰ “Letters from Soldiers to Professor Libby,” *the Echo*, March 27, 1918.

⁴⁰¹ Johnson, Clarence, “Service de L’Aide aux Prisonniers de Guerre,” *the Echo*, February 27, 1918.

⁴⁰² Johnson, “Service de L’Aide aux Prisonniers de Guerre.”

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

part in bringing joy to the camp, and the Y.M.C.A. helped provide them with the means to take charge of their own happiness. Johnson reported that the men also loved books, and the Y.M.C.A. created a circulating German library for the German prisoners and tried to build up libraries in the other languages for the various nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian POWs.⁴⁰⁵ The Y.M.C.A. also organized film viewings for the POWs. The prisoners loved the movies, so much so that Johnson stated he could not describe their happiness as they went to go see a viewing.⁴⁰⁶ The prisoners said they would stay up all night if the Y.M.C.A. continued showing films.⁴⁰⁷ Many of the soldiers from the Balkans had never seen a film before being captured, so they especially found the movies a treat.⁴⁰⁸ Johnson spoke highly of the prisoners he met when providing them services, demonstrating the idea of “Two Germany’s” that Guy Whitten showed in his poem, professing his desire to help the German people while defeating the German government in war.⁴⁰⁹ Members of the Colby community did not perceive the individual citizens of the enemy armies as their enemies.⁴¹⁰

Johnson’s letter back to *the Echo* regarding the POWs demonstrates the Y.M.C.A.’s success in bringing them comfort and care in an uncomfortable and potentially hostile situation. The soldiers appreciated the Y.M.C.A. even when the volunteers came from the countries they fought, and the Y.M.C.A. in turn made sure the soldiers had all the resources to feel less pain in a prisoner of war camp through the recreational activities they so diligently provided.

The Y.M.C.A. provided similar services to the non-POW soldiers by offering them huts scattered around the Western Front and on the home front. They offered a postal exchange in the

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Neiberg, *The Path to War*, p.12.

⁴¹⁰ Johnson, “Service de L’Aide aux Prisonniers de Guerre.”

form of a Quartermaster's store, "half store, half saloon" to not only provide the men with comfort, but also with goods they may want.⁴¹¹ They also provided a spiritual service, to further connect the men to their homes by offering them traditions they cherished in the United States, like church services, as well through Bible study and discussion groups.⁴¹² The Y.M.C.A. also arranged for plays to be performed and used over ten million feet of film to entertain the troops.⁴¹³ Moreover, it offered athletic leagues both at home and abroad. John B. Pugsley, Colby Class of 1905, and a former Colby baseball player, joined some of his fellow Colby community members as the Y.M.C.A. athletic officer for the 26th Division, where he organized recreational sports, like football and baseball, to entertain the men.⁴¹⁴

While on the Western Front, Preston Libby reported that the 26th had a Y.M.C.A. hut nearby where they could buy hot chocolate and biscuits at the Quartermaster's store.⁴¹⁵ He also reported that it felt good to see the Y.M.C.A. in the "ruined country" of the Western Front. Based on this testimony, it appears the huts brought joy to the soldiers, or at least comfort in a miserable place.

Based on the stress Osgood described during his time on the Western Front, from the physical toll of being in war to the mental toll of constant death and fear of death, a service intended to offer men a brief break from the war was most welcome. Stowell and Libby both utilized the service and noted that they felt removed from the war, with Stowell specifically using the Y.M.C.A. hut to hide from the war. The extension of the same courtesy to POWs

⁴¹¹ Taft, William H., *Service with the Fighting Men, an account of the work of the American Young Men's Christian Association in the World War*, New York Associate Press, 1922, p. 548.

⁴¹² Taft, *Service with the Fighting Men, an account of the work of the American Young Men's Christian Association in the World War*, p. 605.

⁴¹³ Taft, *Service with the Fighting Men, an account of the work of the American Young Men's Christian Association in the World War*, p. 619.

⁴¹⁴ Colby College Bibliographical Record for Colby Alumni Office, General Catalogue, Alumni Register, John Butler Pugsley File Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴¹⁵ "Letters Received by Prof. Libby From Colby Boys in Service in France," *The Echo*.

could be considered one of the great human kindnesses of the war. In such a traumatizing and horrific war, the kindness of strangers leaving their homes to come to a new country for the sole purpose of taking soldiers away from war can be considered an exceptional display of the good humans can do. World War I demonstrates that moments of utmost awfulness, like war, can also bring out the best in people.

After the Armistice

On November 11, 1918, at 11:00 AM, the Armistice began. Colby's campus celebrated the signing by waking up the entire college with a fire alarm at 3:25 am so they could parade at 5:00 am, the same time world leaders signed the Armistice in Europe.⁴¹⁶ Despite the actual battlefield violence ending, the effects of the war did not subside. Colby erected a memorial for its fallen members, the adjustments that had been made to the college during the war had to be taken back, and the community tried to understand their own part in the war. The community's opinion of the war changed as the years went by. The patriotic attitude persisted initially, but it faded with more distance from World War I.

One aspect of memory included those the dead soldiers left behind. Harold Taft, Colby class of 1916, was presumed dead in August when he went missing in action in Fismes, France, while fighting in the Aisne-Marne campaign with the Fourth Division.⁴¹⁷ In 1916, after his graduation, Taft married a woman named Charlotte Pooler.⁴¹⁸ Pooler survived her husband and remarried three years later, in 1921, to a man named Earl Kearns.⁴¹⁹ However, this second husband would die in 1946 during World War II.⁴²⁰ Pooler's life had been forever changed by two different wars. While the wars would end, her memory of her husbands, and the grief that would presumably go with this loss would remain long after peace.

Colby's war memorial according to *The Echo* not only celebrated the lives lost in the war, but also the "patriotism and loyalty" of all Colby students who had served their country.⁴²¹ It

⁴¹⁶ Colby College Faculty Meeting, November 13, 1918.

⁴¹⁷ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 196.

⁴¹⁸ Ancestry.com. *Maine, Marriage Index, 1892-1996* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2003.

⁴¹⁹ Year: 1910; Census Place: Uxbridge, Worcester, Massachusetts; Roll: T624_630; Page: 22B; Enumeration District: 1829; FHL microfilm: 1374643.

⁴²⁰ Kearns, Earl. "Applications for Headstones, 01/01/1925 - 06/30/1970." The National Archives. Fold3.com.

⁴²¹ "A War Memorial," *the Echo*, May 7, 1919.

would be dedicated to the memory of Colby soldiers.⁴²² *The Echo* favorably reported on the creation of the memorial, stating that there was no “finer means to tell future students entering our campus that Colby men are ever loyal to the best government the world has yet seen.”⁴²³

The memorial represented patriotism and loyalty to the U.S. government, which the reporter blatantly describes as the greatest government in the world. The memorial also exists to remind every future generation of Colby students that they must live up to this generation by being patriotic and dedicating their lives to the great government in case they are called upon again. These sentiments made sense less than a year after the war had ended. The Colby community had been living amongst intense patriotism since April 1917, and had not spent enough time away from the wartime lifestyle to readjust.

Along with the memorial, there was an attempt to chronicle World War I by George G. Watson, class of 1917. According to an article in *the Echo*, Watson wanted to create an anthology of war verse, recorded from August 1914 through the end of the war.⁴²⁴ Watson had this idea in mind months before the war even ended, with *the Echo* publishing the story in June 1917.⁴²⁵ It is unclear whether Watson’s work came to light after the war, given the unsuccessful attempts to record World War I experiences by various American state governments.

Like the college administration, the United States experienced a massive push for war commemoration immediately after the war, but it proved futile as they did not collect as much information as they wanted. In *Remembering World War I in America*, Kimberly Lamay Licursi describes the efforts of New York, Virginia, and Kansas to preserve information about the war, especially veterans’ records. These states were three of thirty-five states to make attempts to

⁴²² “A War Memorial,” May 7, 1919.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ *The Echo*, June 6, 1917, p. 2.

⁴²⁵ *The Echo*, June 6, 1917, p. 2.

preserve war data.⁴²⁶ New York appointed 1,500 historians to collect data about New York soldiers, but it came to nothing.⁴²⁷ According to the historians, soldiers and their friends and families did not seem to want to provide details of war service, leaving the historians with a lack of information.⁴²⁸ In Virginia, the state declared October 12, 1919, War Memorial Day for unknown reasons, and put emphasis on the collection of soldiers' data for the state records.⁴²⁹ Despite creating a state-wide holiday, Virginia, like New York, failed to gain the data they wanted, because, according to Major Herome Opie of Virginia, Virginians had already "forgotten we had a war."⁴³⁰ Kansas suffered from similar failures as New York and Virginia. Kansas focused on memorializing their dead, working with Gold Star mothers.⁴³¹ Kansas' work collecting soldiers' recollections left massive gaps, and the memorials included the names of only a few soldiers.⁴³²

Despite the desire to memorialize World War I, the memorializing envisioned often did not occur. Soldiers did not report their services in the detail their state governments desired, potentially for two reasons. Many still could have been suffering from shell shock, and reflecting on their experiences in depth so soon after their return could have been painful. Secondly, the soldiers could have reported their services, but not in the detail the historians wanted and needed for their project. Thirdly, like in Kansas, some soldiers could not have been found and therefore, the historians would have overlooked them. Ultimately, the desire to create memorialization faded quickly, just like the memory of the war itself.

⁴²⁶ Lamay Licrusi, Kimberly, *Remembering World War I in America*, University of Nebraska Press, 2018, p. 2.

⁴²⁷ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 7.

⁴²⁸ Lamay Licrusi, *World War I in America*, p. 8.

⁴²⁹ Lamay Licrusi, *World War I in America*, p. 26.

⁴³⁰ Lamay Licrusi, *World War I in America*, p. 27.

⁴³¹ Lamay Licrusi, *World War I in America*, p. 32.

⁴³² Lamay Licrusi, *World War I in America*, p. 37.

Eventually, the community did begin to readjust away from the war, slowly and subtly over time, and the war-time lifestyle began to fade away. In 1923, the *Echo* reported on the future of rifle shooting.⁴³³ Rifle shooting had enjoyed increasing interest in universities during the war.⁴³⁴ The article discusses the annual tournament that occurred at Yale and its growing lack of popularity, concluding that those who tried to promote the sport often found themselves “discouraged,” presumably because the sport had begun to dwindle in popularity since the war ended.⁴³⁵

While a change in a sport seems insignificant, and the article advocates for the continuation of rifle shooting as a sport, it shows that the community began to move away from the lives they lived during the war. Rifle shooting, a coveted skill diligently taught to soldiers, no longer became common practice and therefore did not have a place in intercollegiate sports as shown by the discouragement described by the author of trying to continue the sport. A lack of interest in rifle shooting as a sport meant that colleges had begun to rid themselves of wartime practices and had settled into a post-war existence.

The fading of interest in the war in the American public can also be seen by following the decline of war literature. Over eighty war narratives were published in 1919, but only three more were published between 1919 and 1940.⁴³⁶ Kermit Roosevelt, son of President Theodore Roosevelt, fought in the war and wrote one of the three popular books. Despite serving in the Meuse-Argonne campaign, Roosevelt focused more on his time in the Middle East with the British Army, rather than his American military experience.⁴³⁷ This could have been because he

⁴³³ “The Future of Rifle Shooting as an Intercollegiate Sport,” *the Echo*, February 28, 1923.

⁴³⁴ “The Future of Rifle Shooting as an Intercollegiate Sport,” February 28, 1923.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 58.

⁴³⁷ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 61.

found his experience in the Middle East more exotic than his experience on the Western front and expected the American public to find it more interesting.

Novels about World War I sold much better and were more prevalent after 1919. While the novels by famed American authors like Ernest Hemingway and John Dos Passos would suggest that American memory had not faded, Lamay Licursi argues that books like *A Farewell to Arms* by Hemmingway did not accurately portray the war, especially for the majority of Americans, since the novel takes place in Italy where the narrator serves in the Italian Army.⁴³⁸ Lamay Licrusi goes onto explain that while Dos Passos offered an authentic image of the war, the public was not ready to listen to messages of pacifism, and many found it to be an insult to the American army.⁴³⁹ Accordingly, Dos Passos' novel *Three Soldiers* failed to make the best seller list.⁴⁴⁰ As the lack of popularity of books containing accurate information pertaining to the American involvement in the war shows, the country did not seem interested in their own war memory and its implications, preferring the stories of others, and allowing American war memory to further fade.

Memory of the war in Europe did not fade the way it did in America. Georges Lecomte, a French author, felt the silent presence of the "1,600,000 dead, [the] 400,000 mutilated, [the] destroyed towns and villages..."⁴⁴¹ A French war veteran, Georges Bernanos said, "Victory didn't love us..."⁴⁴² The Europeans regretted the war, eventually condemning Versailles, which, as Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker explain, "even the victors had known was a stillborn."⁴⁴³ World War I had been a failure in Europe, causing nothing but death and pain, and the peace treaty that

⁴³⁸ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 100.

⁴³⁹ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 120-121.

⁴⁴⁰ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 121.

⁴⁴¹ Audoin-Rouzeau and Becket, *Understanding the Great War*, p. 234.

⁴⁴² Audoin-Rouzeau and Becket, *Understanding the Great War*, p. 234.

⁴⁴³ Audoin-Rouzeau and Becket, *Understanding the Great War*, p. 235.

was supposed to solve everything only created more problems, like financial insecurity in Germany as well as the rise of dictators in Europe, namely Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler, who would be aggressors of World War II.

Twenty years after the war, World War I returned to public attention as participation in a second world war became imminent. Albert Raymond (Ray) Rogers, Class of 1917, and a member of the 103rd regiment, gave his thoughts on World War I.⁴⁴⁴ Rogers had risen during his career, a former drill master at Colby and a World War II soldier and as a student had participated in the advanced speaking presentation in 1916, giving his speech on the war in France.⁴⁴⁵ Rogers stated that twenty years earlier, when the Armistice occurred, he believed that “war had forever ended.”⁴⁴⁶ However, he stated, it only began a twenty-year breathing period for Europe.⁴⁴⁷ Rogers berated world leaders for their handling of the post-war peace talks and he thought the fate of the world would have been better decided by the young men who fought it, as opposed to the old men who watched.⁴⁴⁸ He thought the politicians had become “soft,” as they had already fought one war in the name of democracy and now had to go fight another, because world leaders had allowed the fate of democracy to be put in jeopardy once again.⁴⁴⁹ Rogers was most likely referring to the rise of dictators in Europe, who directly challenged democracy and freedom and had forced another war to be fought. Overall, Rogers felt angry and disappointed.

Rogers was not alone in his opinion. Disillusionment with World War I and anger at the fact that another had to be fought became common enough that pulp stories had to be written and

⁴⁴⁴ “Yankee Division Veterans Organize at Convention Here, A. Raymond Rogers Is Elected Senior Vice Commander of Maine Department,” December 16, 1940, Albert Raymond Rogers Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections, Colby College.

⁴⁴⁵ “Yankee Division Veterans Organize at Convention Here, A. Raymond Rogers Is Elected Senior Vice Commander of Maine Department,” Rogers Alumni File, Colby College Special Collections.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

published describing the heroism that occurred in World War I to re-enthuse the population.⁴⁵⁰

Naturally, the pulp stories portrayed inaccurate representations of war, focusing on humorous behavior of the soldiers, comradeship, and heroism, while downplaying violence and reality.⁴⁵¹

The authors could play on faded war memory to create new memories of unrealistic experiences and the resulting enthusiasm. If they tried to create realistic war experience, they would have only been met with sentiments like those of Rogers, filled with anger and disappointment due to the failure of world leaders to learn from the horrors of World War I and allow the tragedies that led to World War II. This kind of disillusionment differed from the European disillusionment. The people of Europe were disappointed in World War I itself for all its death and destructions, while Americans were more upset about having to engage in a second massive war.

⁴⁵⁰ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 145.

⁴⁵¹ Lamay Licrusi, *Remembering World War I in America*, p. 145.

Conclusion

From the moment World War I broke out, it influenced the Colby community. It caused heavy involvement in the war by the community as can best be seen by the activity before 1917 of Murray Morgan, the ambulance drivers, and the Y.M.C.A. volunteers, by the wartime spirit of the Colby home front after the Americans joined the war, and by the service of students and alumni in both the Armed Forces and the Y.M.C.A. These people connected with each other throughout the war through letters and publications, like the *Echo* and the *Alumnus*, making the community unified throughout the war, rather than disjointed in their various tasks. Students and alumni wrote home to parents or to their friends at school or to Professor Libby, who all in turn shared that information with each other through publications or other letters so that the entire community could be connected in war.

The war caused the Colby community to engage with each other. In publications before 1917, there were fewer letters and less desire to know the state of so many people, but because so many members of the Colby community involved themselves in combat after April 1917, more people wanted to know how they were, what their situation was like, and most importantly, if they were still alive. Letters became public information, as Harold Pepper was publishing Murray Morgan's letters from 1915, Professor Libby publishing the countless letters he received from students in war, or Delta Upsilon publishing a war letter containing notes from students. Parents also contributed to the web of communications by informing the college of their sons' states, though most of the time, they wrote to report that their son had died.

Death in war also unified the community during the war. It was the most important and the most devastating information sent around the community. Parents wrote to the college to tell them of their sons passing so that the college could inform the community at large through the

traditional announcement in the *Alumnus*. For war deaths, Professor Libby set up a special section, “Stars of Gold,” so the community could find the information more quickly. However, students also received this information by finding it themselves, like Osgood checking the casualty reports and finding the names of classmates and fellow students like the cases of Artie Stowell and George Bourque. Osgood in turn reported these deaths back to his parents, who could have continued the stream of information. Much of the connection throughout the community during the war seemed like a massive game of “Telephone” extended over two continents, multiple countries, and all fifty states.

While this history of World War I has been centered on Colby College and those associated with it, its impact goes beyond the college and the college’s extensive community. The history of World War I at Colby is a small piece of a larger American history in World War I. Colby participated and impacted multiple areas of World War I, and therefore affected American and world history in these areas. The easiest connection to make would be Colby students’ testimonies from the Western Front, during the Second Battle of the Marne and the St. Mihiel campaign, where the 26th Division played a role in major victories.

However, Colby’s part in history goes beyond the obvious. The state of the college as a home front allows us to see the sentiments and shortcomings of the American public, especially in universities as it related to the war, particularly regarding the prejudice against Germany and German-Americans as well as pacifists. The letters of Colby students conveying their excitement for war show the desire for adventure among the youth going to war and their consequent disappointment upon arriving at the front and realizing that their “adventure” mostly consisted of getting muddy and being fired at day and night. Tracking the deaths of Colby

students who died of the flu highlights the influenza epidemic that plagued the army, and later the public, and became one of the great epidemics of American history.

While the stories of the Colby community during the First World War do not reveal anything shocking or unknown about the war, this paper, and other papers like it still must be written. This paper contextualizes the college community's history within the war, allowing students like myself to understand the tradition and history of Colby College. Secondly, it provides information about a tragic event in human history. Historians have spent the last hundred years learning about World War I and its impact on society, and our study of the war cannot be complete until we account for every perspective available. If these perspectives exist, they must be found and contextualized.

Appendix

The nineteen Colby students and alumni who died while in service during World War I inspired this project. This paper would not be complete without their stories. I thank them.

Murray Alexander Morgan (1915)⁴⁵²

Murray Morgan was the first Colby student to fight and die in World War I. He fought in the Princess Patricia Regiment for the Canadian Army in France and Belgium. Morgan died in combat in Ypres on June 3, 1916, though his parents and Colby incorrectly reported his death to have occurred in Verdun.

George G. Watson (1917)⁴⁵³

George Watson enlisted in the Ambulance Corps, No. 30, Sanitary Train, 5th Division in 1917 and died at Fort Logan in Houston, Texas, on December 29, 1917. Professor George Franklin wrote an appreciation of Watson in the *Alumnus* after his death, declaring him a hero for his devotion to democracy and the cause stating Watson had died and well and lived well.

Herbert H. Fletcher (1919)⁴⁵⁴

Fletcher enlisted in 1917 and served in the 1st Rep. Reg. Co. B, Washington Barracks in Washington, D.C. Fletcher died in D.C. on April 6, 1918.

Henry L. Curtis (1912)⁴⁵⁵

Curtis enlisted in 1917 and died in combat somewhere in France.

Henry L. Eddy (1917)⁴⁵⁶

Eddy served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps during the war in the 78th Co. of the 6th Division. Eddy met his end in combat somewhere in France on June 4, 1917, presumably

⁴⁵² "Colby Shocked at News of Death of Murray Morgan," *Waterville Sentinel*.

⁴⁵³ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1917.

⁴⁵⁴ *The Colby Alumnus*, 1917.

⁴⁵⁵ *The Colby Alumnus*, "Stars of Gold," 1917-1918.

⁴⁵⁶ *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 50.

making a charge across No-Man's Land assaulting the Germans. He was the first New Britain officer to die in the war and was posthumously awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.

John A. Stowell (1918)⁴⁵⁷

Stowell served as a musician in the Second Marine Band in the 103rd Regiment died heroically during combat. The band members often worked as stretcher bearers during engagements. Stowell was injured evacuating others from No-Man's Land and after dressing his initial wound himself in the field, continued to evacuate other wounded soldiers until he accumulated so many injuries that he could not continue. He died of his injuries several hours later, on June 16, 1918. He was the first soldier from Freeport, Maine, to die in the war.

Henry B. Pratt (1918)⁴⁵⁸

Pratt, like many of his classmates, served in the 103rd Regiment. He died in action in France on July 19, 1918, in Chateau-Thierry during the Second Battle of the Marne.

Charles A. Stuartevant (1897)⁴⁵⁹

Captain Stuartevant enlisted in the Medical Corps during World War I. He had been a doctor before the war, so the Medical Corps seemed fitting. He contracted influenza while at Camp Devens in Massachusetts, succumbing to the disease seven days later, on September 23, 1918.

Elvin L. Allen (1901)⁴⁶⁰

Allen enlisted with the Y.M.C.A. and deployed to France in February of 1918. While in France, Allen contracted the flu, which turned into pneumonia, which ultimately brought about his death.

⁴⁵⁷ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 52.

⁴⁵⁸ *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 53.

⁴⁵⁹ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 54

⁴⁶⁰ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 54.

Edward E. Washburn (1912)⁴⁶¹

Washburn served in the Chemical Corps, originally at Camp Devens, but the army eventually transferred him to Cleveland, Ohio. In Ohio, Washburn contracted influenza, which turned into pneumonia, killing him.

George N. Bourque (1918)⁴⁶²

Lieutenant Bourque served as the commander of Co. B in the 103rd Regiment at his own request so he could see action on the front. He had the habit of asking to be put on dangerous assignments and demonstrated composure and bravery. Bourque died in action of September 26, 1918.

Raymond H. Blades (1922)⁴⁶³

Blades served in the Student Army Training Corps at Colby College being too young to enlist with the Army at the time. Blades contracted the flu, eventually succumbing to it on November 28, 1918. Blades was the second Colby boy to die of the flu on campus.

Hugh Kelley (1921)⁴⁶⁴

Private Hugh Kelley served in the Student Army Training Corps at Colby College, like his classmate Private Blades. Private Kelley died in Waterville, Maine, on November 22, 1918, from pneumonia.

William A. Weeden (1912)⁴⁶⁵

Corporal Weeden served in the 38th Co. of the Coast Guard. Weeden died at Fort Hamilton in New York from influenza on October 2, 1918.

⁴⁶¹ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 182.

⁴⁶² ⁴⁶² *Colby Alumnus*, 1918-1919, p. 58.

⁴⁶³ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 108.

⁴⁶⁴ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 108.

⁴⁶⁵ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 109.

Joseph A. Besse (1919)⁴⁶⁶

Besse died in his home on December 24, 1918, after contracting pneumonia. At his funeral, Colby students were his coffin bearers.

Carleton M. Bliss (1918)⁴⁶⁷

Lieutenant Bliss served in the air force in England during the war training fighter pilots. On November 14, 1918, Bliss died in a plane accident while instructing a student.

Normal J. Merrill (1914)⁴⁶⁸

Lieutenant Merrill served at Camp Devens, rising from private to lieutenant in six months. Merrill died due to an attack of acute nephritis on February 7, 1919, at Fort Wayne.

Frederick Deasy (1914)⁴⁶⁹

Deasy served as a corporal in the U.S. army in 1918, dying at Camp Devens on September 19, 1918.

Harold B. Taft (1916)⁴⁷⁰

Taft served as a sergeant in the 4th U.S. Infantry, dying in action near Fismes, France, on August 3, 1918.

⁴⁶⁶ *Colby College Alumnus* 1918-1919, p. 109.

⁴⁶⁷ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919.

⁴⁶⁸ *Colby College Alumnus*, 1918-1919.

⁴⁶⁹ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 328.

⁴⁷⁰ General Catalogue of Colby College, p. 196.

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