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Dimly Remembered, Largely Forgotten: The Mitchell Hall Tablet as a Mirror to American Great War Memory

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**DIMLY REMEMBERED, LARGELY FORGOTTEN:
THE MITCHELL HALL TABLET AS A MIRROR TO
AMERICAN GREAT WAR MEMORY**

by

Stephen M. Baldwin

A Thesis Submitted in
Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

DIMLY REMEMBERED, LARGELY FORGOTTEN: THE MITCHELL HALL TABLET AS A MIRROR TO AMERICAN GREAT WAR MEMORY

by

Stephen Baldwin

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2021
Under the Supervision of Professor Neal Pease

War thrusts men and women, communities and nations into unfamiliar and otherwise unlikely situations and associations. And it is war in general, and twentieth-century warfare in particular, that has engendered widespread commemoration and remembrance of its combatants and victims. This thesis recounts the story of ten men who share at least three things in common: they all attended the Milwaukee Normal School sometime during the early years of the twentieth century; they all perished in the service of the United States Armed Forces during the First World War; and they are all commemorated on a simple and somewhat forlorn bronze tablet in Mitchell Hall, now the administrative center of the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee.

This thesis has a primary and a secondary purpose. The primary goal is a simple exercise in research. A person or persons felt the need to commemorate these men in a material and public way. The tablet was commissioned, paid for, and erected. And what of those commemorated? Who were they? What did they do? What happened to them? Does anyone remember them now? Answering these questions comprises the bulk of this document.

The secondary goal of the thesis is a brief consideration of the tablet in its historical context, both as a historical artefact in its own right, and in its subsequent history, a testimony to the resilience (or otherwise) of American Great War historical memory.

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DEDICATION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to my wife, Nancy Nygaard, whose belief and encouragement persuaded me to return to school after a twenty-five year absence, and whose editorial skills subsequently played a major part in the successful prosecution of this campaign. And to my daughter, Julia, who (generally) endured with stoic forbearance, fun week end trips to cemeteries, and my endless stories of visits to archives and researches on people entirely unconnected with our family.

I would also like to acknowledge the staff of the History Department at the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, particularly my adviser, Professor Neal Pease, and my committee: Professor Christine Evans, and Professor Joe Austin. It has been extremely hard work – but it has been good fun too; and it has been an honor and privilege to learn my craft from teachers of this caliber.

This thesis would not be what it is without the remarkable and gracious help and talents of a great number of other people, the vast majority of whom I have never met. Catherine Taschler and Lynn Cupelli are descendants (by marriage) of Lieutenant Carl Herman Berger. Having tracked them down, I sent an audacious Facebook message to Catherine who bravely answered. The ensuing conversations with her and Lynn have enriched and “humanized” what was otherwise just a name on a bronze plaque. In a most magnanimous gesture, Lynn passed on to me a number of Berger family photos. In turn, it has been a great honor to provide the family with the fruits of my small research on Lieutenant Berger, and to bring some illumination on an otherwise hazy period of the family history. Also involved in my Berger research was Ms. Rhonda Klemme of Mayville Public Library who, with the help of unknown enthusiasts,

discovered and scanned some remarkable details of Lieutenant Berger's death and subsequent repatriation to Mayville. Mike Grobbel (president) and Blake Karapuz of the Polar Bear Memorial Association kindly supplied more information on American operations in northern Russia at the end of the Great War. Lina Rosenberg Foley, archivist at Lawrence University, Appleton supplied information on Carl Berger Junior.

It was nothing more than a Google search that brought me into contact with Lisa Rickey and Bill Stolz of the Special Collections and Archives department at Wright University, Dayton, Ohio. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, these cheerful souls went out of their way to scan documents and furnish me with crucial details of Preston Eddy Tupper's aviation accident which curiously links our two institutions.

The research on Charles Walker Baldwin would have been greatly attenuated were it not for the cheerful and knowledgeable help from the volunteers at the West Allis Historical Society under the leadership of their president, Devan Gracyalny. Many Sunday afternoons were spent in West Allis uncovering the disparate lives of the Baldwin family, the youthful optimism and energy of Charles, and his sudden and sad death.¹ I also owe a debt of thanks to the Waukesha County Historical Society and Museum, particularly John Schoenknecht for help uncovering the life of Mark Malone and his family. Thanks too, to Dr. Kevin Abing of the Milwaukee County Historical Society for his advice and archival services on West Division High School.

Curious as to the extent of Great War memory among the Wisconsin normal schools, I contacted all eight of the other schools, now part of the UW system. I am touched by the generous and cheerful help of the archivists who keyed lengthy and useful emails and rummaged

¹ For the record and to the best of my knowledge, Charles and I are entirely unrelated.

around and scanned stuff for me: Eau-Claire: Celeste (Lark) Keating-Hadlock; La Crosse: Paul Beck; Oshkosh: Joshua Ranger; Platteville: Patricia Ballweg; River Falls: Morgan Paavola; Stevens Point: Brad Casselberry; Superior: Laura Jacobs; Whitewater: Jennifer Motszko. Not forgetting of course my local UWM archivist, Abigail Nye and her crew. Thank you all.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The life of mortals is like grass,
they flourish like a flower of the field;
the wind blows over it and it is gone,
and its place remembers it no more. Psalm 103:15-16

On a wall in a dimly lit corner of a slightly less dark corridor in Mitchell Hall, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee, is a rectangular, domed, bronze war memorial. It commemorates ten alumni of the Milwaukee Normal School who lost their lives in service during the First World War. The tablet measures approximately forty inches in width, thirty inches in height, with a depth of almost one inch. It receives little attention; most people hurrying by probably do not even notice it. To be honest, who can blame them? There is nothing really to grab the attention. Its luster awaits a thorough polish; its design is very simple and unprepossessing. As a work of art, it looks like a mass-produced piece with embossed decoration and customized text. The information conveyed by that text is minimal and generally vague. A small inscription identifies the manufacturer as the Gorham Co. of New York and Providence. All-in-all, what is this memorial? Why is it there? And who cares anyway?

And therein lies the fascination; because this artefact, despite all its shortcomings and simplicity, bears witness to 1917-1919, a significant period of world and US history. For in this time the United States joined the most cataclysmic global conflict to date, and came of age as a world power, no longer to be ignored. The Mitchell Hall Tablet is an historic artefact of that era; but it is more. It is a tiny window on a vanished world. Despite the paucity of information it communicates, it is nonetheless a key to unlocking the history of ten lives lived and lost fighting for the American cause. In researching those lives, history somehow become more real, more

alive, not only with respect to the ten, but also the societies in which they lived. And the tablet itself was an act of public commemoration and remembrance by people who knew the ten, and by people or persons who deemed it necessary to purchase and erect the Mitchell Hall Tablet.

Researching the Mitchell Hall Tablet is the stuff of this thesis. Beginning with the tablet and the ten names, the research will yield information and provide insight on a sliver of the Midwestern American experience of the World War.² We can then pose (and answer) the question: how does the local history behind the Mitchell Hall Tablet align with national history? This question will be answered in two parts: firstly, in terms of comparing the experiences of the men commemorated with the broad national military experience; and secondly, the memorial as a memorial: how does the subsequent history of the Mitchell Hall Tablet reflect general American remembrance of the World War?

² In this document, the World War, the Great War, the First World War, and World War 1 are synonymous. John Milton Cooper attributes the World War to Theodore Roosevelt in 1915, with usage generally increasing in the immediate postwar period. See John Milton Cooper, "The World War and American Memory," *Diplomatic History* (Oxford University Press) 38 no. 4 (September 1, 2014): 727-736.

Chapter 2

History, Remembrance, and the Great War

He has also set eternity in the human heart, Ecclesiastes 3:11

This chapter provides theoretical background on the function and meaning of the Mitchell Hall tablet. The tablet is undoubtedly a historical artefact; but it was also a focus of collective memory and remembrance, and arguably still is. But what do we mean by these terms? From the closing decades of the twentieth century onwards, “memory” re-emerged after fifty years of relative academic obscurity to become a focus of scholarly enquiry once more. Memory’s re-entrance into academic debate has prompted further reconsiderations of traditionally accepted definitions, consensus about which remains problematic. The vigorous academic debate continues, the breadth, depth, and complexity of which far exceed the scope of this chapter. But using principally the scholarship of Jay Winter as a starting point, the chapter briefly and broadly surveys (and does no more) the arguments adopted by some of the historians, sociologists, and psychologists engaged in the current debate.

Having discussed the debate in general, the chapter will then focus on memory in relation to the Great War, posing the question: whose memory? The chapter argues that scholarly attention to European remembrance of the Great War has dominated, to the detriment of other spheres of remembrance like that of the United States. Taking Winter’s modified idea of “collective remembrance” and the work of Steven Trout, we will then consider American Great War remembrance in academic literature, answering two questions: firstly, *was* there American Great War memory? And secondly, if so, what happened to it? The chapter then considers the Mitchell Hall tablet as an artefact of memory. Setting it in the context of the Wisconsin State

School system we will show that at least in this case, Trout's arguments for the prevalence of American Great War memory bear merit.

Human beings possess an innate sense of time and history. We remember. We all have a need, an urge to remember. We all have a history and memories, individually, and (contentiously) communally; and we desire to leave beneficial legacies and memories to those coming after us. Yet remembrance is a tantalizing and fragile thing, as delicate and as fleeting as the human mind, susceptible to natural aging, to physical and mental diseases. It cannot survive on its own and is destined for extinction. To prolong the lifespan of memory, we devise ways to transmit it to subsequent generations.

This transfer can be effected orally of course, but also by the realization of memory in some physical form. This can be written accounts or objects directly related to the memory, "memorabilia." In addition, we construct memorials, physical objects not of the memory itself, but created specifically to "point" to, or in some way, to evoke the memory in the imagination of the observer. In these physical ways, memory becomes spatial and geographic. It also acquires a "communal" or public quality, the degree of which depends on where the memorial is located, in a public, semi-public, or private (but nonetheless not-individual) space.

On few occasions are these processes and artefacts more apparent than in birth and particularly death, especially death in war. Most humans die in familiar surroundings, succumbing to common illnesses and infirmities, more often than not in the presence or near vicinity of family. But what about those occasions when death occurs violently and far from home, in "some corner of a foreign field?"³ War presents particular circumstances whereby

³ Rupert Brooke, *The Soldier*.

humans put themselves in harm's way and die in unexpected places, separated from their families. War, especially modern war, has sharpened the imperative to remember. How then does memory respond? Indeed what *is* memory? Is memory a synonym for history? If not, do they relate to each other? If so, how?

Jay Winter defines *history* as “a profession with rules about evidence, about publication, about peer review.”⁴ In other words, it is a formal scientific discipline employing oversight and scrutiny. In contrast, *memory* is a club with few rules whose membership extends to every mind. Memory, according to Winter, is “the product of a multitude of impulses, drawn together in the form of a collage, or approximation of a past event.” Concerning the formation of memories, Winter adduces the intriguing claim of Daniel Schacter who contends that:

...we tend to think of memories as snapshots from family albums that, if stored properly, could be retrieved in precisely the same condition in which they were put away. But we now know that we do not record our experiences the way a camera records them. Our memories work differently. We extract key elements from our experiences and store them. We then recreate or reconstruct our experiences rather than retrieve copies of them. Sometimes, in the process of reconstructing we add on feelings, beliefs, or even knowledge we obtained after the experience. In other words, we bias our memories of the past by attributing to them emotions or knowledge we acquired after the event. (Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company), 2001, 9ff)

Schacter's implication is stark. Individual memories are more often than not subject to change as they are recalled and reconstituted.⁵

⁴ Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 5.

These definitions are of course glosses, useful for our purposes, while being mindful of the myriad layers of complexity lurking behind these words.

⁵ Jay Winter, *Remembering War*, 5.

We shall put to one side and conveniently ignore the thorny philosophical issue of what constitutes a single memory!

The genesis of the modern “memory boom” differs depending on which scholar one consults. In their useful survey on collective memory, Olick and Robbins cite the work of Maurice Halbwachs (1925), Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1902), Marc Bloch (1925), and F. C. Bartlett (1932) as the pioneering thinkers on memory in the modern era.⁶ The late twentieth-century “boom” in memory scholarship invariably lists Pierre Nora’s *Between Memory and History* (1984, translated from *Les Lieux de Mémoire*), and Yosef Yerushalmi’s *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (1982). Other works of the period include Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition* (1985), and David Lowenthal’s *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985).

The causes of the current memory boom are many. They include the ending of the Cold War and the re-emergence of previously suppressed ethnic histories. Another significant factor is the rise of multiculturalism which likewise gave a voice to those minorities who had previously been silenced. Other stimuli include a major reassessment of the Holocaust in history, particularly in relation to modern Israeli history, post-modern interpretations of the past, and the impending loss of the last voices of the Great War. Great War memory is the focus of this paper of course; and it was in this period, historians, and particularly oral historians, recorded the memories and reminiscences of the dwindling number of Great War veterans.⁷

History and memory are intertwined, argues Winter, overlapping and infusing each other. “All historians leave traces in their work of their own pasts, their own memories.” In their turn, historically minded lay people allow history to inform their memories. But Winter reminds us

⁶ Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins, “Social Memory Studies: From ‘Collective Memory’ to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998), 106-107. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/docview/199614201/fulltextPDF/C60FD3A3931647AFPQ/1?accountid=15078>

⁷ Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, “A Flawed Prophecy? ‘Zakhor,’ the Memory Boom, and the Holocaust,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 97 no. 4 (University of Pennsylvania Press: Fall, 2007), 511-512. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25470224>

that “history is not simply memory with footnotes; and memory is not simply history without footnotes.”⁸

Maurice Halbwachs, writing in 1925, and paraphrased by Olick and Robbins in their recent essay, positions memory and history on a continuum. He argues that “history is dead memory, a way of preserving pasts to which we no longer have an ‘organic’ experiential relation.”⁹ In this we see that history and memory are related in a progression, or rather a degradation, from life to death; agency reduced to stasis. Here, living memory is a superior route to the past, and when living connections cease, the event is reduced to history.¹⁰

Alternatively, Kerwin Klein describes a different relation between memory and history, that of opposition. Here, memory and history do not complement each other but vie with each other for methodological primacy in accessing and interpreting the past. In tracing the emergence of memory as a keyword to unlocking the past, Klein also notes its early but unobtrusive entrance into historical vocabulary through the works of Hofmannsthal and Halbwachs. Memory lay low for almost half a century before the publications from Yosef Yerushalmi (1982) and Pierre Nora (1984) raised its profile again in historiographical debate.¹¹ Klein sounds a distinctively skeptical note on memory’s intrusion into the historical sphere. Memory “promises auratic returns...with religious contexts and meanings...so much older and heavier than the comparatively recent effort of the early professional historians.”¹² In other words, memory arguably encompasses more fully the human experience of time, space, and what it means to be

⁸ Jay Winter, *Remembering War*, 5-6.

⁹ Olick and Robbins, *Social Memory Studies*, 110.

¹⁰ Of course, it is not quite as neat as that. Much history is written while the “organic” connections are still living. But of course, the history outlives the memory.

¹¹ Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 113. Accessed March 19, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.

¹² Klein, *From History to Theory*, 116 – 117.

human compared with forensic formalized scientific history. He also notes acerbically that “in preface after preface, authors declare that it would be simplistic to imagine memory and history as antitheses, and then proceed to use the words in antithetical ways in their monographs.”¹³

So far, the discussion has considered individual memory and its relation to history. There are additional layers of complexity when we consider and analyze the possibility of “collective memory.” Collective memory is distinguished from individual memory, as it involves multiple individual minds congregating and focusing on the same subject in acts of collective remembrance. There has been little scholarly consensus on the mechanics and function of collective memory. One of the key questions concerns the argument that collective memory can exist as an entity independent of mind. Winter rejects the concept. His position is that memories of whatever genus exist only in minds. He repudiates the notion that there exists a form of memory outside of mind.¹⁴ In this he aligns with philosopher Henri Bergson and psychologist Sigmund Freud.¹⁵ Scholars taking a contrary view, as Kerwin Klein notes, include the influential work of Maurice Halbwachs who argues that memory is a social construction and can exist outside of individual minds.

In general, collective memory has had a rough passage, due in no small part to an inability to define it sufficiently. This has resulted in a multiplicity of meanings and applications that Winter describes as “cavalier.”¹⁶ Exasperated by the imprecision and misuse of the term “collective memory,” Winter has abandoned the designation altogether. In the introduction to *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, Winter and Sivan acknowledge the lack of scholarly consensus - indeed the ambiguity – of the term. They single out French scholar Pierre

¹³ Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory*, 113.

¹⁴ Winter, *Remembering*, 4.

¹⁵ Kerwin Lee Klein, *From History to Theory*, 112.

¹⁶ Winter, *Remembering*, 4.

Nora's 1996 work *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (Realms of Memory) as a good example of the confusion.¹⁷ In its place, Winter has coined "collective remembrance." He explains it:

Collective remembrance is public recollection. It is the act of gathering bits and pieces of the past, and joining them together in public. The 'public' is a group that produces, expresses, and consumes it. What they create is not a cluster of individual memories; the whole is greater than the sum of the parts. Collective memory is constructed through the action of groups and individuals in the light of day. (Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 6)

Jay Winter, being one of the leading current scholars of the Great War, has applied the revival of interest in memory to consider it in the context of the Great War period. Renewed interest in memory coincided with the twilight years of lived experience of the Great War, itself an era of great importance in the history of modern memory. Additionally, the second decade of the twenty-first century witnessed the centenary of the Great War, and the passing of its remaining veterans.

The Great War is significant in that it was a war of gargantuan proportions involving the world's most powerful industrialized nations and correspondingly resulted in industrial-scale slaughter, traumatizing and convulsing the nations that fought in it. For many of the combatant nations, it was a "total war," the civilian population providing vital support and in doing so becoming targets and victims themselves. Mourning and remembrance thus became a national concern for the major European belligerents in ways and on a scale hitherto unknown. In Europe, the archaeology of remembrance is scarce indeed before the twentieth century. In earlier times, it

¹⁷ Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1.

was the fate of the soldier, to reprise Thackeray's well-used observation, that "when shot down [he] shall be shoveled into a hole with other Styleses, and so forgotten."¹⁸

The stimulus to remembrance was different in the United States and also occurred earlier. In that sense, the USA led the way in western military remembrance and care of the dead. The 1848-1850 Mexican War cost the lives of thirteen thousand US soldiers, most of whom were buried where they fell. By contrast, the state of Kentucky funded the return of its dead and their burial in a cemetery dedicated to the war.¹⁹ An 1850 Act of Congress established the first American war cemetery outside the country's borders. Located just outside Mexico City, it was the final resting place for (otherwise unidentified) US soldiers who died in or near Mexico City in the war.²⁰ A detailed treatment of the origins of the American way of battlefield remembrance lies outside the scope of this paper. Suffice it to note that it was during and after the American Civil War (ACW) 1861-1865 that the US government began to develop administrative and procedural systems for recording and communicating individual deaths of service personnel in war. The huge scale of death in the American Civil War (over 600,000) simultaneously exposed the limitations of the new systems, and galvanized efforts to improve them.²¹

Concurrent with these systems was a growing sense of national consciousness of the war and the need to remember. Such commemoration is exemplified by President Lincoln himself in his celebrated address at Gettysburg in 1864 when he said that:

¹⁸ William Makepeace Thackeray, *Little Travels and Roadside Sketches*, 1840. The "Styles" referred to is a reference to Thackeray's imaginary soldier Private John Styles whom he invented to represent all ordinary British soldiers in the Battle of Waterloo. Later, "John Styles" came to represent ordinary British soldiers in general.

¹⁹ Kyle J. Hatzinger, "Establishing the American Way of Death: World War I and the Foundation of the United States' Policy toward the Repatriation and Burial of its Battlefield Dead" (master's thesis, University of North Texas, 2015), 8-10.

Detailed treatment of this fascinating subject lies outside the scope of this paper, but Hatzinger's work is an excellent introduction.

²⁰ The American Battlefield Monuments Commission, <https://www.abmc.gov/Mexico-City>.

²¹ Hatzinger, 9.

We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate - we can not consecrate - we can not hallow - this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, ...that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion - that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain... (Abraham Lincoln, *The Gettysburg Address* (Bliss Copy) November 19, 1863. <http://www.abrahamlincolnonline.org/lincoln/speeches/gettysburg.htm>)

Here, President Lincoln unites history, geography, and memory. The battle took place at Gettysburg, and the historical events unfolded, and the sacrifices made. According to Lincoln, remembrance does not hallow the events, but perpetuates their already hallowed state. The purpose of remembrance is not the act, or those who perform it, but the focus of the act.

At Gettysburg, Lincoln led the country in an act of state-organized national remembrance. But the impetus to memorialize and remember came not only from the top. Grassroots sentiments from both civilians and soldiers demanded proper treatment of the dead and appropriate memorials. Steere notes that a key requirement for a democracy to win a war is the girding of civilian national morale as well as military acumen. One aspect of upholding national morale is the treatment of citizens killed or wounded in war. He describes how for example, the armies of the Potomac later marched across the site of the earlier battle of Chancellorsville (1863) and were horrified and resentful to see the decomposing remains of comrades lying where they fell.²² Pressure inexorably grew for proper and dignified treatment of the dead. These were of course early days in the new treatment of battlefield dead. Many times initiatives resulting from fine words and grandiose sentiments were only partly successful. But it

²² Edward Steere, "Genesis of American Graves Registration 1861-1870," *Military Affairs*, 12 No, 3 (Autumn 1948): 151, 154. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1982797>

remains the case that gradually the United States military developed its infrastructure to deal with its battlefield dead in an orderly and dignified manner.

For this chapter, the most far-reaching decision of the American government was in relation to the final resting place of its soldiers killed in conflicts fought abroad. Following both the Spanish-American War (1898) and the Philippines Insurrection (1899-1902), the dead were repatriated to their families. Bereaved families of Great War soldiers naturally expected the same service. Military and logistical exigencies severely restricted repatriation of bodies during wartime; but after the Armistice, a vigorous debate took place concerning the fate of the bodies of America's dead soldiers. On the one hand were those favoring the choice of repatriation as established by earlier foreign wars. On the other were those who argued that given the ruination of France both economically and materially, and given the huge financial costs and the physical state of the bodies themselves, it would be much better that soldiers be buried in official cemeteries in France near to where they died. Furthermore, it was argued, would this not strengthen the bonds between the United States and France? Would not this concentration of valor and sacrifice be a powerful reminder, "an enduring monument to the cause of freedom?"²³ In the end, the War Department allowed each family to decide whether to have their loved ones returned home or buried on the battlefield. Seventy percent of America's dead were returned home. This was in stark contrast to the British treatment of their war dead which presents an interesting comparison.

It was not until the late nineteenth century during the Boer Wars (1880-1881, 1899-1902) that the British authorities began to recognize the issue of war dead, their burial, and

²³ G. Kurt Piehler, *Remembering War the American Way* (Washington DC: The Smithsonian Institution, 1995), 95 - 96.

commemoration. The onslaught of the Great War proved to be the catalyst for action and the founding of the Imperial (later Commonwealth) War Graves Commission (CWGC), the British equivalent of the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC). During the early months of the war, among other tasks, the British Red Cross scoured the battlefields of the Western Front picking up stragglers and wounded men. In the course of their activities, they also began to collect information about the British dead, noting their names and places of burial.²⁴

At the outbreak of the Great War, Fabian Ware (1869-1949) was a middle-aged Englishman of great energy. He volunteered his services to the British Red Cross in 1914 and commanded their operations in France. As the war progressed, the recording and registering of war graves became the principal activity of his operation with the blessing and co-operation of the British military. In 1917, the Imperial War Graves Commission was established with Ware as vice chairman.²⁵ The same issues and controversies presented themselves to the IWGC as had earlier beset the American Graves Registration Service (GRS), one of which was the decision whether to repatriate the war dead.²⁶ In contrast to the American doctrine, the British decided that repatriation of the dead would *not* be an option. Uppermost in the minds of the commissioners were two considerations: firstly the number of British and Empire dead was enormous, and secondly, the idea that there should be equal treatment for the dead.²⁷ A rather more macabre consideration is that for thousands of soldiers on the Western Front, there was nothing to bury or repatriate anyway. Jay Winter estimates that as much as fifty percent of

²⁴ Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil: A History of the Commonwealth War Grave Commission 1917 – 1987* (London: Constable & Company Ltd, 1967), 1.

²⁵ Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 29.

²⁶ It was the task of the Graves Registration Service, founded in the American Civil War, to organize temporary burial grounds near foreign battlefields, and, when safe and appropriate, to exhume the bodies and transport them to the USA.

²⁷ Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 42.

combatants were unidentified or unidentifiable, rotting in no man's land on the Western Front, or putrefying under an Asian or African sun.²⁸

In his description of the Battle of the Somme (1916), John Keegan graphically describes the dangers and effects of shell fire. He notes that

Shell and bomb wounds...amounted to about seventy percent of those inflicted. Shell wounds were the most to be feared, because of the multiple effects shell explosion could produce in the human body. At its worst it could disintegrate a human body, so that nothing is recognizable – sometimes apparently nothing at all – remained of him; “A signaler had just stepped out,” recalled the medical officer of the 2nd Royal Welch Fusiliers, of a later battle, “when a shell burst on him, leaving not a vestige that could be seen anywhere near.” A little beforehand he had witnessed another equally frightening and fatal consequence of shell fire: “two men suddenly rose into the air vertically, 15 feet perhaps, amid a spout of soil 150 yards ahead. They rose and fell with the easy, graceful poise of acrobats. (John Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London: Pimlico, 2004), 264)

The damage shells could inflict on living bodies was also meted out on the dead bodies lying in No Man's Land. In a static war where the front lines barely moved, recovering dead bodies was often not possible for days (if at all) in which time corpses took further hits from ordnance, and were subject to further decay as a result of the elements and wildlife.²⁹

The consequences of allowing or forbidding repatriation are evident from the Mitchell Hall Tablet. Of the ten servicemen, all died away from home. Four died in the USA, one in Russia, and five in France. Of the ten, six served abroad and of those, only two are buried outside

²⁸ Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 36. Precisely to what the fifty percent refers is unclear in Winter's text. Fifty percent of killed on the western front, in the war as a whole? But his point remains that thousands of combatants simply ceased to exist in any recognizable or identifiable form.

²⁹ Indeed, it was the death of American aviator George Vaughn Seibold that was the impetus to form what became the American Gold Star Mothers organization. Seibold, flying with the British, suddenly stopped communicating with his family. His wife knew nothing of his fate until October 1918 when she received a box containing his personal effects. He had been killed in August and his body never found. See <https://www.goldstarmoms.com/our-history.html>.

the USA.³⁰ The others are buried in cemeteries local to their Wisconsin homes. The decision whether or not to repatriate war dead has wider and more profound ramifications when we consider its effects on the concepts and processes of mourning and remembrance. The former case of repatriation emphasizes private mourning and remembrance. It is largely a family affair that focuses on the individual. In this, remembrance is intensely personal, but greatly attenuates with the passing of time. Where the dead are buried at or near where they fell, their memorials are managed by the state. All receive equal treatment regardless of rank or deeds. Remembrance is concentrated at particular geographic locations, is focused, public, and national. The very size of some of these cemeteries continues to be a stimulating factor in continued British public interest in the Great War one hundred years later.

Thus Kurt Piehler's estimation of a seventy percent repatriation rate of American war dead implies a considerable dilution of American public memory of the war.³¹ American involvement in the war, despite its significance, was already small compared with the other Western powers (notably France and Britain), and American losses proportionally fewer. Even making allowances for these factors, the relative scarcity of American public memorials to the Great War is striking in comparison to the towns and villages of its major Western allies. More often than not, in even the smallest villages of France and Britain, a Great War memorial stands in a prominent position calling the community to remember. Large swathes of northern France and parts of Belgium are given over to a seemingly endless cortege of British military cemeteries from this war.

³⁰ To alleviate possible confusion, six served abroad. Five of the six died abroad. Mark Charles Malone served abroad but died days after his return to the USA. See chapter on Mark Charles Malone.

³¹ For the thirty percent buried abroad, many families undertook pilgrimages to the burial places of their deceased. A 1929 Act of Congress made financial provision for Gold Star Mothers and next of kin to make these trips. This is an important topic of remembrance in its own right. For our purposes, it underlines the prevalence of more private or familial acts of remembrance.

So what happened to American Great War memory? Did it ever exist? Was it still-born? Perhaps it was too insignificant a campaign to register with the public consciousness. The research of this paper indicates otherwise. One problem in assessing these questions is the relative lack of scholarly attention to the American experience.

We have already acknowledged the contributions of Jay Winter in these matters and to what he calls “the memory boom” of the twentieth century.³² But whose memory? Herein lies the rub. Interest in the American experience of the Great War is greatly overshadowed by the attention paid to the European experience. Thus, comparing the vast publishing output on all European aspects of the Great War, American history and its attendant memories have received relatively scant academic coverage. One can be forgiven for holding a view that the Great War was simply too insignificant for the American psyche. A consideration of the length of time that the USA was at war, the relative numbers of military personnel who saw action, and the vast distance separating continental America from the Western Front, would seem to provide supporting evidence for this viewpoint.

Steven Trout’s 2010 book, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919–1941* is a rebuttal of that assessment. Acknowledging Winter’s “memory boom,” Trout argues that during the inter-war years, the World War was very much in the public consciousness, being memorialized in war memorials, paintings, magazines, literature, and film.³³ In fact, he goes so far as to say that:

If judged by the number and scale of public memorials that it inspired, the First World War produced an outpouring of pride and patriotism unparalleled in American history.

³² Jay Winter, *Remembering War: The Great War between Memory and History in the 20th Century* (Newhaven, CT: Yale University Press 2006), 1.

³³ Steven Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919 – 1941* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 1.

Indeed, in some regions of the country today, more World War I memorials exist than any other kind of public commemorative artifact, and the total number of such memorials in the United States would almost certainly run in the tens of thousands. (Steven Trout, *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919–1941* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 107)

Trout then addresses the obvious corollary: “so, what happened to that American Great War memory?” How did this remembrance fade? He attributes Great War forgetfulness to two causes: firstly, the simple passing of time; and secondly, the displacement of particular memories by later more immediate, powerful, and overwhelming experiences.

Trout sees in the saga of Quentin Roosevelt a metaphor of general American remembrance of the Great War. On his death, Roosevelt was celebrated as a national hero, lauded in the press with poems and tales of his exploits. Many undertook the long pilgrimage to pay homage at his grave. But with the passing of time, interest waned, and the burial site became increasingly dilapidated. Remembrance gave way to forgetfulness. Ultimately, Roosevelt’s body was exhumed and moved to a cemetery commemorating an entirely different war. Secondly, and as we might probably guess, Trout describes how the onset and consequences of World War Two, the enormity of that event and its memory, superseded remembrance of the Great War.

Quentin Roosevelt (1897–1918) was the youngest son of President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). During the Great War, Quentin served as an aviator, and doubtless due to his father’s fighting reputation, Quentin was, arguably, the most famous fighting man in the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF). On Bastille Day, 14 July 1918, Roosevelt was shot down behind German lines and killed. Local German soldiers afforded Roosevelt a dignified funeral and burial close to the wreckage of his plane. News of his death prompted a spontaneous cult of remembrance in the US press with poems, editorials cartoons, and analysis. A matter of weeks later, on August 2, 1918, advancing units of the Thirty-second Division discovered Roosevelt’s

grave, and it immediately became a quasi-shrine and pilgrimage site.³⁴ Soldiers in the area made detours to pay their respects, including John Acker of the 107th Ammunition Train who paid two visits to the grave, around 6 August, and again on 16 August.³⁵ The simple grave became more elaborate, and the plane wreckage, indeed anything connected with Roosevelt's flying career was treated almost as sacred relics. Such was the frenzy that airplane components entirely unconnected with Roosevelt's plane were passed off as genuine Roosevelt artefacts.³⁶

Thus in his death, Roosevelt's status as a national hero was enhanced. A German photograph of his dead body, published by the Germans and intended for shock propaganda purposes, backfired. Rather than depressing American morale, it instead elevated Roosevelt's hero status. The photograph was even produced as a postcard, selling in great numbers.³⁷ In the 1920s especially, the grave continued to a popular site of pilgrimage. On the wishes of his father, Quentin remained where he was buried in France. The Roosevelt family agreed to take responsibility for the upkeep of the site rather than hand it over to the American Battle Monuments Commission. The land was private property given to the family as a gift from the French Republic. Perhaps one factor in the Roosevelts' decision to maintain the private grave is that the ethos in ABMC cemeteries was strictly egalitarian. All the interred received the same style of grave. No special monuments were permitted, no matter how heroic the serviceman.

³⁴ The date of discovery of Roosevelt's grave is unclear. *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (76-77) dates the discovery 2 August.

The History of the 32nd Division gives it as 7 August. Tom Bruss, webmaster, *The 32D 'Red Arrow' Division in World War I: From the 'Iron Jaw Division' to 'Les Terribles.'* <http://www.32nd-division.org/history/ww1/32-ww1.html#Aisne-Marne>.

The 120th Field Artillery Diary for 3 August, page 178, records that the unit passed through Chamery that day, noting that here Roosevelt had been shot down.

Kermit Roosevelt records the date of discovery as the opening day of the offensive. 18 July. *Quentin Roosevelt*, 176.

³⁵ John C. Acker, *Thru the War with Our Outfit: Being a Historical Narrative of the 107th Ammunition Train* (Sturgeon Bay, WI: Door County Publishing Co., 1920), 96-97.

³⁶ Trout, *Battlefield*, 223.

³⁷ Trout, *Battlefield*, 225-226.

Thus moving him would result in them exchanging Quentin Roosevelt's rather elaborate grave for a standard American military cemetery plot.

But memories faded, visitor numbers dwindled, and the grave fell into disrepair. There were protracted negotiations between the family and the ABMC about the future of Roosevelt's grave. Finally in 1955, Roosevelt's body was exhumed and reinterred next to his brother in the Second World War American military cemetery at Utah Beach, Normandy, a monument to an entirely different war.

Trout argues that the story of Quentin Roosevelt is an illustration of at least three key issues: firstly, the occasion of Great War memory itself. There was such a thing, and it was widespread. Clearly Quentin Roosevelt was hardly an average combatant; but as Trout also shows, in the post-war period, individuals and groups across the USA set up memorials of various types which were the focus for the widespread grief and loss experienced by so many. Secondly, the Quentin Roosevelt grave story exposed the fickle nature of memory. Roosevelt, initially lauded as a heroic symbol of war, faded more and more into obscurity until American remembrance of the First World War was subsumed by remembrance of the Second. Roosevelt's grave diminished from a powerful symbol of Franco-American brothers in arms, an example of international allied cooperation and shared sacrifice, to a forgotten ruin. Further, the reinterment of his body in a Normandy Second World War cemetery divested his memory of its entire geographical and historical context, and deprived it of its commemorative power. Quentin Roosevelt's memory largely disappeared in the national consciousness of the Great War, and became, like so many others, largely a family affair.

Thirdly, Trout demonstrates how subsequent events (especially the Second World War) diminished American remembrance of the First World War. With the outbreak of World War Two, the USA mobilized all its resources in its greatest ever foreign conflict. The Second World War, with its clearer, more noble goals, vast American involvement, and proximate threats to American interests, became the focus of the country. The “Greatest Generation” emerged from the Great Depression to triumph over German fascism and Japanese imperialism. American memory of the First World War was all but snuffed out by these later and greater triumphs. It was not until the early years of this millennium, when the last of the doughboys were all centenarians, that American popular memory of Great War began to revive after decades of amnesia.³⁸ In *Newsweek*, Tony Dokoupil (2008) sadly warned that living witnesses to America’s Great War were all but extinct.³⁹ Richard Rubin published his *The Last of the Doughboys* in 2013, based on a quest in 2003 to locate American Great War veterans and record their stories. Towards the end of his book, Trout lists a few of the slew of academic books published in the early years of this century on the subject of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). He notes ironically that part of this revival of memory is due to the fading memories and dwindling numbers of the Greatest Generation. And so two decades into this century, interest in the Great War and America’s role is increasing, at least at the moment.

What of our Mitchell Hall Tablet? Where is *its* place in the foregoing analysis? It would seem to mimic, in its own minor and unobtrusive way, the grand Quentin Roosevelt saga. In 1921 the students of the MNS contributed to the purchase of a simple memorial to the ten dead alumni. Despite the current paucity of evidence, there was likely an unveiling ceremony and for

³⁸ Frank Buckles (1901 – 2011) was the last living American Great War combat veteran.

³⁹ Tony Dokoupil, “The War We Forgot,” *Newsweek (New York)*, 151 no. 7, (Feb 18, 2008), 50. <https://ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/docview/214253869?accountid=15078>

a while, many staff, students, and visitors passing the memorial doubtless stopped and recalled one or more of those commemorated; or perhaps, just the fact of its being a Great War memorial might have brought remembrance some other aspect of the war unconnected with the ten.

But with the passing of time memory faded, both of the memorial, and those memorialized. The site of collective remembrance has vanished. All that remains is this mere archaeological artefact. Nonetheless, it exists, and it continues to bear witness, even if no-one is listening. Furthermore, the Mitchell Hall Tablet is not alone. One memorial would hardly justify Trout's assertion of widespread American memorialization of the Great War; at least in Wisconsin. But in a very informal and not very scientific exercise, research revealed that of the nine schools that comprised the Wisconsin State Normal system, surprisingly eight of them have memorials of one type or another commemorating students who gave their lives in the World War.⁴⁰

Of the nine, the Eau Claire memorial is remarkable in its commemoration of its only Great War fatality. The Eau Claire Normal School (ECNS) was the youngest of the normal schools, not opening until the Fall 1916. Lieutenant Arthur Olsen, alumnus of the school, died of wounds in July 1918 and consequently of seven ECNS veterans, became the only fatality. Alumni and students commissioned a portrait of Lieutenant Olsen. The 25¼" x 37" portrait was unveiled in 1921 and currently hangs in the office of the archivist of the University of Wisconsin–Eau Claire.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The Wisconsin State Normal Schools, now all part of the University of Wisconsin System, were: Eau Claire, La Crosse, Milwaukee, Oshkosh, Platteville, River Falls, Stevens Point, Superior, Whitewater.

⁴¹ Email correspondence with Lark Keating-Hadlock, Assistant Archivist, Special Collections and Archives, McIntyre Library, UW-Eau Claire, October 10, 2020.

The lack of a memorial at Oshkosh is difficult to explain. As late as November 1921, Ruth Finnegan, a contributor to the school newspaper *The Normal Advance*, wrote an impassioned appeal for planning a memorial and starting a funding campaign. Finnegan noted that many universities and colleges in the USA had already either erected memorials or were in the process of doing so, but Oshkosh did not even have a plan for such.⁴² Further research would indicate that for whatever reason, no memorial was ever commissioned.⁴³ It is certainly not for a lack of Oshkosh Normal School involvement in the Great War. The November 1918 edition of *The Normal Advance* lists 110 alumni and others who served in the war, four of them deceased.⁴⁴

Oshkosh Normal School notwithstanding, it is clear from the above that the Great War exercised the minds of normal school students across the state who contributed to the commissioning and installation of memorials to normal school students who died in the line of duty. It was not only the normal schools. Several of our ten veterans are commemorated in other schools and colleges too. Anderson, Berger, Baldwin, McHugh, and Mitchell are all commemorated in the University Memorial Union in Madison. Anderson is further commemorated at Beloit College. Preston Tupper's name is listed on the memorial in the Rockefeller Chapel, University of Chicago. John Gordon Mitchell is listed on a memorial commissioned by South Division High School. Similarly, Kenneth McHugh was listed on a memorial at Baraboo High School.⁴⁵ In the course of this research, we may also add Lawrence

⁴² Ruth Finnegan, "Lest We Forget" in *The Normal Advance*, November 1, 1921, 7-8.
<https://newspaperarchive.com/oshkosh-advance-nov-01-1921-p-7/>

⁴³ Conclusion based on newspaper searches and an email conversation with Joshua Ranger, University Archivist at the University of Wisconsin – Oshkosh, October 27, 2020. See also *The Quiver*, 1918, Oshkosh Normal School Yearbook, 7. <https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/UOWO/id/4173>

⁴⁴ The cause of death for each of the four is unknown.

⁴⁵ According to the Sauk County Historical Society, the whereabouts of the memorial is currently unknown.

University to the list of state educational establishments that have memorialized their Great War service personnel.⁴⁶

Thus our own small survey supports Trout's contention that that American Great War memory existed; but what of its proliferation? If the artefacts are as numerous as he claims, why don't we see more of them? He himself admits that "the ubiquity of WWI memorialization in the USA doesn't really become clear until you do some digging..."⁴⁷ Additionally, many memorials are functional: buildings, streets, bridges and such, whose commemorative properties are not immediately obvious. He also relates that on the campus of the University of Alabama, a Great War plaque was discovered in 2018 commemorating students killed in the war. The plaque relates that trees were planted, one-per-fatality. No-one knows which trees they are, or whether they still exist, and the memory of the entire episode was lost until the discovery. The research in this paper follows a similar trajectory. Our normal school survey and other discoveries clearly demonstrate recognition of the human cost of the war and the imperative to remember. It seems to be the case that many American memorials are hiding "in plain sight," their lost historical connections awaiting rediscovery. Many others are not sited in obvious public locations as is commonly the case in Britain or France. Nonetheless, the evidence overwhelmingly supports the conclusion that America's brief involvement in the First World War, and the sacrifices made by so many were not marginal events, mere footnotes in national history. There followed many expressions of mourning, commemoration, and remembrance at the national level, but especially so from the families and communities whose sons and daughters went to war and never returned.

⁴⁶ Carl Berger Junior was a student at Lawrence University. In my research, on a point of curiosity, the archivist there confirmed that they also have a Great War memorial commemorating students who served.

⁴⁷ Email conversation with Steven Trout, March 27-29, 2021.

When addressing the existence of Great War memory in the United States, from the above data, the only possible conclusion is that regardless of later diminution of memory, the experiences of so many young men from Wisconsin, 1917-1919 in Europe greatly affected their home communities and spurred them to create, as Winter would say, sites of memory and sites of mourning. The evidence of this study overwhelmingly corroborates Trout's theories.

Chapter 3

Normal Education

This chapter is a brief explanation of “normal” education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This information is useful background data when reading the biographies of the ten veterans in later chapters.

The introduction of normal schools was an important milestone in the history of American teacher training: “Until the advent of normal schools, no concrete sense of teacher competency, let alone teacher training, existed. During the colonial period, teacher ability ranged from bare literacy to college education.”⁴⁸ Horace Mann founded the first normal school in Lexington, Massachusetts in 1839, with the sole purpose of training teachers. To that end, typical normal school curricula emphasized four components: a review of the branches of knowledge; the art of teaching; the subject of the government of the school; and a practice (model) school.⁴⁹ It is important to note at this stage that the focus of the normal school system was to train teachers for “common” (i.e. public) elementary and high schools rather than collegiate level institutions.⁵⁰

But there never was an entirely homogenous “normal” approach to education. Altenbaugh and Underwood distinguish the Midwestern and Western “normal” experience with that of, for example, the New England model. In the Midwest, educational lines were blurred. Education was seen as a continuum rather than a system segmented between the elite and the

⁴⁸ Richard J. Altenbaugh and Kathleen Underwood, “The Evolution of Normal Schools,” in *Places Where Teachers are Taught*, ed. John I. Goodlad, Roger Soder, Kenneth A. Sirotnik, 137 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1990). This may explain why we find Henry Kleinhesselink teaching in Montana *before* he attended the Normal School. See chapter on Henry Kleinhesselink.

⁴⁹ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 139.

⁵⁰ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 139.

rest. In Wisconsin, the public perception of the role of normal education added to the ambiguities. The people of Platteville saw their new normal school as a revived version of their failed local academy. In Whitewater, their normal school satisfied their longstanding desire for a high school. These differing public conceptions and expectations concerning the purpose of normal education diverted the schools from their stated purpose. As we have noted, they were never purely teacher-training institutions, and they increasingly attracted students who had no desire or intention of entering the teaching profession.

At another level, high schools began incorporating rudimentary teacher training into their curricula. This applied more pressure on normal schools whose focus turned increasingly toward the needs of secondary education. The course offerings of Wisconsin normal schools began to resemble more the curricula of the state university in Madison.⁵¹ Wasserman notes that in this way, “Wisconsin normal schools became feeder institutions to the university; by the 1890s, it was common for normal graduates to enroll on the Madison campus as juniors.”⁵² This is precisely what we have observed with our MNS students. Fifty percent of them went on to study in at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, several of them entering at the sophomore or junior level. Only three of the ten were teachers.

Nonetheless, and despite the University of Wisconsin’s resistance, these academically converging trends continued. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Midwestern normal schools began to resemble colleges.⁵³ In nineteenth-century American education, normal schools had been less prestigious than the elite colleges or state universities. But while they ostensibly

⁵¹ In this paper, I use “University of Wisconsin, Madison” when describing events before the University of Wisconsin System was developed in the 1970s. When describing archival work etc., I use the current “University of Wisconsin-Madison” or “UW-Mad.”

⁵² J. Wasserman, “Wisconsin Normal Schools and the Education Hierarchy, 1860-1890” in *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 7 (1979), 5. Quoted in Altenbaugh and Underwood, 142,

⁵³ Altenbaugh and Underwood, 141.

remained teacher-training schools, their focus shifted and their role inevitably changed. In the Midwest particularly, by the early twentieth century and with an ever expanding curriculum, they were more akin to small liberal arts colleges.⁵⁴

This convergence of curricula between the normal system and the University of Wisconsin generated a fair amount of discord between the two systems, each accusing the other of encroaching on the other's specialist areas. In particular, the University sought to prevent normal schools from offering college-level degrees. In addition to academic competition, the University and the normal schools competed with each other for state funds.⁵⁵

A compromise of sorts was agreed in 1909 when the University and the normal system agreed that two-year graduates from a normal school could transfer to the University with junior standing. Normal graduates in German or Latin enrolling at the University would receive sixty hours of credit towards a Bachelor of Arts degree. Similarly on enrollment at the University, normal graduates in English, were henceforth granted sixty hours of credit towards a Bachelor of Philosophy.

The national popularity of normal schools grew. At least thirty seven states had one or more in 1890. Most of them were coeducational institutions, equally open to both female and male students.⁵⁶ In 1874, the normal schools began offering four-year courses of advanced study. By 1892 in Wisconsin, advanced two-year courses provided graduating students the opportunity to matriculate as juniors at the University of Wisconsin. In 1911, Wisconsin introduced a two-

⁵⁴ Christine A. Ogren, "Where Coeds Were Coeducated: Normal Schools in Wisconsin, 1870-1920," *History of Education Quarterly*, 35, no. 1 (Spring, 1995), 2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/369689>

⁵⁵ Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin: A History 1848-1925* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1949), 2:260-261.

⁵⁶ Coeducational, meaning that men and women learned together in the same classrooms and the same curricula were open to all. Men and women took part in school governance, school societies, sports, and other activities. In contrast, the University of Wisconsin ran a Female College 1867 – 1871 and even thereafter, segregation existed into the twentieth century. Ogren, 3.

year general baccalaureate. During this period, the nine Wisconsin normal schools moved ever closer to collegiate status. In 1927, a state-wide decision redesignated all nine of Wisconsin's normal schools as State Teacher Colleges. Then in 1951, the state again redesignated the teacher colleges as State Colleges. Finally in 1972 they were all incorporated into the University of Wisconsin system.

Table 1 below lists the nine Wisconsin normal schools in the order in which they were established and charts their chronology to university status. Table 2 lists, as far as can be ascertained, the dates each of our veterans attended the Milwaukee Normal School and what they did after graduating or transferring. The table is rather sparsely populated due to key data not being available in the public sphere.

| Founded | Location | Institution Type | Status Changed |
|----------------|------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1866 | Platteville | State Normal School | |
| 1868 | Whitewater | State Normal School | |
| 1871 | Oshkosh | State Normal School | |
| 1875 | River Falls | State Normal School | |
| 1885 | Milwaukee | State Normal School | |
| | | State Teachers College | 1927 |
| | | State College | 1951 |
| | | UW System | 1972 |
| 1894 | Stevens Point | State Normal School | |
| 1896 | Superior | State Normal School | |
| 1909 | La Crosse | State Normal School | |
| 1916 | Eau Claire | State Normal School | |

Table 1 - Wisconsin Normal School Chronology to University Status. All the normal schools listed above transitioned to new institutions according to the Milwaukee timeline and institution name.

| Student | Born | Enrolled MNS | Left MNS | Notes |
|----------------|------|--------------|----------|--|
| Anderson | 1891 | 1911 | - | 1914: Graduated Beloit College 1915: UW |
| Baldwin | 1896 | 1916 | 1917 | 1917: UW sophomore |
| Berger | 1891 | 1911 | 1913 | 1914: Teacher, Mayville, WI 1915: UW |
| Drews | 1894 | 1912 | 1914 | Teaching in Manitowoc area |
| Israel | 1893 | - | - | Journalism |
| Kleinhesselink | 1886 | 1917? | - | October 1918: Deceased |
| Malone | 1893 | - | - | Shoe salesman |
| McHugh | 1896 | 1913? | 1916? | 1916: UW |
| Mitchell | 1895 | 1913 | 1915 | 1916: UW |
| Tupper | 1892 | - | - | 1916?: University of Chicago |

Table 2 – The Ten Veterans at the Wisconsin State Normal School, Milwaukee. <date>? indicates approximate date. “-“ denotes unknown.

Chapter 4

Raising the Army: Drafts, Training Corps, and Camps

This chapter briefly describes how the United States raised its army in 1917. Terms and concepts that appear later in the biographies are covered here. The chapter describes two main processes: firstly the mechanisms established to summon American citizens to war, and secondly, the relationship between American universities and the American military, primarily the establishment of the Officers' Reserve Corps (ORC), and the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC).

Traditionally, American armies had been raised by an appeal for volunteers. During the American Civil War however, both North and South adopted programs of selective conscription administered directly by each army. The system contained many flaws. Draftees were allowed to hire substitutes, an obvious strategy for the well-off. Evasion was commonplace, and heavy-handed behavior by the military often resulted in draft riots in many northern cities.

In World War One, the scale of the war and the federal requirements for manpower and material exceeded anything previous in American history. Major General Enoch H. Crowder effected a revolution in the way the United States raised its armies in wartime. He devised and led the Selective Service System (hereafter the SSS) which became the instrument of wartime military recruitment of the United States government for the rest of the twentieth century. The essential characteristics of the SSS were that it was decentralized, and that it was civilian-led at both the local and state level. The United States military strove to avoid the impression that the

military imposed its will and its needs on the civilian population. Hence “conscripts” became “servicemen” or “selectees.” This was the concept of “supervised decentralization.”⁵⁷

There were three general stages in the drafting process: first, establishing the pool of potential recruits; second, selecting the recruits for the draft; and third, dispatching them to the training camps. State governors appointed the registration boards for stage one, and these were organized based on existing voter registration organization. For registration in towns with a population less than 30,000, the voting precinct was the primary place of registration. These in turn were grouped and managed by county level boards. For cities over 30,000 inhabitants, electoral wards were grouped together forming a “registration district” reporting to a city-wide “board of control.”

The second organization was the system of selection boards which were responsible for analyzing the registration lists and choosing the men to go forward for military service. There was approximately one board for each subdivision of 30,000 making in total, 4,647 “draft boards.” The President was responsible for appointments to draft boards although in practice governors were influential in recommending appointees.

At the highest level of the organizational structure, the SSS National Headquarters in Washington DC (composed of military officers) directed the lower civilian levels. In this way, the public were “insulated” from direct contact with the military during the drafting process, and the draft became a local affair run by local civilians. Most civilians served on the boards voluntarily and were a cross-section of the community: the local sheriff was frequently a

⁵⁷ John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America* (The Free Press, 1987), 181.

member; the county medical officer oversaw medical examinations, and local business people and other municipal leaders served. Only the clerical staff was paid.

To persuade men to register, a variety of means were employed including newspaper exhortations, encouragements from the local Councils of National Defense, and the Washington-based Committee on Public Information.^{58,59} Those who failed to register would be shamed by having their names published locally so that communities would know who was avoiding service.

Because local draft boards favored bachelors over married men, there was a rush to marry among many draftees. Unfortunately for them, the draft boards also possessed wide discretionary powers in determining whether military service would cause undue economic hardship for dependents. So the use of “tying the knot” to avoid service was unlikely to achieve the desired result.

Those registered for the draft were prioritized into groups according to particular criteria. Starting with Class I, draftees were drawn from that class until it was exhausted, and then those in the next class became eligible and so on. Class I typically comprised healthy, single men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. These were drafted first. Class II included men with dependents not their own. They were not called on until Class I was exhausted. Class III included those with aged or invalided dependents; Merchant seamen and men with their own dependents

⁵⁸ Anne Cipriano Venzon (ed.), *The United States in the First World War* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), s.v. “Councils of National Defense.” Resulting from the National Defense Act (1916,) the CND sought to coordinate economic policy. The gravity of the European war indicated that the United States might become embroiled sooner or later. As a result, the U.S. government endeavoured to prepare the country for possible war.

⁵⁹ *The United States in the First World War*, ed. Anne Cipriano Venzon, s.v. “Committee on Public Information.” “tasked with the release – and suppression – of government news to promote the ‘absolute justice of America’s cause...’”

were in Class IV, and in Class V were classified ordained ministers, divinity students, resident and enemy aliens, and criminals to name a few.⁶⁰

The mission of the SSS in 1917 was straightforward: to recruit 1½ million men and send them to training camps by the end of September.⁶¹ This was at a time when the United States army comprised only 128,000 regulars with 164,000 in the National Guard. Following the first registration on 5 June 1917, ten million men reported for duty. The selection for the first quota was made by lottery in Washington D.C., and thus the first 687,000 recruits were drafted by September 1, 1917.⁶² The first draftees were sent off to camp on July 15, 1917. In the next six months draft boards examined a further three million men and verified one million fit for military service. The SSS attained its goal of 1½ million recruits by the end of 1917. General Pershing estimated troop requirements of three million by the end of 1918.

The Selective Service System was a success. By its operation, the United States was able to raise a substantial army in a relatively short time. Congress passed the first Selective Service Act on 18 May, 1917.⁶³ This was followed by three “registrations” on 5 June, 1917; 5 June, 1918; a supplementary registration on 24 August, 1918; and the last one on 12 September, 1918.

By November 11, 1918, the system had delivered 2.8 million men to the US Army which had grown to 3.9 million men, seventy-two percent of whom were conscripts.⁶⁴ Chambers estimates that if required, the system could have delivered six or seven million recruits had the war continued into 1919 and 1920. In all, the United States mobilized twenty percent of its male

⁶⁰ <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/conscientiousobjection/MilitaryClassifications.htm>

⁶¹ John Whiteclay Chambers II, *To Raise an Army: The Draft Comes to Modern America*, 180.

⁶² A system of credits existed for states already contributing more than their share to the armed forces (National Guard, army, navy, marines.) The credits reduced the number of draftees required of those states.

⁶³ <https://www.archives.gov/research/military/ww1/draft-registration>

⁶⁴ Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 9.

population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. This compares with sixty percent in Britain.⁶⁵ In addition to its recruiting function, the SSS played an increasing role in ensuring that critical areas of the economy were not starved of essential labor. By its system of deferments and delegation to draft boards, the Selective Service System achieved what it set out to do without unduly upsetting economic equilibrium. Thus for example, draft boards had discretion in balancing recruiting policy against local industrial and agricultural needs. However, Chambers judges that this aspect of the system did not work as well as planned. This was due, he argues, to the federal government's limited influence over industry and commerce in this period. Nonetheless, the SSS introduced and oversaw a seismic change in American military and economic preparedness and responsiveness to twentieth century industrial warfare.

The preceding discussion has outlined the general processes by which the US military mobilized the citizenry to war. In addition to the draft, the military established organizations to recruit and train officer-caliber personnel from the universities and colleges across the country. These systems feature in several of the biographies that follow, and it is important to have some understanding of the origins and stimuli behind these programs.

Both the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) and the Officers' Reserve Corps (ORC) were new initiatives resulting from the National Defense Act (NDA) of 1916, seeking to provide a stream of college-educated, officer-grade recruits for the armed forces. The act organized American armed forces into three sections: the active-duty forces, the organized reserves, and the National Guard.⁶⁶ The National Defense Act was itself founded on the principles and requirements as laid out in the Land-Grant Act of 1862, whose main sponsor was

⁶⁵ Chambers, *To Raise an Army*, 200.

⁶⁶ Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 23.

the great education reformer, Representative and later Senator Justin Smith Morrill (1810–1898) of Vermont. By the 1862 act, the federal government donated large tracts of lands to states. The act stipulated that the proceeds of the sales of the land must be used to support and maintain at least one college in the state where the emphasis was on agricultural and mechanical arts, and crucially for our purposes, provision for teaching military tactics.⁶⁷ The 1916 act built on this relationship between certain state educational institutions and the federal military. The ROTC was a balance struck between recruitment needs for federal forces, and the state-controlled National Guard. Its natural decentralization obviated the need to expand federal training facilities like West Point. It pleased proponents of the National Guard by making ROTC personnel available to state militia. And it pleased army educators (who had been lobbying for this since 1913) by stipulating a much-expanded curriculum for basic training, together with minimum standards for that training. Neiberg comments that the “ROTC served as an effective compromise that offered something to all interested parties.”⁶⁸ To be eligible for admission to the ROTC, a candidate must be enrolled at the institution at which the ROTC is established, be no less than fourteen years of age, a US citizen, and physically capable of performing the required duties.

General Order 49 of the NDA also made provision for alumni of ROTC establishments who had graduated before the ROTC program had been introduced. Alumni who had received military training similar to the ROTC syllabus could join the Officers’ Reserve Corps with the

⁶⁷ Coy F. Cross, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1999), 63. <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/uwm/detail.action?docID=3338210&pq-origsite=primo>.

⁶⁸ Michael S. Neiberg, *Making Citizen-Soldiers: ROTC and the Ideology of American Military Service* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 200), 24.

commissioned rank of Temporary Second Lieutenant for up to six months.⁶⁹ Paragraph 71 of the order opened the Officers' Reserve Corps to graduates of the ROTC program.

These were the national provisions taken as the United States prepared for, and then entered the war. They directly affected the future of millions, including of course our alumni from the Normal School who volunteered or were drafted and selected for service.

⁶⁹ National Defense Act, General Order 49 X (sec. 51), *Appointment of Temporary Second Lieutenants*, 14. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015024639463&view=1up&seq=4>.

Chapter 5

Ten Names on a Tablet

For the living know that they will die,
but the dead know nothing;
they have no further reward,
and even their name is forgotten.

Their love, their hate
and their jealousy have long since vanished;
never again will they have a part
in anything that happens under the sun.

Ecclesiastes 9:5

Our study now concentrates on the tablet and the ten names listed. These men have three necessary things in common that merit their inclusion on the tablet and hence subjects of this study: they attended the Milwaukee Normal School; they served in the United States Armed Forces during the Great War; and they died in uniform. Along with the provenance of the tablet, the resulting research is in reality eleven simultaneous mini biographical projects, with widely varying results. The tablet has its own history, and the ten veterans came from a wide variety locations and family backgrounds. They followed converging then diverging educational and career paths, served in many different places, and died in unique circumstances. Such a spread presents particular challenges and inequalities in the coverage each serviceman receives in this thesis. For some of them, rich veins of information were discovered and mined. For others, hours of research resulted in meager pickings. Nonetheless, aside from the three characteristics common among them all, there are other ways and means by which the veterans are connected.

Of the ten, only three were killed in action. One died in an accident, one died of a (seemingly) pre-existing condition. Fifty percent of them died of influenza or conditions brought about by influenza. Five of the ten (Anderson, Baldwin, Berger, McHugh, and Mitchell) attended the University of Wisconsin. Anderson and Berger were both born in 1891, and both attended

West Division High School in Milwaukee. These (and other conclusions) are discussed and expounded in the following subsections. We begin however, with the tablet itself.

The Mitchell Hall Tablet

Mitchell Hall is a large building located on the west side of Downer Avenue, Milwaukee, between East Hartford Avenue to the north, and East Kenwood Boulevard to the south. Once the Milwaukee Normal School (1885–1927), it is now an administrative building for the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.⁷⁰ Opposite the main staircase on the second floor, and in the corner of a doorway, we find our memorial (Figure 1, Figure 2). It does not grab our attention. It is partly obscured in the dim hallway light but it is fairly large. It lacks luster, sophistication, and prominence. It gives every indication that it is a forgotten relic from a bygone era, there because it is there.

Of the ten men and this single artefact, it is the latter that is the most puzzling. Manufactured by the Gorham Company of New York and Providence, it contains no further identifying marks, and its text contains the barest information. There is no indication who commissioned the tablet or when or where it was unveiled. Just ten names remembered by persons unknown, a war, and a manufacturer. The archives of the Gorham Company are on microfilm, and housed at Brown University, RI. Unfortunately due to the current COVID-19 pandemic, both these archival facilities and inter-library transfer are suspended, and it has not been possible to make further progress on the manufacture of the tablet.

As we have mentioned, the tablet is of simple design. Immediately beneath the dome are the escutcheon (shield) and laurel leaves, symbolizing victory. The shield design is taken from

⁷⁰ The Normal School was originally at Eighteenth and Wells streets, but relocated to Mitchell Hall in 1908. UW-Milwaukee's Predecessor Institutions.: Milwaukee State Normal School (1885-1927), <https://guides.library.uwm.edu/c.php?g=56484&p=363324#:~:text=Summary,Milwaukee%20State%20Normal%20School%20opened>.

the shield on the Great Seal of the United States.⁷¹ The top of the shield, the *Chief* comprises thirteen stars representing thirteen sovereign states in one Congress. The thirteen paleways below represent the thirteen states in their support *for* the Chief, while being bound in unity *by* the Chief.

The provenance of the tablet is disconcertingly obscure. We have already mentioned the scant information it communicates, and the current lack of access to potentially useful sources. Tantalizing references exist from local newspapers of the era that may provide some clues. Firstly, *The Milwaukee Journal* reported on Saturday, March 19, 1921, that the MNS seniors of that year had voted a gift of sixty dollars toward the building of a bronze memorial to the school's soldiers in the Great War.⁷² Then, on 14 May, 1923, *The Sheboygan Press* reported that Harold Sanville of Sheboygan, a student at the Normal School, would present two bronze tablets: one in memory of the late Professor Walter Cheever, and the other "to the memory of the boys of the World War." This was to take place at the next graduation exercises.⁷³

On May 20, *The Milwaukee Journal* further reported that on the forthcoming June 6, Miss Ethel Garner of the class of 1894 would be unveiling two memorial tablets: in honor of two teachers who had recently died: the aforementioned Professor Cheever, and Nelson Mitchell. Harold Sanville would be presenting the tablets, the gift of the alumni association.⁷⁴ The

⁷¹ Encyclopedia Britannica, s.v. "Great Seal of the United States," <https://school-eb-com.ezproxy.lib.uwm.edu/levels/high/article/Great-Seal-of-the-United-States/630704>, Also, <http://greatseal.com/symbols/shield.html>.

⁷² *The Milwaukee Journal*, Saturday March 19, 1921, 2.

⁷³ *The Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) · 14 May 1923, Mon · Page 14. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/234092837/?terms=%22harold%20sanville%22&match=1>

⁷⁴ *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, 21 May, 1923, 5. https://infoweb.newsbank.com/apps/news/document-view?p=WORLDNEWS&t=&sort=YMD_date%3AD&page=3&maxresults=20&f=advanced&val-base-0=%22memorial%20tablet%22&fld-base-0=alltext&bln-base-1=and&val-base-1=1921-1925&fld-base-1=YMD_date&docref=image/v2%3A119BAA7547AD9B50%40EANX-NB-16D42838CAF8371E%402423561-16D3EE46D83EBEE1%404-16D3EE46D83EBEE1%40

A similar report was carried in *The Milwaukee Journal*, 20 May, 1923, 22.

graduation exercises were scheduled for the following day, June 7. There is no mention of a memorial to the School's wartime dead.

It is bizarre to say the least, that the provenance of the Mitchell Hall Tablet is so elusive. Newspaper database searches for war memorial tablets for this period yield many results for many state-wide and national education institutions. Many of the press reports describe in great detail and solemnity the ceremonies took place when the memorials were unveiled.⁷⁵ And yet the MNS memorial is (so far) largely anonymous. The conundrum is strange indeed.

Having become aware of these additional memorials to the two teachers, one of the central questions is: what happened to those tablets? Do they still exist, and how many were there anyway? Is it possible that Cheever and Nelson were commemorated on one tablet and the other one was the memorial to the veterans, the tablet mentioned by the *Sheboygan Press*? Was confusion generated from inaccurate press reports? These questions await further research.

Despite the paucity of its background information, the Mitchell Hall Tablet has provided a catalyst for much research into its own cultural times, a manifestation of commemoration and mourning. We have already established (see Chapter 2 History, Remembrance, and the Great War) that Mitchell Hall's memorial was far from being "out there" on its own. Of the nine state normal schools in Wisconsin, eight of them excepting Oshkosh have some sort of Great War memorial. And as we have seen, other schools and colleges commemorated their war dead. The Mitchell Hall Tablet, despite appearances to the contrary, is not alone.

For the record, Mitchell Hall was named (in 1964) after the famous Milwaukee family that includes aviator General William "Billy" Mitchell. <https://uwm.edu/arts/rentals/>

⁷⁵ See for example, the report on the dedication of the memorial at La Crosse Normal School. *La Crosse Tribune and Leader Press*, May 28, 1921, 1, La Crosse, Wisconsin, US. <https://newspaperarchive.com/la-crosse-tribune-and-leader-press-may-28-1921-p-1/>



Figure 1 - The Mitchell Hall Tablet

THIS TABLET IS ERECTED
IN HONOR OF ALL THOSE FROM THE
MILWAUKEE NORMAL SCHOOL
WHO SERVED IN
THE WORLD WAR
AND
TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO GAVE THEIR LIVES

MORGAN MacDONALD ANDERSON

HENRY KLEINHESSELINK

CHARLES WALKER BALDWIN

KENNETH LAVALLE McHUGH

GUY JACOB DREWS

MARK CHARLES MALONE

ALFRED ISRAEL

JOHN GORDON MITCHELL

CARL HERMAN BERGER

PRESTON EDDY TUPPER

Figure 2- Transcription of Mitchell Hall Tablet

Introduction to the Biographies

We now proceed to the ten mini biographies. The men are presented in alphabetical order since there is little that naturally connects them. Most of them were not contemporaries at the school; there is little evidence that any of them knew each other. They came from a wide variety of places, and each experienced the war in his distinct way. We discuss similarities and differences in Chapter 6

Summary of Research Findings.

The biographies follow a basic chronological form, beginning with parentage, birth, and siblings. Where possible, the paper describes their high school activities, their progression to the Normal School, and what they did after leaving or graduating.

Naturally their war experience occupies much space. Where I have not been able to uncover personal histories, I have tried to paint the picture using military histories of their units. Again, where there is evidence, I tell the story of their deaths and burials, concluding with notes on what happened to their surviving family.

Much time was expended trying to track down living descendants of the ten. I was successful on only one occasion, that of Carl Herman Berger. For some of the veterans, we do not even have a photograph of them. All that said, and despite the paucity of data in several areas, the following chapters will bring some life, color, and humanity to the ten names commemorated on the Mitchell Hall Tablet.



Figure 3 - The Veterans: Top (left to right): Anderson, McHugh, Berger. Middle: Israel, Drews, Klein Hesslink. Bottom: Mitchell, Tupper, Baldwin. Not pictured: Malone. Source: Milwaukee Normal School Yearbook, 1919, UWM Archives.

Morgan MacDonald Anderson (22 August, 1891 – October 5, 1918)

2nd Lieutenant, Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment, First Division



Figure 4 - Morgan MacDonald Anderson. Source: Milwaukee Public Library Digital Image Collections, World War I Military Portraits, WWI_0063.jpg

Morgan MacDonald Anderson (variously Morgan, Donald, or MacDonald) was born in Milwaukee on August 22, 1891 to George (1855–1937) and Mary Jane (Williams) (1864 - 1953) Anderson. While Mary was a Milwaukee native of Welsh descent, George came from Dunfermline, Scotland. Born in 1855, George first appears in a United States federal census in 1880, living in the Lake View Hotel, Milwaukee with two brothers.⁷⁶ He married Mary on 2

⁷⁶ Sources: 1880, 1900, and 1910 United States Federal Census data, https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4120630_00037?usePUB=true&_phs

April 1884 and they soon started a family.⁷⁷ Morgan was the third of five children, preceded by Lillian (1885–1990), George (1886–1962), and Gordon (1889 - 1953). He was followed by Blythe (1906–1991).

Anderson was educated at West Division High School, graduating in the class of 1909.⁷⁸ He then studied at the Milwaukee Normal School (class of 1911) before enrolling at Beloit College in the class of 1914. Why he studied at Beloit in addition to the MNS remains unclear. From Beloit he enrolled at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to study law in the class of 1918.

At university, Anderson was active in the Phi Delta Phi fraternity and played basketball for the Badgers.⁷⁹ Playing sport was not the only string in his bow. In May 1916 he played a marine in a university production of *HMS Pinafore*. Interestingly, one of the other marines was Glenn McHugh, elder brother of Kenneth McHugh who is also commemorated on the Mitchell Hall Tablet and the subject of a later chapter in this thesis.⁸⁰ Anderson was well on the way to his 1918 graduation when war broke out. On 5 June 1917, he registered for the draft in Madison.⁸¹ Then in September, he was formally called up.⁸² But it seems that Anderson had not waited for the summons. His army record and other records indicate that he applied (and was accepted) for

rc=bvp194&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=63746054

Dunfermline: Beloit College Archive: Soldier's Record

⁷⁷ FamilySearch. <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/person/details/KGYL-B49>.

⁷⁸ The *Comet*, Year Book of West Division High School, 1919, 83-85: Milwaukee County Historical Society.

⁷⁹ The *Badger* Vol. XXXII 1918, 18, UW Archive

<https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/A4752RN4EPXDA28C/full/ADFYZZ2RYLBHMM8F> The *Journal Times* (Racine, Wisconsin) · 5 Oct 1918, Sat · Page 6.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/334118099/?terms=anderson&match=1>

⁸⁰ *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin), 18 May 1916, Thu, Page 3.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/402649147/?terms=morgan%20anderson&match=1>.

See also the chapter on Kenneth Lavalley McHugh.

⁸¹ Morgan Anderson Draft Registration Card. Source: FamilySearch

⁸² *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison, Wisconsin) · 26 Sep 1917, Wed · Page 6.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/402554289/?terms=%22morgan%20anderson%22&match=1#>.

admission to the Officers' Reserve Corps.⁸³ When the Draft Board selected him for active service on 29 September 1917 he was already attending the second Officers' Training Camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, which ran from 27 August 1917, until 27 November 1917. Twenty thousand men applied for this camp, of which four thousand were chosen. Anderson was one of them. He successfully completed the course and received his commission as Second Lieutenant. He was called to active service on 30 December 1917.⁸⁴ Originally posted to the Sixty-first Infantry Regiment, he later transferred to Company "I", Third Battalion, the Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment. This unit was part of the famed First Division, the "Big Red One."⁸⁵ When this transfer took place is difficult to ascertain. Was it prior to, or after arrival in Europe? The evidence would indicate that Anderson was transferred *before* arrival in France. His father attests that Anderson sailed for Europe sometime during the first week of January, 1918.⁸⁶ The Fort Sheridan record indicates that the Sixty-first Infantry Regiment sailed for France in April, 1918, well after Anderson had arrived in Europe.⁸⁷ On this basis, we presume that Anderson joined the

⁸³ A consequence of the National Defense Act of 1916, the ORC was an organization for recruiting college-level students into the military. See Introduction to the Biographies for further information.

⁸⁴ Army Form No. 84c-6 A. G. O., March 17, 1921. Archive, Wisconsin Veterans Museum, Madison.

⁸⁵ The First Infantry Division is the oldest infantry division of the United States Army, formed in 1917. Its nickname *The Big Red One* derives from its shoulder patch, a large red digit "1."

In 1905, the American Army established the *division* as the basic combined arms unit, that is, the basic, self-contained fighting unit. A division comprised infantry, artillery, engineers, machine gun units, and the various *trains* for supply, ammunition, sanitation (including ambulance units). Engineering, headquarters, and military police. In total an American division comprised approximately 28,000 personnel; about twice the size of a western European division. Peter L. Belmonte, *Days of Perfect Hell, October – November 1918: The U.S. 26th Infantry Regiment in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2015), 13.

Richard Rinaldi, *The United States Army in World War I: Orders of Battle Ground Units 1917 – 1919* (Tiger Lilly Publications, 2005), 9-14.

Fullerton, 11 states that "I" company was part of the Third Battalion.

⁸⁶ Beloit College Soldier's Record form, filled out by George Anderson on June 10, 1919.

⁸⁷ First Lieutenant Efton M. James attended the first Officers' Training Camp at Fort Sheridan. He was posted to the 61st Infantry Regiment and sailed for Europe in April, 1918. *Fort Sheridan Association*, 102.

Similarly, First Lieutenant Charles A. Wagner, Jr. attended the first camp, and sailed with the 61st in April, 1918. *Fort Sheridan Association*, 163.

See also Richard Rinaldi, *The United States Army in World War I: Orders of Battle Ground Units 1917 – 1919* (Tiger Lilly Publications, 2005), 80.

Twenty-sixth before he left the USA. The Twenty-sixth had been in France since June 1917, so it is reasonable to assume that Anderson was part of their effort to replenish depleted ranks.⁸⁸

It was not long before Anderson saw action. A newspaper article hand-dated March 1918 reports that Mrs. Anderson had received a letter from her son describing a recent experience of combat:

It was more exciting than any book I have ever read. The events of the week are indelibly impressed on my mind and I will never be able to forget them. Incidentally I might tell you that the Boches have my bedding roll, blanket and comforters, my serge suit, Stetson hat, razor, two pair of boots, the silver drinking cup father gave me—in fact my whole kit except what I was wearing. (Unknown newspaper report, hand-dated March, 1918. Source: Beloit College Archive)

It is difficult to establish this action in which Anderson fought. March 1918 was the launch of the famous German *Michael* offensive, but that campaign was against British and French sectors of the front. In Anderson's section of the line, there were the usual trench raids by either side. On May 27, the Germans launched a number of raids in the area, one of them at Belle Assise Farm where the Third Battalion was stationed. Fullerton writes that Anderson's "I" company along with "K" company bore the brunt of that attack. Nonetheless, it was not until the Battle of Cantigny in May 1918 that units of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) participated in a planned battle. In this action in which the First Division took the primary role, it was the Twenty-eighth rather than the Twenty-sixth Infantry Regiment; but one company of the First Battalion, the Twenty-sixth was placed in the front line to defend against German

⁸⁸ David R. Woodward, *The American Army and the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 104.

counterattacks.⁸⁹ From the above, it is reasonable to assume that the hand-written date (March) on the newspaper fragment is incorrect. A date of May or later is more likely.

The Twenty-sixth first saw unified and planned action in the Aisne-Marne campaign, in the Battle of Soissons, 18–22 September 1918. The objective of this campaign was to pressure and eventually pinch out the large south-facing German salient in a simultaneous east and southeastern push from the northwestern hinge of the salient near Soissons, and an attack to the northwest from the southeastern edge.⁹⁰ The capture of Soissons and key roads in the region would severely impede German supply and communication lines to the rest of the salient. While this campaign was largely French, the American First and Second Divisions were assigned to the French Tenth Army, part of the French XX Corps on the northwestern edge of the salient. The American divisions were to attack just south of Soissons in a more-or-less easterly direction. Sandwiched between them was the fearsome and experienced French First Moroccan Division.

Anderson and his Twenty-sixth regiment started out well on the first day of the battle. They captured their initial objectives with ease. Resistance was fairly light. But as the battle unfolded, the situation deteriorated for both American divisions during the afternoon and evening. Confusion and losses mounted at an alarming rate. The Twenty-sixth was not spared the carnage and suffered many casualties. The regiment entered the line with 96 officers and 3,100 other ranks. By 22 July, twenty officers had been killed and a further forty-two wounded. Of the

⁸⁹ The American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington D.C. Center of Military History: United States Army, 1992), 415.

Fullerton also asserts that the First Battalion was involved. See Charles B. Fullerton, *The Twenty-sixth Infantry in France* (Montabaur, Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Martin Flock & Co., 1919), 21.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=njp.32101073313627&view=1up&seq=7>

If we assume the general veracity of the report, the best explanation is that the handwritten date is incorrect, and that the newspaper article dates from May at the earliest.

⁹⁰ Thomas E. Griess (ed.), *West Point Atlas for the Great War* (Garden City Park, NY: SquareOne Publishers, 2003), map 21a.

enlisted men, 1,560 were killed or wounded, a casualty rate of approximately fifty percent.⁹¹ But the main objectives were seized, the roads interdicted, and the German salient left in a perilous predicament. As the Twenty-sixth awaited relief, the regiment's intelligence officer, Captain Shipley Thomas, attempted to contact divisional headquarters. Major General Summerall took the phone:

“Hello,” the general bellowed, “this is General Summerall. Who is this?”

“Lieutenant Thomas, sir, 26th Infantry.

“Well, how are things?”

“I have to report that we have broken through as far as we can. Our colonel is dead, our lieutenant colonel is dead, and all the majors are dead or wounded. And God knows how many captains and lieutenants are down. And the situation with the men is just as bad.”

“Great God, Mr. Thomas! Who is commanding the regiment?”

“Captain Barney Legge.”

“How is he doing?”

“Fine, sir, with what he has left.”

“Well, who is his executive officer?”

“I guess I am...” (Quoted in Douglas V. Johnson II and Rolfe L. Hillman, Jr, *Soissons, 1918* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press 1999), 137)

Morgan Anderson was one of Captain Thomas's “captains and lieutenants” who came through unscathed. The First Division was relieved shortly thereafter by the Fifteenth Scottish Division and retired behind the lines for well-earned rest and reorganization.

Less than a month later, the Twenty-sixth were back in action again, this time at Saint-Mihiel (12–16 September, 1918). St. Mihiel stood at the tip of a southwest facing V-shaped German salient jutting into allied lines, southwest of Metz, close to the France-Luxembourg-German borders. The salient covered approximately three hundred square kilometers and was twenty-five kilometers at its deepest.⁹² This was the grand first campaign of an all-American

⁹¹ Fullerton, 40.

⁹² Donald A. Carter, *The U.S. Army Campaigns of World War I: St. Mihiel 12-16 September 1918* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2018), 13.

army, independent of its allies, and commanded by Pershing. One of the stimuli behind the St. Mihiel offensive was Pershing's efforts to convince skeptical allies that the Americans were up to the job. Unfortunately, Marshal Foch, recently appointed as commander of all French and British and Empire forces on the Western Front, was not amenable. He was already working on a trident-shaped major offensive along the front that would force the Germans to withdraw or face possible encirclement. The American army was needed, albeit for a junior role. Pershing was outraged and immovable. After much rancor, the two men agreed to both plans: first, the American-led operation to eliminate the St. Mihiel salient; and two weeks later, the American First Army would be in action again, at the Meuse-Argonne in Foch's great offensive. It was an ambitious and risky timetable.

From the point of view of the Twenty-sixth, the St. Mihiel engagement was a great success, aided by a stroke of good fortune. The Germans opposite were already in progress withdrawing from the salient when the attack took place. The Americans caught their enemy already evacuating and hence out of position and unprepared for combat. Anderson's Third Battalion led off the Twenty-sixth's attack, and the regiment achieved all its objectives at the cost of six killed and ninety-six wounded.⁹³

Despite the obvious success of the wider campaign and the elimination of the salient, it left precious little time for the American forces to prepare themselves for the much greater push in the Meuse-Argonne. Scenes of traffic jams, abject chaos made more miserable by rain and mud, were common as the American forces took up position.⁹⁴ But the stage was set for

⁹³ Fullerton, 51, 54.

⁹⁴ Lengel attributes this logistical confusion in part to the size of an American army division. At twenty-eight thousand men, they were twice the size of a European division and were unwieldy on the Western Front. See Edward G. Lengel, *To Conquer Hell: the Meuse-Argonne, 1918* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2008), 52.

America's greatest battle of the Great War, the Meuse-Argonne offensive, and Foch's attempt to force a decisive German withdrawal along the Western Front.⁹⁵

The Twenty-sixth was held as Army reserve and based in Nixeville to the southwest of Verdun.⁹⁶ On the morning of 26 September 1918, the great battle began. It did not go well. Despite some initial advances against the enemy, tactical errors, logistical problems, and inexperienced troops resulted in heavy losses to the American First Army. By October 1, Pershing realized he needed to reorganize his forces to prevent the situation from deteriorating further. The Big Red One was ordered out of reserve to relieve the Thirty-Fifth division which had taken quite a mauling in the previous days' fighting. The Twenty-sixth received orders to press the attack to the north towards the Hindenburg line. At 5:25 a.m. on the morning of October 4, Anderson went into action. His, the Third Battalion, was in reserve behind the second in support with the first leading off. Losses were heavy, especially in comparison to the Soissons battle. By the end of the day, the regiment had advanced a mile at a cost of 565 officers and men killed or wounded.⁹⁷ On the morning fog of October 5, the First Battalion rejoined the attack on its objective, the gun-infested Hill 212 where they encountered stiff German resistance. At this juncture, the Third Battalion, now in action, overtook the first and pressed the attack at La Ferme d'Arietal to the north of Hill 212. They captured the farm, but were then confronted by their next objective, Hill 272 to the northwest. In the words of Peter Belmonte:

In order to provide room for the support companies to move from Hill 212 and cross the valley, they [the Third Battalion] had to push their assault toward the second objective, Hill 212. Accordingly, Company I, commanded by Capt. Paul N. Starlings, pushed

⁹⁵ The other half of the pincer to come from the Somme region from the northwest: Richard S. Faulkner, *The U.S. Army Campaigns of World War I: Meuse-Argonne 26 September -11 November 1918* (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, United States Army), 9.

⁹⁶ Fullerton, 62.

⁹⁷ Peter L. Belmonte, *Days of Perfect Hell: October – November 1918 – The U.S. 6th Infantry Regiment in the Meuse Argonne Offensive* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2015), 57.

forward into le Petit Bois, the woods at the base of Hill 272. At some point, Starlings ordered Lt. Morgan [sic] to “take a clump of woods to his front” with his platoon. Morgan [sic] had just started forward with his men when he was struck in the forehead by a shell splinter and killed instantly. (Peter L. Belmonte, *Days of Perfect Hell, October–November 1918: The U.S. 26th Infantry Regiment in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishing, 2015), 77.

The battalion penetrated the woods beyond before consistent and heavy enemy fire brought the advance to a stand-still.⁹⁸ It was another day of vicious fighting in which Morgan MacDonald Anderson had been killed.⁹⁹

Besides local press reports simply listing his death among the others, Morgan Anderson disappears from public history from October 1918. There was no heroic homecoming or re-interment of his body in Milwaukee. He is buried in the Meuse-Argonne American Cemetery in Romagne-sous-Montfaucon, France.¹⁰⁰ He is one of the few veterans in this study not buried in Wisconsin. Even though he is one of the thousands of forgotten American veterans of the Great War, he is distinguished in that he served in the First Infantry Division, one of the American Army’s most famous units, in the army’s formative years of the modern industrial age. Despite his late arrival in France, it is probable that he saw action in all of the US army’s principal battles of the Great War. In this, he is the most experienced of our ten veterans. Besides the American Battle Monument Commission and Normal School memorials, he is also commemorated at Beloit College and in the Memorial Union, University of Wisconsin, Madison, both on the

⁹⁸ Fullerton, 66.

⁹⁹ The preceding block quotation refers to a “Lt. Morgan” which is clearly not Anderson’s name. Succeeding paragraphs in Belmonte’s narrative imply that Anderson’s death had previously been described. In conversation with the author, he submits that there is an error in his narrative, and that the “Lt. Morgan” is in fact Lt. Morgan M Anderson. Facebook conversation with Peter L. Belmonte, 23-24 February, 2021.

The MNS year book of 1919 informs that “while standing in front of his dugout on October 5, 1918, he [Anderson] was fatally wounded in the temple by a piece of shrapnel.” This report has not been corroborated.

¹⁰⁰ The American Battle Monuments Commission, <http://www.abmc.gov/decedent-search/anderson%3Dmorgan>

principal memorial inside the union, and named on a brass tag in a commemorative box inside the cornerstone of the building.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ See chapter on John Gordon Mitchell.

Charles Walker Baldwin (December 5, 1896 – August 1, 1918)

Seaman Second Class, United States Naval Reserve Force (USNRF)



Figure 5 - Charles Walker Baldwin, unknown date.
Source: West Allis Historical Society.



Figure 6 - Charles Walker Baldwin, unknown date.
Source: West Allis Historical Society.

Charles Walker Baldwin was born on December 5, 1896 in Waupaca, Wisconsin to American parents, Frank Siegel Baldwin and Lucy (Lucille Churchill) Baldwin. They had married on September 8, 1891. Charles was the third of four children and their only son. His eldest sister Elizabeth was born in 1893. Another sister, Harriett was born in 1895. After Charles, Florence would be born in 1899.

Frank Baldwin was in the lumber trade, and in 1901 left Waupaca for West Allis and there established a lumber business, the West Allis Lumber Co. The family lived at 6805 West

National Avenue for many years thereafter.¹⁰² Frank Baldwin was active in local politics and was Republican mayor of West Allis, serving two terms from 1912–1914, and again from 1918–1920. He was also prominent in Freemasonry, both as a member, and later a leader of the Eastern Star rite.

All four children attended West Allis High School. Elizabeth (class of 1911) went on to further studies at the University of Wisconsin, Madison (hereafter, UW). Harriett (class of 1913) became a music teacher in West Allis. Charles (variously Chuck or Chas) graduated in the class of 1915, and his younger sister, Florence, in 1917. She took a job in the audit department at the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company.

Charles features several times in *Maroon and Gold*, the West Allis High School yearbook. He was a good sportsman and involved in a number of other school activities. He played football in his sophomore year and basketball from his sophomore through his senior year. In his junior and senior years, he represented the class team.¹⁰³ In 1915, his senior year, this self-confident young man adopted the motto “youth at the prow, pleasure at the helm,” perhaps an early indication of his interest in things maritime.

On graduation from West Allis High School in 1915, Baldwin appears to have taken a break from education. West Allis was of course a great center of industry at that time, and the young Baldwin found employment as a “winder” at the huge Allis-Chalmers engineering complex for approximately a year and a half before enrolling at the Milwaukee Normal

¹⁰² In 1931, many of the West Allis streets were renumbered.

¹⁰³ These details from *Maroon and Gold*, the West Allis High School yearbook, 1915. Source: West Allis Historical Society.

School.¹⁰⁴ This was not his only work experience. Over the preceding five or six years, he worked in an unknown capacity and unknown duration at Kearney & Trecker of Milwaukee, a milling machine company.¹⁰⁵

After 1½ years at Allis-Chalmers, Baldwin applied to study at the Wisconsin State Normal School in Milwaukee. On September 18, 1916, the West Allis High School principal, Grant German signed off on the recommendation, a formal document that listed a set of very good grades, and which clearly secured Baldwin a place at the school. There is some confusion in the evidence for this period. The University of Wisconsin's records indicate that Baldwin enrolled at the Normal School in September 1917. If, as the UW record states, he stayed for one academic year (two semesters), this would have him starting at the university in the academic year 1918 - 1919. But he died on August 1, 1918; so given that he was in the class of 1920, it is reasonable to conclude that the UW document is in error and that he started at the Normal School in approximately September 1916 rather than 1917. The year 1916 is consistent with Baldwin's high school graduation of 1915 followed by the year and a half working for Allis-Chalmers.

The University of Wisconsin recognized the state normal school system, and credits gained at a Wisconsin normal school could be carried forward by students transferring to the university. Thirty normal school credits equated to a year's university work, sixty counted for

¹⁰⁴ From a letter of recommendation from R. L. Alexander, Superintendent of the West Allis Works, Allis-Chalmers, May 2, 1917 to Major General Thomas H. Barry, Commanding Central Dept., Chicago, IL. West Allis Historical Society.

A "winder" specializes in the repair and maintenance of electric motors. The term presumably originates from the wires wound around the armature of the motor.

¹⁰⁵ From a letter of recommendation from A. L. Pryor, Cashier, Kearney & Trecker Company, dated January 18, 1916. West Allis Historical Society. Interestingly, A. L. Pryor was a witness for a patent, US Patent: 1,450,598 for Edward J. Kearney for a Slide Actuating Mechanism.

<http://www.datamp.org/patents/advance.php?id=53158&set=1>, by which his rather obscure signature on the letter was clarified!

two.¹⁰⁶ Baldwin's two semesters at the Milwaukee Normal School 1916-1917 presumably netted him the necessary thirty credits because he enrolled at the University of Wisconsin as a sophomore in the College of Agriculture in the class of 2020. The short duration of his normal school attendance may well be the reason he did not formally "graduate" from the school; he merely transferred.¹⁰⁷

In Madison, Baldwin joined the Alpha Lambda chapter of the Sigma Chi fraternity, the only record of his UW activities discovered so far. In a letter dated April 26, 1919, fraternity president Fred Stuhler wrote to Baldwin's bereaved mother Lucy, acknowledging receipt of \$16.02 in settling Charles's account balance with the fraternity. In the letter, Stuhler mentions that Charles was a popular member of the fraternity, and that he was ambitious to join the armed forces in some capacity when the USA entered the war. According to Stuhler, 132 members of the fraternity served in the war, eight of them losing their lives.¹⁰⁸

And so when war broke out on April 6, 1917, Baldwin appears to have wasted little time in attempting to join the military. He was at this time about to complete his freshman (and only) year at the Normal School. Even though he was not yet at UW, he completed an Application for Examination into the (Engineers) Officers' Reserve Corps (ORC), a strangely ambitious move on his part for the following reasons.

Recalling the introductory comments on the requirements for the ORC and the ROTC, it is therefore curious to discover that Baldwin applied to join the ORC in mid-1917. He had no previous military training, was not yet enrolled at UW, and consequently (and obviously) not in

¹⁰⁶ UW-Madison Archives, Admissions Papers. Undergraduate. 1911-1920 Box 49 (Baldwin),

¹⁰⁷ No record of his graduation from the Milwaukee Normal School exists. Email correspondence with Abigail Nye, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Archivist.

¹⁰⁸ Letter dated April 26, 1919 from Fred S. Stuhler to Lucy Baldwin. West Allis Historical Society.

the UW ROTC. Perhaps he was hoping to be an exception, given that war had been declared. Perhaps he misunderstood the system. Nonetheless, In May 1917, he completed the initial application to join the ORC and secured his referees and letters of recommendation. One such letter is from R. L. Alexander, Baldwin's boss at Allis-Chalmers. Addressed to the commanding officer listed on the application form, Alexander's letter, dated May 2, 1917, heartily recommends Baldwin. This letter also provides key chronological information concerning this period of Baldwin's life: crucially his time at Allis-Chalmers sandwiched between his high school and Normal School years, and mention of the forthcoming enrolment at the University of Wisconsin.¹⁰⁹

Thereafter the trail goes cold. Baldwin never made it to the engineers. Nevertheless, his desire, enthusiasm, and impatience to enlist remained undiminished. He made his feelings and plans plain in an undated fragment of a letter to his mother, postmarked 8 January 1918. In the letter, Baldwin implies that he wanted to enlist in the US Navy, and wanted to take out a \$10,000 life insurance policy for the period of his time in service. He'd apparently already mentioned this to his elder sister Beth (Elizabeth) but was unsure as to whether she had acted on the message. Apart from his concerns at enlisting, Baldwin mentions a personal and (with hindsight considering the nature and time of his death) ironic detail. Charles had struck up a friendship with Elizabeth (Betty) Chandler, a "peach of a girl" whom he had met, and with whom he had recently gone swimming. After he told her that the Baldwins had Chandler relatives, Betty jokingly called him "Cousin Chuck," after all, they *had* to be related! But in the letter, he soon returns to the subject of going to war, recounting how a number of his fellow students had just

¹⁰⁹ Letter dated May 2, 1917 from R. L. Alexander to Major General Thomas H. Barry, Commanding Central Dept., Federal Building, Chicago, IL. West Allis Historical Society.

left for a camp at Fort Sheridan. He describes how “that makes me all the more impatient to go.”¹¹⁰

Having failed to join the Officers’ Reserve Corps, Baldwin enrolled into the United States Naval Reserve Force (USNRF) on 16 February 1918 at the naval recruiting station in Milwaukee.¹¹¹ He was Seaman Second Class, service number 105-06-72. For someone of Baldwin’s intelligence and abilities, enrolling as a Seaman Second Class, the second-to-lowest rank in the navy might seem strange. But it was customary for all naval recruits to join the lower ranks to learn the art of seamanship before advancing to more senior positions. Baldwin enrolled rather than enlisted. He was joining a naval training school, the prestigious Municipal Pier Officers’ Material School in Chicago, rather than enlisting for active service. The school operated on a yearly timetable similar to academic institutions and so Baldwin would have to wait both for the next class to begin, and for a seat to be available. The program was very heavily subscribed in this period, receiving an average of two hundred applications a day from which one quarter might be accepted. Therefore, the delay between his application to, and his departure for, Municipal Pier is not unusual. Perhaps he also wanted to get his first year at UW completed.¹¹²

Despite already having enrolled, he was nonetheless summoned by the mandatory draft registration of June 5 1918.¹¹³ Interestingly, given the confusion of his whereabouts in this

¹¹⁰ Charles Walker Baldwin, incomplete letter to his mother, dated Monday, post-marked Tuesday 8 January, 1918. We may reasonably assume that he wrote it on Monday January 7, 1918. West Allis Historical Society.

¹¹¹ Service record, Wisconsin Veterans’ Museum, Madison, Wisconsin.

¹¹² Email correspondence with Jeffrey S. Gray, Senior Project Director, Chicago Navy Memorial at Navy Pier, jgray@chicagonavymemorial.org, November 2020.

See also *The Great Lakes Recruit: A Pictorial Naval Magazine*, 4 no. 7, July 1918, 59-60, 100.

https://www.google.com/books/edition/The_Recruit/zk33hDqIvw0C?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Municipal+Pier+%22Officers+Material+School%22&pg=PA60&printsec=frontcover

¹¹³ Charles Walker Baldwin Draft Registration Record. FamilySearch:

[https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-8186-](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-8186-7HT?i=319&cc=1968530&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK879-VWF)

[7HT?i=319&cc=1968530&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK879-VWF](https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-8186-7HT?i=319&cc=1968530&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK879-VWF)

period, he registered in Madison, but gave his home address in Milwaukee.¹¹⁴ It was on July 22, 1918 that Charles Walker Baldwin finally arrived at the Naval Auxiliary Reserve School in Chicago having enrolled in February of that year. He had barely been there a week when, after a routine swimming session off the Municipal Pier on Thursday, August 1, he suddenly died. According to one newspaper report, surgeon G. H. Larson and his assistants worked for an hour to revive Baldwin, but to no avail.¹¹⁵ The cause of death is listed as acute cardiac dilatation.¹¹⁶ Baldwin's body was returned to West Allis, and the funeral was held on Monday August 5, 1918 at St. Peter's Church, West Allis, conducted by Rev. C. E. Huntington.¹¹⁷

Baldwin is commemorated in the Memorial Union, University of Wisconsin, Madison, as well as on the Normal School plaque. He is buried in Forest Home Cemetery, section 20. Interestingly, he is interred there apart from his family. The 1930 United States Federal Census records his parents, Frank and Lucy, as having moved to Newberg, Oregon. Frank died in 1950, Lucy in 1958. Baldwin's sisters, Elizabeth (d. 1982), Harriet (d. 1991), and Florence (d. 1974) are all buried in the same cemetery in Oregon. On Florence's death (in Newberg), her two surviving sisters were reported as living in Portland.¹¹⁸ Why all the family ended up in Oregon particularly is not known, but one distinct possibility is the size and importance of Oregon's

¹¹⁴ There is further confusion regarding Baldwin's status at this juncture. A report in *The Capital Times* (Madison, Wisconsin), 27 May 1918, Mon · Page 2, implies that Baldwin was either living in Madison and/or was already at the university. He was part of the first contingent of naval reserves preparing for travel to Municipal Pier, Chicago. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/520366078/?terms=%22baldwin%22%20draft&match=1>

¹¹⁵ Photocopy of unknown newspaper article dated 1918. West Allis Historical Society.

¹¹⁶ Charles Walker Baldwin: military record, Wisconsin Veterans' Museum, Madison, Wisconsin. This condition is known today as dilated cardiomyopathy and is a disease of the heart muscle, usually starting in the heart's main pumping chamber (left ventricle). The ventricle stretches and thins (dilates) and can't pump blood as well as a healthy heart can. The term "cardiomyopathy" is a general term that refers to the abnormality of the heart muscle itself. <https://www.mayoclinic.org/diseases-conditions/dilated-cardiomyopathy/symptoms-causes/syc-20353149>

¹¹⁷ Photocopy of unknown newspaper article dated 1918. West Allis Historical Society. The date of the funeral is inferred from the evidence.

¹¹⁸ Death notice for Florence Baker Godfrey in the *Capital Journal* (Salem, Oregon), Friday 31 May, 1974, Page 34. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/316711425/?article=832dc337-79d9-4e42-a0d6-490eeaa294e0>

lumber industry, Frank Baldwin's area of expertise, coupled with the decline of Wisconsin's lumber industry around this same period.¹¹⁹

Charles Baldwin's archival trail is doubtlessly richer than many others due to the life of his father who was a local businessman, mayor, and an active member of the Freemasons. These factors doubtless elevated the public profile of the Baldwin family. Consequently, many Baldwin family papers are in the West Allis Historical Society archive, from which much of the preceding narrative derives.

There is a poignant postscript to this story. As we have already described, Charles and Elizabeth "Betty" Chandler developed a friendship during 1918.¹²⁰ Charles had described the "peach of a girl" with whom he had gone swimming early in 1918. It is clear that they had continued writing to each other. Of the correspondence, one letter from Betty has survived in the archive of the West Allis Historical Society.¹²¹ In it, she describes a prolonged bout of illness that prevented her corresponding with Charles, and which confined her to her home for some time. She was first stricken with a bout of "ptomaine" poisoning, followed by tonsillitis. The letter is friendly, expressing a desire to go swimming again with their group of friends. Betty admonishes Chuck for not telling her he had already left for Chicago. She closes, wishing him luck, and hoping that she might see him again. The letter is dated August 8, 1918, exactly a week after Charles died on Municipal Pier.

¹¹⁹ The Wisconsin Historical Society, *Logging: The Industry That Changed the State*.
<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Article/CS409>

¹²⁰ See note 110.

¹²¹ Letter from Elizabeth "Betty" Chandler to Charles Baldwin, dated August 8, 1918. Source: West Allis Historical Society.

Carl Herman Berger (17 May, 1891 – 31 December, 1918)

2nd Lieutenant, 339th Infantry Regiment, Eighty-fifth Division



Figure 7 - Carl Herman Berger. Source: Lynn Cupelli Collection



Figure 8 - Carl Herman Berger. Source: Lynn Cupelli Collection

Carl Herman Berger was born on 17 May 1891 in Oshkosh, Wisconsin to Richard Herman Berger and Elizabeth (Reischl) Berger, both immigrants from Germany (Berlin) who had arrived in the USA in 1891.¹²² Richard was a painter and paperhanger. In 1893, Elizabeth gave birth to another son, Arnold R. Berger.

Sometime before 1906, the family had moved to Milwaukee. UW records indicate that Carl attended West Division High School (now, the Milwaukee High School of the Arts) for four years, being in the class of 1910. Carl was by now 18, and Arnold 16. At this point there occurs

¹²² United States Federal Census, 1900. [AncestryHeritageQuest.com - 1900 United States Federal Census](https://www.ancestry.com/1900). The 1930 United States federal census entry for Arnold R. Berger (Carl senior's younger brother) lists Germany (Berlin) as the birthplace of their parents. [AncestryHeritageQuest.com - 1930 United States Federal Census](https://www.ancestry.com/1930) Family Search: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:MP2N-2NH>

the first of two periods in which the whereabouts and happenings of Carl Berger are unclear. This first period occurs between graduating high school in 1910, and his enrolment at the Milwaukee State Normal School where he started on September 5, 1911 on the German course.¹²³ He is known to have worked for a while at Harley-Davidson. Apart from this fact, we have no further information; but the period 1910-1911 is most likely.¹²⁴ Following this, he studied for two years at the Normal School, graduating on June 27, 1913. He had acquired enough credits to join UW as a junior, taking the Letters and Science 3 class. But he did not immediately enroll at UW following his MNS 1913 graduation. Instead, he took a second break from his education, but remained *in* education nonetheless. He accepted a teaching position at Mayville High School, Wisconsin where he remained for approximately 1½ years.¹²⁵

Berger finally started at the University of Wisconsin (Madison) in 1915 and graduated in June 1917. He was still planning the next moves in his teaching career when war intervened. He set aside his personal and professional goals and joined the Officers' Reserve Corps at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, attending the first ever Officers' Training Camp there which ran from May 1 to August 15, 1917. He was assigned to the 4th Company, 10th Infantry Regiment.¹²⁶ He received his commission on completion of this training, and Second Lieutenant Carl Berger began his

¹²³ Certificate for Normal School Graduates form. Admissions Papers. Undergraduate. 1911-1920. Source: University of Wisconsin Archives, Box 52 (Berger).

¹²⁴ *Dodge County Pionier*, May 21, 2020, 27. Source: Mayville Public Library.

¹²⁵ *Dodge County Pionier*, May 21, 2020, 27. Source: Mayville Public Library.

Reporting his death in 1919, one unknown newspaper claims that he was the principal of the school, not merely an instructor. Milwaukee County Historical Society West Division High School Record of War Work, 1917-1918, box RC21A, folder Sh. 004. https://milwaukeehistory.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/1680.MPS_-6.pdf
Mayville Public Library Wedding Report from un-named Mayville newspaper, October 4, 1917, artefact 0716_001, Courtesy of Ms. Rhonda Klemme, Mayville Public Library.

¹²⁶ Myron E. Adams and Fred Girton, *The Fort Sheridan Association: Its History and Achievements* (The Fort Sheridan Association, 1920).

<https://ia601403.us.archive.org/0/items/historyandachiev00fort/historyandachiev00fort.pdf>

active service.¹²⁷ Very shortly thereafter, he was sent to Camp Custer near Battle Creek, Michigan and reassigned to Company “E,” Second Battalion, the 339th Infantry Regiment.¹²⁸ Amid this flurry of military preparation, he nonetheless took leave to marry Adele Thielke (1895–1970), a Home Economics student, also at UW who originated from Mayville where Berger had taught earlier.¹²⁹



Figure 9 - Adele Thielke, Berger's Wife, later (and probably in this picture) Adele Ringle. Source: Lynn Cupelli Collection

On September 29, 1917, The Berger-Thielke wedding took place in the Waukegan Court House.¹³⁰ Justice Robert Pearsall presided. Why Waukegan was chosen is unclear. Perhaps it was

¹²⁷ Form No. 84c-6 A.G.O. Mar 17, 1921 for Carl H. Berger. Archive of the Wisconsin Veterans' Museum, Madison, WI.

¹²⁸ The Polar Bear Memorial Association. <https://grobber.org/pbma/roster/>

¹²⁹ UW directory 1915-1916, UW Archives 425-1D3. She also appears in the 1916 edition of *The Badger* year book, in the class of 1918 hockey team. It seems most likely that Adele dropped out of college after the 1915-1916 school year. There is no trace of her in the *Badger* year books from 1917, 1918, or 1919. She is not listed in the student directories past the academic year of 1915-16, nor in any of the commencement programs from 1917-1920. Thus we surmise that she probably dropped out due to her wedding in the fall of 1917, and with the baby, decided not to go back to school.

¹³⁰ *The Fort Sheridan Association: Its History and Achievements* page 46 gives the date as (Saturday) September 29, 1917.

geography. Adele was living in Mayville, Carl at Camp Custer. Family, friends, and relatives duly travelled to Waukegan. The wedding dinner was held at the Plankinton Hotel, Milwaukee, and the newlyweds planned to return to Michigan on the Sunday, taking up occupancy in a newly rented flat.¹³¹ Their only child, Carl junior, was born at Battle Creek on 30 June 1918. Sadly, Berger was destined to spend little time with his son.

In July 1918, the 339th was summoned to Europe. On 14 July, they departed Camp Custer for Camp Mills, New York. From there they took the well-traveled path to Hoboken for embarkation to Europe. Berger sailed on HMT (His Majesty's Troopship) *Northumberland*, arriving in Liverpool on August 4, 1918, and traveling on to Stoney Castle, Surrey for recuperation and further training in preparation for service in France. But the 339th never went to France. During this stay in the south of England their itinerary changed drastically.

In Russia, one consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was a ceasefire on the Eastern Front and the commencement of negotiations for a permanent peace. The two sides met at Brest-Litovsk in late December 1917. To the great alarm of the Western allies, such a peace treaty would enable the Germans to transfer up to 900,000 soldiers, their artillery, and other resources from the east to fight on the Western Front.¹³² But the talks broke down, and on 18 February 1918, Germany resumed operations against the newly formed Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and its new Red Army. For the moment at least, the Germans had to deal with a two-front war again. Things did not go well for the Soviets, and faced with collapse on the Eastern Front, they returned to Brest-Litovsk and accepted Germany's by now much tougher conditions.

A wedding report from an unknown Mayville newspaper dated 4 October 1917 gives the date as Monday 1 October, 1917. Source: Rhonda Klemme, Mayville Public Library.

¹³¹ Mayville Public Library, unidentified newspaper, October 4, 1917. Source: Rhonda Klemme, Mayville Public Library.

¹³² Martin Gilbert, *The First World War* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1994), 387.

They concluded the peace on Sunday 3 March 1918. The Western allies were now confronted by a significant and detrimental change in the balance of forces on the Western Front, the counter of which would require every available man.

Nonetheless, the Russian situation remained precarious and volatile. The country was engulfed in civil war and the Bolshevik hold on power tenuous. The British, fearful of possible German moves against the northern Russian ports including Murmansk and Archangel, landed token forces in the area in late June. The objective of this mission was to counter German and Finnish threats to the region and to guard 600,000 tons of war materiel supplied by Britain in 1916 and intended for the Russian army. Instead, the supplies had remained stranded on the docksides of Murmansk and Archangel due to lack of transportation.

At the beginning of July, and with the consent of the embattled Bolsheviks, the United States formally intervened in northern Russia, sending 1,200 additional soldiers.¹³³ American assistance had finally arrived after another round of Wilsonian tergiversations. At last, Wilson agreed to the desperate pleas of his allies and committed American forces to the north Russia expedition. The American high command selected units of the Eighty-fifth division. Carl Berger was not going to France after all. On 25 August 1918, the 339th left Surrey and traveled northeast to Newcastle, sailing for northern Russia on 26 August aboard HMT *Nagoya*. On September 5, 1918, the *Nagoya* docked in Archangel.¹³⁴

The Polar Bears is the nickname given to ANREF, the American North Russia Expeditionary Force which was sent to northern Russia in 1918. The force comprised the 339th

¹³³ Randal Gray, *Chronicle of the First World War* (Oxford: Fact on File, 1991), vol. 2, 186.

¹³⁴ Bruce C. Rogers, Andrew C. Untener, Don. S. Rawlings, *"E" Company, 2nd Battalion, 339th Infantry, 170th Brigade, 85th Division, U.S.A.*, unpublished, Leon R. Swihart collection, 1863 and 1918-1960s (Folder 3, Item 19). <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/polar/3243910.0001.001?rgn=main;view=fulltext>

Infantry Regiment, the 310th Engineer Regiment, the 1st Battalion, the 337th Ambulance Company, and the 337th Field Hospital, a total of approximately 5,500 officers and men.¹³⁵ They joined British (including empire) and Russian forces which together in September 1919 totaled 30,000 troops in addition to the American contingent.¹³⁶ As the German menace diminished in mid to late 1918, so did commitment to the fragile alliance between the Allies and the Bolsheviks. The reality was that the alliance was one of convenience and masked irreconcilable ideological differences, mistrust, and mutual hostility, and it was not long before the fighting began.

Berger's "E" Company was charged with guarding a zone south of Archangel known as the Emtsa River front.¹³⁷ Between 31 December 1918 and 1 January 1919, "E" and "K" Companies of the 339th were tasked with taking the villages of Kodish, Avda, and Kochmas on the southern edge of their zone. A published eyewitness account of the North Russia campaign describes Carl Herman Berger's actions in this battle. Kodish was held by 2,700 Bolshevik soldiers. The American forces captured Kodish after a seven-hour fight. They struggled not only with the enemy, but also with sub-zero temperatures, deep snow which clogged weaponry and hampered movement, and a biting frost which numbed limbs. Despite these atrocious conditions, a witness attests that "I saw him [Berger] an hour before his death and his spirits were high and

¹³⁵ Joel R. Moore, Harry H. Mead, Lewis E. Jahns, *History of the American Expedition Fighting the Bolsheviks: Campaigning in North Russia 1918-1919* (Nashville, TN: The Battery Press, 1920).

¹³⁶ Dennis Gordon, *Quartered in Hell: The Story of the American North Russia Expeditionary Force 1918 – 1919* (Missoula, MT: The Doughboy Historical Society, 1982, 26. 11,000 British and Empire troops, 19,000 Russian troops.

¹³⁷ Dennis Gordon, *Quartered*, 83. The Allied deployment around Archangel was a 500-mile horseshoe-shaped arrangement of seven sectors.

his courage never faltered.”¹³⁸ But capturing Kodish was only part of the mission, and the Polar Bears were struggling to hold even this first objective:

Darkness fell on the combatants locked in a desperate fight... Out in front the night was made lurid by flares and shell fire and gunfire where the two devoted platoons of “K” and “E” Companies with two machine guns of the first platoon of “M. G.” Company hung on. Lts. Jahns, Shillson and Berger were everywhere among their men and met nothing but looks of resolution from them, for if this little force of less than a hundred men gave way the whole American force would be routed from Kodish...Half their number were [*sic*] killed and wounded, among whom was the gallant Lt. Berger of “E” Company who had charged across the bridge in the morning in the face of machine gun fire.

...
“The memories of these brave fellows,” says Lt. Jack Commons, “who went as the price exacted, Lt. Berger of “E” Company, Sgts. Kenney and Grewe and many other steady and courageous and loyal pals through the months of hardship that had preceded, made Kodish a place horrible, detested, and unnerving to the small detachment that held it.” (Captain Joel R. Moore, Lieut. Harry H. Mead, Lieut. Lewis E. Jahns (eds.), *The History of the American Expedition Fighting the Bolsheviki: Campaigning in North Russia 1918–1919* (Nashville, TN: The Battery Press, 1920), 128–129)

And so on New Year’s Eve 1918, the gallant Lieutenant Berger lost his life in a distant and freezing foreign land, fighting in an obscure campaign eclipsed in publicity by the macabre grandeur of the Western Front.

Berger was initially buried in the Allied Cemetery, Archangel, Russia. But in 1919, his body was exhumed and taken to Mayville, Wisconsin where, on November 21, 1919, he was reburied with a full military funeral.¹³⁹ But even this was not the end of the tale. In 1929, newspaper reports began circulating that Carl Herman Berger’s body had been discovered in the frozen wastes of northern Russia, and was being repatriated to Oshkosh.¹⁴⁰ It turned out to be a

¹³⁸ Unknown witness in unknown newspaper clipping, Milwaukee County Historical Society West Division High School Record of War Work, 1917-1918, box RC21A, folder Sh. 004. https://milwaukeehistory.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/1680.MPS_-6.pdf

¹³⁹ *Dodge County Pionier*, May 21, 2020, *Remembering Lt. Carl H. Berger*, 27.

¹⁴⁰ E.g. news item, *Sturgeon Bay Door County News*, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, October 17, 1929. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-oct-17-1929-2110447/>

case of misidentification. Two different Carl Bergers served in the Polar Bears and both were killed in action. Carl G. Berger of Detroit, MI, Wagoner, Supply Company, 339th Infantry was killed on January 19, 1919 and repatriated to Detroit in 1929.¹⁴¹ He was finally buried in White Chapel Cemetery on Memorial Day, May 30, 1930.¹⁴²

But the Berger confusion has persisted to the current time. The popular *Findagrave* web site erroneously listed Carl G. Berger as having been born in 1892 in Wisconsin.¹⁴³ He was born in October 1895 in Detroit to Adam and Veronica Berger. Research from this thesis has since corrected the error!

In the aftermath of her husband's death, Adele married again to Leander Ringle in 1922. Their daughter, Arlene married Douglas Evjue (1925–2013). It is the Evjue children, Lynn (Cupelli) and Catherine (Taschler) who most kindly furnished this study with family details and reminiscences, including several photographs of the Berger family. Carl Berger Junior, born just days before his father left for war, died in 2002, a millionaire aged eighty. He never married. After receiving an accounting degree from Lawrence University, he served in World War Two, and afterwards went on to become an auditor for the State of Wisconsin. He is buried in Pine Grove Cemetery, Wausau. While family remembrance of Carl Senior was virtually non-existent before this study, Carl Junior is remembered as a quiet and very intelligent man with a love of walking, laughing, reading, and history. He particularly enjoyed reading about “dry” subjects as the family recalls. In fact, at Christmas time, they deliberately sought out the most idiosyncratic

News item *Wisconsin State Journal*, Madison, Wisconsin, October 12, 1929. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-oct-12-1929-2110453/>

¹⁴¹ Moore, Mead, and Jahns, *Fighting the Bolsheviks*, 299. <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/22523/22523-pdf.pdf>, Carl G. Berger was decapitated by a shell while resting in a chair at Ust Padenga, having just arrived with an ambulance. 210

¹⁴² Email reply, December 10, 2020, from Mike Grobbel, president, Polar Bear Memorial Association, <https://grobbel.org/pbma/>

¹⁴³ Some transcribed and digitized census records incorrectly list Carl Herman Berger as having been born in 1892.

titles they could find, and presented them to him as gifts. He was readily accepted in the Ringle family, and at the end of his life, was asked if he had ever considered getting married. He smiled and said, “Oh well, there was this pretty little redhead back when I was young...” The tale of the anonymous redhead remains.

Equally mysterious is the life of Carl Senior’s younger brother, Arnold, born in 1894. He married Eleanor Mehl, a concert singer and instructor at the Lawrence Conservatory of Music at Appleton. The 1920 United States Federal Census bizarrely lists Berger’s occupation as president of an oil company.¹⁴⁴ By 1930, he was a cordage salesman, living in Bethlehem, PA. By 1940, they had moved again, this time to Queens, NY. He was still selling rope. Eleanor appeared to have given up working, perhaps because her aging mother was living with them. And there the trail goes cold. Arnold and Eleanor remained childless according to records. What with Carl senior’s untimely death and Carl junior’s lack of success with the redhead, the Berger family drew to a sad but courageous end.

¹⁴⁴ Probably known these days as a gas station!

Jacob Guy Drews (November 8, 1894 – January 8, 1918)

Private, 340th Infantry Regiment, Eighty-fifth Division

Jacob Guy Drews (sometimes Guy Jacob Drews) was born in Manitowoc, Wisconsin on November 8, 1894 to Otto and Mary Drews, also from Wisconsin.¹⁴⁵ Otto was a teacher, of German descent. Mary's parents were Austrian. Otto lived his entire life in the Manitowoc area as did apparently his wife whom he married sometime around 1894.¹⁴⁶ Jacob was an only child who attended school in Kossuth in his early years. He was a student at Manitowoc High School, graduating in 1912. He was fortunate to graduate at all, having narrowly escaped death when skating on the Manitowoc River in February 1911. Near the Soo Line swing bridge in downtown Manitowoc, Drews and a friend skated into open water and were immediately in severe difficulties. Fortunately for them, a Soo Line engineer spotted them and attempted a rescue. He himself ended up in the water as well, but by supreme effort, all three survived relatively unscathed.¹⁴⁷ Having survived this potentially fatal misjudgment, Drews graduated from high school and enrolled at the Normal School in Milwaukee.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ Even this simple fact is unclear. Drews's draft registration card lists his birthplace as Manitowoc, Wisconsin. His army record records his birthplace as Marbel (sic) which itself introduces more ambiguity. Marble, Wisconsin was a ghost town. Maribel, mid-way between Green Bay and Manitowoc seems a much more likely possibility; and yet Drews declares Manitowoc as his birthplace. On balance, we are assuming Manitowoc. Drews's father, Otto, was a school teacher in Branch, a mile or so from Manitowoc Rapids in the northwest of Manitowoc.

Sources:

Form 724-8, A.G.O. Drews, Jacob G., Wisconsin Veterans Museum Archive.

Manitowoc Post, December 7, 1899, Page 14. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-dec-07-1899-2242200/>

¹⁴⁶ The 1900 United States Federal Census lists the couple as having been married for six years, and Jacob's birth was in 1894.

¹⁴⁷ *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin) · 7 Feb 1911, Tue · Page 1.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/186191725/?terms=drews%20february&match=1>.

¹⁴⁸ *Manitowoc Daily Herald*, May 23, 1912, Page 1. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-may-23-1912-2240260/>.

That Drews graduated from the MNS is confirmed by Abigail Nye, UWM archivist.

It was while he was a student at the Normal School that life back home took a surprising turn. In December 1913, Roland A. Kolb, then the superintendent of the Manitowoc Asylum for the Insane, announced his departure from that role to take a (probably) more serene position at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. His successor was none other than Otto Drews who, according to reports, was well-qualified for the job. And so Mr. and Mrs. Drews took up residence in the asylum. They were still living there when the 1920 United States Federal Census listed their address as the Manitowoc County Insane Asylum, lines 14 to 50 inclusive. For good measure, Otto's niece Olga had joined them.¹⁴⁹

Meanwhile, Jacob continued his studies at the Milwaukee Normal School, graduating in 1914. Thereafter he returned to his roots in Manitowoc. There are few details, but newspaper reports list him as teaching as early as October 1914 somewhere in the environs of the city. In 1915 he took up a teaching post in his hometown of Manitowoc Rapids.¹⁵⁰ His teaching continued into 1916, but in June 1917, the draft came to Manitowoc. On June 5, Drews visited the registration office. He gave his address as his parents' abode at the Insane Asylum. Not only this, he listed his occupation as a herdsman on the farm at the same institution.¹⁵¹ Bizarre as this seems, and with no other evidence, it is probable that Drews was still teaching and helping out on the farm during his summer vacation. The draft registrar described him as being tall and slender with gray-blue eyes, and blonde hair.

¹⁴⁹ Many people lived in this block of accommodations, the precise layout of which is unclear.

¹⁵⁰ The *Manitowoc Pilot* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin) · 24 Jun 1915, Thu · Page 1.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/630628841/?terms=drews%20%22high%20school%22&match=1#>.

¹⁵¹ FamilySearch.com, Draft Registration Card for Jacob Guy Drews. It was common practice in more rural areas to operate poor farms, the rural equivalent of the almshouse. The able-bodied inmates were expected to work on the farm, fulfilling the twin requirements of providing them with meaningful employ, and also supplying some of the material needs of the institution. The Insane Asylum at Manitowoc bought the farm for \$5,000 in 1892, and it developed into a substantial operation. In 1898, the farm boasted 91 head of cattle, 17,000 pound of meat, 4,484 pounds of butter, and 66,000 pounds of milk. The whole site, hospital, barn silos, outbuildings, fields, and gardens expanded to occupy 265 acres. Manitowoc County Historical Society, *Early History of the Manitowoc County Insane Asylum*, <https://www.manitowocountyhistory.org/stories/2018/6/13/early-history-of-the-manitowoc-county-insane-asylum>.

Drews was assigned to Company “A” of the 340th Infantry Regiment which was constituted on August 5, 1917 and organized at Camp Custer, Michigan during August and September. The regiment formed part of the Eighty-fifth Division.¹⁵² The division continued training at Custer for approximately a year before deploying to France in August 1918. During his brief sojourn at Custer, Drews’s teaching skills were recognized, and he was appointed instructor to illiterate recruits.¹⁵³ But Drews was not to accompany his students to the war. Early in January he contracted pneumonia and died on Tuesday, January 8, 1918.¹⁵⁴ He was buried with full military honors on January 11, 1918, in Evergreen Cemetery, Manitowoc. And Mrs. Drews became Manitowoc’s first Gold Star mother.¹⁵⁵

Drews was the first Great War fatality in Manitowoc, and in 1919, the American Legion established the Guy Drews Post 88 in his honor. At time of writing, the post still exists. Jacob was an only child and so his passing was effectively the extinction of this branch of the family tree. Otto and Mary Drews continued at the asylum, Otto as superintendent and Mary the matron. Otto retired as superintendent in 1926, but became a trustee, serving until 1941. Mary died in the same year as Otto’s retirement, aged 59. It is unclear as to Otto’s retirement was related to his wife’s death.

In 1932, Otto remarried, to Selma Nordquist (1883-1950), originally of Michigan. With his health failing, he retired as asylum trustee in mid-November 1941. He died just a few weeks later, on December 8.

¹⁵² <https://history.army.mil/html/forestruc/lineages/branches/regt/0340rgt.htm>.

¹⁵³ *Two Rivers Reporter*, Monday, November 27, 1967, reproduced in the *Manitowoc Herald-Times*, 27 Nov 1967, Mon · Page 16. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/292095254/?terms=%22otto%20drews%22&match=1>.

¹⁵⁴ Some reports indicate pleurisy. The *Manitowoc Daily Herald* wrote that Drews had only just recovered from a bout of measles. *Manitowoc Daily Herald*, January 11, 1918, Page 5.

<https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-jan-11-1918-2244179/>

¹⁵⁵ *Manitowoc Daily Herald*, January 12, 1918, Page 7. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-jan-12-1918-2244354/>.

And that is the story of Jacob Guy Drews of Manitowoc, Wisconsin. He was born to parents who lived their entire lives in the locality of Manitowoc. He himself ventured as far as Milwaukee for his education, but returned to Manitowoc on its completion and pursued his vocation as a teacher. When war came, he enlisted and crossed Lake Michigan to train at Camp Custer. Having narrowly escaped death in 1911, he became an early victim of what would develop into a pandemic that killed almost half a million Americans. Had he lived and remained with the 340th, it is difficult to say where he may have served. The 340th duly traveled to France but as a unit took part in no campaigns. Instead its recruits were parceled out to units in need of reinforcements.

Jacob Drews died over a century ago, and yet in some small ways his memory and his story lives on, attested by his grave in Evergreen Cemetery, Manitowoc and the Legion post in the same city that still bears his name; the digital revolution has made his story accessible, and the humble tablet in Mitchell Hall bears witness to a life of service and expectation cut short by the coming of war and the ravages of disease.

Alfred Henry Israel (27 October, 1893 – March 15, 1918¹⁵⁶)

Corporal, 121st Field Artillery Regiment, Thirty-second Division



Figure 10 - Alfred Henry Israel. Source: Milwaukee Public Library Digital Image Collections, World War I Military Portraits, WWI_1660.jpg.

Alfred Henry Israel was born on 27 October, 1893 into a Jewish family. Max and Bertha Israel were both German by birth. Max (listed erroneously as Mark in the 1900 United States Federal Census) had emigrated to the USA in 1880, ten years after Bertha arrived in 1870. They married in 1881 and set up home in Two Rivers, Wisconsin where Max was a merchant, probably in the clothing trade.¹⁵⁷ Gustav was born in 1882 followed by Rosa (1884), Albert

¹⁵⁶ There is some confusion surrounding Israel's death. His gravestone lists March 16, 1918. His US Veterans' Bureau card gives March 15, 1918. Most newspapers report his death as March 16 either in a French port (Le Havre) or on the troopship. The problem is that (local time) the 121st did not leave Southampton for France until March 18, arriving in France on March 19. This means that Israel would have died in Winchester not France.

Findagrave: <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/145378992/alfred-h.-israel>

US Veterans Bureau Entry: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CS1G-3QV5-G?cc=2968245&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AQPR1-G33J>

Dies on troopship: *The Journal Times* (Racine, Wisconsin) · 20 Apr 1918, Sat · Page 7.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/334052234/?terms=%22alfred%20h.%20israel%22&match=1>

Dies in French port: *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin) · 20 Apr 1918, Sat · Page 10.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/186266538/?terms=%22a.%20h.%20israel%22&match=1>

¹⁵⁷ 1900 United States Federal Census.

(1888), Jacob (1890), Alfred (1893), and finally Herbert (1899). Sadly Albert died aged four in 1892.¹⁵⁸

Sometime between 1900 and 1910 the family moved to Milwaukee, at least most of them. The 1910 United States Federal Census indicates that Gustav and Jacob had left home. Rosa, Alfred, and Herbert accompanied their parents in the move. Alfred attended West Division High School and then went on to the Normal School.¹⁵⁹ Thereafter he went into journalism, first at the *Racine Times*, and then in 1914, he moved to 415 Cherry Street, Green Bay to start a new job at the *Free Press*. After it merged with the *Gazette* to become the *Green Bay Press-Gazette*, he continued as a reporter and sports editor.¹⁶⁰ It was also in Green Bay that Israel took an interest in soldiering. On March 19, 1917, he enlisted in the Wisconsin National Guard, Battery “E,” First Wisconsin Field Artillery.¹⁶¹ It was not long before he received the summons to register for the draft. On June 5, 1917 in Green Bay, the twenty-three year old Alfred Israel, described as short, of medium build, brown-eyed and black-haired, signed on for service.¹⁶²

https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4119953_00824?usePUB=true&_phsrc=bvp203&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=63571286

The *Manitowoc Pilot*, 19 Mar 1903 reported that Israel had just opened a new clothing store.

<https://newspaperarchive.com/tags/store/?pc=17424&psi=103&pci=7&ndt=by&py=1903&pey=1903&pl=israel&pr=50/>

He had also opened a new store which Gustav Israel was to manage.

The *Manitowoc Pilot* (Manitowoc, Wisconsin) · 12 Mar 1903, Thu · Page 8.

<https://newspaperarchive.com/tags/store/?pc=17424&psi=103&pci=7&ndt=by&py=1903&pey=1903&pl=israel&pr=50/>

¹⁵⁸ Family Search, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XLZZ-24R>.

¹⁵⁹ *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin) · 26 Mar 1918, Tue · Page 2.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/186210841/?article=9f0628c5-8ec6-4ef7-a62d-22e25ac45a24>

¹⁶⁰ The *Journal Times* (Racine, Wisconsin) · 25 Mar 1918, Mon · Page 3. <https://newspaperarchive.com/racine-journal-news-mar-25-1918-p-3/>

Green Bay Press-Gazette (Green Bay, Wisconsin) · 26 Mar 1918, Tue · Page 2.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/186210841/?terms=alfred%20israel&match=1>

¹⁶¹ Form A.G.O, archival source: Wisconsin Veterans' Museum, Madison, WI.

Draft Registration Card: archival source: Family Search.

¹⁶² Draft Registration Card, FamilySearch: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-81ZB-9YK?i=2565&cc=1968530&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK8Q5-4F3>

His artillery regiment mustered at Camp Douglas in preparation for overseas service. On September 22, 1917, it became the 121st Field Artillery Regiment, drawing its personnel from Green Bay, Milwaukee, and Racine. From Camp Douglas, the regiment trained further at Camp MacArthur, Waco, TX. At the end of February, 1918, the 121st were at Camp Merritt, the famous staging post in New Jersey, the last stop before the journey to the embarkation ports.¹⁶³ On Monday March 4, 1918, the mighty *Leviathan*, the largest ship in the world, pulled out of New York harbor on her second wartime run to Liverpool. On board were both the 120th and the 121st Field Artillery. Alfred Israel and Kenneth McHugh (also commemorated on the Mitchell Hall Tablet) were on the same ship.¹⁶⁴ The trip was largely uneventful: the sea was calm, the daily “abandon ship” drills reminded everyone of the danger which increased as the ship entered the “war zone.”¹⁶⁵ Excitement increased when the *USS Manley*, one of the destroyers escorting the *Leviathan* in the war zone suddenly broke away and fired on an unknown target, dropping a depth-charge for good measure. The resulting explosions shook the *Leviathan* which nonetheless docked safely in Liverpool on the afternoon of 11 March 1918.¹⁶⁶

On March 14, the brigade entrained for the twelve hour journey to Winchester where it encamped for four days. On March 18, they made the short trip south to Southampton to embark on troopships which would ferry them to Le Havre.¹⁶⁷ It must have been on this journey, or shortly after arrival in Le Havre, that Israel died of pneumonia. Most American newspaper

¹⁶³ By reference in the *Wausau Daily Herald*, Monday 25 February, 1918.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/272472882/?terms=%22121st%20field%20artillery%22&match=1>

¹⁶⁴ See section on Kenneth Lavalley McHugh (July 3, 1896 – October 4, 1918).

¹⁶⁵ The War Zone was the sea area around the UK delineated by the Germans, within which all ships of the UK and its allies were deemed fair game for attack by U-boats etc.

¹⁶⁶ USS *Leviathan* History Committee, *History of the USS Leviathan Cruiser and Transport Forces United States Atlantic Fleet* (Project Gutenberg, 2019), 32. www.gutenberg.org/files/59699/59699-h/59699-h.htm
The *USS Manley* should not be confused with *HMS Manly*, also a Great War destroyer but which operated in the North Sea and the English Channel.

¹⁶⁷ The 1–121st Field Artillery Veterans’ Association

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1qH4ZMt4gOSFLFwE2Ti0H9AXVkwY&ll=49.97948774953947%2C-0.4669189171874877&z=8>

reports tell how Israel died in a hospital in a French port. A few tell that he died on the troopship. Ironically, on the same page that the *New York Times* lists Israel's death, the paper carries an article on a very serious collision between the *USS Manley* and a British warship. The *Manley* had escorted the *Leviathan* with Israel on-board, into Liverpool.¹⁶⁸

Israel's body was duly returned to Milwaukee, arriving on the evening of April 20, 1918 according to The *Green Bay Press-Gazette*. The *Oshkosh Northwestern* reported that Mrs. Israel was by now blind, and was not informed of her son's death until his body arrived home.¹⁶⁹ The funeral took place on Monday April 22 with military honors. It was well-attended with representatives of Israel's newspaper from Green Bay, and also the "exalted ruler" of the Green Bay lodge of the Elks of which Israel was a member. A Jewish service was earlier held at the home of Rabbi Levi.¹⁷⁰

Alfred Israel is interred at Spring Hill Cemetery, Milwaukee. There is an interesting post-script to this story. In the course of this research, it transpired that the 1-121st Field Artillery Veterans Association had omitted Israel from their on-line honor roll. The association has now rectified the error, and Israel is now listed on their website which is additionally linked to his *Find a Grave* entry.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ *New York Times*, New York, New York, US, March 23, 1918, Page 2.

<https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-mar-23-1918-2239950/>

¹⁶⁹ The *Oshkosh Northwestern* (Oshkosh, Wisconsin) · 20 Apr 1918, Sat · Page 1.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/245707544/?terms=alfred%20israel&match=1#>.

¹⁷⁰ *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin) · 23 Apr 1918, Tue · Page 12.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/186266753/?terms=alfred%20israel&match=1>.

¹⁷¹ The 1-121st Field Artillery Veterans' Association, <http://121fava.org/history/world-war-i/>

Henry Kleinhesselink (28 July, 1886 – 3 October, 1918)

Private, “C” Company, 337th Battalion, Tank Corps

Henry Kleinhesselink is distinguished among the ten Great War veterans featured in this study in that he is the oldest. He was born on 28 July 1886, Hendrik “Henry” Kleinhesselink, to Johann (John) and Gezina (“Cena”) Kleinhesselink in Holland, WI.¹⁷² John was born in Germany and Cena in Holland according to the 1900 United States Federal Census.¹⁷³ Theirs was a large family. Bernard was born in approximately 1877, John Junior in 1878. A daughter, Lena (born around 1879) appears to have died in infancy. Angeline was born in 1879, William in 1884, Johanna in 1888, Mary in 1890, and Joe in 1894.¹⁷⁴

During the early 1900s, Henry’s eldest brother Bernard went out west to Montana and established a civil engineering business in Big Timber.¹⁷⁵ He was advertising himself as a

¹⁷² FamilySearch variously lists Kleinhesselink originating from Holland or St. Croix, Wisconsin. The evidence for St. Croix is patchy to say the least. That Kleinhesselink was born in Wisconsin is fairly clear. His 1918 draft card seems conclusive in locating his birth in Holland, Wisconsin.

<https://www.familysearch.org/search/record/results?q.givenName=henry&q.surname=kleinhesselink&q.birthLikePlace=wisconsin&q.birthLikeDate.from=1886&q.birthLikeDate.to=1886&count=20&offset=0&m.defaultFacets=on&m.queryRequireDefault=on&m.facetNestCollectionInCategory=on>

¹⁷³ 1900 United States Federal Census,

https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4120643_00128?usePUB=true&_phsrc=bvp204&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=64145460https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4120643_00128?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=831b0a9ef1288fdf2c92a4714dae6c62&usePUB=true&_phsrc=bvp117&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=64145460

¹⁷⁴ Data taken from the 1880 and 1900 censuses. The 1890 United States Federal Census is all-but-worthless due to a fire. See note 271, page 80.

1880 United States Federal Census, https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/discoveryui-content/view/20341679:6742?_phsrc=bvp243&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=John&gsln=Heslink&ml_rpos=1&queryId=d39ffb9587e73e108f67e2a34fe0c485

1900 United States Federal Census, https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/discoveryui-content/view/64144835:7602?_phsrc=bvp244&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=bernard&gsln=kleinhesselink&ml_rpos=1&queryId=faed21ee519440f84c37ccccb2bb3f7a

¹⁷⁵ Death notice for Bernard Kleinhesselink in the *Big Timber Pioneer*, June 4, 1959, Page 5, Image 5.

<http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn84036123/1959-06-04/ed-1/seq-5/>. Big Timber was and is the county town of Sweet Grass County. It is important to differentiate Sweet Grass (two words) County in the southern part of the state from the town of Sweetgrass (one word) Montana which is a border crossing into Canada.

surveyor in 1906, and again in 1908, going by his initials, B. J. Kleinhesselink.¹⁷⁶ He was also a keen horticulturalist and apiarist, and played an active role in communal life in Big Timber.

It seems that Bernard's move to the Midwestern wilds piqued Henry's imagination because he too trekked westwards and joined his elder brother. The history of Henry Kleinhesselink is extremely patchy. The evidence is either not there, or awaits discovery. But sometime between 1905 and 1910, he moved to Sweet Grass, Montana and took up a teaching role.¹⁷⁷

Precisely what Kleinhesselink's qualifications for teaching were in this period, and where he obtained them, remain largely unclear. The evidence suggests that he did not attend the Milwaukee Normal School until fall 1917, having moved back to Wisconsin. Nonetheless, it is highly probable that he took teaching exams in Linton, North Dakota on May 31–June 1, 1907.¹⁷⁸ Additionally, there is evidence that Henry was in Big Timber just before 1909, visiting his brother Bernard. Henry's home was listed as Westfield.¹⁷⁹ Linton is at least 500 miles from Big Timber, but only nineteen miles from Westfield, ND.¹⁸⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude that Kleinhesselink was living in Westfield. From here he traveled to Linton to sit his exams, then a year or so later, trekked west to visit his brother in Big Timber.

¹⁷⁶ *Big Timber Pioneer*, November 15, 1906, Page 3, Image 3, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn84036123/1906-11-15/ed-1/seq-3/#date1=01%2F01%2F1877&index=11&date2=12%2F31%2F1920&words=Bernard+KLEINHESSELINK&searchType=advanced&sequence=0&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=bernard+kleinhesselink&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>, Also *Big Timber Pioneer*, June 11, 1908, Page 2, Image 2, <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn84036123/1908-06-11/ed-1/seq-2/#date1=01%2F01%2F1877&index=13&date2=12%2F31%2F1920&words=Bernard+KLEINHESSELINK&searchType=advanced&sequence=0&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=&phrasertext=&andtext=bernard+kleinhesselink&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

¹⁷⁷ Email conversation with Katie Reilly, Executive Assistant, Sheboygan County Historical /Research Center, 17-24 November, 2020.

¹⁷⁸ Emmons County Record (Linton, North Dakota) · 6 Jun 1907, Thursday, page 3. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/604303739/?terms=kleinhesselink&match=1>

¹⁷⁹ Email conversation in November 1919 with Jeanie Chapel, manager of the Crazy Mountain Museum in Big Timber, MT.

¹⁸⁰ Email conversation in November 1919 with Jeanie Chapel.

Within a few months, Henry had moved to Sweet Grass County. The 1910 United States Federal Census lists him as lodging with Ernest and Mary Ingles in School District 23, Sweet Grass County, Montana.¹⁸¹ Between 1909 and 1910, he taught for perhaps an entire year at East Boulder School, a little one-room school house in the Boulder Valley, just south of Big Timber.¹⁸² The year 1909 was a good one for Henry. In the Flathead land draw of that year, he acquired lot 1589.¹⁸³

In June 1910 he left the school in East Boulder to assist Bernard with his business, and also to attend to his recent land acquisitions in the Flathead country.¹⁸⁴ Henry seems to have stayed in the vicinity of Big Timber. He became a trustee of the Big Timber Athletic Association and was active in the local Freemasons.¹⁸⁵ He continued in teaching, attending both the November 1910 (in Livingston, MT) and the November 1911 (Sweet Grass County High School in Big Timber) conferences of the Joint Teachers' Institute of Sweet Grass and Park Counties.¹⁸⁶

Thereafter the trail for Kleinhesselink virtually vanishes until he returned to his roots in Sheboygan County, Wisconsin, sometime in or before 1917.¹⁸⁷ Why he moved back is unknown; nevertheless, he continued his teaching career. In the Sheboygan County schools' post examination celebrations held on June 9, 1917, Kleinhesselink judged a singing competition. By

¹⁸¹ It is important to differentiate Sweet Grass (two words) County in the southern part of the state from the town of Sweetgrass (one word) which is a border crossing into Canada.

¹⁸² Email with Jeanie Chapel.

¹⁸³ *Big Timber Pioneer*, August 19, 1909, Page 5, Image 5. <http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn84036123/1909-08-19/ed-1/seq-5/>

¹⁸⁴ *Big Timber Pioneer*, June 16, 1910, Page 8. <https://newspaperarchive.com/big-timber-pioneer-jun-16-1910-p-8/>

¹⁸⁵ Email from Jeanie Chapel.

¹⁸⁶ *Big Timber Pioneer*, November 03, 1910, Page 1, Image 1.

<http://montananewspapers.org/lccn/sn84036123/1910-11-03/ed-1/seq-1/#date1=01%2F01%2F1910&index=1&date2=12%2F31%2F1910&words=Henry+Kleinhesselink&searchType=advanced&sequence=0&proxdistance=5&rows=20&ortext=&proxtext=&phrasertext=henry+kleinhesselink&andtext=&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>

Big Timber Pioneer, November 16, 1911, Page 1. <https://newspaperarchive.com/war-clipping-nov-16-1911-2209233/>

¹⁸⁷ He did attend his sister's (Mary J.) birthday party in Oostburg in 1913. *The Sheboygan Press*, 3 Oct 1913, Fri · Page 6. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/239725361/?terms=henry%20hesselink&match=1>

this time of course, the United States was already embroiled in the Great War. Directly beneath the joyous reports of staff and students planning their end of semester celebration, the *Sheboygan Press* printed an ominous and fateful “Notice of Registration.” The draft had come to Sheboygan.¹⁸⁸ All male persons who had attained their twenty-first birthday but *not* their thirty-first birthday before June 5, 1917, must register for the draft. Henry Kleinhesselink was born on July 28, 1886. On June 5, 1917, he would be thirty years old, and a month and twenty-three days away from his birthday. He must register for the draft, and he duly showed up on June 5 in the precinct of Holland, Sheboygan County.¹⁸⁹ He is described as medium height, medium build, with brown hair and brown eyes.

Undeterred by the coming of war and the prospect of service, now aged thirty, Kleinhesselink decided to return to school as a student. He enrolled at the Milwaukee Normal School. No record of when this happened is known to exist. What is known, is that on Tuesday 11 September 1917, he traveled to Milwaukee to start (or continue) at the MNS.¹⁹⁰

It was not until July 15 (or 16), 1918 that Kleinhesselink enlisted in “C” company of the 337th Battalion of the Tank Corps.¹⁹¹ He departed Plymouth, WI on the 4:22 p.m. train for the Brenan School in Chicago in the Mechanical Training Detachment.¹⁹² From Chicago, Private

¹⁸⁸The *Sheboygan Press*, 31 May 1917, Thu · Page 12.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239469970/?terms=%22henry%20kleinhesselink%22&match=1>

¹⁸⁹ Draft Registration Card, FamilySearch. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-8186-71T?i=2553&cc=1968530&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK87H-LHL>

¹⁹⁰ The *Sheboygan Press*, 21 Sep 1917, Friday, Page 7.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239477118/?terms=henry%20hesselink&match=1>. “James LeMaheiu and Henry Hesselink (*sic*) left Tuesday for Milwaukee where they will attend Normal.

¹⁹¹ Form No. 724-8, A.G.O, Nov. 22, 1919, Wisconsin Veterans’ Museum.

¹⁹² This remarkable itinerant detail courtesy of The *Sheboygan Press*, 13 Jul 1918, Sat · Page 5.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239501216/?terms=kleinhesselink&match=1>

Also, The *Echo*, the MNS yearbook, 1919, 80. University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee archives.

In the spring and summer of 1918, Army Training Detachments were established at various educational institutions across the country. The Brenan School in Chicago was one such and operated between July and December, 1918. Center of Military History, United States Army, *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War*, Volume 3, Part 2 (Washington DC, 1988), 556.

Kleinhesselink was transferred to Camp Colt, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The camp was hastily constructed on the site of the Gettysburg battlefield for new infantry recruits after the outbreak of war in 1917, and was chosen to be America's first tank school, under the command of Captain Dwight D. Eisenhower.¹⁹³

Kleinhesselink had been at the camp little over a month when influenza hit. In September 1918, the camp was home to 10,600 personnel.¹⁹⁴ Over the following weeks and months, one third of that number contracted the virus which killed 150. On Thursday October 3, the *Gettysburg Times* reported at noon that the camp had seen in a single day, twenty one deaths, seventy-five new cases of influenza, and twelve new cases of pneumonia. The death toll due to influenza and its related illnesses now reached sixty-two. As the October 3 edition of the paper hit the streets, one of those seventy-five, Henry Kleinhesselink, became another victim to the great pandemic.¹⁹⁵ He died at 5:30 p.m. that evening according to *The Sheboygan Press*.¹⁹⁶

Kleinhesselink was buried on Tuesday October 8, 1918 in Oostburg.¹⁹⁷ The funeral took place at the Reformed Church and was conducted by the Rev. Peter Swart. Just over three months later, on Monday January 20, 1919, the Rev. Swart was back in his church facing the

¹⁹³ National Park Service, *The Army's First Tank School: Camp Colt at Gettysburg*.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/the-armys-first-tank-school-camp-colt-at-gettysburg.htm>

¹⁹⁴ *The United States in the First World War*, ed. Anne Cipriano Venzon, s.v. "Eisenhower, Dwight David," 214. It is unclear as to whether the number refers to the tank personnel at Camp Colt, or the entire complement at the camp.

¹⁹⁵ *The Gettysburg Times* (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania) · 3 Oct 1918, Thursday, Page 1.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/45721865/?terms=337%20%22tank%20corps%22&match=1#>

¹⁹⁶ *The Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) 4 Oct 1918, Friday, Page 1,

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239481489/?article=9ca3d9f1-d8e1-48a4-ae50-97f81224f530>

¹⁹⁷ *The Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) · 11 Oct 1918, Friday, page 8.

<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239481899/?terms=%22henry%20hesselink%22%20oostburg&match=1#>

grieving Kleinhesselink family for a second time. Henry's elder brother, William, had succumbed to the same deadly illness.¹⁹⁸ He was thirty-five years old.

¹⁹⁸ The *Sheboygan Press* (Sheboygan, Wisconsin) 18 Jan 1919, Saturday, Page 6
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/239707027/?article=9db31c34-3cd9-48d4-8c61-572991d77437>

Mark Charles Malone (21 August, 1893 – 28 March, 1919)

Corporal, 107th Ammunition Train, Thirty-second Division

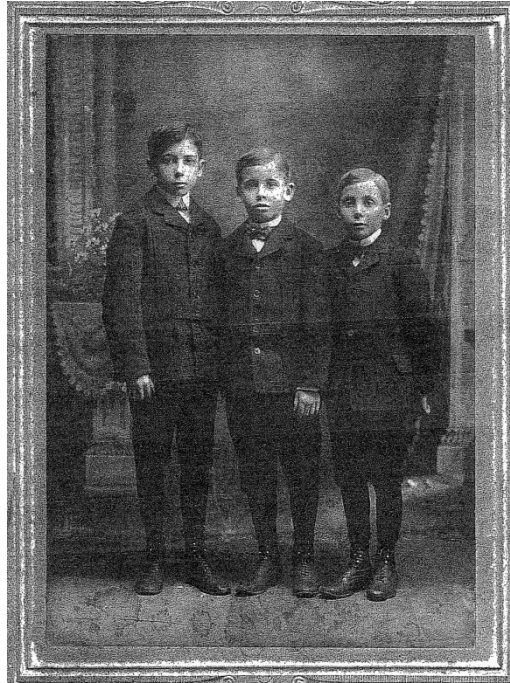


Figure 11 - Mark Charles Malone (right) in 1904. Heber is on the left, Andrew is center. Source: Waukesha County Historical Society and Museum

Mark Charles Malone was born in Waukesha on August 21, 1893, the son of Dr. Edward W. Malone of Rochester County, Racine, himself the son of Irish immigrants.¹⁹⁹ Dr. Malone married Elizabeth Kelly on August 10, 1887 in St. Joseph's Church, Waukesha. Their first son William (born 1888) died in infancy. Edward Heber Malone (often called Heber) was born in

¹⁹⁹ Dr. Edward Malone was one of six children, three boys and three girls. All three boys, Edward (born 1855), William (born ~1862), and Thomas (born ~1851) became physicians.

1889 and thereafter, Andrew Paul (1892), Mark Charles (1893), and Ignatius Marion (1896).

Ignatius died in 1897.²⁰⁰

Malone attended Waukesha High School and then the MNS, the precise dates of which are so far unknown. But the year 1914 opened with tragedy for the Malone family. Before Mark attained his twenty-first birthday, on January 9, Dr. Edward Malone died suddenly of a stroke. Dr. Malone's younger brother William, also a local physician, attended his bedside as he died. William would be attending another family tragedy a number of years later.

On the outbreak of war, Mark was working as a shoe salesman.²⁰¹ He and his two brothers joined the military effort in various capacities. Heber (Edward) joined the navy and served on the protected cruiser, *USS Galveston*, engaging in Atlantic convoy duties.²⁰² Andrew enlisted as a pharmacist. Mark enlisted and ended up eventually in Company "E," the First Caisson Company. Horse Section, 107th Ammunition Train.²⁰³ Malone started out as a wagoner

²⁰⁰ John M. Schoenknecht, "Pure Gold: Edward M. Malone and Lizzie Kelly," *Landmark*, vol 44 no. 3, (Autumn 2001) Waukesha County Historical Society and Museum, 3, 8.

²⁰¹ Mark Charles Malone, Draft Registration Card, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K87W-BLD>

²⁰² A protected cruiser was a warship with armor below the waterline to protect the vital functions of the ship (e.g. the engine room) rather than having deck armor and belt armor (along the exposed sides of the ship). This was a necessary compromise between speed and protection. The *Galveston* was a third-class cruiser in the US fleet in the First World War, having been launched in 1903, and thoroughly obsolete.

²⁰³ Perhaps some words of explanation are necessary here. The American Army in World War One organized part of its logistics on the concepts of "services," a key component of which were "trains." In an infantry division (at full strength approximately 28,000 personnel), there was an ammunition service, a supply service, an engineer service, and a sanitary service. Each of these services operated their trains. The ammunition service was responsible for delivering ordnance to the infantry and artillery and was under the command of the divisional artillery commander. Basically, ammunition was brought up from the rear via the *Line of Communications* which was itself an administrative and transport organization behind the combat zone (the *Zone of the Advance*). The ammunition train, operating from the *Zone of the Advance*, would rendezvous at a pre-arranged point in at the rear with the ammunition *column*. An ammunition *column* was much more likely to be mechanized, a railway or motorized transport. The ammunition *trains* more often than not used horses and mules. The train would load up with ordnance and return to the Zone of the Advance. Within this zone were distributing stations which served as the direct ammunition supply centers for the infantry units and artillery emplacements.

An ammunition train comprising between 1,033 and 1,341 personnel was organized with a headquarters staff, and seven companies of servicemen. The first four companies (first to fourth, later renamed A – D comprised to Motor Section. The fifth to seventh companies (also renamed First and Second Caisson Companies, and the Wagon Company were the Horsed component of the ammunition train. During the war, horses and mules were widely used

but was promoted to private first class on July 1, 1918. He was promoted again, this time to corporal, on September 8, 1918.²⁰⁴

The 107th began training at Camp MacArthur near Waco, Texas in the autumn of 1917.²⁰⁵ On summons to the war, they traveled from Texas to New York via Camp Merritt, New Jersey. A number of men became sick en route, some ominously with pneumonia. They returned for treatment and convalescence at Camp Merritt (approximately fifteen miles north of Hoboken, NJ) and traveled later to rejoin their units.²⁰⁶ It was at Camp Merritt in September 1918 that influenza struck with a vengeance. The camp was a key staging post in the transportation of troops to France.²⁰⁷

From Camp Merritt, it was an hour's march to Alpine Landing, then a two-hour boat journey down the Hudson to New York where troops would rendezvous with their ocean-going vessels.²⁰⁸ For the 107th, this was the *SS Orduna*, and they duly departed on 1 February, 1918.²⁰⁹ The ship sailed to Halifax to join a convoy, and it was not until February 17 when the 107th

in transportation together with trucks. The animals were able to negotiate terrain inaccessible to motorized transport. They pulled two-wheeled carts known as *caissons* onto which were loaded, and from which was unloaded the ammunition. The intricacies of army supply are explained (with diagrams) in Government Printing Office, *Field Service Regulations, United States Army, 1914 : corrected to April 15, 1917* (Washington, 1917), 138ff.

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/t23b69340&view=1up&seq=1>

Ammunition Service described on pps 146-150.

United States Army in the World War 1917-1919: Organization of the American Expeditionary Forces Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1988), 122.

https://history.army.mil/html/books/023/23-6/CMH_Pub_23-6.pdf

²⁰⁴ Army form 724-8 A.G.O. Malone, Mark. Wisconsin Veterans Museum Archive, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁰⁵ John C. Acker, *Thru the War with Our Outfit: Being a Historical Narrative of the 107th Ammunition Train* (The Wisconsin Historical Society, 1920), 7.

²⁰⁶ Acker, 56.

²⁰⁷ John Spring, *The March of the Forgotten* (Palisades Interstate Park Commission).

<https://njpalisades.org/marchForgotten.html>

²⁰⁸ Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 126.

²⁰⁹ The *Orduna* was owned by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company and was under charter to the Cunard Line. Acker, 32.

finally disembarked in Liverpool and moved south to Winchester. On February 22, they left England and sailed for France, unceremoniously “on a cattle boat.”²¹⁰

The 107th Ammunition Train was a component of the Fifty-seventh Field Artillery Regiment which was in turn assigned to the Thirty-second Division. The Thirty-second was the sixth to arrive in France during February, 1918. It had been predetermined by the American high command that the sixth division to arrive in France (whatever that division might be) would be a “replacement” division. This meant that the division would not see front-line action but be a unit providing extra training for American service personnel arriving in France. The army would then parcel out the trained recruits to whichever units were deemed to need them. Mark Malone would have spent the war behind the lines, training soldiers in the art of the transportation and handling of ordnance and ammunition.

But shortly after his arrival in France, the Germans launched what would be their final all-out assaults on the Western Front. On March 21, 1918, and with great ferocity, they attacked the British-held sectors of the front, making advances hitherto unseen since the early days of the war. In the ensuing crisis, every able-bodied soldier was needed, and ideas of maintaining the Thirty-second as a training division were abandoned. Necessity would push the Thirty-second into the front line where they gained a reputation for toughness, bravery, and perseverance in the face of sometimes heavy losses. The Thirty-second won many citations from British and French as well as American commanders; and from the French, the epithet “Les Terribles.”

Up to that moment, the 107th Ammunition Train had been encamped at Camp Coetquidan, western France (southwest of Rennes), wondering what would happen next. Acker

²¹⁰ Acker, 47.

relates how Malone's "E" Company under Captain Weidman was made the camp's military police.²¹¹ In June 1918, the remnants of the division, quite depleted having had several thousand soldiers transferred to other units, departed and traveled the width of France to Alsace.²¹² This part of the front was generally considered to be a quiet sector; and thus it generally proved for the Thirty-second division which held this section of the line between June 16 and July 23, 1918.

But action was imminent. The division moved again on July 23 to take up position for the Aisne-Marne offensive (also known as the Second Battle of the Marne or the Battle of Château-Thierry). The Aisne-Marne offensive was fought between July 29 and August 24, 1918 with the goal of eliminating the southeast facing Marne salient that recent German offensives had created. Finally the 107th Ammunition Train had some "real work" to do as Acker describes.²¹³ The Thirty-second took part in the attack on Château-Thierry at the southeastern tip of the salient. The campaign as a whole was successful, and the division went on to advance into territory that the Germans had held for years.

It was during this campaign that men of the Thirty-second discovered the grave of Lieutenant Quentin Roosevelt, revered American airman and son of President Theodore Roosevelt.²¹⁴ Roosevelt had been shot down behind enemy lines on July 14, 1918. The 107th's base was very close to the grave of the recently deceased aviator. Acker himself visited the grave, and admitted his own great admiration of Roosevelt, (indicating the existence of a cult of remembrance, even at this stage of the war).²¹⁵

²¹¹ Acker, *Thru the War*, 55.

²¹² Acker, *Thru the War*, 71.

²¹³ Acker, *Thru the War*, 85.

²¹⁴ Tom Bruss, webmaster, *The 32D 'Red Arrow' Division in World War I: From the 'Iron Jaw Division' to 'Les Terribles.'* <http://www.32nd-division.org/history/ww1/32-ww1.html>

²¹⁵ Acker, *Thru the War*, 95.

From August 28 to September 7, most of the Thirty-second was embroiled in the fighting in the Soissons region that had been at the northwestern base of the salient. Malone and his Fifty-seventh Field Artillery were initially separated from the rest of their division, supporting operations to the southeast of Soissons before hurrying to rejoin the rest of the Thirty-second Division for the assault on Juvigny. Capture of this sleepy village, north of Soissons, at the base of the western edge of the diminishing Château Thierry salient would open the way to further eastward advances, rendering the salient untenable and forcing a German withdrawal. The Thirty-second sustained heavy losses but nonetheless took Juvigny.

Hitherto, American divisions had fought under French or British leadership; but it was always Pershing's goal to establish a fully functioning independent American army. This he achieved, and it went into battle in the campaign to eliminate yet another salient, approximately two hundred kilometers to the east. This time it was the southeast facing "V-shaped" bulge with Saint Mihiel at its tip. The battle (September 12–14, 1918) was a triumph for Pershing and his army. But Saint Mihiel was just the warm-up for the American First Army's greatest battle and greatest test.

In these recent months of 1918, the static nature of trench warfare had started to break down. The war of movement was back, and the stage was set for one more big push. The Meuse-Argonne Offensive would be the coming of age of the AEF. Now a fully fledged army in its own right, Meuse-Argonne was the final great offensive of the war, lasting from September 26 until the Armistice on November 11, 1918. It was part of a concerted all-out attack along almost the whole front of the wavering German line.

Initially Malone and his division were placed in reserve. We have already described how the Meuse-Argonne offensive came close to failure (see chapter on Morgan MacDonald Anderson). Stubborn German resistance, heavy casualties, and chaos behind the lines resulted in Pershing suspending the offensive, dismissing officers he considered too timid, and appointing bolder replacements. He regrouped, re-organized, and re-focused his battered army and returned to the offensive on October 4.

The Thirty-second was rushed into action on October 4, and it is not apparent whether the divisional artillery assisted or not. Nobody knew where they were.²¹⁶ For the ammunition trains, there was work a-plenty in atrocious conditions:

For three days and nights now the truck drivers have been on the go... In pouring rain and pitch black nights they drive the loads of ammunition without lights of any kind over roads deep in mud, where a civilian driver would halt in broad daylight. They have been out three days and nights now without sleep or a warm meal, not even hot coffee, only the "iron" rations. The worst part of all is the congestion. Roads are so bad and traffic so great that at times it takes two or three hours to make a kilometer. Our men are on the road all the time traveling from the dump or railroad to battery positions. They are in immediate danger the greater part of the time; trucks are frequently hit by shell or shrapnel and sometimes one is blown up. (John C. Acker, *Thru the War with Our Outfit: Being a Historical Narrative of the 107th Ammunition Train* Sturgeon Bay, WI: Door County Publishing Co., 1920), 117–118)

Malone himself had already experienced such dangers. On 26 September, 1918, the *Waukesha Freeman* reported that Private Bryan McCarthy was teamed up with Malone driving an ammunition train when they came under shrapnel fire. McCarthy's horse was killed underneath him, another horse was also killed, and a third injured. Malone escaped unscathed.²¹⁷ On April 3, 1919, the same newspaper, reporting on Malone's funeral, wrote that one of the pall

²¹⁶ Lengel, *To Conquer Hell*, 210.

²¹⁷ *Waukesha Freeman*, 26 September, 1918, page 4. <https://newspaperarchive.com/war-clipping-sep-26-1918-2171056/>

Bryan McCarthy died of pneumonia in January 1919. The family had lost another son, KIA in 1918. *Waukesha Freeman*, Feb 13, 1919, p. 1, <https://newspaperarchive.com/waukesha-freeman-feb-13-1919-p-1/>

bearers was Joseph Brunner who had served with Malone in the 107th. He recounted an incident in October 1918 when they had come under attack and instinctively dived into a nearby shell hole for cover. Malone again avoided injury although he was partially covered with debris. Brunner sustained light injuries.²¹⁸

Malone survived the Meuse-Argonne battle, and this great offensive of late 1918 finally broke the German will to resist. The war ended on November 11 with the German army undefeated in the field, and with the country's borders inviolate. The victors nonetheless organized the Army of Occupation, and interestingly, the Thirty-second Division was part of it. On the morning of January 14, 1919, the 107th Ammunition Train departed Gondrecourt (south of Verdun) for Coblenz to the northeast, a journey of approximately 350 kilometers to west-central Germany.²¹⁹ And there the Thirty-second stayed from January 18 to April 21, 1919.²²⁰

But Malone never made it to Germany. Having survived the “war to end all wars,” he succumbed to influenza shortly after the armistice in November, 1918.²²¹ He recovered, but then relapsed, and was sent to Nice, southern France, for a period of convalescence. On February 20, 1919, he wrote home, informing that he was fine and would shortly be returning to the USA. He embarked on the *Manchuria* but while en route, relapsed once again. The Malone family in Milwaukee received a telegram informing of Mark's deteriorating condition, and his uncle, Dr. William Malone, made haste to New York. The *Manchuria* docked on March 24, 1919 and

²¹⁸ *Waukesha Freeman*, 3 April, 1919, page 1, <https://newspaperarchive.com/war-clipping-apr-03-1919-2171087/> Brunner was killed in a railroad accident in 1922. *Waukesha Daily Freeman*, May 13, 1922, p. 1, <https://newspaperarchive.com/waukesha-daily-freeman-may-13-1922-p-1/>

²¹⁹ Acker, 135.

²²⁰ Acker, 215.

²²¹ In July 1918, our 107th chronicler John Acker contracted the “Spanish” flu. He recovered after a week, flippantly describing it as “a waste of time,” but also noting that it was rampant in their army sector. Acker, 82-83.

Malone was admitted to DeBarkation Hospital No. 5.²²² Here Dr. Malone was able to visit his still-conscious nephew. But tragically, twenty-four hours later, on 28 March, 1919, Mark succumbed to the great influenza pandemic.

Malone's body was returned to Milwaukee, and he was buried on Tuesday April 1, 1919 after a funeral service at St. Joseph's Church, Waukesha, attended by over 500 mourners. Malone's former comrades acted as pall bearers and bodyguards. Mark was buried beside his father in St. Joseph Cemetery.²²³ On Tuesday June 10, 1924, the *Waukesha Freeman* reported that the previous day, at a ceremony in the grounds on the east side of Waukesha High School, an elm was planted in remembrance of Malone by the *Beacon Lights* club of which his mother, Elizabeth Malone, was a member.²²⁴ Sadly, the tree did not survive the 1960s onslaught of Dutch elm disease.²²⁵

²²² That the *Manchuria* arrived on 24 March is attested by The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (Brooklyn, New York), 24 Mar 1919, Monday, Page 3. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/55302340/>

²²³ John M. Schoenknecht, "Pure Gold: Edward Malone M.D. and Lizzie Kelly," *Landmark Waukesha, Wisconsin: The Waukesha County Historical Society and Museum* 44 No. 3, Autumn 2001, 11-12. The *Manchuria* docks in New York: Pittsburgh Daily Post (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) · 25 Mar 1919, Tue · Page 1, <https://www.newspapers.com/image/87649098/>

²²⁴ The *Beacon Lights* was formed in 1885 in Waukesha as a women's reading group. It later became involved in the women's suffrage movement and also supported local civic and charitable causes, and was pivotal in the founding of Waukesha Public Library in 1896. <https://www.theclio.com/entry/97066>

²²⁵ Email exchange with John Schoenknecht of the Waukesha County Historical Society and Museum, 7 January, 2021.

Kenneth Lavelle McHugh (July 3, 1896 – October 4, 1918)²²⁶

Corporal, 120th Field Artillery Regiment, Battery “A,” Thirty-second Division

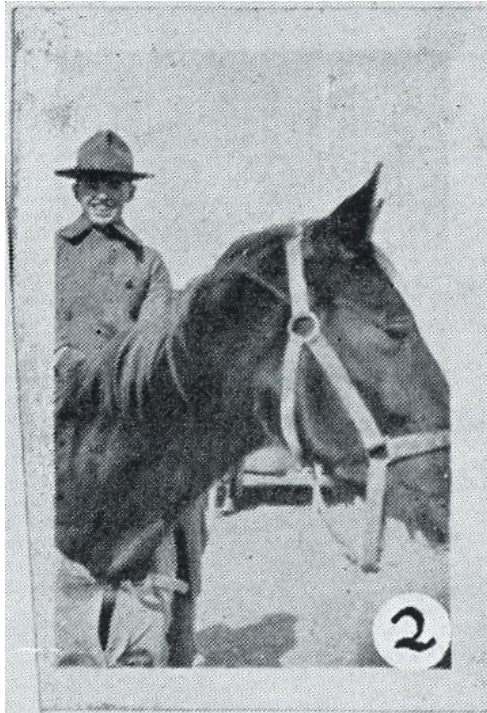


Figure 12 - A youthful-looking Kenneth McHugh. Source: Carl Penner, *The 120th Field Artillery Diary 1880-1919* (Milwaukee, WI: Hammersmith-Kortmeyer Co., 1928), 77.

Kenneth Lavelle McHugh was born on July 3, 1896 in Baraboo, Wisconsin to Michael and Amelia McHugh. Kenneth’s father originated from Ireland and was a railroad engineer; Amelia hailed from New York and was of German descent.²²⁷ Mr. and Mrs. McHugh’s first child, Elizabeth (“Bessie”), was born in April 1892. Glenn followed in May 1894, and after Kenneth, Margaret arrived in October 1898, and Robert in 1906.

²²⁶ Research on McHugh was restricted by the closure, due to the COVID-19 pandemic, of a key archive source. The Sauk County Historical Society’s History Center in Baraboo, closed until further notice at time of writing.

²²⁷ From the 1900 United States Federal Census.

https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4120641_00071?treeid=&personid=&hintid=&queryId=45ebacc4465df1d0e288c61a31c1a4ef&usePUB=true&_phsrc=bvp44&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=73939932.

Details of Kenneth's life are sketchy (see note 226). The family was highly active in the Baraboo Presbyterian Church, a congregation which clearly inculcated leadership skills and organization at an early age. A report in 1904 lists the officers of the Junior Endeavor at the church. The McHugh children featured prominently in the organization. Bessie (aged 12) was appointed secretary and was also on the social committee; Glenn (aged 9) was involved in the church prayer meeting and musical activities. Young Kenneth (8) was on the missionary committee, and Margaret (aged five) served on the flower committee.²²⁸

Mrs. McHugh was herself active in the *Inter Se* women's club in the town, occasionally hosting meetings in the McHugh home. Mrs. McHugh retained strong connections to Baraboo and often returned for club meetings, years after moving to Milwaukee.²²⁹ Perhaps a clue to the ethos of the McHugh household is present in a report of an *Inter Se* meeting in 1913 at which a Miss Astle expounded on the topic of women's suffrage. Mrs. McHugh, apparently unconvinced by these new-fangled ideas, presented her own paper, "Woman's Sphere" in which she argued that a woman exercised her power and influence for good "as a mistress of a well-ordered home, as a conscientious devoted wife, as a mother, as a true friend and neighbor, and as a charitable Christian among the destitute and the distressed." The ensuing discussions on these subjects were reported as "lively."²³⁰

²²⁸ *Baraboo News*, Baraboo, Wisconsin, US, July 20, 1904, Page 1. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-jul-20-1904-2213485>.

²²⁹ The McHugh home must have been quite spacious. Mrs. McHugh "gave a coffee" in their house at which seventy attended. *Baraboo Weekly News*, October 24, 1906, page 5. <https://newspaperarchive.com/baraboo-news-oct-24-1906-p-5/>.

Her last recorded attendance at a Baraboo *Inter Se* meeting was in 1922. *Baraboo Weekly News*, March 2, 1922, page 6. <https://newspaperarchive.com/baraboo-weekly-news-mar-02-1922-p-6/>

²³⁰ *Baraboo Weekly News*, April 10, 1913, Page 12. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-apr-10-1913-2213563/>

In the same year that Mrs. McHugh was defining a “Woman’s Sphere,” Kenneth graduated Baraboo High School having taken the Classical Course.²³¹ Sometime thereafter, the McHugh family moved to Milwaukee. Precise dates are difficult to ascertain. The evidence (or lack thereof) of the family’s public presence in Baraboo indicates that they moved to Milwaukee shortly after Kenneth’s graduation. They took up residence at 417 Juneau Place.²³²

Between 1913 and 1916, McHugh attended the MNS. In 1916 Kenneth applied to the University of Wisconsin in the class of 1920.²³³ He does not appear in any UW year book in his lifetime. He was preceded at UW by his elder brother Glenn, a senior in 1917, and who went on to study law at Columbia.²³⁴ Kenneth had scarcely (if at all) begun his studies when war came in April 1917. He did not wait very long before volunteering for service. On May 25, 1917, in Milwaukee, he joined the Wisconsin National Guard, Troop “A,” the First Cavalry Regiment. Between 23 June and 11 September 1917 the regiment trained at Camp Douglas, WI, and thereafter continued to Waco, TX for a further four months’ training at Camp MacArthur. It was at Camp MacArthur that the First Cavalry Regiment was re-designated the 120th Field Artillery Regiment. McHugh was assigned to Battery “A” and shortly after, promoted to corporal. The 120th together with the 119th (Michigan) and 121st (Wisconsin) collectively became the 57th Field Artillery Brigade, part of the famously hard-fighting 32nd Division.

On February 5, 1918, McHugh and his unit took their first decisive steps to the war front. The 120th left Waco for Camp Merritt, NJ, a usual staging post en route to Europe. On March 3,

²³¹ *Baraboo Weekly News*, June 19, 1913, page 1. <https://newspaperarchive.com/war-clipping-jun-19-1913-2213504/>. McHugh’s Baraboo High School graduation certificate is held in the archives at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

²³² The 1910 United States Federal Census has them residing in Baraboo, but subsequent evidence shows them moving to Milwaukee, although precise dates are unknown.

²³³ University of Wisconsin Archives: Admission records, Box 101.

²³⁴ *Alumni News*. <https://digicoll.library.wisc.edu/cgi-bin/UW/UW-idx?type=turn&id=UW.v22i9&entity=UW.v22i9.p0021&q1=glen&q2=mchugh>

they boarded the aptly named *SS Leviathan* for the ten-day trip to England.²³⁵ From Liverpool via camp in Winchester, the 120th sailed for Le Havre. After various staging camps including Gondrecourt south of Verdun, they arrived in Alsace. On June 9, “A” Battery set up near Senteim, not so far from the Swiss frontier, in what was traditionally a quiet sector of the front.²³⁶

The 120th indeed enjoyed a relatively quiet stay before decamping and traveling to Château Thierry, northeast of Paris and half-way between Paris and Reims where they arrived on July 29, 1918.²³⁷ It was here that the 120th first saw major action in this the Aisne-Marne campaign that reduced the large German salient of which Château Thierry was a southern tip. Artillery fire was intense; German observation planes aided incoming fire, and the 107th, including “A” Battery sustained casualties. As the line of battle advanced, the artillery was continually “limbering up” and moving on to new positions. By August 3, the line had advanced approximately forty miles to the northeast where the 120th took part in the particularly vicious action at Fismes and Fismette. On August 4, McHugh’s “A” Battery was under sustained shell

²³⁵ *SS Leviathan* was a requisitioned German liner, the *Vaterland* that had been marooned in New York since the beginning of the war in 1914, it being deemed too dangerous for the ship to run the gauntlet of British Atlantic supremacy and return to Germany. The ship was originally owned by the Hamburg-American Line or HAPAG (the *Hamburg-Amerikanische Packetfahrt-Aktien-Gesellschaft*). When she was launched in 1913, the *Vaterland* was the largest ship in the world. When the United States entered the war, the *Vaterland* was commandeered by the American authorities for war service and renamed. At approximately 54,200 tons, the *Leviathan* could carry 14,000 troops (the ship was designed to carry 1,165 passengers as originally configured). As a point of comparison, the famous *RMS Titanic* (1912) was roughly 44,000 tons.

²³⁶ Carl Penner, Frederic Sammond, H. M. Appel, *The 120th Field Artillery Diary 1880-1919* (Milwaukee, WI: Hammersmith-Kortmeyer Co., 1928), 130.

Note that Mark Malone’s 107th Ammunition Train was also in the area too, being part of the Thirty-second Division. Indeed, the 107th often supplied ammunition to the 120th Field Artillery. We have no evidence that Malone and McHugh knew each other or ever met.

²³⁷ Carl Penner, Frederic Sammond, H. M. Appel, *The 120th Field Artillery Diary* (Milwaukee: Hammersmith-Kortmeyer Co.), 1928, 32.

and gas attack for four hours. Men and horses were gassed, and thirty horses killed.²³⁸ The 120th was finally relieved on August 23.²³⁹

It will be remembered that at this stage an American army in the formal military-strategic use of the term did not yet exist. Pershing had a number of divisions which were assigned to French or British corps, and came under foreign command accordingly. Thus, the Thirty-second Division was next assigned to the French Tenth Army for an assault on the key village of Juvigny, a few kilometers north of Soissons (28 August–1 September 1918). This battle was another stage in the Aisne-Marne counter-offensive. The 120th Field Artillery again played a role and came under fire itself both from the air and enemy artillery fire. A gun crew from McHugh's "A" Battery was entirely wiped out by a direct hit.²⁴⁰ The French and American forces nonetheless prevailed, the battle for Juvigny won, and the 120th was taken out of the line for well-earned rest and recuperation. From September 12–17, they billeted at Wassy, southwest of Verdun for five days. And then it was time to return to war and the Meuse-Argonne offensive which raged from September 26 to November 11, 1918. This was the principal American campaign of the Great War when the fully formed and independent First American Army played a key role in Marshal Foch's ambitious plan to eliminate what was effectively a huge German salient stretching from the northwest to the southeast of the Western Front. The Meuse-Argonne was the southeastern extremity of the operation.

On September 17, the 120th moved to the region of Montfaucon d'Argonne, roughly 112 kilometers due north of their billets in Wassy and to the northwest of Verdun. By September 23

²³⁸ Penner, 183, 188.

²³⁹ Penner, 234. Penner notes that excepting the artillery, the rest of the Thirty-second were held in reserve for the Aisne- Marne campaign. Use of artillery regiments was relatively flexible in that the artillery in one division could be employed to support infantry in another.

²⁴⁰ Penner, 306.

they were in position and ready to support the Seventy-ninth Division in its attack north towards Montfaucon.²⁴¹ Conditions were difficult to say the least. What roads that still existed were in poor condition and extremely congested. McHugh's own unit, "A" Battery, seems to have become detached from the rest, and in the mayhem, pulled off to the side until the road cleared.²⁴² "A" Battery finally caught up with the others on September 28, and the 120th went into action on Sunday September 29. As we have previously discussed, things did not go well for Pershing and the AEF. A combination of poor leadership, inexperience, chaos and confusion in the rear, and skillful German resistance brought the AEF's offensive to the brink of collapse. Pershing broke off offensive action and from October 1–4, went on the defensive in order to regroup and reorganize.²⁴³ Among other changes, Pershing brought the Thirty-second into the front line. Fighting of course continued during this period. For the 120th, light relief was obtained when a plane dropped the daily paper from the skies on October 1. Shelling and counter-shelling continued through Thursday, October 3, and at 5 a.m. on October 4, the American batteries unleashed a major barrage. It was in this exchange that a German shell exploded near "A" Battery, killing Corporal Kenneth Lavalle McHugh.²⁴⁴

The campaign continued, concluding with the Armistice on November 11, 1918. At this juncture, the 120th were at Varennes, northeast of Verdun.²⁴⁵ They remained in France through the beginning of 1919 with no other thought than to go home. On March 2, they received the joyous news.²⁴⁶ At Brest, on April 25, 1919, the 120th embarked the *Wilhelmina* and bade

²⁴¹ The rump of the Thirty-second Division was in reserve at this time. Lengel, 160.

²⁴² Carl Penner, Frederic Sammond, H. M. Appel, *The 120th Field Artillery Diary 1880 – 1919* (Milwaukee: Hammersmith-Kortmeyer Co., 1928), 330.

²⁴³ Richard S. Falkner, *The U.S. Army Campaigns of World War I: Meuse-Argonne 26 September – 11 November 1918* (Washington DC: Center of Military History, United States Army, 2018), 31.

²⁴⁴ Penner, 336.

²⁴⁵ Penner, 401.

²⁴⁶ Penner, 488.

farewell to France.. On May 4, they docked in Boston and retired to Camp Devens. On May 14, the unit arrived at Camp Grant, Rockford, Illinois. By Saturday May 17, 1919, the 120th Field Artillery Regiment had been paid off and discharged. Their war was over.

Kenneth McHugh was initially buried at Montfaucon cemetery and later interred at the Meuse-Argonne cemetery. It was not until October 1921 that McHugh's body arrived at Hoboken, New Jersey, courtesy of the United States Army Transport (USAT) *Wheaton*.²⁴⁷ Kenneth's brother Glenn, already a resident of New York, accompanied the body to Baraboo where it arrived on Monday October 17, 1921. McHugh's body was escorted by a squad of soldiers to the Presbyterian Church. The funeral was held at 2:30 that afternoon and was well attended. Mourners included the principal of McHugh's high school and several of his teachers. The Rev. E. C. Henkes officiated, and Kenneth McHugh was laid to rest at the family plot in Walnut Hill Cemetery, Baraboo.²⁴⁸

It was around this period that Kenneth's parents, Michael and Amelia, moved back to Baraboo. While the 1920 United States Federal Census lists them still in Milwaukee, clearly with the funeral back in Baraboo, his parents had moved back in the meantime, for reasons unknown. And there they remained until their deaths. Michael died on July 6, 1941, shortly after the couple celebrated their golden wedding anniversary. Amelia passed away on April 9, 1942. They are buried with their son.

The rest of the family dispersed to various parts of the country. Elizabeth became Mrs. Eugene Wilson and lived in Chicago. Eugene Wilson, fourteen years her senior and an employee

²⁴⁷ *Baraboo Weekly News*, October 20, 1921, page 6. <https://newspaperarchive.com/baraboo-weekly-news-oct-20-1921-p-6/>

²⁴⁸ *Baraboo Weekly News*, October 01, 1921, page 6. <https://newspaperarchive.com/baraboo-weekly-news-oct-20-1921-p-6/>

of a Chicago electrical contractor, died of heart disease in 1937; thereafter, the Wilson trail goes cold. Their son, Kenneth served in World War Two and was buried in Arlington National Cemetery on his death in December 1999. But the fate of his mother Elizabeth (McHugh) is a tale waiting to be told. Margaret married Thomas Radcliffe and died in San Marino in 1963. Robert was an insurance salesman and died in San Diego in 1976. Glenn lived in New York and was a successful lawyer and businessman. In 1926 he was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and served as a foreign trade adviser to President Roosevelt 1933-1934. He was a keen golfer, being a member of the Mid Ocean club in Bermuda, and also the Royal and Ancient in Scotland. He died on vacation in Ireland in 1974, a few months after his son; Dr. Burton McHugh predeceased his father in an apparent suicide.²⁴⁹ It is poignant but futile to imagine how Kenneth's life would have turned out had he not had it taken from him in the line of duty.

²⁴⁹ Glenn McHugh death report: *Bronxville Review Press and Reporter*, Bronxville, New York, August 15, 1974, Page 5. <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-aug-15-1974-2232723/>
Burton McHugh Suicide: *Bronxville Review Press and Reporter*, Bronxville, New York, August 15, 1974, Page 5, <https://newspaperarchive.com/other-articles-clipping-aug-15-1974-2232723/>. Interestingly, there is no follow-up to this report, no details of any inquest or confirmation of suicide.

John Gordon Mitchell (5 August 1895 – 4 January, 1919)

1st Lieutenant, Company “A”, Fifty-second Infantry Regiment, Sixth Division

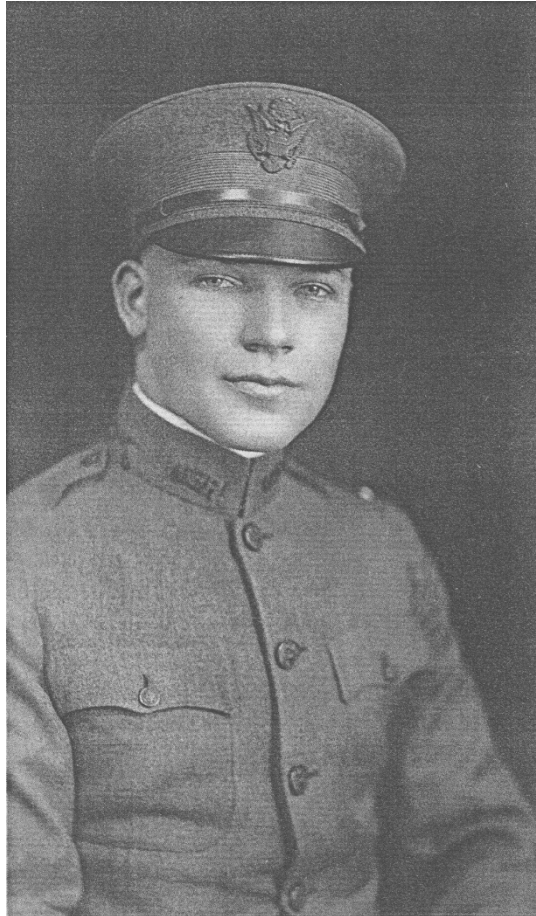


Figure 13-John Gordon Mitchell. Source: Milwaukee Public Library Digital Image Collections, World War I Military Portraits, WWI_1857.jpg.

John Gordon Mitchell was born into a large, thoroughly Wisconsin family. In 1900, his father Charles was a railroad conductor, and married to Katherine (Katie) Rhodes. Charles was of mixed Scottish and New York parentage while Katherine’s parents were both from New Jersey. They married on October 29, 1884 in Kenosha and offspring rapidly appeared. Clyde was

born in 1885, Ralph in 1888, Carol in 1891, Paul in 1893, and John in 1895. Mary was born in 1897. In 1900, they all lived together at 574 5th Avenue.²⁵⁰

Mitchell was a student at South Division High School in the class of 1912.²⁵¹ He enrolled at the Wisconsin State Normal School, Milwaukee on September 2, 1913, majoring in English. He graduated from the MNS on August 7, 1915, and in the same year, moved straight to the University of Wisconsin in Madison to study law.²⁵²

At this juncture, there arises a point of confusion in the press that was similar to the earlier saga of the two Carl Bergers in the Polar Bears (see chapter on Carl Herman Berger). Newspapers frequently mistook John Gordon Mitchell for another John Mitchell. As John Gordon Mitchell was beginning his university classes in 1916 or 1917, John “Johnnie” Lendrum Mitchell was in his sophomore year (1916) at the same institution.²⁵³ John Lendrum Mitchell Junior (born 20 April 1893) was the younger step-brother of the famous Wisconsin aviator, William “Billy” Lendrum Mitchell, air advisor to General John J. Pershing, later promoted to Brigadier General, and regarded as the father of the United States Air Force. Their father was John Lendrum Mitchell (1842–1904), American soldier, philanthropist, and United States senator for Wisconsin.²⁵⁴ Thus two John Mitchells from Milwaukee studied at the University of Wisconsin at the same time, both died in France, in service, during the Great War, and both had

²⁵⁰ 1900 United States Federal Census, https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/discoveryui-content/view/73832845:7602?_phsrc=bvp247&_phstart=successSource&gsfn=john&gsln=mitchell&ml_rpos=1&queryId=340be9535ac88ca190671f551b471b53

<https://www.familysearch.org/tree/pedigree/landscape/9K8J-6VJ>

²⁵¹ University of Wisconsin Admissions Papers. Undergraduate. 1911-1920, Box 102.

South Division High School Yearbook, *The Cardinal*, 1919, 22. Source: Milwaukee County Historical Society Archive BV, SH. 168.

²⁵² University of Wisconsin Archive: Admissions Papers, Box 202.

²⁵³ *The Badger* Vol. XXX, 1916,

189.<https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/A2DFSHS5W7UVOL9C/pages/AM4Q64FR4GFPOA8C>

²⁵⁴ John L. Mitchell (1842 – 1904) married Bianca Cogswell (1846 – 1882) by whom he fathered Billy Mitchell. Thereafter, he married Harriet Danforth Becker (1852 – 1922) in 1878 by whom he fathered John Lendrum Mitchell (1893 – 1918). <https://newspaperarchive.com/elkhart-weekly-truth-jul-07-1904-p-4/>

the rank of first lieutenant. John Lendrum Mitchell was killed on May 27, 1918, in a fall from his plane according to the *Wisconsin State Journal*.²⁵⁵ John Gordon Mitchell, graduate of the Milwaukee Normal School, died of influenza in 1919.

On Sunday May 29, 1927, the *Milwaukee Journal* reported that on the following Monday, May 30, the names of fifteen Milwaukee veterans who died in the Civil War or Great War would be among those commemorated at the new Memorial Union, University of Wisconsin. The names were inscribed on brass plates and placed in a metal box, into which was also placed a list of all students who served in the wars, and a further list of financial donors who contributed to the construction of the Memorial Union. The box was then sealed in the cornerstone of the new building. Among the names listed were John Gordon Mitchell, and John Lendrum Mitchell. The article concluded that John Gordon Mitchell was the brother of Colonel William A. Mitchell of the United States Air Service.²⁵⁶ Not only did John Gordon not have a brother William, John Lendrum did; but he was William Lendrum Mitchell, not William A. Mitchell.²⁵⁷ The press confusion concerning the two men dates back to the war period itself. On January 18, 1919, the *Janesville Daily Gazette* reported the death from pneumonia of one of the great forwards in the Lakota Cardinals basketball team of that era, Lieutenant John Mitchell who died on October 9. Neither John Gordon, nor John Lendrum died on October 9; but it is highly probable that John Lendrum Mitchell indeed played basketball for the Janesville Lakota

²⁵⁵ *Wisconsin State Journal*, May 15, 1920 p5. <https://newspaperarchive.com/madison-wisconsin-state-journal-may-15-1920-p-5/>

Family Search, Members of American Expeditionary Forces who Entered Service from State of Wisconsin and Died of Disease or Other Causes, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C3MW-K92R-W?cc=2996059&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AQPHW-SRBJ>

²⁵⁶ The *Milwaukee Journal*, Sunday May 29, 1927, 11. Curiously, Mitchell is the only one of our MNS-UW veterans listed. There is no mention of any of the other MNS-UW students, all of whom lived in Milwaukee for substantial periods: Baldwin (West Allis); Anderson, Berger, and McHugh all lived in Milwaukee.

²⁵⁷ There was a Colonel William A. Mitchell who served with the Second Engineers, AEF in the Great War. http://2nd-division.com/_div.units/2nd.engrs/mitchell.william.a.htm

Cardinals.²⁵⁸ There are numerous press cuttings that mention John Gordon's varsity sporting prowess; and yet he does not appear at all in any sporting lists in *The Badger*, the UW yearbooks for this period.²⁵⁹ In contrast, John Lendrum led an active and successful university life, both in the classroom, and on the sports field. A reasonable conclusion to these discrepancies is that the presence of the two John Mitchells resulted in confusion and conflation.²⁶⁰

After a year at UW, Mitchell was drafted, on June 4, 1917. He attended the second Officers' Training Camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois (August 27, 1917–November 27, 1917), the same camp attended by Morgan MacDonald Anderson. No evidence has so far come to light that the two men met or knew each other. Anderson was in the Twelfth Company of the Eleventh Infantry Regiment, Mitchell in the Eleventh Company from which he received his commission.²⁶¹ Mitchell graduated from Fort Sheridan and was commissioned as first lieutenant.²⁶² He was eventually assigned to the Fifty-second Infantry Regiment, part of the Sixth Division. He sailed for France on July 3, 1918.²⁶³ Between August 31 and October 12, the division held the line in the Vosges Mountains, at the eastern end of the Western Front, in partnership with the French Seventh Army. It was a relatively quiet sector, punctured by occasional raids. The American presence freed up more experienced French forces to be deployed to other more active

²⁵⁸ There is (so far) no evidence to suggest that John Lendrum Mitchell lived in Janesville.

On the confusion between the two Mitchells, compare for example the *Janesville Daily Gazette* 18 January, 1919, page 1, <https://newspaperarchive.com/janesville-daily-gazette-jan-18-1919-p-1/> and the *Janesville Daily Gazette*, May 13, 1920, page 5, <https://newspaperarchive.com/janesville-daily-gazette-may-13-1920-p-5/>

Both articles report on the death of popular Lakota basketball player John Mitchell. The 1919 reports his death as pneumonia. The 1920 report, describing John L. Mitchell's mother going to France to visit his grave describes how he died on May 27 1917 (sic, 1918) in a fall from his plane. John Gordon Mitchell died on January 4, 1919.

²⁵⁹ Indeed, John Gordon Mitchell suffers the indignity of being described as "stout" on his draft registration form. <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:33S7-L188-G5P?i=2740&cc=1968530&personUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AK873-PR7>

²⁶⁰ And as if that was not enough, the 1916 edition of *The Badger* lists a John S. Mitchell.

²⁶¹ The Fort Sheridan <https://ia601403.us.archive.org/0/items/historyandachiev00fort/historyandachiev00fort.pdf>, 119.

²⁶² Army form 84-c-8 A.G.O. March 17, 1921. Wisconsin Veterans Museum Archive, Madison, Wisconsin.

²⁶³ The Fort Sheridan, 119.

sectors.²⁶⁴ This turned out to be the Sixth's only front-line experience of the war, but it was not without incident. In one action at Sondernach, east of Gérardmer on October 4, 1918, around sixty soldiers of the Sixth were attacked by 300 German soldiers equipped with machine guns and flamethrowers. Despite being greatly outnumbered and cut off by a barrage, the attack was repulsed, and five prisoners were taken.²⁶⁵ The division was held in reserve for the Meuse-Argonne offensive of September–November 1918.

Mitchell remained with the Sixth for the duration of his service, and it was in France toward the end of 1918 that he contracted pneumonia while on leave in Nice.²⁶⁶ He was rushed to Paris where he died in Red Cross Hospital No. 3 on January 4, 1919. The decade was cruel for the Mitchells. On September 24, 1916, one of Mitchell's brothers, Dr. Ralph Mitchell aged 27 died of causes so far unknown. On Thursday March 14, 1918, another brother, Paul, died of pneumonia at his home in Milwaukee, aged twenty-five.²⁶⁷

Most of Mitchell's immediate family is buried in Forest Home Cemetery, Milwaukee, and all, John excepted, in Wisconsin. Living descendants exist, but attempts to contact them have been unsuccessful. As for John Gordon Mitchell, he is buried in Suresnes American Cemetery, Plot B Row 6 Grave 20.²⁶⁸ As well as the MNS, he is further commemorated at the Memorial Union, University of Wisconsin, and also on a memorial at the South Division High School.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ American Battlefield Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*, 185, 427..

²⁶⁵ *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe*, 423.

²⁶⁶ The Fort Sheridan, 119. That he was on leave in Nice may add to some of the confusion between John and Billy Mitchell, the latter of whom was born in Nice.

²⁶⁷ *La Crosse Tribune and Leader Press*, La Crosse, Wisconsin, March 16, 1918, Page 6,

<https://newspaperarchive.com/war-clipping-mar-16-1918-2202740/>

Racine Journal News, Sep 27, 1916, p. 11, <https://newspaperarchive.com/racine-journal-news-sep-27-1916-p-11/>

²⁶⁸ The American Battle Monuments Commission, <https://www.abmc.gov/decedent-search/mitchell%3Djohn-2>.

²⁶⁹ A photograph of the memorial appears in the 1919 edition of *The Cardinal*, the South Division High School yearbook. The fate of the plaque is unknown. Source: Milwaukee County Historical Society, BV, SH. 167-168.

Interestingly, despite his relatively quiet tour of duty, he nonetheless showed promise as a soldier. As a first lieutenant, he is the highest ranked serviceman among the ten veterans.

Preston Eddy Tupper (12 May, 1892–10 November, 1918)

2nd Lieutenant, United States Air Service



Figure 14-Preston Eddy Tupper. Source: Milwaukee Public Library Digital Image Collections, World War I Military Portraits, WWI_11_00298.jpg.

Preston Eddy Tupper is the sole aviator in this study. He was born on 12 May 1892 in Milwaukee to Royal Silas Tupper (or Silas Royal Tupper, or simply Royal Tupper, 1867–1928), and Annie Russell Eddy Tupper (1871–1895).²⁷⁰ Preston's father was from Vermont and was a dry goods salesman. Preston's mother was from Milwaukee. This much is known, but much of

²⁷⁰ World War I Military Portraits, Milwaukee Public Library, Digital Images Collection, Original Item Id 940.91 A5128, Vol. 9, pg. 306, <https://content.mpl.org/digital/collection/WWI/id/31735>. The situation is made vastly more complicated since two Royal Tuppers – Silas Royal Tupper (or Royal Tupper), 1867 – 1928, and Royal Henry Tupper (1867 – 1920) – were both born in Vermont in 1867. Henry was born on 15 June, Silas on 5 July. Both grew up and married girls named Anna. Henry married Anna B. Vinton on 15 June, 1892, and on 3 July, 1890, Silas married Anna Russell Eddy (1871 – 1895) in Milwaukee. The foregoing information was also compiled from United States federal census records (<https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com>) and the genealogical web site <https://www.familysearch.org>.

the family's history is unclear. Nothing exists in the 1890 United States Federal Census (most of which no longer exists), and the 1900 United States Federal Census does not appear to list Silas or Preston at all.²⁷¹ No information has so far been found concerning Annie's premature death in 1895 when she was only 24 or so years old. Preston re-emerges in 1910, boarding with his maternal grandmother in Milwaukee. Confusingly, she was also called Annie, Annie Marguerite Leopold, born in Germany around 1850 and married to George Thomas Eddy (1839–1900) from New York.²⁷² In her widowhood, four of her five adult children lived with her besides the young Preston. Interestingly, Silas (Royal) Tupper resurfaces in the 1910 United States Federal Census, living in Marion, Indiana, having re-married, this time to Julia, born in 1873 in Pennsylvania, of whom nothing else is known. Silas was still a salesman, and the couple had taken in a couple of lodgers. With no further evidence forthcoming, it would seem that Preston was an only child who lost his mother while an infant and was presumably cared for by his father sometime between 1895 and 1905.²⁷³ Evidence from the census implies that in the same period, Tupper moved to his grandmother's house, joining her and various of his aunts and uncles in Milwaukee.

From here, Tupper enrolled at the Normal School. Once again, evidence is tantalizingly thin. So far, there is nothing to indicate when he enrolled or graduated from the MNS. From the

²⁷¹ Most of the US 1890 United States Federal Census records were destroyed by a fire at the Commerce Department in Washington, DC on 10 January 1921. For further details, consult <https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/search/collections/5445>. The 1900 United States Federal Census lists what *could* be a Preston Tupper, the ward of a Harrison Bryan in West Virginia. But this "Preston Tupper" is listed with a birth year of 1891 in West Virginia of West Virginian and Maryland parentage. Apart from his name, his age is slightly different, and nothing else matches at all. The fact that the West Virginian Preston Tupper is a ward is intriguing in the light of Milwaukee Preston Tupper's bereavement. The West Virginian Preston Tupper does not appear in the 1910 United States Federal Census, the census when our Tupper appears in Milwaukee.

https://www.ancestryheritagequest.com/imageviewer/collections/7602/images/4123464_00341?usePUB=true&_phrc=bvp242&_phstart=successSource&usePUBJs=true&pId=62840616

²⁷² Family Search: <https://www.familysearch.org/tree/pedigree/landscape/L43W-JW6>

²⁷³ The Wisconsin State Census of 1905 lists Tupper living in Milwaukee with his grandmother.

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-DZY9-K3X?i=17&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AMM73-WDQ>

MNS we assume that Tupper went directly to the University of Chicago to study chemistry.²⁷⁴ Evidence suggests that he enrolled in 1916 in the class of 1920.²⁷⁵ In 1917, he was drafted and listed his occupation as student.²⁷⁶ While at Chicago, Tupper was active in university dramatics and also the German club.²⁷⁷

On 5 June, 1917, Tupper was drafted for military service. At the time he was living in Oak Park, IL, and still a student at the university. On 3 December 1917, Tupper enlisted in the Aviation Section of the Signal Officers Reserve Corps, a provision of the National Defense Act of 1916 that would supply officers for the fledgling US air force.²⁷⁸

Direct information on Tupper prior to his death has not so far been uncovered. These problems notwithstanding, it is possible to sketch Tupper's experience. In a real sense, Tupper and his fellow aviators were pioneers. Douglas Galipeau describes the Army Air Service in 1917 as "virtually non-existent" and the Aviation Section of the Signal Corps comprised sixty-five officers, 1,000 enlisted men, and approximately 200 sub-standard training aircraft. By war's end,

²⁷⁴ That he was studying chemistry is listed on Tupper's Draft Registration Card, June 5, 1917. Catalog ILLINOIS Cook County, no. 5, R - Z Cook County, no. 6, A - C, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K6DM-7V3>.

²⁷⁵ *University Record* (New Series), Vol. 5, No. 3, July 1919. This honor roll lists Tupper with a date of 1916. Since he was still a student in 1917, it is reasonable to assume 1916 was his enrolment year.

<https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0445-0005-0003;query=Preston%20tupper#page/54/mode/1up/search/Preston+tupper>

²⁷⁶ *University of Chicago Magazine*, Vol. 11, No. 7, May 1919, 258. This honor roll lists Tupper with a date "ex. '20," strongly implying his graduation year. <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0002-0011-0007;query=Preston%20tupper#page/28/mode/1up/search/Preston+tupper>

²⁷⁷ The *Daily Maroon*, November 2, 1916, page 1. (University of Chicago newspaper).

<https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0004-1916-1102;query=Preston%20tupper#page/1/mode/1up/search/Preston+tupper>

The *Daily Maroon*, December 16, 1916, page 8. <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0004-1916-1216;query=Preston%20tupper#page/8/mode/1up/search/Preston+tupper>

Cap and Gown, Vol. 22, 191, 125. <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0001-0022-0000;query=tupper#page/133/mode/1up/search/tupper>.

²⁷⁸ It is well-known that early military aviation was conducted under the auspices of observation and communication rather than combat.

the Air Service boasted an astounding complement of over 7,700 officers and over 70,000 enlisted men.²⁷⁹

The Aviation Section was able to glean much useful information from the experience of British and French aviation training techniques. These countries had, after all several more years of combat training and experience. The American pattern began with eight to ten weeks of ground school training followed by preliminary flight training of three to four months. There then followed advanced flight training (two to three months), and specialized flight training like gunnery, bombing, or observation. This last phase might last from two to four weeks.²⁸⁰

The program was the brainchild of Major Hiram Bingham, a history professor from Yale University. He liaised with (initially) six American universities to establish his ground schools.²⁸¹ It was in the school in Ohio that Tupper received his initial ground training.²⁸² In September, 1918, Tupper sailed to Europe.²⁸³

The aerodrome at Issoudun, France was the largest in the world. Concerned with the shocking mortality rate of French and British airmen, the French urged the Americans to establish a flying school in France that could make best use of American abundance of aviators with French and British capacity for aircraft production. Issoudun, one hundred miles southeast of Paris was ideally suited both geographically and topographically. Construction of the facility began in May 1917 and by the ensuing frenetic effort, it became operational before the end of July; indeed construction never really ceased. The aerodrome was constantly expanded and

²⁷⁹ Major Douglas A. Galipeau, "Issoudun: the Making of America's First Eagles" (research paper, Air Command and Staff College Maxwell AFB, Montgomery, AL, 1997), 1.

²⁸⁰ Galipeau, 15-16.

²⁸¹ Galipeau, 16.

²⁸² The *Echo*, the MNS yearbook, 1919, 80. UWM Archives.

²⁸³ The *Echo*, the MNS yearbook, 1919, 80. UWM Archives.

improved right up to the Armistice and was known as the Third Aviation Instruction Center (AIC).

Issoudun rapidly developed into a sophisticated training facility. At its peak, it boasted fifteen airfields, each a separate “school” emphasizing particular aviation skills. For example, Field 1 concentrated on developing high-speed taxiing skills. When the student advanced to Field 2, the curriculum focused on handling planes with different engine types (particularly the French preference for rotary versus stationary engines which resulted in very different behaviors of the plane in motion). And so the trainee pilots rotated through each airfield, picking up new skills as they proceeded.

One key difference between British and French training techniques was the presence of an instructor in the plane. A French aviator basically taught himself to fly, sitting alone in the cockpit, and graduating from planes modified to prevent take-off to ever more sophisticated planes that required a higher degree of skill to operate. The British on the other hand emphasized instructor-based training. Their training plane was a two-seater with the instructor in the rear, equipped with a duplicate set of controls (dual control), able to take over in the event of crisis. The British teaching technique was also the preferred American method, and such was the experience of Preston Eddy Tupper on Sunday, November 10, 1918.

Early that morning, one day before the Armistice was to come into effect, Tupper walked out over Airfield No. 2 and climbed into army airplane 1462, an 80 horsepower Nieuport 23M dual control plane.²⁸⁴ Having completed his dual control training, this flight would determine whether he was skilled enough to handle these smaller and faster planes. With him was his

²⁸⁴ Wilbur Welty Papers, Wright University, Dayton, Ohio.

examiner, Lieutenant Clair Wilbur Welty, a twenty-eight year old former superintendent of the Carnegie Steel Company in Youngstown, Ohio. Welty climbed into the rear cockpit and with Tupper in front and at the controls, they took off.

At 7:45 a.m., an incoming plane of the same type, piloted by First Lieutenant Herbert Frederick Duggan was coming in to land; aviation convention dictated that he had the right of way. It seems that all the pilots had obstructed views of the other's plane and Duggan's plane hit Welty's, slicing the tail off and sending Tupper and Welty's plane into an immediate nosedive. The plane plummeted to the ground, and Tupper and Welty were killed on impact.²⁸⁵ Among other injuries, Welty suffered a fractured skull and several compound and simple fractures. Tupper suffered similar injuries: a fracture at the base of the brain, a compound fracture of the left humerus, tibia and fibula as well as severe lacerations. Duggan himself made a crash-landing and survived the war.²⁸⁶

The subsequent board of inquiry assembled at 9:00 a.m. at Issoudun on November 13, 1918 to hear from witnesses and establish the facts of the accident. The inquiry heard that Tupper had only forty minutes of flying time on these double-controlled machines prior to the accident. Welty was a veteran aviator with between 200 and 400 hours of total flying time. The board further heard that Welty did not know how much training Tupper had received, and that Tupper was not a particularly gifted flyer. Eyewitnesses also testified that the accident happened at an altitude of about 100 feet, and that the flyers evidently did not see each other. Interestingly, one witness claimed that both men were breathing immediately after impact. After half an hour's

²⁸⁵ Letter from Major Howard S. Curry to Mrs. A. J. Welty, April 23, 1919, Welty Collection, Wright University, Dayton, Ohio.

²⁸⁶ Herbert Frederick Duggan (1894 – 1976) of Connellsville, Pennsylvania. *Connellsville Daily Courier*, Sep 23, 1976, page 3. <https://newspaperarchive.com/connellsville-daily-courier-sep-23-1976-p-3/>

deliberations, the inquiry concluded that Tupper and Welty died in the line of duty due to an accident in which there was no negligence or reckless behavior.²⁸⁷

And so Preston Eddy Tupper died in a freak accident in the notoriously dangerous business of Great War aviation. He never completed his training and never saw combat. Nonetheless, Tupper and the aviators of his generation were the forerunners of the modern air force, entrusting their lives to these flimsy machines, developing tactics, systems, and organization.

The supreme irony of Tupper's story is of course the timing of his death. A day later, on November 11, 1918, hostilities ceased. Of course flying training would have continued and unlucky accidents would still occur; but Preston Eddy Tupper may have come through the Great War. Welty's mother received a letter dated December 9, 1918 from the aforementioned founder of ground training, now Lieutenant Colonel, Hiram Bingham, commanding officer. In the letter, he expressed his grief and condolences at the death of her son, and provided brief details. Evidently this did not satisfy Mrs. Welty who wanted to know more. It seems that she wrote back, asking for a fuller account. A second letter from Major Howard S. Curry, dated 23 April 1919 contains much more information including naming Tupper as the student (see Figure 15). Curry also listed Tupper's next-of-kin as his uncle, Claude Tupper in Oak Park, IL, although it seems that Tupper's grandmother in Milwaukee processed the administration relating to her grandson's death.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁷ Inquiry details from a scan of the Official Accident Investigation Report from Mike Stowe, AccidentReport.com. <http://www.accident-report.com/world/europe/france/fr17.html>. United States Air Force Aircraft Accident and Incident Reports 1918-1939, microfilm reel 46043, file folder: Clair W Welty.

²⁸⁸ Letter from Major Howard S. Curry to Mrs. A. J. (Mary) Welty, April 23, 1919. Clair Wilbur Welty papers, Wright University, Dayton, Ohio.

The story of Preston Eddy Tupper is fragmentary. Even in his short life, he disappears from history entirely for more than a decade. We do know, however, that Tupper possessed clear academic abilities both in the arts and the sciences. He also exhibited the courage and physical stamina to pursue his military service as one of the early aviators in a very high risk occupation. And his life is book-ended by tragedy. His mother died while he was an infant, and he himself perished in freak circumstances mere hours before the end of the Great War.

Tupper was an only child and unmarried. His side of the family died with him, and so it seems his memory.²⁸⁹ His name is listed among the gold star students and alumni on a tablet in the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Chapel, presented by the class of 1918.²⁹⁰ One hundred miles north, the much humbler memorial in Mitchell Hall bears witness to the same gifted and brave chemist-turned-aviator.

²⁸⁹ Some of Tupper's living relatives were tracked down; however, they did not respond to requests for contact.

²⁹⁰ <https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId=mvol-0002-0031-0003;query=Preston%20Eddy%20Tupper#page/6/mode/1up/search/Preston+Eddy+Tupper>

HEADQUARTERS
THIRD AVIATION INSTRUCTION CENTER
A.P.O. 724, AMER. E. F.

April 23rd, 1919.

Mrs. A. J. Welty,
Apple Creek,
Ohio, U.S.A.

My dear Mrs. Welty:-

Your letter of February 22nd, has been received. Same was delayed considerably in the mails due to the fact that it was forwarded to Lieut. Colonel Hiram Bingham, who had returned to the United States and has now been referred to these Headquarters for answer, inasmuch as all records are kept here.

Lieutenant Welty was on duty at this Center as a Tester and as such, it was his duty to take students, who had finished their dual control flights, up on a trip and determine whether or not such students were capable of flying the smaller and faster type of airplanes. On the day of the fatal flight, he was testing 2nd Lieutenant P. E. Tupper, A.S., and had just taken off the ground when another machine which was coming down to make a landing crashed into Lieut. Welty's machine and cut the tail of Lieut. Welty's plane off, which then fell into a slow vrille, or nose dive, and crashed to the earth. At the time of the accident 2nd Lieut. P.E. Tupper no doubt was piloting the machine as it is the duty of the tester to give the student instructions as to manner of flying and if the student should get into a difficult position to help him out of same.

The nature of Lieut. Welty's injuries were as follows:

Fracture, skull, thru right orbit,
Fracture, Numerus, upper third, compound, left,
Fracture, 4, 5, 6, ribs left, simple,
Fracture, Compound, right knee cap.
Fracture, Simple, Tibia and fibula, right.

The student who was killed in the same accident with your son was 2nd Lieut. Preston E. Tupper, AS. His emergency address is:

Mr. Claude Tupper, (Uncle)
531 North Elmwood Ave.,
Oak Park, Illinois.

The airplane in which Lieutenants Welty and Tupper met their death was a 23 meter, 80 H.P. Nieuport airplane, American Army No. 1462. As far as it can be determined at this time, Lieut. Welty was generally in good spirits. Issoudun is located about 120 miles south of Paris, in Dept. of INDRE. Trusting that I have answered your inquiries satisfactorily, I am,

Respectfully yours,

HOWARD S. CURRY:

Major H. S. Curry

Figure 15 - Letter dated April 23, 1919 from Howard Curry to Mrs. Welty on Welty-Tupper Accident. Tupper is identified in the letter. Source: Welty papers, Wright University, Dayton OH.

Chapter 6

Summary of Research Findings

We conclude our study of the Mitchell Hall Tablet with a brief consideration of the evidence obtained both concerning the tablet itself, and the ten lives to which it bears witness. Having studied the ten men in isolation, what differences and commonalities arise when we compare their stories alongside each other? What are the conjunctions and disjunctions between these ten lives? What questions have arisen, what answers have we found, and which questions remain? Where are the gaps in history that need filling?

We began our study with one artefact, the tablet itself: unprepossessing, not particularly inspiring, tucked away, irrelevant, and ignored in the bustle of modern university life. In many senses, the tablet remains the biggest conundrum. This investigation closes with the tablet's provenance unresolved. There is the strong suggestion that the initiative for this memorial originated in the early 1920s from MNS students who donated money. Alumni Harold Sanville seems to have been prominent in the project to commission the Gorham Company to cast the memorial. Yet there are but skeletal details of these events, and nothing to suggest when and where it was unveiled, and by whom. This silence is even more peculiar when one considers the fanfare and ceremony that accompanied similar events in the post-war period. Press reports abound of other Great War memorials unveiled in front of large gatherings and accompanied by solemn speeches and acts of collective remembrance. But of the Mitchell Hall Tablet, there is silence.

Nevertheless this artefact of remembrance has not failed. Its simple message listing ten men who died in the Great War has provided the keys to unlock and synthesize the lives of the

ten and provide sketches of early twentieth century life in the era of the Great War. Halbwachs may well be correct in describing such as “dead memory,” but for history, this is increased knowledge.

During the opening years of the second decade of the twentieth century, ten young men enrolled in diverse courses of study at the Milwaukee Normal School to prepare for their working lives.²⁹¹ All were born in Wisconsin. They came from a variety of backgrounds. Six had at least one parent from Wisconsin. Four had entirely Wisconsin parentage. Berger and Israel’s parents were German immigrants. Many of them came from large families but Drews and Tupper had no siblings. Table 3 lists the ten and the birthplace of each parent.

| Veteran | Born | Father | Mother |
|----------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| Anderson | 1891 | Scotland | Wisconsin |
| Baldwin | 1896 | Wisconsin | Wisconsin |
| Berger | 1891 | Germany | Germany |
| Drews | 1894 | Wisconsin | Wisconsin |
| Israel | 1893 | Germany | Germany |
| Kleinhesselink | 1886 | Germany | Holland |
| Malone | 1893 | Wisconsin | Wisconsin |
| McHugh | 1896 | Ireland | New York |
| Mitchell | 1895 | Wisconsin | Wisconsin |
| Tupper | 1892 | Vermont | Wisconsin |

Table 3 – Parental Birthplaces of the Veterans. Source: Census data.

Unsurprisingly, given the objective of normal education to train teachers, teaching was the most popular career of the ten students. Drews and Berger went into teaching on graduation. Kleinhesselink, born in 1886 and the eldest of the ten, seems to have secured several years of teaching experience in Montana before returning to his roots in Manitowoc. He continued teaching there, and then enrolled in the Normal School.

²⁹¹ Henry Kleinhesselink was born in 1886 and had been teaching for many years before enrolling at the MNS circa 1917 when he was 31. He is the oldest of the ten, but that still counts as young!

As we have noted, normal schools were officially for teacher training (see Chapter 3 Normal Education) but offered an increasingly diverse catalogue of courses. We see this trend reflected in the subject areas the ten students chose, or were in the process of choosing. But from the veterans' studies we also see the diversification that was taking place in normal education. Berger studied German at the Normal School. The University of Wisconsin acknowledged normal school credits, and five of the ten men later attended the University. There they pursued a variety of studies. Anderson and Mitchell studied Law; Baldwin enrolled in the School of Agriculture. Table 2 (page 29) lists the five MNS students who went on to UW for further study.

An obvious question is: did any of the ten know each other? We see from Table 2 that they all attended the Normal School at different times but with some overlap. The best answer so far is "perhaps." There is a montage from the MNS yearbook 1917 celebrating the MNS becoming southern basketball champions in 1916. Charles Baldwin and Kenneth McHugh are pictured. Five of the ten progressed from the MNS to the University of Wisconsin (Madison). Kenneth McHugh's elder brother Glenn played a marine in a UW production of *HMS Pinafore* alongside another marine played by Morgan Anderson. But as far as the Normal School is concerned, the evidence is thin. Anderson, Berger, and Israel all attended West Division High School (WDHS) but there are no indications that they knew of each other.²⁹² As for the others, they all attended separate high schools. Preston Tupper's history in this period remains a mystery. Given where he was living (Cambridge Avenue), perhaps he attended East Division (now Riverside University) High School. Enquiries have yielded nothing.

²⁹² Establishing the years these three attended West Division High School is an inexact science. According to the UW record, Berger (born in 1891), graduated WDHS in 1910. Given that Anderson was also born in 1891, it is reasonable to assume that Anderson also graduated in 1910. By extrapolation, Israel, born in 1893, graduated WDHS in 1912. Anderson and Israel's graduation dates are hypothetical, based on the firmer Berger graduation date as documented in UW admissions records.

From the Normal School, five of them proceeded to the University of Wisconsin in Madison (see Table 3). Again, they were at the University at different times, but with overlap. But again, no clear evidence emerges from UW that any of the five knew each other. Of the five who did not attend UW, Jacob Drews went into teaching in the Manitowoc area; Alfred Israel pursued a career in journalism; Mark Malone became a shoe salesman; Henry Kleinhesselink took up teaching in North Dakota and Montana and would not enroll in the Normal School until years after the others had graduated. Preston Tupper gained a place at the University of Chicago to study chemistry.

| Student | Born | Enrolled UW | Class Of | Area of Study |
|----------|------|-------------|----------|-----------------------|
| Berger | 1891 | 1915 | 1917 | Letters & Science |
| Anderson | 1891 | 1916 | 1918 | Law |
| Baldwin | 1896 | 1917 | 1919 | School of Agriculture |
| McHugh | 1896 | 1916 | 1920 | ? |
| Mitchell | 1895 | 1916 | 1920 | Law |

Table 4 - Five Veterans at the University of Wisconsin. McHugh's area of study is unknown.

In war, Israel, Malone, and McHugh all served in the Thirty-second Division. Israel and McHugh were artillerymen (in different regiments), and Malone was part of the ammunition train supplying divisional artillery with shells. Israel and McHugh travelled on the same *Leviathan* trans-Atlantic crossing to Europe.

Berger and Drews were both in the Eighty-fifth Division, but Drews died before ever leaving Camp Custer while Berger's regiment was siphoned off from the rest of the division to fight the Russian campaign. In short, no clear evidence exists that any of them knew each other.

Table 5 lists the wartime deployment of the group:

| Veteran | Service | Rank | Unit | Division |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------------|---|------------------|
| Anderson | Army | 2 nd Lt | 26 th Infantry Regiment | 1 st |
| Berger | Army | 2 nd Lt | 339 th Infantry Regiment | 85 th |
| Drews | Army | Private | 340 th Infantry Regiment | 85 th |
| Israel | Army | Corporal | 121 st Field Artillery | 32 nd |
| McHugh | Army | Corporal | 120 th Field Artillery | 32 nd |
| Malone | Army | Corporal | 107 th Ammunition Train | 32 nd |
| Mitchell | Army | 1 st Lt. | 52 nd Infantry Regiment | 6 th |
| Kleinhesselink | Army | Private | 337 th Battalion, Tank Corps | - |
| Baldwin | Navy | Seaman 3 rd Class | US Naval Reserve Force | - |
| Tupper | Air Service | 2 nd Lt | Army Air Service | - |

Table 5 - The Milwaukee Normal School: Veterans at War: Rank and Unit Information

Two further points of interest arise when we consider the roles of Tupper and Kleinhesselink. Tupper never saw action, and Kleinhesselink did not survive his training camp in the USA. But these two men are undoubtedly pioneers in military technology that came of age during the war. It was during World War One that airplanes developed from providing a reconnaissance function for the army, to being an organized, separate combat force in their own right. This progression took place during wartime when not only the technology of flying was under development, but also the procedural, administrative, and training systems too. Flyers not only needed the technical skills to fly the plane, but in the air they needed simultaneously the observational skills, positional awareness, and marksmanship to prosecute the air war. Lapses in any of these areas could be fatal, and often times were, resulting in the notoriously high mortality rates for Great War airmen.

Similarly the invention and deployment of the tank was instrumental in breaking the bloody stalemate of the Western Front. Tanks were first used in combat at Flers in 1916, part of the British campaign on the Somme. From uncertain and haphazard beginnings, planners recognized the importance of tanks, and the scale of the American investment in this technology is clear from the huge camp at Camp Colt, Gettysburg. Henry Kleinhesselink was part of this

battlefield revolution that, for all the possibilities it brought, was dangerous, uncomfortable, and deafening for the crews (even outside the presence of the enemy), in which it was stiflingly hot and unhealthy to breathe.

Thus, to a very real extent, the ten men united in death on the Mitchell Hall Tablet have very little in common with each other. There are several tantalizing overlaps in their lives, the Normal School being an obvious occasion; also for some, a common high school experience. Three of them served in the same division in the Great War. But from the evidence, the only links that unite the ten are their attendance at the MNS, their service and sacrifice in the Great War, and their subsequent commemoration on the Mitchell Hall Tablet.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Future Work

This study was conducted during the great COVID-19 global pandemic of 2020–2021. As a result, certain crucial avenues of enquiry were inaccessible. Key resources like the Gorham Archive which may have yielded information on the tablet itself were not open. Several key historical societies were shut down in this period and did not respond to emails and other attempts to contact. After initial success with Carl Berger’s living descendants, all other attempts to contact living descendants of the other veterans failed. This partly explains the uneven treatment of the biographies of the ten veterans. Some are rich in detail, and others are sparse indeed. Other reasons include of course the simple availability (or non-availability) of the historic evidence for a particular individual. Where one of the ten came from a more “public facing” family, historical evidence correspondingly increased. Charles Baldwin is the obvious example. His father was a high profile West Allis merchant and politician. Additionally, Mark Malone came from a family of doctors. The McHughs were active in their Baraboo community. The public profile of a family increases their archival “footprint.”

And despite the restrictions and privations necessitated by the COVID-19 pandemic, the research has been a success. The study has yielded much information on each of the ten veterans and the tablet itself. It provides a sound foundation from which to launch further studies into the ten veterans and the world in which they lived.

What may we conclude from the foregoing discussion? There are three main points: firstly, the existence of the memorial itself is indicative of a culture of remembrance and commemoration as advanced by the scholarship of e.g. Steven Trout. The Mitchell Hall Tablet

taken together with the other Great War memorials in Wisconsin's normal schools, each initiated independently of the others, demonstrates the significance of the Great War in American memory, at least in this part of the world. At that time, the sacrifices of the men and women, fellow students, and alumni was no trivial thing or some minor footnote to the great American historical narrative. It mattered.

A second conclusion concerns the "psyche" of the veterans as they were called to service. Were they forced to serve against their will or conscience, or were they willing volunteers desirous to do their duty? Berger, Israel, and Kleinhesselink had German parentage. How did those relationships inform their decision to go to war? In the case of Berger and Israel, they joined the army as volunteers. The answers are ambiguous. Several veterans like Anderson (ORC), Berger (ROTC), Israel (National Guard), and McHugh (National Guard) had already enlisted in military units before they were officially drafted, clearly indicative of a desire to serve. From his letters, we may add the youthful enthusiasm of Charles Walker Baldwin, impatient to register for service but lacking the relevant experience due mainly to his age. On the other end, Henry Kleinhesselink, the oldest of our veterans, from the evidence and understandably, betrays no military acumen or desire, but who nonetheless answered the call to service. Of the three who were killed in action (Anderson, Berger, and McHugh), all enlisted for military training *before* the draft. Of the fourth volunteer (Israel), he died of influenza in France before he saw action.

A third conclusion to this study is the manner of death of the ten veterans. Influenza and its related diseases killed half of the MNS Great War Alumni recorded on the plaque. This ratio almost exactly matches national statistics for the period. Applying as we must, a healthy dose of skepticism for generalized statistics, it is reasonable to assume that American combat deaths in

the Great War totaled 50,280, accounting for approximately forty-three percent of American military deaths in the war (estimated at 116,000). Fifty percent (approximately 58,000 service personnel) of American military deaths in the Great War were due to disease, the overwhelming majority victim to the influenza pandemic. The remaining seven percent (7,920) died due to accidents and other causes.²⁹³

Despite the staggering number of deaths caused by disease, Carol Byerly exposes how this killer has been excised from American Great War memory, both at the time, and in subsequent accounts of American Great War historiography. She singles out one historian's claim that "in World War I the American Expeditionary Forces suffered no major epidemic problems."²⁹⁴ To the contrary, she argues that the Great War created the epidemic, and the two events are inextricably linked.²⁹⁵ The war provided perfect conditions for the virus. From the American perspective, the huge American army camps on both sides of the Atlantic and the dense concentration of soldiers on troopships for many days enabled the virus to spread rapidly. Of our five veterans who died of influenza and its related conditions (Drews, Israel, Kleinhesselink, Malone, and Mitchell), Drews and Kleinhesselink died in American army camps in the USA. Malone and Israel became sick at sea, and Mitchell contracted the virus while on leave in Nice.²⁹⁶

Looking to the future, there is plenty more work to be done. This paper has answered many questions, but raised many more, both at the biographical level (who *were* these men?),

²⁹³ Carol R. Byerly, *Fever of War: The Influenza Epidemic in the U.S. Army during World War I* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 186.

Crosby calculates a total of 675,000 American military and civilian deaths from influenza and pneumonia between September 1918 and June 1919. Alfred W. Crosby, *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 206.

²⁹⁴ Byerly, 188.

²⁹⁵ Byerly, 6.

²⁹⁶ Byerly estimates that influenza hospitalized between twenty-five and forty percent of men in US training camps. Almost thirty thousand died in the USA before even leaving for France (Byerly, 8).

and the theoretical level (what it means). For some of the men, the record is generally very sparse. For others there are pleasing levels of detail side-by-side with large gaps in the chronology. Tracking down living family descendants may yet reveal more. In any case, finding living family would provide interesting data on the transmission of Great War memory to the twenty-first century. There are still some basic research steps, visiting archives closed during this study due to the coronavirus pandemic.

And then there is still much more to discover about the Mitchell Hall Tablet itself. Many questions still remain concerning its production and unveiling. There are the tantalizing clues that suggest it was part of a wider commemoration including two former MNS teachers.

Most of all, it would be very fitting for the tablet to be brought out of its obscurity, to receive a good clean and polish and to be re-sited and rededicated in a more prominent place. This would enhance the history of both Mitchell Hall and the Milwaukee Normal School. Its more visible location will generate interest and perhaps even stimulate further research into its history, and especially the histories and legacies of the ten who served. Perhaps this thesis might just be the first step.

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