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Utah and World War I



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THE COVER Clockwise from upper left, front: *Utah’s World War I governor, Simon Bamberger, a German immigrant; ambulance driver Maud Fitch of Eureka, Utah; veterans marching in Ogden in 1919; back: patriotic parade sponsored by Greeks in Bingham, Utah, May 1918; Maj. Curtis Y. Clawson, 145th Field Artillery; German POWs at Fort Douglas, August 27, 1917; Liberty Bonds poster; Armistice Day on Main Street in Salt Lake City. Photographs from USHS collections and courtesy of Paul Hilsdale and Mrs. Ernest Bernardis.*

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Group of returning World War I veterans in Bingham, Utah, representing several ethnic origins. USHS collections.

In this issue

Six years after the end of World War I the Utah State Council of Defense sponsored publication of Noble Warrum's *Utah in the World War*, a compilation that while useful offers little analysis. A few other titles on Utah during the war can be found in library catalogs, but a fresh look at the period is overdue.

This issue opens with a detailed study of the mobilization of the Utah National Guard. Toughened by duty on the Mexican border, the UNG recruited new men and saw its units retooled and intensively trained to meet Pershing's requirements before embarking for Europe. The following piece looks at the Utah women who experienced the war firsthand as army and navy nurses, ambulance drivers, canteen workers, and employees of the military.

The good guys/bad guys mindset that war perpetuates has potent effects on human behavior. As the third article illustrates, the war put many of Utah's foreign-born in an ambiguous situation. Pulled by old-country ties and ancient feuds, many nevertheless served with honor under the American flag. Black Americans, eager to join the army for the most part, were treated shabbily and often given menial assignments. Both groups of veterans returned to an America so deeply divided on issues of race and ethnicity that a resurgent Ku Klux Klan was about to be born.

The final two articles focus on the wartime experiences of those of German ancestry. The first examines the large German American community in Utah and its deep anguish over the war. When the U.S. joined the Allies most German-born Utahns gave unyielding loyalty to their adopted country, but they too suffered in the postwar era as defeat took its toll on friends and relatives in the homeland. The other article is a case study of one German's incarceration at Fort Douglas on unsubstantiated allegations that he was a spy, a scenario all too common in time of war.



Men of the 145th Field Artillery Regiment on a training exercise from Camp Kearney to Poway Valley, California. Photograph courtesy of author.

The Utah National Guard in the Great War, 1917-18

BY RICHARD C. ROBERTS

THEIR DUTY ON THE MEXICAN BORDER ENDED, the 2d Squadron of Utah Cavalry returned home and was mustered out on March 8, 1917. With the United States slowly becoming more involved in the Great War in Europe, however, the Utah National Guard anticipated a new call to

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active duty. The Guard's border experience appeared in retrospect to have been a preparatory and hardening period for the catastrophic fighting of World War I.¹

Although Congress did not declare war until April 6, 1917, preparations for war moved steadily forward. At the suggestion of the federal government, Gov. Simon Bamberger issued a proclamation on March 24 calling for volunteers to enlist in the National Guard and thereby "discharge one of the obligations of citizenship." Recruiters hoped to enlist 500 to 700 men in the Guard immediately to expand existing cavalry and artillery units to war strength and provide one more squadron of cavalry, a machine gun platoon, and a headquarters company—making a regiment of cavalry for Utah. In addition, a field hospital and sanitary troops were part of Utah's quota.²

Recruiting offices were opened in Salt Lake City on Main Street, at the Pierpont Street Armory, and at the State Capitol; and the armories in Logan, Ogden, Provo, Mount Pleasant, Ephraim, and Manti served as enlistment stations. All postmasters, local officials, and religious leaders were asked to encourage enlistments in their areas.

Recruiting went slowly for a period, apparently because many men thought the Guard would get border patrol duty or be designated as unmounted cavalry. Potential enlistees hoped instead to get into regular front-line fighting. Rumors that the Utah Cavalry would be converted into artillery units gave some men a wait-and-see attitude.³

Renewed campaigning for recruits increased the ranks. The recruiting committee of the State Council of Defense, headed by Carl A. Badger, staged review parades in which the UNG, officials, and patriotic groups marched. A parade on May 5 included Governor Bamberger. Before a crowd of 5,000 in front of the Tribune building on Main Street, Maj. B. H. Roberts, chaplain of the UNG, appealed to citizens to enlist. On Memorial Day the Guard, state officials, troops from Fort Douglas, recruits, and Elks Club members marched down crowd-lined Main Street. In the days immediately following the Memorial Day parade Rev. P. A. Simpkins; J. A. Reeves, chairman of the Training Camp Association of Utah; N. D. Corser, commander of the GAR; and B. H.

¹See Richard C. Roberts, "The Utah National Guard on the Mexican Border in 1916," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (1978): 262-81; Clarence C. Clendenen, *Blood on the Border: The United States Army and the Mexican Irregulars* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 297, 298; Jim Dan Hill, *The Minute Man in Peace and War: A History of the National Guard* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Publishing Co., 1964), pp. 261-63.

²*Salt Lake Tribune*, March 25, 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 25, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, March 26, 1917.

³*Deseret News*, March 29, May 23, 29, 1917.

Roberts and other officers of the Guard carried out a heavy speaking campaign throughout the state. Later, the artillery battery staged gunnery and maneuvering demonstrations at Liberty Park and West High School to draw crowds and encourage enlistments. These efforts produced results, and it was not necessary to resort to a draft as provided under Utah conscription law.⁴

On June 6, 1917, the state received orders from the War Department to reorganize the Utah forces into a regiment of light artillery. In compliance, the 1st Utah Field Artillery was organized. The new regiment consisted of six batteries with four 3-inch artillery pieces each, one headquarters company, one supply company, and a regimental headquarters.

Most of the personnel in the cavalry units converted over to the artillery and made up the major portion of the new regiment, but it was still necessary to recruit men in the areas of the home stations because the artillery batteries were larger than the cavalry units. The question of who would command the regiment was resolved when Governor Bamberger called Col. Richard W. Young, former commander of the Utah batteries during the Spanish-American War, to the post.⁵

⁴*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 17, May 31, June 2, 22, 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 6, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, May 6, June 2, 3, 25, 1917; *Deseret News*, May 4, 7, June 4, 22, 1917.

⁵An artillery battery required 190 enlisted men and officers; the cavalry unit had been smaller with 105 enlisted men and 3 officers. The Headquarters Company of artillery was made up of 92 men, and the Supply Company had 35 men. Including vacancies in the Sanitary and Field Hospital units, over 500 new recruits were needed to bring the Guard to war strength. Most of the artillery troops came from the cavalry, however, as cavalrymen were simply transferred as units to the artillery. Thus, Troop H, Logan, and Troop L, Brigham City, were consolidated into Battery A, Field Artillery. (This was shortly changed to Battery C, and Battery A went to Salt Lake City.) Troops B and K of Ogden were combined and became Battery B. One-half of the Artillery Battery in existence at the time was put with Troop A and became Battery C (later Battery A). The other part of the Artillery Battery was organized with Troop C and was known as Battery D. Troops F at Provo, E at Mount Pleasant, G at Ephraim, and D at Manti were made into Battery F. The Machine Gun Troop of the cavalry was divided equally between Batteries C and D. The stations and commanders of the regiments were: Headquarters 1st Utah Field Artillery Regiment, Salt Lake City; the Headquarters A Company stationed at Salt Lake City with Capt. Fred Jorgensen commanding; the Supply Company had its home station in Salt Lake City under Capt. Fred Kammerman. The 1st Battalion Headquarters was in Salt Lake City, Maj. E. LeRoy Bourne in command. Under the 1st Battalion were Battery A, Salt Lake City; Battery B, Ogden; and Battery C, Logan. Leaders of these units were Capt. Curtis Y. Clawson, Capt. J. Ray Ward, and Capt. Edwin G. Woolley, Jr., respectively. The 2d Battalion Headquarters was also in Salt Lake City, led by Maj. William E. Kneass. Battery D, Salt Lake City, under Capt. Elmer Johnson; Battery E, Salt Lake City under Capt. Alex R. Thomas; and Battery F, Provo, led by Capt. Charles R. Mabey made up the units of the 2d Battalion. Most of the men of these batteries were recruited out of the areas of the home stations. See State of Utah, *Biennial Report of the Adjutant General for the Years 1917 and 1918* (Salt Lake City, 1919), pp. 4, 5. The listing of Troop M of Logan is a mistake in the report; it should be Troop H.

See also *Deseret News*, June 7, 15, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, June 7, 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram*, June 7, 1917; *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 7, 1917.

The roster of the officers and men of the Utah Field Artillery as mustered into federal service on August 5, 1917, is found in Appendix IV of Roberts, "History of the Utah National Guard." See also E. W. Crocker, ed., *History of the 145th Field Artillery Regiment of World War I* (Provo, UT: J. Grant Stevenson, Publisher, 1968), pp. 14-37.

With the change from cavalry to artillery the Guard needed capable officers and NCOs to lead in the use of artillery weapons. Adj. Gen. W. G. Williams ordered all commissioned officers of the regiment and all NCOs of the former 1st Artillery Battery to assemble at the campsite west of the Jordan Narrows (present Camp Williams) for "intensive training in every duty that may be expected in an artillery regiment on active service against an enemy." In addition, all cooks, buglers, signal men, scouts, range finders, telephone and telegraph operators, horseshoers, and other enlisted specialties were ordered to attend.

During July 6-30 some 350 to 400 men encamped under Maj. E. LeRoy Bourne. Capt. William C. Webb, a veteran of the Spanish-American War and the Mexican border duty, served as senior instructor.⁶ He planned and implemented a comprehensive training program that included instruction in all aspects of artillery use from construction and concealment of gun pits to firing as well as a range of subjects related to life on the battlefield.

Lt. Thomas Dewitt and his crew helped prepare the campsite by tapping a spring two miles up Beef Hollow, piping water to each company street in the camp, and setting up water storage tanks. Grass and brush were removed from the company streets, tents were set up, screened kitchens were erected, long rows of white mess tables were constructed, and picket lines for 250 horses were built. The camp, even then, had some of the characteristics for which it has become famous, or infamous, over the years: rainstorms, windstorms, June grass fires, heat, dust, and mud.⁷

About 200 troops arrived by railroad from the northern and southern areas, and some 100 men from Salt Lake City brought four 3-inch guns, caissons, and a battery wagon pulled by horses along Redwood Road the twenty-one miles to camp.

⁶Two days before the camp assembled Webb was promoted to lieutenant colonel and second in command of the regiment in recognition of his long and capable service in the National Guard.

⁷*Salt Lake Telegram*, July 6, 1917; *Deseret News*, July 6, 10, 14, 19, 1917; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 8, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, July 19, 1917.

As the camp got under way things became serious as five men soon found out. Two sergeants of Battery F were charged with being AWOL for overstaying a furlough at home, and three men were arrested and confined at the camp. A summary court-martial eliminated the three men from the National Guard and sent them home without pay. The two sergeants were sentenced to twenty days in the Salt Lake County jail which after a few days was changed to a reduction in rank to private and confinement at the camp. After the first weekend leave five more men turned up missing, and it appeared to be more serious when three of them extended their stays to almost ten days which would make them deserters instead of AWOL. Two of the men had gone to the Presidio of San Francisco to an Officers Training Course, which had been forgotten about, and the other three returned to camp and were court-martialed. See *Deseret News*, July 6, 10, 1917; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 6, 11, 12, 17, 22, 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 23, 1917.

After three weeks of strenuous training the men were tested for proficiency in the subjects studied. Following an inspection of the camp and a parade through Lehi on July 24, Col. John C. Waterman, 16th Army Division inspector-instructor assigned to Utah and Idaho, remarked that "these men have improved wonderfully during the encampment and their officers have every reason to be pleased with their showing. From these the Utah artillery has an excellent nucleus from which to build an efficient artillery regiment." On "Governor's Day," July 26, Bamberger made a final inspection of the men and witnessed their ability to maneuver the artillery wagons and horses.

During the final days of the camp the men were paid, and Adjutant General Williams issued mobilization orders stating that "under the proclamation of the president, the National Guard of Utah is drafted into federal service" and directing the men "to report to the armories of their units at 10:00 a.m. Sunday, August 5, 1917, to await orders from the department commander regarding their movement to a training site, presumably Camp Kearney at Linda Vista, California."⁸

On August 5 all units appeared at their armories with 100 percent attendance. The muster roll call was made as outlined by the National Defense Act of 1916, and the UNG members became regular army members in compliance with President Woodrow Wilson's proclamation, issued a few weeks earlier.⁹

Training continued at the local armories until August 14 when the men moved to the southwest section of Fort Douglas where they began a mobilization encampment expected to last two or three weeks—before moving to the California training camp, but, as is typical with the army, the wait became longer. Meanwhile the soldiers engaged in physical conditioning and artillery training in conjunction with the 42d, 20th, and 43d Infantry regiments stationed at Fort Douglas. During this time the final appointment and approval of officers were made and the regimental colors and guidons were presented by former Sen. Thomas Kearns and the Cleofan Society.¹⁰

⁸*Salt Lake Tribune*, July 25, 27, 31, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, July 26, 30, 31, 1917; *Deseret News*, July 26, 30, 31, 1917. While awaiting orders Colonel Young nominated officers and NCOs for the regiment, and they were approved by Governor Bamberger. There was some shifting of assignments, at this time, the most significant of which was the resignation of Capt. Fred Jorgensen as commander of the Quartermaster Corps because of defective vision. Jorgensen later served as adjutant general of Utah when Adj. Gen. W. G. Williams went into active service. Jorgensen filled this post until Williams's return in 1920.

⁹State of Utah, *Biennial Report*, pp. 4-5.

¹⁰*Salt Lake Tribune*, August 13, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, August 14, 1917; *Deseret News*, August 14, September 4, 7, 1917.



*Richard W. Young,
commander of the 145th
Field Artillery.
Photograph taken
during his Spanish-
American War service.
Courtesy of the author.*

On October 10, the day of departure for California, the Utah Regiment broke camp and marched on foot through Fort Douglas "amid cheers of 500 infantrymen of the regular army who turned out and lined the roads through the reservation in honor of the departing regiment." That evening the soldiers were guests of the local Red Cross chapter at the City and County Building where a farewell supper was served. The men visited with relatives and friends until 9:00 p.m. when the regiment was reassembled and marched to the train depot. On Main Street the men began to sing "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp, the Boys are Marching," cheers burst from the crowd of onlookers, and "cheering was taken up all along the line as the soldiers advanced, and it echoed and re-echoed from the buildings and cheer after cheer greeted the appearance of each successive battery organization as it moved along the line. Flags were in evidence here and there and they were waved fondly at the boys in Khaki." The *Salt Lake Tribune* noted that with "all the buoyancy of youth in their step, all the resolute determination of men ready to do or die, Utah's artillerymen went forth with smiles on their faces to do their duty for liberty, justice and humanity." At the depot

relatives, friends, and well-wishers thronged to bid the soldiers good-bye.¹¹

On October 13 the Utahns reached Camp Kearney, fourteen miles northeast of San Diego, the training camp of the 40th Division which was made up of National Guard troops from California, Nevada, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah. The 40th Division became known as the Sunshine Division because of its insignia—a gold sunburst on a blue background worn on the upper sleeve of the uniform. It symbolized the sunny weather in the states from which the members originated. During World War I the men usually referred to themselves as “Sunshine Sammies.” Maj. Gen. George H. Cameron of California commanded the Division until December 1917 when Maj. Gen. Frederick S. Strong, a regular army officer, took over for the rest of the war.¹²

The camp was scheduled to receive and train more than 30,000 men of the division for overseas duty. Divisions were organized at this time to have three infantry brigades, one artillery brigade, and other supporting troops such as engineers, cavalry, and air squadrons, but Gen. John J. Pershing had prevailed with the “square division”—two infantry brigades and one artillery brigade. Thus the 40th Division consisted of the 79th and 80th Infantry brigades and the 65th Artillery Brigade. The 79th Infantry Brigade was made up of the 144th Machine Gun Battalion and the 157th and 158th Infantry regiments. In the 80th Infantry Brigade were the 145th Machine Gun Battalion and the 159th and 160th Infantry regiments. By the time the Utah Artillery Regiment reached Camp Kearney it had been designated as the 145th Field Artillery Regiment of the 64th Artillery Brigade. The other regiments of this brigade were the 143d and 144th Artillery regiments made up for the most part of the California National Guard but with about one-third of the 143d from Utah. Also included in the brigade were the 115th Trench Mortar Battery and the 115th Ammunitions Trains. Other units in the division included the 115th Engineers which had about 25 Utah men, the 115th Signal Battalion, and the 40th Division Aero Squadron. The Utah Field Hospital, which trained at Camp Kearney, became the 159th Field Hospital of the division and later went into battle on the

¹¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 11, 1917. See also *Deseret News*, October 11, 1917. In honor of the sacrifices these men were making Lucy A. R. Clark and Evan Stephens had written “The New Freedom Song” and dedicated it to Colonel Young.

¹²*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 7, 1918; *Historical and Pictorial Review: 40th Infantry Division, U. S. Army, San Luis Obispo, California, 1941* (Baton Rouge, LA.: Army and Navy Publishing Co., 1941), pp. 13-16; *Salt Lake Telegram*, December 6, 1917; *Deseret News*, December 6, 1917.



Camp Kearney and the guns of the 145th Field Artillery. Courtesy of Jeff Haley.

French front in 1918 apart from the 40th Division.¹³

The 65th Brigade was assigned a block of tenting area on the south end of the camp adjoining the artillery parade field. Platforms had been built for the tents, which housed at first nine and then later five men per tent. Mess houses and kitchens with gas ranges and brick ovens were set up. The men hoped their training would be shortly accomplished and they would be sent to France and the battlefield. In this they would be sorely disappointed.¹⁴

The Utah Regiment had entered the camp as a regiment of light artillery with 3-inch guns, but after a short period of training with these guns the 145th Field Artillery was converted to the bigger motor-drawn 4.7-inch guns. Issued in January, the larger guns were soon dispatched to Fort Sill. Replacements were issued in March and April and drill and firing with them resumed. Most of the training consisted of maneuvering and firing the guns in target practice. Men fired over a trench area mock-up of the battlefield in Europe. The guns were placed in dugouts to conceal them from "enemy" positions and air observation. The 145th fired barrage, shrapnel, and smoke bomb exercises. The most technical of the firing, barrage, required that targets be taken up "a few yards in front of the line" and advanced "yard by yard into the enemy's territory," ahead of friendly troops. Shrapnel firing shot a metal-spewing shell to point targets along the front, and smoke bombing was a training technique in which the battery took its sight on a target, aimed

¹³Hill, *The Minute Man*, pp. 262-69; *Historical and Pictorial Review*, p. 54; *Deseret News*, October 26, 30, 1917.

¹⁴*Salt Lake Tribune*, October 22, 1917; *Deseret News*, October 15, 1917; *Salt Lake Herald*, October 14, 1917.

the piece, and “fired.” Instead of real shells being fired, however, the range selected by the gun crew was telegraphed down the field where crews set off special smoke bombs near the impact area to give the effect of explosion to the observers near the weapon. In this way the gunners could gain practice in making the adjustments and corrections needed to obtain a “hit” on their targets without using expensive live cannon shells.¹⁵

Since the Germans began to make use of gas on the front line, gas mask drills became necessary to provide protection against it. Most soldiers were apprehensive about gas warfare. French and British officers who had had experience with it on the battlefield trained instructors in the 40th Division and then instructed and supervised the gas training throughout the division. The men learned the characteristics of gases used by the Germans and the tactics employed. During the gas mask drills the men fit their masks to their faces as speedily as possible. The test required them to don a mask in six seconds. In February the brigade carried out a gas assault in which gassing took place at night while the men were firing in the trenches. About six men of the brigade, none from Utah, did not react fast enough and received a slight gassing that required medical treatment.¹⁶

Other training included rifle and pistol practice. The battery men were trained to use the weapons in case of attack into the battery area by the enemy. Training was done on range targets called *boches* (a derogatory French term for the Germans) which represented the European enemy.¹⁷

The regiment also carried out march maneuvers. In March and April of 1918 the three battalions of the 145th in turn made a two-day march with their equipment to Poway Valley, several miles to the east of Camp Kearney. This gave them experience in moving the batteries to different campsites and emplacements as in battlefield situations. In May and June the regiment made a “dismounted practice march” of 270 miles to Santa Ana, California, and back to Camp Kearney. In the last segment of the march from Oceanside to Santa Ana, they made a record march of thirty-five hours elapsed time, with twenty-three hours

¹⁵*Deseret News*, November 2, December 11, 1917; *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 6, 13, 19, December 11, 1917, January 29, 30, 1918; *Salt Lake Telegram*, December 10, 11, 18, 1917, February 2, 1918; *Ogden Standard*, March 22, 1918.

¹⁶*Historical and Pictorial Review*, p. 54; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 18, 19, 27, February 4, 18, 24, 1918; *Salt Lake Telegram*, January 17, 1918.

¹⁷*Deseret News*, December 13, 1917.



*Part of Battery F on maneuvers in Poway Valley in April 1918.
Courtesy of Jeff Haley.*

of actual marching, which was highly praised by Maj. Gen. Frederick Strong, the division commander.¹⁸

In all this training the 145th Field Artillery Regiment claimed to be the best unit of the division, and they had the records to prove it! The 145th claimed to have the best health record in Camp Kearney, and Camp Kearney claimed to have less sickness and a lower death rate than most other training camps and even cities of similar population.¹⁹ The *Vernal Express* printed a letter from Camp Kearney written by Laren Ross and dated February 15, 1918, that carried the health record further by saying:

We haven't one venereal case in our whole regiment now. Pretty good for Utah isn't it. Best record made by any regiment. We also have less sickness than during any time we have been here. That was given out today by Colonel Young. We have had less arrests and acts of disorder while out of camp and in camp, also best artillerymen, to say it we have the best record in all things of any regiment. But we have got to work to keep our name. But Utah will keep it, you never fear.

¹⁸Ibid., March 28, 29, 1918; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 16, 1917; March 30, 31, April 3, 1918; Crocker, *History of the 145th*, p. 42; *Historical and Pictorial Review*, p. 66.

¹⁹*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 1, February 17, 1918; *Salt Lake Telegram*, February 9, 1918; *Salt Lake Herald*, February 9, 1918; *Deseret News*, February 11, July 1, 1918.

The Utah regiment had a better than average record with the fewest AWOLs and deserters, with two notable exceptions. Capt. Richard F. King, commander of B Battery and coach of the regimental football team, apparently became embroiled in financial difficulties and love affair problems and deserted when these became too much for him. Pvt. Leo Fuhs of Battery A, a German alien who had joined the 145th, was arrested for criticizing the United States and declaring greater loyalty to Germany. These were the most glaring cases, but for the most part there was complete loyalty and a strong spirit of cooperation among the regiment.²⁰

That spirit won recognition for the men. The 145th played football as they did everything else. They played to win and became the champion team of the 40th Division at Camp Kearney but were beaten in competition in the Western Military Department. In a way that military disciplinarians claim to be a good indicator of morale and performance, the 145th won the "military courtesy contest" in which the Utah regiment had no marks against it. The accuracy of fire carried on at Camp Kearney by the 145th was praised by the American and foreign officers who observed it. In recognition of their skill the 145th was given first opportunity to fire at new targets and was awarded the place of honor in the marching review of the division before General Strong and other dignitaries. The Utah group also claimed the fastest speed in firing a battery, although their record was not accepted as official. That this concern with records was not entirely satisfying to all the soldiers is evident from the anecdotes and the general tones of the soldiers' stories compiled in their histories. Some stories are especially critical of Colonel Webb's mania for record-breaking and his demand that the regiment look at all times as if it had "stepped out of a band box." Some tactics of Colonel Webb, such as trying to make a record march from Camp Kearney to Santa Ana under strict water discipline that allowed no water to be consumed, were considered harassment. To many men the emphasis on high records and standards became annoying, but others considered them impressive.²¹

General Strong, for example, called "the regiment . . . one of the finest in the division" and said it was "bound to be a noted regiment

²⁰*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 23, 1918; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 3, February 25, 1918; *Deseret News*, January 3, February 25, 1918.

²¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 28, 29, 30 February 3, 1918; *Deseret News*, January 30, February 14, 1918; *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 11, 1918; Crocker, *History of the 145th*, pp. 46-105 *passim*; interview with Ruel Eskelson, Brigham City, Utah, June 3, 1970.



Men of the 145th Field Artillery prepared to fire practice rounds from their new gun at Camp Kearney. Courtesy of the author.

abroad." Brig. Gen. LeRoy S. Lyons, commander of the 65th Brigade, paid tribute to the "expert marksmanship of the Utah gunners and officers who were responsible for the regiment winning the divisional championship in artillery fire, and their placing of the perfect barrage which won them fame throughout the western country." Inspector General reports also rated the performance of the 145th very highly.²²

The behavior of the Utahns was recognized as outstanding too. Col. Richard W. Young, on a visit to Utah in March 1918, noted that the "regiment has a record than which there is none better in camp" and said that he "had been informed several times by others in San Diego that they were always glad to trade with the Utah men because they did not buy more than they could pay for and that their credit was good everywhere." Colonel Webb detailed in a speech "how high the regiment stood in the estimation of the people of southern California and army officers generally by their readiness to learn, their strictly

²²*Salt Lake Herald*, February 9, 1918; *Salt Lake Tribune*, February 14, 1918; "Inspection of 65th E. A. Brigade, 40th Division," Alfred A. Stanbird, Inspector General, to Adjutant General, U. S. Army, December 19, 1917, 40th Division Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Subsequent reports in this record group are similar in their evaluation of the 145th.

correct habits, and gentlemanly demeanor.” On another occasion he said, “I want to say that a striking idea of what California people think of the Utah boys may be gained when I tell you that when we broke camp at Santa Ana [at the time the 145th made their training march to Santa Ana] on Sunday morning at 5 o’clock, no less than 10,000 persons were on hand to say farewell to the troops. Peace authorities all along the route told me that the Utah boys were a ‘most decent bunch,’ and from other quarters I got Reports as to the high moral standards and gentlemanly conduct of the Utah boys.” The community of Santa Ana even gave a “loving cup” to the regiment which read, “To the 145th Officers and Men—you came to us as strangers You won our hearts. You leave adopted sons.” Finally, Chaplain B. H. Roberts, on tour in Utah with the 145th Band which raised \$15,000 for the incidental needs of the men of the regiment, claimed that the reports that had reached Utah about the regiment “were no exaggeration.” Since more than three-fourths of the men were Mormon church members, the conclusion might be drawn that a background of Mormon doctrine, which teaches hierarchy of authority, loyalty, responsibility of the individual, and high moral standards, contributed greatly to the performance of the 145th Field Artillery Regiment.²³

By March 1918 the Sunshine Division was declared 100 percent efficient and ready for battle in Europe, but the call did not come. Considering all their claims to efficiency and their desire to see battle, one might question why they were not selected as one of the divisions to go on line against the Germans. Jim Dan Hill in *The Minute Man in Peace and War* states that certain divisions were designated under General Pershing’s direction to be depot divisions, that is divisions that were to send individual replacements to the front line. Hill says “that many officers and men of these replacement Divisions from the National Guard were resentful for decades because of the manner in which their units had been destroyed. This was particularly true of the proud and exceptionally well-trained 40th Division from California and the Mountain States.” The main reason for the 40th being held out of combat seems to have stemmed from a “long-standing personal antipathy” between General Pershing and the 40th Division commander, Major General Strong. “Pershing had no intention of entrusting a high combat command to the 40th’s commander. . . .”

²³*Deseret News*, March 25, June 15, July 1, 9, 10, 1918; *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 24, 1918.



Ready for inspection at Camp Kearney. Courtesy of Jeff Haley.

Thus the 40th Division had to be satisfied with training replacements for the war.²⁴

In its role as a depot division the 40th provided replacement troops to other line units. In January the first of the “automatic replacement drafts” was drawn from the 40th Division, and 1,200 engineers of the division were transferred to Washington Barracks and became the 20th Engineers and the 534th Pontoon Train. In April 1,500 infantrymen were transferred to the 42nd (Rainbow) Division fighting in Europe. In May and June another draft called for 5,000 infantry and 1,500 artillery troops from the 40th Division to be sent to various American units on the battlefield in Europe. These troops were assigned mainly to the 2d Division, Regular Army, the 26th (Yankee) Division of the New England National Guard, the 32d (Red Arrow) Division, the 89th (Middle West) Division, and the 77th (Metropolitan) Division of New York. Before the war was over the 40th Division had sent 27,000 replacement troops to the AEF combat divisions.²⁵

The June draft drew heavily from the Utah Regiment with 389 members of the 145th Field Artillery sent to various front-line units. In the 145th many volunteered to go to the front, but it appears others were inclined to stay with the regiment. Although the noncommissioned

²⁴Hill, *Minute Man*, pp. 278-84.

²⁵*Historical and Pictorial Review*, pp. 14, 15.

officers who volunteered with the replacement group had to take a reduction in rank to private in order to go, some did it anyway. E. W. Crocker, a lieutenant in the Headquarters Company, said that in his unit most of the men volunteered and selections had to be made by the officers. In Battery B, however, Sylvan Ririe and Floyd Perry recalled that the policy generally was to select men who were not considered to be the best or the most cooperative of the soldiers. Ririe thought that those who had a special family background or the best positions in the battery were kept behind with the 145th and the rest were sent ahead as replacements. Some representative units this replacement group served in were the 16th Field Artillery of the 4th Division, the 17th Field Artillery of the 2d Division, the 119th Field Artillery of the 32d Division, and the 322th Field Artillery of the 83d Division.²⁶

These units saw action all along the front of the Argonne Forest, Chateau Thierry, Champagne, Soissons, St. Mihiel, Verdun, and other less well-known engagements. Casualties were heavy in all these battles, but of the 389 men sent in the June draft from the 145th, only 14 were wounded and only 5 were killed in battle or died of disease.²⁷

Pvt. L. H. Deming told of his assignment to the 2d Division in a published letter to his father that provides a rare glimpse of a Utahn in the war zone:

We sailed from New York City the 28th of June and landed at Liverpool July 10. We had a submarine fight. I think it was sunk. Our ship had 6,000 men on board coming over but was sunk going back.

We stayed in England a week and sailed from Southampton to Harve, France, and took the railroad to La Contine, a replacement camp in southern France. From there 150 men were sent to the Second Division. Many of them were since killed. We joined the Second Division at Chateau Thierry, where our division stopped the German drive and forced it back 50 kilometers across the Marne.

The whole French Army was retreating when the Second went into action. We went to a reserve position in the Toul sector after that, while we moved back, traveling at night to Pont St. Vincent where we stayed a week. By that time we knew a drive was coming off somewhere. Then we moved up again more to the left and opened the drive in the St. Mihiel sector August 12.

I worked for a while on the gun crew. I'll never forget that barrage. The preparatory fire of big railroad guns started at 1 a.m. and the barrage

²⁶*Salt Lake Tribune*, July 13, 1918; *Deseret News*, July 13, 1918; interviews with E. W. Crocker, Salt Lake City, April 17, 1970, Sylvan Ririe, Ogden, Utah, June 17, 1970, Floyd Perry, Ogden, June 14, 1970, Albert E. Wilfong, Ogden, March 16, 1970. For a list of the men sent in the June replacement draft see Roberts, "History of the Utah National Guard," Appendix V.

²⁷Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War* (Salt Lake City, 1924), p. 71.

opened at 5 o'clock. I forgot to tell you about our guns. We have 125 m. howitzers or about six-inch howitzers. The shells weigh about 96 pounds.

After four days we were relieved and moved back. Our division took their objective in one day. They were given two and it was the most important position of the drive—the capture of two towns in the center of the sector.

Two weeks later we were in the Champagne sector. The French tried to take a ridge for three weeks and couldn't take it. The Marines of our division took it, and forced the Germans to retreat 30 kilometers along the whole front. I'll never forget the dead I saw there. We were there from the 1st until the 28th of September and then relieved. Three days later the Second Division was put in the Verdun front between the Meuse and Argonne rivers, where the First Division had been fighting for a month and couldn't force the Germans back. For our barrage we carried 600 shells and opened up at 4 o'clock the next morning. At 8:30 we moved forward about 12 kilometers through the ground where the doughboys had passed two hours before. The fields were covered with dead. They were still warm and still dripping blood. I'll never forget those Marines. We stopped that night near a town and I went over the fields covered with dead and we found four German wounded. One could speak English. He laughed and said the war would be over in a week.

That night we dug little holes in the ground to sleep in. The Germans started to shell us and one shell fell 12 feet from my tent. In the morning I found a six-foot hole there. They shelled all night. One smashed the lieutenant's dugout and they fell all around. Several horses were killed. We moved out of there. The next night was worse than that. The shells came over four at a time but fell short. I had traveled half the night in the cold with mud to our shoetops, but once I hit my blankets I forgot all about it. We fired again in the morning. Then we moved farther to the right. By that time we had only half of our horses left and at times we moved our guns one at a time. We then moved into positions near the town of Beaumont, where we were shelled night and day. That was a nightmare. We were shelled several times with gas there and the battery had several escapes, and maybe you think we weren't glad when the armistice was signed while we were there! The Germans stopped about half their fire several hours before the time and after 11 o'clock there was no fire at all and I haven't heard any since.

But that wasn't the end. We were now following the Huns back to Germany. We passed through Belgium. Through Chenay, Montmedy and Arlon and are now resting somewhere in Luxemburg. The people of Belgium are sure grateful to the United States. They gave us anything we wanted. Several times I was grabbed and pulled into the houses to have a drink of "schnaps" or a cup of coffee. And at night many of the fellows slept in their homes. Of course I can't tell all that I have seen, but that will have to wait until I get home.²⁸

After the replacements left, the 40th Division waited for the call to

²⁸Deming's letter was published in the *Deseret News*, December 27, 1918.

combat, but it was long in coming. New recruits were trained to bring the division back to full strength and efficiency, and finally in mid-July the division was ordered overseas. On August 2, 1918, the 145th entrained for Camp Mills, Long Island, New York, where they prepared for the move overseas. On August 14 the soldiers embarked on the *Scotian*, a former Canadian mail ship in poor condition, and the next day they sailed for England with a naval convoy. On August 28 the *Scotian* docked at Liverpool where the soldiers disembarked and marched to Knotty Ash Camp, a walled and secluded rest camp a few miles out of Liverpool. The camp was under the direction of W. G. Williams, former adjutant general of the state of Utah, who resigned his command of the Utah National Guard for the duration of the war in order to volunteer for active duty. The stay at Knotty Ash was short but eventful in that a rather serious incident occurred there. Apparently in reaction to the strict discipline and control Colonel Webb had maintained over the 145th many of the men left camp to see the countryside against his orders. The following day, "August 30th, the entire Regiment marched out to an adjacent field. There they formed a hollow square and with the drums beating the Rogues March, the culprits were marched out and subjected to having both stripes and buttons ripped off—a punishment heretofore reserved only for traitors. It was a regrettable incident, detrimental to morale, and one which did little to enhance the Colonel's popularity."²⁹

In France the 65th Field Artillery Brigade was separated from the 40th Division. The infantry brigades, trains, and medical units went to support the combat divisions of the U.S. 1st and 2d Armies on the line, and the artillery brigade was sent to southern France for further training.

On September 1 the 145th Field Artillery started its move to France by way of Southampton to Le Havre and on for a short stay at Veuille near Poitiers. Next the men went south to Gradianne near Bordeaux where they again stayed for almost two weeks before moving to Camp de Souge, a former French camp approximately twenty miles southwest of Bordeaux where old brick horse stables had been converted into barracks. There the 65th Brigade began intensive training in preparation for the front. The 145th trained with French 75 mm guns they had obtained after arriving in France. The artillery training consisted of

²⁹Crocker, *History of the 145th*, pp. 52, 53, 56-65; *Historical and Pictorial Review*, p. 66; *Deseret News*, January 23, 1919; Eskelson interview.

a six-week course from about September 26 to November 9. While the training proceeded, Capt. Wesley King traveled to different areas of France trying to obtain 4.7-inch guns to equip the 145th for the move on the line. The 145th had received orders to take part in the assault on Metz and was being provided with guns and war materiel when the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. The men of the 145th were disappointed that after all their training and preparation they had not gotten in on the action to defeat the enemy.³⁰

Lt. Col. E. LeRoy Bourne, executive officer of the 145th Field Artillery, wrote of the disappointment in France in a letter to his wife that was published in the *Deseret News*:

You cannot realize the disappointment we all feel in not participating in the war as combatant troops. It is inadequate consolation to know that we were ready to do so morally and technically. The regiment won new laurels in French artillery schools and was and is fit to function as a powerful fighting machine. It is also inadequate consolation to know that there are hundreds of thousands of other American troops more fortunate than we. Someone has to be last, it is true, but the pity we bestow upon ourselves doesn't ameliorate our great disappointment. But we are making the best of it and are ready for the next job, be that what it may.³¹

Pvt. Ralph Duvall expressed the men's frustration more bluntly in doggerel:

At De Souge they made us like it. We began to drill some more,
But it wasn't any use at all, for soon they stopped the war.
Now all we want to know is, what the Hell we soldiered for?³²

With the fighting ended the prevailing mood was to get home as soon as possible. The 65th Field Artillery was scheduled to leave the latter part of December 1918. In the interim, while waiting for debarkation, the men of the 143d (some of whom were Utahns and had earlier returned to the United States with Brig. Gen. Richard W. Young), the 144th, and the 145th worked as stevedores at Camp Genicart (Bassens) near Bordeaux where they unloaded supplies from the United States and aided in the embarking process of the troops returning home.³³

³⁰*Deseret News*, December 26, 1918; interview with William Weiler, Salt Lake City, March 17, 1965; diary of Jefferson M. Haley, 1917-19, Bountiful, Utah, holograph in possession of family members.

³¹*Deseret News*, December 3, 1918.

³²Ralph Duvall, "And We Never Lost a _____ Man: The Story of the 145th Field Artillery," typescript.

³³Crocker, *History of the 145th*, pp. 65-75; *Historical and Pictorial Review*, p. 66; *Deseret News*, January 23, 1919; Weiler interview, Haley diary.

The 1,400 men of the 145th began their return home on December 24 from Bordeaux aboard the *Santa Teresa*, a newly constructed ship that had made its maiden voyage empty from the United States to France. The soldiers spent twelve days at sea, including both Christmas and New Year's Day. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported it as a "pleasant voyage with plenty of facilities for their amusement." On Christmas and New Year's Day the troops were given a turkey dinner and special treats from the YMCA, the Knights of Columbus, and the Red Cross, and the soldiers raced around the decks "playing the happy youngsters that they were." The only discomfort they suffered, the article said, was a little seasickness the first day out to sea on the Bay of Biscay. The men on the ship expressed ideas about the trip different from the *Tribune's*. They said that the *Santa Teresa* was so poorly constructed that the captain did not dare brave the rough seas of the North Atlantic and took the longer southern route home. They called the trip monotonous, except for the first day of seasickness, and thought the only excitement occurred on January 5 when the ship docked in New York Harbor.³⁴

At Camp Merritt near Hoboken, New Jersey, the regiment went through the process of being re-Americanized, which included a delousing of the men and a steaming of their clothes to kill any germs from Europe. For some time it was uncertain where the 145th Regiment would be mustered out of service. Several camps and posts considered were close to Utah, but finally the regiment was sent to the Utah State Agricultural College in Logan, where the men would be apart from the populations of the cities in order to prevent a possible spread of influenza and where adequate buildings were available to house them.³⁵

On January 17, 1919, the 145th arrived in Ogden, Utah, on the troop train. At this time the 145th Regiment consisted of two battalions of men from Idaho and one battalion from California, Colorado, and New Mexico. Some of the latter were mustered out at posts closer to their homes, leaving 1,140 men and 45 officers to be mustered out in Utah. Another 65 enlisted men and 5 officers had remained in France as occupation forces with military police and mechanic assignments, and 13 men of the regiment had died in France from influenza.³⁶

³⁴*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 5, 1919; Crocker, *History of the 145th*, pp. 101-3.

³⁵Crocker, *History of the 145th*, pp. 103, 104; *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 6, 1918; *Deseret News*, December 14, January 6, 1918. See Roberts, "History of the Utah National Guard," Appendix VI, for a list of regiment members who returned to Utah in 1919.

³⁶*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, January 19, 1919; *Deseret News*, January 6, 1919. For a list of those who died of influenza in France see *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 30, 1918.



Home from France, the 145th marched in Ogden in January 1919. Courtesy of Blanche Wilcox.

When the regiment arrived in Ogden officials expressed concern about the soldiers mixing with the crowds because of the threat of influenza. The troops were ordered to march from Ogden's Union Station up 25th Street to Washington Boulevard, then to 28th Street, back to 21st Street, and return down 25th Street to board the train. The orders stated that no crowds were to gather at the station and that "there would be no speaking nor will the soldiers be allowed to break ranks." The jubilation of the crowd in Ogden made it difficult to keep relatives and friends from meeting the soldiers at the depot, and touching homecoming scenes were left uninterrupted. The parade formed with Governor Bamberger and state officials preceding the regiment in automobiles and an escort of 200 men made up of veterans of World War I from Ogden and Weber County. After the parade the men returned to the train and proceeded to Logan.³⁷

Logan welcomed the soldiers even more enthusiastically than Ogden. At Center and Main streets an "arch of welcome" had been erected with flags and electric lights decorating the structure and flashing "Welcome Home." Thousands greeted the men at the station and cheered as they marched to USAC on the hill where the governor

³⁷*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 17, 18, 1919; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 18, 1919.

welcomed them back to Utah and praised their accomplishments, saying, “[you] left on a mission which you were prepared to fulfill at the cost of your very existence” and in which “you established a reputation for soldierly qualities in your state that had given you fame throughout the nation . . . made your people proud of you . . . and . . . brought victory to the nation.” After Bamberger’s speech the men were assigned quarters in the various college buildings, and “Utah’s Own” settled down to the most favorable and comfortable condition they had enjoyed since leaving for the war.³⁸

On January 18 the regiment staged a formal parade and review in downtown Logan for the governor, state legislators, and visitors. The crowd was impressed with their demonstration of marching, manual of arms, and the gas mask drill which they performed several times during the course of the parade.

During the next few days the men completed the mustering out process under Col. Charles Ide and his staff of the U. S. Army Command from California. By January 21, 1919, the physical examinations and paper work had been completed and the 145th Field Artillery Regiment was officially mustered out.³⁹

Over the years the veterans of the regiment met with almost annual consistency in conventions that brought back the times they had served together in World War I. Some of the members of the 145th continued their service in the Utah National Guard and provided much of the important leadership in the 1920s, 1930s, and World War II.

As the men of the 145th Field Artillery disassembled, other Utah National Guardsmen continued in service—mainly those officers and men of the 145th Field Hospital who remained behind for occupation duty as the 159th Field Hospital. Inducted at Fort Douglas, Utah, on August 5, 1917, this unit had gone to Camp Kearney for further training and to provide medical support to the 40th Division. The field hospital was made up of five officers and forty-two NCOs and enlisted men—all from Utah. They left Camp Kearney in August 1918 with the 40th Division, arriving in France on September 2.

In France the 40th Division was split up and the 159th Field Hospital went to Grossouvre in the Department of Cher to serve in a hospital in an old chateau. On October 27 the field hospital was moved

³⁸*Salt Lake Tribune*, January 18, 1919; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 18, 1919.

³⁹State of Utah, *Biennial Report of the Utah National Guard, 1919-1920* (Salt Lake City, 1921), p. 6; *Salt Lake Herald*, January 24, 1919.

to a place near Metz, approximately three kilometers from the front lines, where it was assigned duty as a gas resuscitation hospital. Here the men came under enemy shelling during the last few days of the war. Capt. George F. Roberts reported that they handled "more than 200 sick cases each day." After the armistice the bombings stopped, but casualties from the army of occupation were still coming to the hospital for treatment. The 159th Field Hospital returned to Utah on July 3, 1919, and was mustered out of service.⁴⁰

At a War Mother's Service Flag Ceremony honoring the Utah men who had served in the war, Chaplain B. H. Roberts summarized the sacrifices of the Utah men. Referring specifically to the men of the 145th Field Artillery Regiment he said:

These men who have died [meaning the thirteen who had died of Spanish influenza in France] have made just as complete a sacrifice of their lives to their country as any who have fallen or shall fall in the battle line. They have faced a condition as deadly to them as charging through bursting shells, or the patter of machine guns or rifle bullets. The miasma of the dread disease proved for them as deadly as the poisonous German gas, waves of shells and their restless suffering from fevered tortured bodies, and congested lungs, was as pitiful as any death from wounds of bayonet thrusts or shrapnel rents.

The heroism of the soldier consists in the fact that he offers his life to his country, with full interest to meet whatever fate may befall him. It is not his prerogative to choose his place in the line of battle, or to say when or how or where or in what manner he will fall, if fall he must. He does his part when in response to his country's call for service he says "Here I am, send me."⁴¹

In another summarizing statement Col. William C. Webb had concluded earlier that "Our regiment would have done anything they would have required of us. No more soldierly, all-around decent bunch of men were ever gotten together than the 145th Field Artillery. There hasn't been a thing required of them, it doesn't make any difference how difficult the task was, that they didn't go to it with all the vim that it was possible for men to put into it."⁴²

⁴⁰Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, p. 65; *Biennial Report... 1919-1920*, p. 6; *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 3, 1919.

⁴¹*Deseret News*, February 13, 1919.

⁴²*Salt Lake Herald*, January 18, 1919.



Hundreds of Red Cross workers and others marched in Salt Lake City in May 1918 to raise funds for war work. Courtesy of Leonard J. and Harriet Arrington.

“If only I shall have the right stuff”: Utah Women in World War I

BY MIRIAM B. MURPHY

OLD RIVALRIES, COMPETING NATIONAL AGENDAS, and a reckless arms race engulfed Europe in war in 1914, but America remained officially neutral until unrestricted German submarine warfare led the United

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States to cut diplomatic ties with Germany on February 3, 1917, and to declare war against her on April 6. National Guard units were mobilized, and volunteers and draftees swelled the regular armed service ranks. Civilians responded by organizing bond drives, running canteens, preparing surgical dressings, filling jobs vacated by servicemen, and performing countless other homefront assignments. Women, especially, devoted themselves to Red Cross work and to the efforts of other organizations such as the Salvation Army. But for many women that was not enough, and thousands volunteered to participate more directly in the war. Some risked their lives near the battlefield. Others served at military facilities in the United States. For some the war provided an unparalleled adventure that cast them in heroine's role. Some died. Some won decorations. All contributed to the Allied victory.

Utah women participated in a wide range of war-related activities under the aegis of the State Council of Defense. Their efforts encompassed Americanization and citizenship classes, foreign and domestic relief, food production and preservation, conservation of limited clothing and food resources, health and recreation, and the Liberty Loan drives. At the request of Gov. Simon Bamberger, Mrs. R. E. L. Collier chaired a committee to register women volunteers. Almost 24,000 women throughout the state turned in cards pledging their support of the war effort by suggesting "thirty-five different lines of work" they felt both capable and willing to do if called upon. Their names were forwarded to local organizations such as the Red Cross. Another state committee, chaired by Mrs. F. E. Morris, "helped many patriotic girls and women to secure and hold places made vacant by the enlistment of men for military service."¹

Although many women were mobilized statewide, their activities and accomplishments have received little historical scrutiny to date and are largely overshadowed by those of women during World War II. For Americans, World War I was a relatively short conflict, with the U.S. an

¹ Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924), pp. 107, 121-23. The role of working women in the war is beyond the scope of this paper; clearly a detailed study of it is needed. Suffice it to say here that women were the key workers in Utah's canning industry, for example, which boomed during the war as a result of government contracts. Women also continued to increase their role as office workers during the 1910s, many of them taking over jobs previously held by men (stenographer, typist, bookkeeper, accountant, and clerk). That more mothers worked outside the home is indicated by a report that the day nursery at Neighborhood House in Salt Lake City was "strained to the utmost" during World War I. See issues of the *Payroll Builder*, a publication of the Utah Manufacturers Association, for 1917-18; census occupational data for the years 1900, 1910, and 1920 that document the feminizing of many office jobs; and Lela Horn Richards, *The Growth of Neighborhood House* (Salt Lake City, 1929), p. 12.

official participant for only nineteen months. World War II, on the other hand, lasted more than twice as long for Americans, and, moreover, strained the nation's resources almost to the limit. Additionally, Rosie the Riveter and uniformed WACs and WAVEs provided highly visible and enduring symbols of women at war. With the exception of the martyred British nurse Edith Cavell, most of the women directly involved in World War I had their "hour upon the stage and then [were] heard no more." Still, after almost three-quarters of a century one can state with confidence that their activities did "signify" something. This paper examines those Utah women who opted during World War I for direct participation with the military or with civilian organizations that took them to the battlefield.

Two Utah women drove ambulances or other vehicles in France during the war. Elizabeth (Betty) McCune donned overalls in the summer of 1917 to learn auto mechanics and repair in the shop of Charles A. Quigley, 33 Exchange Place, Salt Lake City. She had mastered the workings of her new Chandler by mid-July and reportedly sailed with it for France on the *Rochambeau* on November 5. In addition to her vehicle, which she was required to provide and maintain, McCune was responsible for her living expenses and supplied her own clothing. Her driving attire consisted of "a very soft leather suit of trousers and coat with high boots to the knees . . . [a] waist with long sleeves . . . heavy woolen underwear . . . [a] driving coat . . . [of] rubber waterproof on the outside with leather on the inside . . . a soft woolen inner coat . . . long woolen stockings . . . [and] a woolen knit helmet . . . to wear under her other caps."



Elizabeth McCune.
Relief Society Magazine
photograph.

Most women ambulance drivers in Europe worked through private organizations created by wealthy, socially prominent American and British women who wanted a more active and direct role in the war. These groups provided individual members with an umbrella organization and the documents necessary to enter the war zone and serve under a military unit in the field. Since each woman was required to be self-supporting for the most

part, participation was limited to those able to afford the cost. Additionally, some organizations required the women to supply their own vehicles. McCune reportedly signed up with "authorities" in such an organization in New York sometime in the spring of 1917.²

Maud Fitch of Eureka, Utah, wrote letters that present a very graphic and detailed account of her service as an ambulance driver in France.³ Active in the Red Cross during 1917, she hungered for a chance to serve in Europe and joined the Woman's Motor Unit of *Le Bien-etre du Blessé*, an organization directed by writer and book designer Grace Gallatin Seton.⁴ Fitch arrived in New York in mid-February 1918. Intrigued at first by Grace and her author husband Ernest Thompson Seton, the thirty-five-year-old Utahn soon found Mrs. Seton "indefinite" and poorly organized. During almost three weeks in New York Fitch passed perfunctory examinations of her driving skill and knowledge of engine operation, bought her "truck" and paid in advance for a six-month supply of gas and oil,⁵ was vaccinated, received her passport and visas, and was constantly entertained by friends. She sailed for France on the *Chicago* on March 7, the only woman in Seton's group able to depart on this ship.

By March 21 Fitch was settled in a Paris hotel. As disorganized as the New York operation, the Paris office of *Le Bien-etre du Blessé* kept the eager Utahn in a holding pattern for almost two months. During that time she was fitted for a uniform she considered very impractical, took further tests of her driving ability from French officials, frequently attended mass, enjoyed the company of friends, and volunteered for

²*Salt Lake Tribune*, July 14, 1917; *Relief Society Magazine* 4 (1917): 690-91. The former account says McCune, a daughter of Elizabeth Claridge and mining millionaire Alfred W. McCune, had signed up as "an automobile driver, carrying supplies to soldiers on the firing line," while the LDS church auxiliary publication refers to her as an ambulance driver. I have been unable to find accounts of her service after her presumed arrival in Europe late in 1917. McCune (1891-1967) married Reginald G. Trower after the war.

³Born on November 28, 1882, Maud was one of five children of Exilda Marcotte and Walter Fitch, Sr., a wealthy mine operator in the Tintic district of Utah. After the war Maud married and had a son. She died in Los Angeles at age 91. Her letters comprise 228 typewritten pages transcribed and compiled by her in a looseleaf binder in the possession of her son, Paul Hilsdale, in Los Angeles, to whom I am exceedingly grateful. All the quotations herein and data about her service in France derive from this source. I am also grateful to Max Garbette of Eureka who generously shared information on Maud Fitch. Fitch's activities also received newspaper coverage. See *Eureka Reporter*, May 25, June 1, 29, 1917; February 8, July 19, October 4, 1918; September 5, 1919; June 15, 1923 (the last article details the accidental death of her husband). See also *Salt Lake Telegram*, May 2, 1919, which announces her return from France.

⁴For more on Seton see *Who's Who of American Women* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Co., 1958), vol. 1, p. 1156.

⁵According to Fitch's letter of February 24, 1918, her father sent \$792.00 to New York to pay for the "truck." On March 5, 1918, she told her father she was writing a check for \$300.00 on the Eureka Bank to prepay for gasoline and oil. On June 18, 1918, Fitch advised her father to try to recover this money from Seton.

work in canteens and with refugees. Impatient for action but aware of her contract with Seton's organization, Fitch tried to negotiate a temporary driving assignment with the Red Cross, which had no women among its ambulance drivers. She expressed hope on April 9, in a lengthy letter to her parents, that the Red Cross might indeed accept her:

If they should. . . we will get into action AT ONCE—the magic of those two words! And to think at last I shall get into the very vortex of the greatest conflict in the history of the world. I can't think what it will mean. If only I shall have the right stuff in me to benefit by it—to go into it and come out with one's soul and heart all fire tried!

That hope did not materialize, but Fitch kept busy, even consenting to do office work, she wryly told her father, for the Red Cross. On May 15, however, she could finally report:

I'm so thrilled I can hardly write, but at last really and certainly I am off for the front in a REAL Unit. We've all left the B. E. B. in a day's time [and] joined the Hackett Lowther Unit. . . . It is the only Unit directly under the Military and we move with the [French Third] Army and under a French Lieutenant.⁶

Fitch and her companions headed to the front, north of Paris, advancing in their ambulances with a long convoy of troops toward the heart of the German army's spring offensive. The Hackett-Lowther women, replacing a section of men, found their first quarters in an abandoned chateau, probably near Compiègne, an area under steady shelling.

On the evening of May 30 Fitch was waiting several miles behind the lines when she was called to take "five assis"—wounded men who could sit up—to "a hospital back of this place." Accompanied by an interpreter who had messages for the French medical chief, she entered a scene of typical wartime confusion: "It got pitch black and the roads were filled—packed tight with sometimes three streams of advancing troops, cavalry and camions." Where the traffic was especially heavy and delays as long as an hour, she bribed those directing the flow with

⁶The Hackett-Lowther Unit was intended to be "all English" but accepted Fitch and some other Americans because "they couldn't get English girls across the Channel quickly enough" to satisfy the immediate need. Toupie Lowther, a well-known tennis player of the time, was a member of the Earl of Lonsdale's family. She worked in the field with the unit. Miss Hackett is mentioned as planning to visit the unit but is not further identified by Fitch. The women drivers were "rated as common, ordinary Poilus ('soldiers') in the army. . . ." and received "3 sous a day. . . . We pay our chief, Miss Lowther, \$30.00 a month for the upkeep of the Unit" (letter dated May 14 but probably written between May 15 and May 19, 1918). The Ford ambulance Fitch ultimately drove was donated by Scottish coal mine owners and workers (letter written in May 1918, no day given).

cigarettes to let her ambulance through. Occasionally her companion flashed a torch into the forest darkness to reveal a huge camion “lurch[ing] away. . . at the last minute.” Stopping in a town square to get her bearings, she discovered that shelling had destroyed most of it, including directional signs, but she eventually reached the hospital. Returning over the bombarded roads was somewhat easier since the moon had come up and she was driving with the main flow of traffic. Home by 2:30 a.m., she fell instantly to sleep in the back of an ambulance, “and at 6 in the morning. . . breakfasted on nothing and washed some layers of dust off, then strolled about the hills with the guns at the front hammering in our ears.” For a harrowing night rescue of wounded under heavy fire on June 9—an experience she downplayed in her letters home—she received the French Croix de Guerre. Later, a gold star was added to her medal.

By late spring Germany could not hold its advances on the Western Front. The Hackett-Lowther women moved with the French Third Army through territory previously held by the Germans and were often on the front itself. Fitch exulted in the first hint of victory and in the



Maud Fitch, right, and another ambulance driver from the Hackett-Lowther Unit in Wiesbaden, Germany. Courtesy of Max Garbett.

uniqueness of her opportunity to associate closely with French officers and men, whom she greatly admired. One time a French artillery crew invited her to fire its 75mm field gun, and she was sure the shell had "killed some Boche[s]." On another occasion she piloted a surprised and ultimately delighted French colonel to his new advanced position at the front.

Fitch gave her parents a concise description of the work of the unit in a letter dated September 14:

The "abris" you inquire about consist of any cellar or dugout . . . sandbagged against avion bombs. We only sleep in them at the "post des [sic] secours" . . . the first dressing stations near the lines, . . . to which the wounded are carried on stretchers. We . . . take the [wounded] from there back to a hospital where another car picks them up when they are rebandaged . . . and takes them further back . . . The second work is . . . "back evacuation" work which of course one prefers not to do unless one's nerves have begun to get taut from frontwork. Often, as during the Compiègne attack, the first hospitals back were so crowded that we would be refused with our load by the first one and then another, thus necessitating a FEARFULLY long drive for the poor things. And even now we have to take them from 40 to 50 kilometres as the hospitals were wary of moving up too quickly

The women often worked twenty-four-hour shifts. Off duty they spent considerable time on the repair and maintenance of their ambulances, which is not surprising given the condition of the roads. Blowouts and breakdowns occurred so frequently they seemed routine. Practical jokes, pillow fights, and swimming in one of the many streams threading through northwest France eased the tension. In the lull between battles Fitch and the other women sometimes socialized with French officers or *poilus* ("soldiers"), sharing food, dancing, and just talking. Clearly, for Fitch it was the experience of a lifetime. Her letters home constitute one of the most remarkable firsthand accounts of World War I by an American.

Mary F. Starr of Salt Lake City, like Maud Fitch and Elizabeth McCune, had hoped to drive an ambulance during the war. Unable to realize that desire, perhaps because of the cost, she nevertheless embarked for France where she worked in a canteen. A number of organizations, including the Red Cross, operated canteens in France during the war, but none was more admired by the soldiers than the Salvation Army. One SA worker from Salt Lake City, Mae Morton, may have been the first Utah woman to reach the front. According to Noble Warrum,

She served for many months as near the firing line as a noncombatant was permitted to go, but the shifting tide of battle often placed her within the zone of danger, from which she never flinched so long as there was a chance to minister to the needs of the tired and hungry men of the trenches.

Canteen work near the front was indeed dangerous. Decades after the war the efforts of people like Morton remained legendary.⁷

Other Utah women filled different wartime assignments with the military. Edith Walker of Magna, a business college graduate, had been in charge of Congressman William Kettner's California office staff until the fall of 1917 when she became the only female employee in the office of the constructing quartermaster at Camp Kearney, California. Another office worker, Joy DeCamp of Salt Lake City, served in the Paris headquarters of the American Expeditionary Forces. Four other women filled clerical positions in the U.S. Navy as yeomanettes: Norma Bessie Long, Edna Romney, and Beatrice Timmins, all of Salt Lake City; and Blanche Williams of Ogden.⁸

Most of the Utah women who served in the war were registered nurses. They signed up with the American Red Cross which supplied the military with nursing personnel for its hospitals in the U.S.; field, evacuation, and convalescent hospitals in Europe; and mobile medical units, or dressing stations as they were often called, just behind the battle lines.

By the time the U.S. entered the war the Red Cross had already established twenty-five base hospitals for the army with four more nearing completion, three for the navy, and three field units. More than 7,000 graduate nurses were enrolled nationally as a reserve, and "training for another regiment of nurses [was] underway." Since the War Department hoped to enlist 25,000 nurses by the end of 1917, the Red Cross began an intense recruiting campaign nationwide. The Red Cross required enlisting nurses "to have had at least two years' training in a hospital that averaged fifty patients a day of both sexes" and to be registered to practice in their home states, provide evidence of good health, and be between ages twenty-five and forty. Utah had approx-

⁷Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, pp. 67-68, 62. See also, for example, an editorial in the June 16, 1946, *Salt Lake Tribune* that states, "Many soldiers of the First World War who had as youths giped at the little bands of musicians standing on street corners were shocked into solemn respect for these Salvation Army men and women when they encountered them close behind the firing lines in France passing out coffee and doughnuts."

⁸*Deseret News*, November 5, 1917; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, pp. 68, 204. There were undoubtedly other Utah women directly involved with the military in clerical or other positions at Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City or elsewhere, but I have been unable to find mention of them.

imately 450 trained nurses when the U.S. entered the war. By the summer of 1917 a number of them had already volunteered and were serving at base hospitals in this country or were on their way to France.⁹

Julia O. Flikke described the mobilization of one American base hospital unit consisting of 100 nurses and a staff of physicians. After “preliminary duty in southern training camps, where pneumonia was then prevalent,” the nurses embarked from New York on an English freighter, ultimately arriving at a chateau outside Nantes on the French coast where Base Hospital No. 11 was established:

The nurses’ barracks were built in sections, with each division consisting of an entrance hall, four bedrooms and a washroom. Electricity and cold running water were supplied, but all water had to be boiled before it could be used for drinking. As for hot water, that was a rarity to be had only at fixed hours.

Each nurse was assigned to a ward containing fifty patients and was assisted by two or three corpsmen as well as by many of the more active convalescents. The usual working day was twelve hours, with the exception of one time when an unusually large convoy of wounded arrived from the Argonne front and the entire staff was kept busy all night.

The operating room held four surgical teams “served by one nurse.” Their primary tasks included removing shrapnel, closing machine gun wounds, and treating bayonet wounds. Some nurses from this hospital went into the field as part of a shock or trauma team helping the more seriously wounded closer to the front lines.¹⁰ By April 1918 thirty-six Utah nurses were stationed “in the war zone” at similar facilities.¹¹

In light of the 1918 German spring offensive, recruiting continued apace. More men and women needed was the message hidden behind optimistic headlines proclaiming victory to be at hand. Lettie B. Welsh, supervisor of nurses for the Mountain Division of the Red Cross, visited Salt Lake City on April 8 and 9 to enlist more nurses; 5,000 were needed

⁹Henry P. Davidson, *The American Red Cross in the Great War* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1919), pp. 6, 21, 79. The Red Cross served a recruiting function in cooperation with the American Nurses Assn., funneling RNs into the Army Nurse Corps, established in February 1901, and the Navy Nurse Corps, established in May 1908.

The 1910 U.S. Census lists 225 trained nurses in Utah, and the 1920 count lists 544. The 450 figure is my estimate of the number in 1917. Not all of the trained nurses were RNs, however; a Red Cross leader stated in 1918 that Utah had “some 300” registered nurses. See *Salt Lake Telegram—Herald-Republican*, April 9, 1918.

¹⁰Colonel Flikke, superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps, wrote a history of the corps published during World War II, *Nurses in Action: The Story of the Army Nurse Corps* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1943), pp. 49-52.

¹¹*Salt Lake Telegram—Herald-Republican*, April 9, 1918. Other Utah nurses were stationed at military hospitals in the U.S.



Army nurse Anna Elizabeth Wiberg (Taylor), photographed at LDS Hospital in 1914. Courtesy of Anna Clark.

nationally. Because war demands something from everyone, she said, "those parents who give their boys gladly and willingly for their country need to give their daughters, that their sons may be rightly cared for."¹²

A few days before Welsh's visit, the State Board of Nurse Examiners had "enacted a war measure which, while it was not strictly in accordance with the provisions of our Act, seemed very necessary on account of the appeals of the Red Cross for nurses." The measure allowed a nurse within a few weeks of graduation to be registered by the state if the hospital would advance the date of graduation and if the nurse agreed to sign up immediately with the Red Cross. The board itself exemplified patriotism: two of its members resigned to serve overseas, Ella Wicklund on January 1 and Stella Sainsbury on April 18.¹³

Some 80 Utah registered nurses served in World War I, a figure that may represent a fourth or more of all the RNs in the state.¹⁴ Firsthand accounts

of the experiences of these women are hard to find. A letter and other memorabilia of Mabel Bettilyon open a window on a dramatic scene in France. She was "attached to Evacuation Hospital No. 1. In one night alone more than 800 wounded American soldiers were brought into this hospital, 136 of whom were assigned to her care for want of sufficient nurses." When the wounded arrived they had already had "first aid some place in the front lines." In the receiving ward the patients were

¹²*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 10, 1918. The name is spelled Welch in this account. See also *Salt Lake Telegram—Herald-Republican*, April 9 1918. Welsh, or Welch, spoke at the YWCA and to nurses at Salt Lake's three hospital nursing schools—Holy Cross, St. Mark's, and LDS.

¹³State of Utah, *Public Documents, 1917-18* (Salt Lake City, 1919), vol. 2, report no. 18: Utah State Board of Examination and Registration of Hospital Trained and Graduate Nurses, pp. 5-6.

¹⁴See note 9. In addition to those listed in Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, pp. 68-69, 204, other nurses in the war are mentioned in nursing school histories and contemporary newspapers. Also, 41 nurses were stationed at General Hospital No. 27, at Fort Douglas. Some may have been Utahns. See Lyman Clarence Pedersen, Jr., "History of Fort Douglas, Utah" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1967), pp. 316-18.



Mabel Bettilyon in her Army Nurse Corps uniform. Also shown, her wartime Red Cross registration and AEF identity cards. Courtesy of Karen Bettilyon.

“undressed and all their personal belongings such as money, letters, pictures . . . put in a Red Cross bag,” she told her mother, “so if you have made any you can see how your little bit helps.” Bettilyon praised the courage of her wounded countrymen, many of who did not want to be sent home “until we get the Kaiser.” Since this was an evacuation hospital, she cared for many German wounded as well but was glad when they left. “So many people are anxious for German souvenirs,” she wrote, “but . . . seeing our men wounded and dying is all I want that refers to Germany. I feel now as tho I wouldn’t give the smallest place in my trunk for anything off a prisoner.”¹⁵

¹⁵A daughter of Mary C. Bettilyon of Salt Lake City, Mabel was born ca. 1890 in Lower Augusta, Pa., and received her professional training at Reading Hospital in Reading, Pa. Married to Fred Crawford in 1924, she died in 1956. See undated newspaper clippings, including a printed letter to her mother, reproduced in Nadine B. Bettilyon et al., comps., *V. A. Bettilyon and Janet Winward Family History* (Salt Lake City, n.d.), pp. 107-9, courtesy of Karen Bettilyon. See also Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, p. 68.

Another nurse, Ruth Clayton, viewed her service in France as “the most important experience of her life because she was able to help.” A 1915 graduate of St. Mark’s Hospital School of Nursing, she joined the Army Nurse Corps in 1916 and may have served on the Texas border before going overseas. In France, working in a crowded hospital tent as part of a surgical team, she also saw some of the worst gas cases—men with swollen, disfigured faces, some blinded. Doctors quickly decided which of the wounded had the best chance to survive and channeled their own and the nurses’ efforts toward them. Facilities were primitive. Sometimes the only place to sit in the mess tent was on a wooden coffin. One doctor Clayton knew, overwhelmed by the magnitude of the job, worked around the clock, taking morphine—to which he became addicted—to keep himself going. Clayton “couldn’t take hospital work” after the war and went into public health nursing, administering hearing and vision tests in the Salt Lake City schools. Her patriotism never waned, however, and during World War II she volunteered as a nurse at Bushnell Hospital, a military facility in Brigham City.¹⁶

In England the work of women during World War I was to some extent tied to the suffrage movement; militant suffrage leaders supported the war effort and abandoned confrontations with the government in exchange for a promise of prompt action on suffrage after the war. Although women in the United States also achieved suffrage after the war, with ratification of the 19th Amendment certified on August 26, 1920, the circumstances are not exactly parallel. The National American Woman Suffrage Association under the leadership of Carrie Chapman Catt realized that the success of their cause might hinge “on whether they . . . joined in the war effort.” Not so the National Woman’s Party with its many Quaker members who picketed the White House, “took no steps toward organizing war work,” and in response to the wartime slogan urging Americans to “make the world safe for democracy” displayed “Democracy Should Begin at Home” banners.

In Utah there was less of a connection between the war and the woman’s rights movement. Since Utah women had fought and won their suffrage battle during the State Constitutional Convention in 1895,

¹⁶Born in 1893 in Salt Lake City to Alice Ellerbeck and Newell H. Clayton, Ruth married James S. Haws after the war and had one child, Ann. Widowed in 1933, she remained active throughout her life. She was a fifty-year member of Edith Cavell Post, American Legion, and a member of Our Lady of Lourdes parish. She died in 1985 at age 92. Telephone conversations with a niece, Wanda Clayton Thomas, and a granddaughter, Leslie Malone, on March 15, 1989; *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 28, 1985; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, p. 69; Lottie Felkner and Mildred Larsen, *The St. Mark’s Hospital School of Nursing Story* (Salt Lake City: St. Mark’s Hospital Nurses’ Alumni Assn., 1970), p. 38.



Left to right: *Rose Karous, Frae Karous, and Olivia Stringer Stober. The Karous sisters served in the Navy Nurse Corps. Courtesy of St. Mark's Hospital Nurses' Alumni Association.*

they showed little inclination to tie their participation in the war to feminine political goals. Nevertheless, they continued to support national suffrage. For example, legislator/suffragist Elizabeth A. Hayward introduced a memorial to Congress urging immediate action on the suffrage amendment. It passed both houses of the Utah State Legislature and was signed by Gov. Simon Bamberger.¹⁷

The suffrage question aside, it is possible to see a thread other than patriotism connecting Utah's World War I nurses. This group included many leaders, women of skill, vision, and dedication who set new standards for the profession, developed new concepts in health care, and served their communities with distinction both before and after the war.

Ella M. Wicklund, Anna J. Hall, and Rose Karous, for example, were among those who successfully promoted passage by the 1917 legislature of an act requiring the registration of nurses, a measure of key importance in the development of professional nursing standards. Wicklund, a 1910 graduate of the Holy Cross School of Nursing, had taken charge of the hospital's new obstetrical department in 1916 and served on the first State Board of Nurse Examiners and as secretary of

¹⁷See David Mitchell, *Monstrous Regiment: The Story of the Women of the First World War* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1965), pp. xv-xvi; Arthur Marwich, *Women at War, 1914-1918* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), chap. 21; *Relief Society Magazine*, May 1920, p. 274.



World War I veteran Ella Wicklund, left, explained Army Nurse Corps to Henrietta Hudson and Evelyn Mackley in January 1945. Salt Lake Tribune photograph, USHS collections.

the Red Cross in Salt Lake City before leaving for France early in 1918. Hall, who graduated from St. Mark's Hospital School of Nursing in 1912, is credited with raising the standards of nurses' training at Ogden's Dee Hospital by expanding the curriculum from two and a half to three years and opening an obstetrical section. She continued her pioneering role after the war by training as a nurse anesthetist in a Cleveland, Ohio, hospital and practicing in Utah until 1945. Karous was instrumental in introducing the visiting nurse concept locally. A 1906 graduate of St. Mark's Hospital, she chaired Utah's Red Cross Nursing Service for four years before she and her sister Frae joined the Navy Nurse Corps.¹⁸

Other nursing leaders who served in World War I include Anna Rosenkilde, a graduate of the LDS Hospital School of Nursing, who served in France with the Army Nurse Corps. She was the first nurse

¹⁸See *Laws of the State of Utah . . . 1917* (Salt Lake City, 1917), chap. 53, pp. 182-85; *History of Holy Cross Hospital School of Nursing* (Salt Lake City, n.d.), pp. 13, 23; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, pp. 26-69, 204; *Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, May 18, 1918; *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 24, 1960; Felkner and Larsen, *St. Marks' Hospital*, pp. 38, 40; Sandra Hawkes Noall, "A History of Nursing Education in Utah" (Ed.D. diss., University of Utah, 1969), pp. 39, 42; *Ogden Standard*, March 2, 9, 16, 1918; *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 13, 1965; *Deseret News*, August 13, 1965. In various sources Frae Karous's first name is listed as Fae, Frances, and Francis. The sisters' surname is spelled Korous in contemporary listings in *Polk's Salt Lake City Directory*.



Anna Rosenkilde, right, another of Utah's nursing leaders and World War I veterans, was still promoting her profession in 1959. Salt Lake Tribune photograph, USHS collections.

hired by the new Primary Children's Hospital in Salt Lake City in 1922 and was superintendent there until her retirement in the mid-1940s, a legendary caregiver whom the children called Mama Rose. Carrie Roberts, a 1911 graduate of St. Mark's, was one of the first public health nurses in Utah, appointed in 1913 to a position with the Salt Lake City Board of Health with duties that included inspection and instruction in the city schools and "in private homes when such may be solicited or found necessary. . . ." Roberts, who enlisted in the spring of 1917, was assigned to hospital work at Fort Bliss, Texas, for fourteen months before being sent to Base Hospital No. 62 in Tours, France, for six months. Soon after her return home she spoke at a memorial service in the Amelia Palace in Salt Lake City honoring Jane A. Delano who had recruited 30,000 nurses during the war and who died during an inspection tour in France in April 1919. Another nursing leader, Agnes M. Hogan, a 1914 graduate of LDS Hospital who served overseas during the war, was a founder of the Utah State Nurses Association.¹⁹

¹⁹Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, p. 69; *Deseret News*, February 25, 1956 (Church News section); undated DN clipping, Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City; *Salt Lake Tribune*, June 17, 1951, and June 3, 1956; Noall, "A History of Nursing Education," pp. 41-42; Flekner and Larsen, *St. Mark's Hospital*, p. 49; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 8, 1917, June 26, 1947; *Salt Lake Telegram*, April 28, 1919; *Deseret News*, June 25, 1947.



World War I veterans in Ogden, 1919. Courtesy of M. J. Burson.

Although a majority of the nurses were single women in their twenties, Wicklund, Hall, the Karous sisters, Rosenkilde, Nancy V. Self, Anne E. Wiberg, and Luella Francy are known to have been in their thirties. Victoria Christensen, an LDS Hospital nurse therapist, may have been one of the oldest Utah nurses to serve. According to one report, she volunteered because her son was in the army and she wanted to help the soldiers. “Nursing is as important as the fighting, and it must be done Wonderful is the only way in which the work the women are doing over there can be described, and it will be even more brilliant before the war is over,” she told a reporter.²⁰

More than 270 American nurses lost their lives during the war. Many died from pneumonia or from the deadly influenza epidemic. It does not appear that any of the fatalities were Utahns. At least two Utah nurses did experience war-related health problems, however. Louise Owen, a 1916 graduate of the Dee Hospital School of Nursing in Ogden, “was released from military service due to pneumonia and complications which scarred her lungs and caused some problems all her life” Respiratory problems “didn’t slow her down as she was very

²⁰In addition to sources listed in notes 18 and 19 see Lilliebell Falck, “Lest We Forget”: *Our World War Heroes* (Ogden, Ut., 1927); *Deseret News*, October 1, 1923; World War I Service Questionnaire, microfilm, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City; *Salt Lake Tribune*, July 2, 8, 9, 1917; *Salt Lake Telegram—Herald-Republican*, May 28, 1918.

determined," according to her son. She worked as a private duty RN in both the Dee and St. Benedict's hospitals in Ogden until 1957 and was active in nursing professional organizations. She was a member of the Disabled American Veterans. Another woman, Ella H. Conover, was also reported as having "her health . . . impaired during her war service."²¹

At least two Utah nurses received special recognition for their service. Luella Francy, a 1907 graduate of St. Mark's and an emergency hospital nurse in Salt Lake City, began her wartime service at Fort Bliss. Later she was part of a medical unit "on detached service from the American army in France [sent] to help the American Red Cross in its relief work in the Balkans." This seven-member team, which included three doctors, established the only hospital in the area of Prizeren, Serbia. Francy received the Serbian Cross of Mercy for her work. Nancy V. Self, a prominent figure in nursing and health organizations in Ogden, served as a nurse with the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe and was "commended by the chief of staff of the host forces for her work in the field hospitals."²²

Whether they were RNs, ambulance drivers, or canteen and clerical workers, Utah's women "veterans" obviously had "the right stuff." They did not consider themselves remarkable, however, nor did they view their wartime roles as masculine; rather, they saw a need and filled it with courage, dedication, and skill. Many of them witnessed the horrors of war—bombed villages and the dead, dying, and seriously wounded—firsthand. Their experiences should not be considered unique, inasmuch as women have served their country in every war since the American Revolution, but their many accomplishments in World War I undoubtedly foreshadowed expanding roles for women in the armed services in World War II and later conflicts.²³

²¹Flikke, *Nurses in Action*, p. 48; Raymond A. Swift, son of Louise Owen Swift, to author, November 6, 1989; *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, March 30, 1984; State of Utah, *Public Documents, 1919-20* (Salt Lake City, 1921), vol. 2, report no. 25, Biennial Report of the Utah State Board of Nurse Examiners.

²²*Salt Lake Herald*, September 26, 1919; *Deseret News*, October 1, 1923. Most of the Utah nurses would have received the Victory Medal and a \$60.00 bonus. See *Salt Lake Telegram*, April 22, 23, 1919.

²³Interesting studies of women during the war not previously cited include: Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Diana Condell and Jean Liddiard, *Working for Victory? Images of Women in the First World War, 1914-1918* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987); Susan C. Peterson and Beverly Jensen, "The Red Cross Call to Serve: The Western Response from North Dakota Nurses," *Western Historical Quarterly* 21 (August 1990): 321-40.



*Patriotic parade sponsored by the Greeks of Bingham, Utah, in May 1918.
Courtesy of the late Mrs. Ernest Benardis.*

Immigrants, Minorities, and the Great War

BY HELEN Z. PAPANIKOLAS

THE ASSASSINATION OF GRAND DUKE FRANZ FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA by a Serbian student, Gavrilo Princip, on June 28, 1914, in Sarajevo, Bosnia, was duly noted on the front pages of Salt Lake City newspapers. Most Utahns, however, showed no special interest in the affairs of an obscure, hardly known people.

To the South Slav immigrants in Utah—Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, and the few Bosnians, Montenegrins, and Herzegovinians—the news

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was momentous.¹ Foreign-language newspapers printed in the East and Midwest arrived in Utah and created a furor in Salt Lake City, the Carbon County coal mining camps, the Magna mill, the Murray, Midvale, and Tooele smelters, and the Bingham Canyon copper mines in all of which immigrants made up the greater part of the work force.

The Greeks had immediate access to news with the Greek-language *O Ergatis* ("The Worker") and the Japanese with the *Utah Nippo*, both published in Salt Lake City. The nationalistic concerns expressed in Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Greek, and Italian newspapers were fueled by visiting editors, national leaders, lodge officials, and native-country speakers who inflamed their compatriots over the consequences of the Austro-Hungarian war on the Serbs. Frenzied talk and fistfights exploded in coffeeshouses, lodges, boardinghouses, and in mines.²

The warring countries were all represented in the United States and in Utah by small to significant numbers of immigrants.³ To Americans the brawling of immigrant groups over European events was the ultimate evidence that these newest arrivals could never be Americanized; their concerns were totally with their native countries. Also, the immigrants openly professed their expectation to return to their homelands after trading their needed brawn for American money. This was not the aim of immigrants from northern Europe, Britain, and Scandinavia. Mormon missionary activity continually drew them, most often in family groups, to Utah where they intended to live permanently. Their attitudes toward their adopted country were more nearly like those of Americans.

The immigrants who were not Mormons were beset both from within and outside their ethnic neighborhoods—called Greek Towns, Bohunk Towns, Jap Towns, Wop Towns, and Little Italys by a rancorous American public. Their volatile nationalism, born of historic struggles

¹The Balkan wars of 1912-13 had returned to the Serbs 17,241 square miles of land annexed by the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1908, but many villages were still within Austrian borders. Militant Serbian university students were in the forefront of those demanding the Serbs be united. Archduke Ferdinand had devised the coup that extended Austrian territory into Serbia and was a hated symbol to the Serbs. At news of the assassination Serbs pulled down Austrian flags and replaced them with their own throughout Sarajevo. Ancient hostilities flared up and the Croats, although a subject people to Austria, retaliated by ransacking Serbian shops, schools, clubs, and houses.

²The author grew up in Carbon County in the 1920s when such incidents were often recalled.

³The Allies comprised Russia, France, Great Britain, Italy, United States, Japan, Romania, Belgium, Serbia, Greece, Portugal, and Montenegro; the Central Powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

for freedom, had affronted the Americans from the beginning of their entry into the country. They faced the same discrimination as the Irish in their mass migration of the 1840s but had not the advantage of knowing the English language.

American labor resented them because they would work for less than the native-born. Especially galling to Americans was the immigrant practice of sending money back to their countries to pay for sisters' dowries and to help impoverished parents. Money made in America should stay in the United States, demagogues railed, and the Americans took up the tirade. Further, the immigrants, the "unas-similable," as journalists called them, were leaving the ranks of labor with their savings, becoming businessmen, and competing with Americans. A few also had married American women, an anathema to the nation's mores.

When Germany entered the war to bolster Austria-Hungary against Serbia, the status of German immigrants in the United States changed. Once looked upon as sober, industrious people who would be an asset to the country, they became Huns and *Boches* ("thick-headed persons"). So great was the pressure on them that they began calling themselves Dutch, Russian, and Swiss.⁴ The virulence directed toward the Germans spread to all southern and eastern Europeans.

The South Slavs were most affected by the war. The Serbs were Eastern Orthodox, used the Cyrillic alphabet, had earned their freedom from the Turks, and had established the Kingdom of the Serbs in 1882; the Croats and Slovenes were Roman Catholic, used the Latin alphabet, and were still subjects of the Austria-Hungary empire.⁵ Ancient political and religious animosities were further deepened in Utah by the practices of Serbian labor agents, who, although hiring some Croats, gave preference to their own countrymen.

The Croats and Slovenes were at first exempted from war service because they could well be fighting relatives in the Austro-Hungarian army. The "Serbs . . . looked upon the war as a veritable crusade and as the concluding episode in the five-hundred-year struggle for national liberation," according to one historian.⁶ When Serbs, however, saw

⁴Those representing themselves as Russians had some basis for credibility: they were descendants of Baltic Germans whose land had been taken in the expansion of Russia's borders during Catherine the Great's reign.

⁵L. S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), chap. 14.

⁶Joseph Stipanovich, "Falcons in Flight: The Yugoslavs," in *The Peoples of Utah* ed. Helen Z. Papanikolas (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1976), p. 380.

their sons and brothers leaving for the army while Croats and Slovenes were granted exemption because of their country's alignment with the Central Powers, turmoil erupted. As more young Serbs left to serve in the French and Serbian armies, their volatile energies went with them. In Bingham Canyon more than two hundred Serbs volunteered, and with their absence the South Slav community settled back to the historic undercurrent of hostility among its factions.⁷

Immigrant Greeks from the mainland were divided between support for King Constantine who insisted on the country's neutrality—his wife was the Kaiser's sister—and Premier Eleftherios Venizelos who pushed for Greece's entrance on the side of the Allies and who was vociferously upheld by Cretan Greeks.⁸ Like the Serbs, the Greeks had been Ottoman subjects for centuries. They were hostile to the Turks who were allied with Bulgaria and the Central Powers.

Immigrant Italians were involved with the war and its effect on their homeland earlier than the Greeks. In 1914 Italy had declared neutrality, but in April 1915 the secret Treaty of London committed the country on the side of England and France and against its former allies, Germany and Austria. Italy had been at war for almost two years when Greece joined the Allies on July 2, 1917, three months after the United States on April 6, 1917.

The Balkan and Mediterranean immigrants and the fewer Asians in the state were wary, fearful that they would be taken into the army where they did not understand the language and where they could be killed and all hope of fulfilling traditional duties to their families would die with them. They did not rush to volunteer. Everywhere they were bombarded by the patriotic fervor of the Americans. Gala communal affairs were held, not only in cities and farming areas but also in industrial centers where immigrants lived clustered in their ethnic neighborhoods. Typical was an account in the *Tooele Transcript*. After a parade the onlookers walked to the opera house where "patriotic exercises were held." A banquet followed with soldiers, former soldiers, and their parents as guests of honor. A male chorus sang the "Star Spangled Banner"; dignitaries gave speeches; and the California infantry and Tooele baseball teams played a game. The festivities ended

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 380-81. The 200 figure for Serbian soldiers does not correspond with the War Services Records; an explanation could be that most Serbs left to serve with the Serbian army or that the number was mere surmising.

⁸ Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, pp. 556-58.



World War I bond drive in Midvale, Utah. Flags of Greece and the Serbian Orthodox Church posted alongside the Stars and Stripes demonstrated immigrant loyalty. USHS collections.

with an evening dance in the opera house.⁹

Along with this kind of exhilarating patriotism a dark propaganda swirled immigrants and labor radicals together. Always attacking radicals, the *Utah Mining Review*, for example, could now link them with hampering the war effort: "Hanging is too good for the I.W.W., the pro-German, the pacifist and the anarchist who is attempting to thwart the government in its prosecution of our righteous war against the brutal foe that is at war with nearly all mankind."¹⁰

Those immigrants who had come to America as boys or adolescents were buoyed by the wartime fervor and were eager to show they were not radicals but loyal to the United States. They spoke English with some facility, although accented, and had made acquaintances among their American peers. They began to volunteer, but they also felt ambivalent. Methods used by some to avoid service have become folklore: a recruit's continuous false coughing led to a suspicion that he was infected with tuberculosis and brought his desired discharge; others

⁹*Tooele Transcript*, August 3, 1917.

¹⁰*Utah Mining Review*, August 15, 1917.



First group of recruits leaving from the Price, Utah, rail station for World War I. Note small boy in uniform right of center. USHS collections, courtesy of Gary Tomsic.

learned that a pretense of stupidity became an effective means to avoid the front lines and be assigned to care for cavalry horses. Others, balking at first, decided "the food [in the army] was pretty good." For some the war solved their inability to find work.¹¹

A year after war was declared the *Price News Advocate* printed an article entitled "Greek Boys Hold Big Celebration." Special trains took the Greek miners from coal camps to Price where the Sunnyside band led them in a march to the Greek church. In high spirits the men sang, danced, listened to the familiar, stirring patriotic speeches about the historic struggle of the Greeks against the Turks, and expressed their loyalty to the United States.¹²

In late July, however, when the Carbon Country draft call was issued, the Greeks questioned its fairness. The draft call was sent to 801 men, 221 of whom were Greeks. Of these, 40 were naturalized or had taken out first citizenship papers.¹³ Although the next two issues of the

¹¹Interview with Paul Borovilos, November 12, 1989; interview with John Naccarato's stepdaughter, Vera Cuglietta, July 1, 1990.

¹²*Price News Advocate*, April 12, 1917.

¹³*Ibid.*, July 26, 1917.

newspaper carried the names of 5 to 10 Greeks who were entering the army, a large number asked for exemption because of their alien status. Spurred by the outcry in Greek newspapers, the men wanted to know before joining the army what would become of Greek provinces now under the yoke of the Turks, English, and Italians after the war: "Will the Greeks take part in the war to help big nations steal Greek lands? The allies must make themselves clear first. Greeks hate Kaiser but can't fight him for national reasons."¹⁴

Several disreputable labor agents and interpreters added to the confusion of Greek immigrants who did not speak English. They took advantage of the men, often with the connivance of American railroad officials and mine foremen, the "straw bosses." In Carbon County, Greeks were told they must pay an illegal five-dollar fee to the lawyers who processed draftees. The men paid the fee in the belief that it absolved them from any association with the United States Army.¹⁵

Young immigrants of all nationalities continued to volunteer or were drafted into the army. Several newspapers, mainly in Carbon County and Bingham, printed weekly news of the soldiers and quoted from letters written by immigrants in the service. The *Price News Advocate* printed an entire letter from T. H. Jouflas with the caption: "He Shows the Greeks in U.S. What They Ought To Be Doing." The newspaper said it had "always been more than ready to give credit to loyal Greeks for doing their part as adopted sons of Uncle Sam." Jouflas's letter read in part:

... All we want, and what we are going to get is the Kaiser's goat. ... Believe me the people over here are thinking the world of Uncle Sam's boys. I had more than 50 Greeks around here telling me that they would like to join the U.S. army only they wished they could talk the American language. ... they told me that [if] I could fix it so they could join they said they didn't want salary. Can you beat it. ...¹⁶

Another such story, "Bingham Oriental Enlists in Uncle Sam's Army," appeared in the *Press Bulletin*:

Kil Seurk Kim, native of Hawaii, born of Korean parentage and who has been a resident of Bingham for sometime . . . is a real American and he is

¹⁴Ibid., January 3, 1918. The writer, Tom Avgikos, a well-educated Greek businessman, was co-owner of the Golden Rule Store in Helper. He served in France and was scheduled to enter officers' training in London when the war ended. World War I Questionnaire, World War Services Records, microfilm, Utah State Archives, Salt Lake City.

¹⁵Told to the author by her father, George Zeese.

¹⁶*News Advocate*, May 19, 1918.

the first Binghamite of Oriental ancestry to fall in line. He is well known in Bingham and has many friends in camp. He is a young man of intelligence . . . and is an authority on Oriental customs and racial traits. Furthermore, he is an interesting conversationalist and furnishes much entertainment and dispenses much information on various topics to Bingham people.¹⁷

Bingham immigrants responded to induction with more alacrity than those in Carbon County. The Great Copper Company reported 284 of its workers were serving in the army with all nationalities represented.¹⁸ The Utah Copper Company employed the greatest number of men, 1,800, of whom 1,200 were immigrants. An article in the *Utah Copper Enterprise* acknowledged the workers' patriotism:

From the railway station one could see, through the smoke made by trains and steam shovels, a mountain deeply scarred—the edge of the great mine—and from it, above the haze, a glorious flag flew assertively. That flag, 20 by 40 ft., cost \$156 and was bought with contributions, of 25 cents to a \$1 apiece, made by the workers on the occasion of the campaign for the Third Liberty Loan.¹⁹

The induction of immigrants into the army, however, did not alter American hostility toward them as a whole. To counter this dangerous threat and to show their allegiance to the United States, the immigrants held patriotic rallies. In Bingham's Commercial Club Italians heard local Americans review Italian history and exhort those who were not citizens to become so without delay. The editor of the Salt Lake City *Italian Gazette* and a San Francisco Italian (whose importance was not explained) were prevented from delivering speeches at this event because their car was stuck in the mud at a distance from town. The program was, nevertheless, full:

Miss Contralto rendered the Italian anthem in a most effective manner. . . . Dominick Pezzapane speaking in the Italian tongue, delivered an address which held the closest attention of the Italians and appeared to make a deep impression on them. He spoke especially on Liberty bonds. . . . Mrs. John Contralto spoke in Italian to the women about the Red Cross work in Italy, France and Belgium.²⁰

"Patriotic Greek Pageant Takes Camp by Storm," the Bingham newspaper reported on the front page. The Greeks "spared no ex-

¹⁷*Bingham Press Bulletin*, February 15, 1918.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, September 20, 1918.

¹⁹T. A. Rickard, "The Mine," *Utah Copper Enterprise*, spring 1917, p. 36.

²⁰*Bingham Press Bulletin*, April 5, 1918.



Members of the Greek lodge O Byzas (named for a hero of the Greek revolution against the Turks) turned out for the patriotic pageant in Bingham in 1918. Courtesy of the late Mrs. Ernest Benardis.

pense." They paid the railroad fares for the Twentieth Infantry and Twenty-fourth band to lead a parade to the IOOF hall. The band's music was "mighty fine." Many floats followed, decorated with American and Greek flags and emblems of the Allies. A large "handsome portrait of George Washington" was carried by young Greeks. In the hall the Greek consul gave a "rousing" address in English and in Greek on behalf of the Red Cross. "Pretty girls and ladies" carrying flags then took up a collection that netted \$700.28. At the conclusion of the "most impressive feature of the kind ever seen in Bingham . . . Thea Sweitzer gave the soldiers a free meal."²¹

In the Commercial Club, Serbians gave farewells in the spring to their young men—already ninety were at the front; and the Japanese, who were "right up the mark on Red Cross and Liberty Bonds," held a Liberty Mass Meeting in the fall. In Winter Quarters, Carbon County, Greek miners bought \$9,000 worth of bonds; four of them subscribed to \$1,000 each. In Bingham a Greek immigrant invested his entire \$2,000 savings in bonds. Throughout the coal camps Greeks held "Get out the

²¹Ibid., May 24, 1918.



Immigrant smelter workers in Murray and Midvale bought uniforms from the Army-Navy Store and trained with wooden sticks. Courtesy of the author.

Coal” rallies, and immigrant miners ignored the IWW attempts in Bingham to call strikes.²²

Despite these patriotic endeavors, inflammatory pronouncements were printed in local newspapers, especially in Carbon County because of its large immigrant population:

Fathers and mothers who are sending their American boys to fight in Italy if need be and for the safety of both Greeks and Italians and all other races are getting more and more incensed at the whelps who think [of] nothing but getting American dollars under the American flag but who would not turn a hand over to save that flag from being dragged in the dirt by the Kaiser’s bloody cutthroats. Some of the worst specimens of this sort are going to get some early day western treatment if they do not wake up to their duty soon.²³

The *Bingham Press Bulletin* of May 10, 1918, reported on a mass meeting held in the Swedish Temperance Hall to protest an article in the *Salt Lake Tribune* that alleged:

. . . 125 Finns as I.W.W.’s [had] been discharged from Bingham mines. [It] was branded a falsehood . . . believed caused by animosity towards their temperance movement and trying to clean up the camp, improving moral

²²Ibid., March 22, 1918, October 4, 1918; *News Advocate*, April 22, 1918; Rickard, *Utah Copper Enterprise*, spring 1917, p. 45.

²³*News Advocate*, January 3, 1918.

conditions. Denied Finns were pro-German . . . and since America entered the war they were unanimous in their opposition to strikes.

Ethnic prejudice appeared in many guises. The September 6, 1918, issue of the *Bingham Press Bulletin* carried the heading: "Isolation of Huns Favored by Speaker." The nationality of a person suspected of a crime began to be stressed. Two lynchings of Greeks were thwarted in Utah by their armed countrymen.²⁴ Immigrants also learned it was expedient to carry Liberty Bonds at all times. An eighteen-year-old Greek traveling through Idaho was almost lynched by farmers. On his way to Montana he had stopped overnight and attended a movie. When the Pathe News showed war atrocities, he was pulled out of the theater and taken to a tree to be hanged. He begged the men to look into his pocket for bonds. The Liberty Bonds saved him, but he was told to get out of town immediately.²⁵ Foreigners, the newspapers and politicians increasingly proclaimed, were incapable of being good American citizens. Immigrants suspected of being radicals were deported. Bombings were traced to immigrants with sympathies for German and Austria-Hungary. At the same time great numbers of immigrants were volunteering for the armed services or were being inducted.

The immigrants in the United States Army shared the miseries of all soldiers, but their incomprehension of English added to their fears when given orders of which they were unsure. Besides the Serbs who left for Serbia, a number of Greeks preferred to return to their homeland to fight in the Greek army. The few with special skills fared better there than their compatriots in the American army, particularly those who knew French, then the language taught in Greek schools of higher education. Several of Utah's Greek immigrants, including one from Nestani in the Peloponnesus and another from Crete, saw no action in France; because of their knowledge of French, they were put in charge of guarding German prisoners. The better-educated immigrants were often given translating duty. A native of Melfi, Italy, Ben Colobella also knew French, Russian, Spanish, and English and was sent to Siberia with the American army. There he developed rheumatism which would limit his postwar work opportunities. After the war the government sent him to school to learn shoe repairing.²⁶

²⁴See Helen Z. Papanikolas, *Toil and Rage in a New Land: The Greek Immigrants in Utah, 1914*, 2d ed. rev., reprinted from *Utah Historical Quarterly* 38 (1970): 155-56.

²⁵Nick Zeese, second cousin of the writer's father.

²⁶Interview of Gust Kouris by the author, Ethnic Archives, G30, Marriott Library, University of Utah; interview of Anast Chipian's son John, November 13, 1989; Cuglietta interview.



Hatsuto Hakata, right, who served in World War I, and his wife and mother. Courtesy of his daughter May Horiuchi.

Hatsuto Hakata, a Utah Japanese born in Hawaii, remembered his war experience as frightening even though he saw no action. At the time of induction he was in his early twenties. He had an eighth-grade education, spoke English fluently, and was the only soldier in his group guarding German prisoners who was not a Caucasian. Later, he would recall humorous stories of army life and “how good the French were to the American soldiers.”²⁷

Knowing sufficient English, however, was of little help in technical matters. James Galanis had seen the rioting and burning of South Omaha’s Greek Town by Americans in 1909. He fled to Utah and worked in Carbon County mines until he and the writer of the article, “Why the Greeks Don’t Fight,” established the Helper Golden Rule Store. He and his partner, Tom Avgikos, volunteered and became sergeants in France. As his son later recalled:

He was made a sergeant in France and because he could speak some French, he was occasionally used as an interpreter. His discharge certificate cited him for his campaigns in Chateau Thierry and the Second Battle of the Marne and for his “excellent horse-manship.” (To my knowledge my father was never on a horse.) He was a gas mask instructor and afraid to have the masks removed prematurely, he had the men keep them on long after they should have been removed.²⁸

Black experience was entirely different from that of the immigrants. During the war years the black population in Utah increased; the

²⁷Interview of May Hakata Horiuchi, his daughter, Salt Lake City, November 19, 1989.

²⁸Louis Galanis to the author, April 19, 1990. Galanis and his partner left their business to be run by employees. When they returned from France, they found their business had declined. They built it up again and added another store in Payson, Utah, and one in Delta, Colorado.



James Galanis of Helper, Utah, in his World War I uniform. Courtesy of Louis Galanis.

1910 census showed 1,144 blacks in the state; the 1920 census listed 1,446. Railroads had brought more blacks to Utah to meet wartime demands. Black women actively worked for the war effort and formed an organization to sell bonds.

African Americans were swayed by leaders, especially by W. E. B. Du Bois who encouraged war service as an opportunity to earn equality. Others, however, pointed out that it had not done so in previous wars, and the military actively discouraged blacks from enlisting. An army report later said: "Had the response to the call for volunteers been so ardent among all classes of people, especially the foreign born, as it was from the American Negro, it is fair to say that the selective draft would not necessarily have been so extensive."²⁹

African Americans have a history of military service; 186,000 served in the segregated Union Army and 27,000 in the integrated Union Navy, primarily as messmen. In the Spanish American War sixteen regiments of black volunteers were in combat and were noted for their heroism on San Juan Hill with Teddy Roosevelt's dismounted rough riders. Black soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Infantry from Fort Douglas, Utah, were involved in combat duty in both Cuba and the Philippines. The infantry of almost 450 soldiers had arrived at Fort Douglas in October 1896.³⁰ Two decades later, as the United States was

²⁹W. Allison Sweeney, *History of the American Negro in the Great World War: His Splendid Record in the Battle Zones of Europe* (New York, 1919), p. 74.

³⁰See Ronald G. Coleman, "Blacks in Utah History," in Papanikolas, *The Peoples of Utah*, pp. 130-32.

being pulled closer to the Allied cause, four black regiments were serving in the West.³¹

During World War I recruiters were unwilling to accept blacks in the regular army because of their distaste for integration, their racist view that blacks could not handle artillery, and, especially, the Houston riot of 1917. Three race riots occurred in 1917: in East St. Louis, Illinois, nine whites and forty blacks were murdered by mobs; three blacks and three whites died in Chester, Pennsylvania, riots; and the black Twenty-fourth Infantry stationed in Houston went on a rampage.³² The troops had complained of intense discrimination in buses and eating places and of brutal treatment by police officers. The agitation grew and weapons were taken from the soldiers in fear they would retaliate. On August 26 two white policemen arrested a black woman for ostensibly using abusive language. An African American military policeman asked the white men to explain the arrest. One officer, witnesses later testified, said, "I don't report to any Negro," hit the soldier over the head with his pistol, and as he ran fired at him. The rumor that the black had been killed sent the soldiers running to the ammunition tent, where they took guns, marched to the city, and killed seventeen whites. In the battle four blacks died. Nineteen black soldiers were later hanged.³³ The Houston riot was uppermost in recruiters' assessment of blacks arriving to volunteer; yet, the service of blacks was crucial to the war effort.

It was soon apparent that the war would not be won in the two or three months initially predicted. As defense plants geared up they drew workers by the thousands, among them southern blacks; 500,000 moved north and competed for jobs and housing. The army needed a great pool of men, and blacks were then inducted in large number—370,000 or 11 percent of American combat forces. The established ratio for the army was one black for every ten whites. Half of these men were sent to the all-black 92nd and 93rd Infantry divisions. The recruitment of blacks was a scandal in many parts of the country, particularly in the South and blatantly in Fulton County, Georgia. Young unmarried whites were regularly exempted at the same time that married blacks with many children were being inducted.³⁴

³¹Ibid.; Sweeney, *History of the American Negro*, p. 74.

³²Bernard C. Nalty, *Strength for the Fight: A History of Black Americans in the Military* (New York: The Free Press, MacMillan, 1986), chap. 7; W. Augustus Low and Virgil A. Clift, eds., *Encyclopedia of Black America* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981), p. 232.

³³Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia of Black America*, p. 836.

³⁴Charles S. Williams, *Negro Soldiers in World War I: The Human Side* (New York: A.M.S. Press, 1923), p. 21. Of 815 white men called, 526 were exempted; of 202 blacks, 6 were exempted.

Unprepared, the army did not have enough uniforms. The first black volunteers were given, to their humiliation, old Union blue Civil War uniforms.³⁵ White officers feared guns in the hands of the African



Jack Duncan, April 10, 1918, served with the all-black 92d Division. Courtesy of Jack Duncan.

Americans and drilled the men with hoes, shovels, and picks over their shoulders.³⁶ Many white officers resisted command of black troops. Black officers were then commissioned, almost all college graduates, but too few, one for every 2,600 men. The Wilson administration insisted on rigid segregation in the military.

Jack Duncan, a ninety-three-year-old black veteran living in Salt Lake City, smiled in reminiscence on being asked about black officers. "Oh, yes, we had black officers. Everyone in my regiment was black. We had a colonel who was black."³⁷ A colonel was as high as a black could advance; no matter how qualified, he could not go beyond the "deadline."³⁸ At first black officers were believed to lack the mathematical ability to qualify

as artillery officers. This was refuted by the record of the 349th, 350th, and 351st artillery regiments and the machine gun battalions of the 92d Division.³⁹

Jack Duncan was more fortunate than most African American soldiers. He was twenty-one years old and farming in Hiawatha, Missouri, when he was inducted into the army. His older brother was already an army cook. After basic training at Camp Funston, Kansas,

³⁵Sweeney, *History of the American Negro*, p. 133.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁷Interview with Jack Duncan, November 20, 1989, Salt Lake City. On his return to the United States, Duncan heard that blacks were being recruited in Salt Lake City for work on the railroads. He spent the rest of his working life in the city, as a porter in the airport and as a waiter in several hotels, mostly in the Hotel Utah.

³⁸Sweeney, *History of the American Negro*, p. 75.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 80.

with the all-black 92d Division, he was sent overseas where he spent nineteen months as a chauffeur for officers, but his main duty was driving ammunition trucks to the front. Three-fourths of all black soldiers were used in noncombat operations as messmen, stewards, and latrine orderlies, and as stevedores on French docks for the American Expeditionary Forces. A separate regiment of the 92d served, unsegregated, with French troops.

In comparison with blacks far fewer Asians in proportion to their numbers enlisted or were inducted in Utah; the greater number of them who served came from the West Coast. Only one Utah Native American (a Ute) has been positively identified in state war records. Navajos, Gosiutes, Utes, and other Native Americans considered the conflict in Europe to be a white man's war and for the most part were determined not to serve in the army. Moreover, prior to 1924 when all Indians were given U.S. citizenship most of those living on tribal lands in the West were not U.S. citizens and could not be drafted, although the Selective Service Act required all U.S. resident males of draft age to register. Very few Navajos felt motivated to volunteer for the army, but some contributed to the war effort by buying bonds or donating fleeces to the Red Cross. Utah's Gosiutes, angry over unresolved grievances with the government, influenced by Idaho Shoshones, and bullied by their unsympathetic agent, actively resisted attempts to register them. After numerous confrontations 163 Gosiutes did register. A few are believed to have crossed the state line and enlisted in Nevada.⁴⁰

The World War I Services Records for Utah may have omissions.⁴¹ The records were transferred several times before being permanently placed in the Utah State Archives.⁴² The War Services Questionnaires from which the information was taken were poorly filled out, often in pencil. Many prospective recruits, both American and immigrant, were illiterate and others made out their forms. Religion was not listed and this precludes knowing how many Jews served in the armed forces. Almost all born in Russia have Jewish

⁴⁰The 1910 census shows 2,110 Japanese males and 371 Chinese males; in 1920 there were 2,936 Japanese males and 342 Chinese males. See also Garrick Bailey and Roberta Glenn Bailey, *A History of the Navajos: The Reservation Years* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1986), p. 118; David L. Wood, "Gosiute-Shoshone Draft Resistance, 1917-18," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 49 (1981); Joseph H. Peck, *What Next Doctor Peck?* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1959), pp. 190-91.

⁴¹To compute the number of each immigrant group serving in the armed forces, the author examined the 21,000 Utah veterans' records and tallied the immigrants by their country of birth.

⁴²The peripatetic journey of Utah war records is recorded by Steve Wood, Utah State Archives. A fire, believed to be arson, destroyed the national war records in St. Louis, Missouri. See Walter W. Stender and Evans Walker, "The National Personnel Records Center Fire: A Study in Disaster," *The American Archivist* (October 1974): 521-49.

surnames as do many giving their birth country as Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The mother of a registrant is often listed with only her given name, providing no clue to mixed parentage.

The registrants gave their birthplace and date; frequently their residence is listed as a boardinghouse or hotel. A picture emerges of many young men roaming the country looking for work. Place of last employment was often answered with the name of the employer, such as "Mr. Jenkins." Was Mr. Jenkins a farmer or cattleman? Often pictures of the registrants in army uniforms were included, showing the young men, called "boys" by officials, standing stiffly, wearing ill-fitting uniforms, legs wrapped in puttees, and feet turned outward. The interviewers could have given future researchers a wealth of material if they had monitored the registrants' answers.

Twenty-one thousand Utahns served in the armed forces; of these 2,156 were of foreign birth or U.S. ethnic/racial minorities.

PLACE OF BIRTH OF UTAH IMMIGRANTS/MINORITIES
SERVING IN THE MILITARY DURING WORLD WAR I
Extracted From War Services Records

Italy	385	U.S. Hispanics	38
Greece	349	Turkey	24 ^e
England	282	Australia	15
Sweden	135	Belgium	13
Denmark	132	Wales	12
Mexico	92 ^a	Hawaii	11 ^f
Holland	85	Serbia	10 ^g
Germany	75	China	9
Scotland	65	Syria	8 ^h
Canada	63	Philippines	7
Russia	61 ^b	Poland	7
Norway	54	South America	5
France	51 ^c	India	4 ⁱ
Switzerland	49	Albania	3
U.S. Blacks	45	South Africa	3
Austria	43 ^d	Hungary	3

2 each from New Zealand, Romania, and Algeria (French surnames); 1 each from Persia, Virgin Islands, Jerusalem, North Korea, Hong Kong, Samoa, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Luxembourg, Afganistan, and U.S. Native American (Ute).

^a50 with Anglo Surnames; ^bmost Jewish, but several Armenian surnames; ^cincludes Basque surnames; ^dincludes Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; ^e11 Armenians, 6 Greeks, 4 Turks, 2 Americans, 1 Syrian; ^f5 Caucasians, 3 Japanese, 3 Hawaiians (1 born in Iosepa, Utah); ^gKingdom of Serbia (see also Austria); ^hLebanese surnames; ⁱ2 Anglo surnames.

The 1910 census listed Utah's population at 373,351. In that year the four numerically highest immigrant groups listed in the War

Services Records had the following total numbers: Greeks, 4,039; Italians, 3,172; English, 18,083; Swedes, 7,227. Immigrant women and men were not counted separately until 1920 when the figures for males were: Greeks, 2,731; Italians, 2,253; English, 7,189; Swedes, 2,887.

The figures from the census and the War Services Records appear to substantiate the Greeks' and Italians' assertion that more of them were inducted into the services in proportion to their numbers in Utah than were the American-born and the immigrants from Britain and Scandinavia. More information would be needed to verify this complaint. The large numbers of English and Swedish males listed in the 1920 census, however, would include underage boys. By 1917 a small second generation of Italian Americans was approaching war induction age; the Greeks, who came to the U.S. later, had an even smaller number of children by the time of the war.

The statistics also mirror continued, although diminished, Mormon immigration from Britain, Scandinavia, and northern Europe and colonization in Mexico when polygamy was disavowed. Some of the Canadians may also reflect polygamous roots. Non-reservation Indians and those being assimilated into the community through conversion to the LDS church frequently anglicized their names, making it difficult to differentiate them from other registrants. Further, the army had only two designations for race, white and "colored."

Of Utah's 21,000 servicemen, 665 were war casualties. Of these, 74 were of foreign birth or U.S. ethnic/racial minorities.⁴³

Those who had survived returned to an America bent on forcing immigrants to become Americanized immediately. Under the "Red Scare" massive arrests and deportations of purported radical immigrants began, the Chicago Palmer raids being the most significant. In the "Red Summer of 1919" lynchings of blacks increased: in 1917 there were forty-eight; in 1918, sixty-three; and in 1919, seventy-eight—ten were veterans, several in uniform when they were burned alive.⁴⁴

Immigrant veterans were granted citizenship, except for the Japanese. Immigrants who had asked for exemption were denied citizenship applications for five years. Although foreign-born veterans

⁴³Immigrant casualties: Italy, 17; Greece, 13; England, 10; Sweden, 4; Mexico, 4 (3 Anglo surnames); Denmark, 4; Finland, 3; 2 each from Ireland, Scotland, Serbia, and Russia; U.S., Hispanics, 2; 1 each from Hawaii, Canada, France, Philippines, Japan, Holland, Poland, China, and Switzerland. Compiled from War Services Records and Noble Warrum's *Utah in the World War* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924).

⁴⁴Low and Clift, *Encyclopedia of Black America*, p. 232.

became members of the American Legion, established in March 1919, the organization led the Americanization fight with stinging attacks on all immigrants.⁴⁵ A capricious attitude toward the immigrant servicemen characterized the American Legion. On one hand a visiting national commander reviled immigrants, oblivious to the ethnic veterans listening to him, and on the other hand American and immigrant veterans formed lifelong friendships.⁴⁶

In Salt Lake City Greek veterans established their own American Legion Post Number 4 and wore their uniforms while carrying the flower-decorated tomb of Christ around the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Church on Good Friday.⁴⁷ Often immigrants wore their uniforms on visits to their native countries, conferring instant prestige on themselves. Other immigrants bitterly denounced the war on their return from France, convinced that munitions manufacturers had worked clandestinely to promote hostilities for monetary gain.

The Legion spearheaded the doomed, compulsory education program. The Japanese were the most faithful in paying the ten-dollar registration fee and attending classes. Of the thirty-five immigrants in Carbon County who registered for the program almost all were Japanese.⁴⁸ Catholic nuns taught a class mainly for Greeks and Italians in the Arthur Utah Copper Club.⁴⁹ The majority of immigrants refused to attend the classes, saying they were too tired in the evening. These men had rudimentary reading and writing skills in their own languages and feared they would be humiliated in trying to learn English.

The American Legion stridently continued its campaign against the immigrants. When Carbon County coal miners joined the unsuccessful national coal strike in 1922, the Legion unleashed its most formidable propaganda weapon: striking was un-American. The immigrants were called bolsheviks and I-Won't-Work slackers, and cries grew that they be deported to their native countries. Considerable attention was also given to immigrant bootleggers; however, this could not be taken seriously because a greater number of American-born found it lucrative to make and sell illicit liquor.⁵⁰

⁴⁵*News Advocate*, November 30, 1922.

⁴⁶See story of Last Squad Club in *Salt Lake Tribune*, March 2, 1986.

⁴⁷The minutes book, 1926-33, in the Greek language, is deposited in Special Collections, Marriott Library, University of Utah; Borovilos interview.

⁴⁸*News Advocate*, November 30, 1922.

⁴⁹Borovilos interview.

⁵⁰See Papanikolas, *Toil and Rage*, pp. 166-75; and "Bootlegging in Zion: Making and Selling the 'Good Stuff,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (1985): 268-91.

Two years later the Ku Klux Klan, many of them Legionnaires, harassed the immigrants by marching in Salt Lake City and Magna, burning crosses on Salt Lake City's Ensign Peak, Bingham foothills, and in the Helper rail yards and on its mountain slopes.⁵¹ In 1921 and 1924 quotas were placed on immigration to the U.S., and the numbers from southern and eastern Europe were dramatically curtailed.

The Japanese were severely affected by the war: they were no longer allowed entrance into the United States. *Issei*, first-generation Japanese, became, like the Chinese earlier, ineligible for citizenship, and *Nisei*, (second-generation) women, married to *Issei*, had their citizenship revoked by the Cable Act of 1922. In 1931 a new organization, the Japanese American Citizens League, successfully lobbied to have two legislative acts passed. *Nisei* women regained their citizenship and 700 Japanese World War I veterans were granted citizenship.⁵²

Reminders of the war are seen in unexpected places. In the Greek mountain village of the author's father stands a monument, erected by a Chicago immigrant, to the Greek Americans of the village who died alongside their countrymen in the two world wars; and in Grimaldi, Italy, is another, achieved through the efforts of two immigrant Italian brothers, one from Columbia, Carbon County, the other from Pueblo, Colorado, honoring the immigrant Italians and the native Grimaldians who died in the war.⁵³

The Great War was a catalyst that intensified nativist feelings against immigrants and minorities. The Ku Klux Klan was the most visible expression of it. The immigrant experience during the war years settled for most foreign-born the question of repatriation. Because many immigrants made visits to their homelands and returned to the United States where they were counted, not as returnees, but as new immigrants, the actual number who remained in their native countries can only be conjectured; it is commonly held to have been small.

Immigrants were advised to become American citizens immediately, to enable them "to travel anywhere in the United States safely." The immigrants flocked to apply for citizenship, and overt prejudice against them lessened into covert forms. The grandchildren of immigrants have faced little discrimination. African Americans, though, have not yet reached their expectations of true equality through military service.

⁵¹Papanikolas, *Toil and Rage*, pp. 176-81.

⁵²See Julia E. Johnsen, *Japanese Exclusion* (New York, 1925).

⁵³Personal communication from Philip F. Notarianni, Magna, Utah.

Die Beobachter ist...
am 1. April...
für die Redaktion...

Der Beobachter...
für die Redaktion...
für die Redaktion...

Österreich-Ungarn löst die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit den Ver. Staaten auf.

Nachrichten.

Die Beobachter...
am 1. April...
für die Redaktion...

Wien, den 10. April. Die österreichische Regierung hat heute die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit den Vereinigten Staaten aufzulösen beschlossen. Die Entscheidung wurde im Reichsrat einstimmig gefasst.

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Krieg zwischen Deutschland und Ver. Staaten.



"Your Flag and My Flag."

Kriegszustand.

Die Beobachter...
am 1. April...
für die Redaktion...

Præs. Wilson's Botschaft an den Kongress.

Die Beobachter...
am 1. April...
für die Redaktion...

Andere telegraphische Nachrichten.

Washington, den 10. April. Die amerikanische Regierung hat heute die diplomatischen Beziehungen mit Österreich-Ungarn aufzulösen beschlossen.

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Bericht der Hauptkonferenz.

Die Beobachter...
am 1. April...
für die Redaktion...

Utah's German-language newspaper announced the U.S. declaration of war against Germany and demonstrated loyalty by displaying the American flag.

Our Cradles Were in Germany: Utah's German American Community and World War I

BY ALLAN KENT POWELL

Dr. Powell is field services coordinator for the Utah State Historical Society.

AS WORLD WAR I BROKE ACROSS EUROPE IN August 1914, Utah's nearly 10,000 German-born residents followed the far-away events with keen interest.¹ Most pondered the impact of the war on family and friends in the homeland. Some speculated on the political and economic implications for Germany. Few considered that the war would bring a crisis of collective and individual loyalty to the mountains and valleys of Utah some 5,000 miles away from the battlefields of Western Europe.

Over the course of three years the United States moved from a position of uninvolved neutrality to become an active ally of France and Great Britain against Germany and Austria. Between August 1914 and 1917, Utah's German-born community demonstrated a dual loyalty to both their former homeland and their adopted country. Although often uncomfortable, this dual loyalty was possible in democratic America until the declaration of war even though Germany's swaggering militarism piqued most Americans who also sided with Britain and France because of historical and geographical ties.

When war came it impinged directly on traditional American habits and ideas of tolerance and pluralism. As historian John Higham observed, "The struggle with Germany suddenly imposed enormous tasks upon a loose built, peaceful society, calling for an unusual output of manpower and materiel." Consequently, he concluded, "The war seemed so encompassing, so arduous, that the slightest division of purpose or lack of enthusiasm appeared an intolerable handicap to it."²

Utahns joined willingly in the national war effort. They over-subscribed to the Liberty Bond drives, sent brothers and sons off to fight, and demanded unequivocal loyalty from their German-born

¹Between 1890 and 1910 the number of Utah residents from Germany, Austria, and Switzerland had more than doubled from 3,574 to 7,524. As immigration continued the number was well over 8,000 by 1914 and, according to one source, just under 10,000 in 1917. By comparison, the 1910 census disclosed that of a total United States population of just under 92 million, 2.5 million were born in Germany with another 5.8 million counted as second-generation German Americans. In 1910 German Americans were the most numerous immigrant group in the United States, representing 26 percent of the total foreign white stock in the country. Counting second-generation children, Utah's German American community is estimated as slightly over 25,000 or about 6 percent of Utah's 400,000 residents in 1914. On the eve of World War I the Utah German American community was an obviously important but minority group in a state whose population was primarily of British and Scandinavian stock. See Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), pp. 29-30, and Ronald K. Dewsnup, "The Waves of Immigration," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54 (1984): 348. *Leslie's Weekly Newspaper* for March 8, 1917, listed the number of German-born in each of the forty-eight states. Utah, with 9,935, ranked thirty-fifth, well ahead of Wyoming with 6,500 and Arizona and Nevada with 4,000 each, but far behind Idaho with 14,000 and Colorado with 55,882. The heaviest concentrations of German-born residents were in New York, 1,234,584; Illinois, 1,014,408; Wisconsin, 794,943; Ohio, 673,795; Pennsylvania, 654,684; Michigan, 424,753; Minnesota, 396,859; Missouri, 367,511; and Iowa, 360,005.

²John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1955,) p. 206.

neighbors.³ In the eyes of the nation these actions reflected positively on Utah and in particular on the Mormon church whose own loyalty had been under attack for nearly three-quarters of a century.⁴ This *gleichshaltung* was not without agony for Utah's German community, and its manifestation can be followed through the pages of Utah's only German-language newspaper, the *Salt Lake City Beobachter*. The purpose of this paper is to describe how German Americans in Utah, as reported in the *Salt Lake City Beobachter*, responded to World War I before and after America's official entry into the conflict.

Established in 1890, *The Beobachter* ("The Observer") was the principal news source for most of Utah, Wyoming, and Idaho's German-speaking population and was also sent to Europe where it circulated among members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The newspaper was founded by Joseph Harvey Ward, an American-born member of the LDS church who had served as a missionary in Germany. Ward owned, edited, and published the newspaper from 1890 until his death in 1905 when the *Beobachter* Publishing Company was established with the LDS church holding controlling interest. A board of directors was elected which appointed Arnold H. Schulthess as editor and business manager. Schulthess was born in Neukirch, Switzerland, in 1865, baptized into the LDS church in Salt Lake City in 1882, and served as president of the German Mission from early 1899 until August 1901.⁵

On New Year's Eve 1913, Arnold Schulthess offered his readers best wishes for a new year and his hope that the paper would continue "to bring a message of peace to every house—near and far—that it entered."⁶ Although the *Beobachter* called for peace as 1914 dawned, within four months the newspaper began carrying articles reflecting the tense situation between Russia and Germany. A front-page article on April 1, 1914, observed that Russia appeared to have something against Germany and was stirring up the Poles against Germany and the Slavs

³Nearly 25,000 Utahns served in the armed forces during the war and 665 died in service, including over 200 who fell on the battlefields in Europe. Thomas G. Alexander, "Political Patterns of Early Statehood, 1896-1918," in Richard D. Poll, et al., *Utah's History* (Provo, Brigham Young University Press, 1978), p. 424.

⁴Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 46.

⁵Thomas L. Broadbent, "The *Salt Lake City Beobachter*: Memoir of an Immigration," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 26 (1958): 329-50, and Gilbert Scharffs, *Mormonism in Germany* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1970), pp. 46-47. Original copies of the *Salt Lake City Beobachter* were preserved by LDS church historian Andrew Jenson. Microfilm copies of the newspaper are available at a number of locations including the Utah State Historical Society Library, Salt Lake City.

⁶*Salt Lake City Beobachter*, December 31, 1913.

against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Later in the month another article reported the mistreatment of a German pilot and two crew members being held in a Russian prison on charges of spying.⁷

Speculation about a forthcoming war ended when the August 5 issue of the *Beobachter* announced, "The War Has Become Reality." Salt Lake City Germans demonstrated a great measure of patriotism toward their homeland at the outbreak of World War I. More than five hundred attended a mass meeting held on August 5, 1914, in the German Hall at 323 State Street. The meeting began with an opening song, "Deutschland, Deutschland Uber Alles." Charles Peters, temporary chairman of the meeting, gave a brief review of the events leading up to the war. Thunderous applause exploded at his concluding statement: "With our Kaiser only one condition existed in the present conflict—victory or death." Dr. F. Moormeister followed with a speech that expressed the sentiments of most in attendance: "We stand at the eve of a world war and can only wait to see what the future will bring. Our cradles were in Germany and there is where our hearts are now." Those assembled also drafted and adopted a dispatch to the German ambassador in Washington, Count Johann Von Bernsdorff, indicating that Salt Lake City's Germans had long prayed that peace might be preserved but now would pray for victory for their homeland. The leaders of the August 5 meeting also looked to the establishment of a permanent organization, the German American Relief League, to support the German cause. Before concluding the business of the meeting, Peters offered a toast to President Woodrow Wilson and the United States of America, after which all joined in singing "The Star Spangled Banner."⁸

In the following days other expressions of loyalty to Germany followed. Kaiser Wilhelm II was shown great respect. The *Beobachter* published the text of his August 4 speech to the Reichstag justifying the declaration of war. Persons who recruited six new full-paying subscribers to the *Beobachter* earned a canvas painting of the Kaiser with a gold frame. The Liberty Theater showed the film *The Fighting Germans* during the week of June 18 through 25, 1916. Kaiser Wilhelm II appeared in the film, and his picture was used to advertise it. News of the heroism of German soldiers related to German immigrants in Utah appeared regularly in the *Beobachter*.⁹

⁷Ibid., August 12 and September 30, 1914.

⁸Ibid., August 12, 1914.

⁹Ibid., September 30, October 14, and November 18, 1914; and June 14, 1916.

German patriotism found nourishment in the poems appearing periodically in the *Beobachter* during the early months of the war. Readers were urged to take pride in being German and recognize virtue in Germany's conduct of the war. Representative of this spirit is the poem penned by Friedrich G. Fischer of Sandy, Utah, and titled "Zum Trost for Mein Vaterland." ("For the Comfort of My Fatherland.")¹⁰

My Fatherland, My Fatherland
 What law have you broken
 That from the Alps to the ocean shore
 hate is spoken against you.
 You beautiful mighty realm of peace,
 In the entire world nothing is your equal
 When dark nights come,
 God protect you. We deny you not.

My Germany, O Germania,
 You are not defeated.
 How united and majestic you stand
 in these troubled days.

For freedom, yes, the greatest good,
 We willingly offer our blood.
 While victory and illusion now must pass,
 You, the land of the true will survive.

My Homeland, My Fatherland,
 Who has the right to judge you?
 Who sent the enemy against you?
 To bring complete destruction?
 With your arts and learning,
 With your music and your strength,
 With God's help alone,
 You must and will be the victor.

Nevertheless, some readers complained that the editors of the *Beobachter* were not patriotic enough. These critics wanted bigger headlines about Germany's victories, more "noise" about the war effort, and stronger attacks against Germany's enemies. Still, the editor charged, when the German government asked for five or ten dollars to help Germany there was little to be seen or heard of these "firework patriots."¹¹ During the first few months of the war the *Beobachter* listed four hundred contributions ranging from twenty-five cents to \$100 to the German Red Cross for a total of \$2,600.

War brought the immediate removal of all American LDS missionaries from Germany and Switzerland. Hyrum W. Valentine, president of the Swiss German mission, secreted 20,000 marks into Germany, visited all of the American elders, gave them enough money to pay their obligations and for passage to Liverpool, and arranged for local members to continue church activities. A number of German and Swiss Saints questioned the wisdom and need to remove the American elders at the beginning of the war. They argued that the elders were in no danger and could not understand how a shepherd could leave his flock. Instead of leaving Germany, some suggested, it would have been better

¹⁰Ibid., September 9, 1914.

¹¹Ibid., December 30, 1914.

if the American missionaries had volunteered their service for the Red Cross. Church leaders responded that they acted to remove the American elders under orders of Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan for all Americans in the warring nations to return home as quickly as possible. Although the American missionaries had been well treated by the German government and German people and although the Americans left with nothing but praise for the Germans, church leaders could not predict what the future would bring and feared that if the missionaries stayed they might land in prison or suffer other mistreatment. Furthermore, the German Saints were not without shepherds and if problems arose that local leaders could not handle, they could turn to President Valentine for counsel. Acknowledging that service in the Red Cross was noble, church authorities reminded members that these elders had been called to preach the gospel of Christ. The time was short, the field ripe, and the workers few.¹²

With the removal of Mormon missionaries, increasing difficulties in maintaining contact with Europe, and growing anti-German sentiment throughout America, Utah's Germans took great comfort in an address by Anthon H. Lund to the German-speaking Saints in the Assembly Hall on September 11, 1915. As an LDS church general authority born in Denmark and an immigrant who knew firsthand many of the trials of the German Saints in Utah, Lund's sympathetic and soothing words supplied a much needed balm for the beleaguered Utah Germans. He reminded the congregation that God was no respecter of nations. He loved all His children. Lund continued: "We have gathered in a land where we have become citizens of another nation. But that does not mean that we should lose our love for our fatherland or the great leaders. We should continually remember the land where we were born and the people to which we belong." Speaking of his experiences as a young immigrant in Utah, Lund recalled a feeling against foreigners then and noted that although people looked down upon them still he was never ashamed of his homeland. He always remembered the good things and great people of his native land and urged the assembled immigrants to do the same and pass that knowledge on to their children. He concluded, ". . . love for our Fatherland does not detract from our love for the country which has taken us in. The person who forgets and criticizes his own Fatherland will not be a good citizen of this land."¹³

¹²Ibid., March 17, 1915. The concern for safety was genuine; many missionaries had been expelled or imprisoned in peaceful times before the war.

¹³Ibid., September 29, 1915.

News of the first wartime casualties to reach friends and relatives in Utah was chronicled on the front page of the *Beobachter*. Many attended a memorial service held in the Assembly Hall on July 30, 1916, for one fallen German soldier, Wilhelm Kessler. Born July 23, 1887, in Neukirchen, Rheinland Pfalz, Kessler joined the LDS church in 1907 shortly before his twentieth birthday. Three years later he immigrated to Utah where he stayed with his sister, Helene Kuehn, and her family. In October 1912 he returned to Germany as a missionary. After stays in Berlin and Hannover, his next assignment took him to Basel in March 1913 to become editor of *Der Stern*. When war broke out he left his mission to volunteer for the German army.

In a letter to the *Beobachter* written on July 30, 1914, at the time Kessler made his decision to leave his mission assignment for the army, the German patriot wrote:

I am compelled to take this step by the guiding voice of my deepest conscience. It may be that some of my dear friends will not approve . . . I understand their point of view, but no one can rob me of my high regard for the homeland, the future of this just endeavor, and my decision to keep unsoiled my honor as a loyal son of Germany. Let me keep my belief that all authority is from God and that we must give the Kaiser his due. Let me keep my confidence in God that he can protect his children even in the most dangerous of circumstances. I know that many of you share my opinion and can justify my action. To you goes my heartfelt thanks. . . . The sins of the Slavs are great and the blood shed by their crimes cries to heaven. God will punish them. The dark clouds must be lightened with force so that the gospel rays can be received in unrestricted freedom, which is not now the case in the Slavic countries. . . . I am of no use to my church now, but I can enlist in the service of my fatherland and thereby further God's intentions. Not until peace is restored will the harvest finally be ripe. Then we, the patriots, can be of greatest support to the mission. But everything is in God's hands. His will be done.¹⁴

In his last communication from France to friends in Utah, Kessler observed that already reports of England's efforts to turn American opinion against Germany had reached the Western Front. "We have learned that the English are spreading great lies about us. Don't believe them. We are keeping Germany's honor high and are successful. Right is on the side of Germany."¹⁵

A grenade splinter tore a deep gash in his lower leg during the fighting near Fricourt on September 29, 1914, and Kessler received the

¹⁴Ibid., Christmas edition, 1914

¹⁵Ibid., October 21, 1914.

Iron Cross Second Class. After his recovery he attended officer's school. Appointed a lieutenant on June 26, 1916, the news did not reach Kessler before his death during the fighting near Mametz and Montauban on July 1, 1916. Memorial services honored Wilhelm Kessler in Basel, Switzerland, on July 25, 1916, and five days later in Salt Lake City.¹⁶

During the memorial service in the Temple Square Assembly Hall, John Dern, a German-born entrepreneur and a non-Mormon, expressed regret over the loss of such a fine young man to both the church and to Utah's German community. "Through his work and personal influence many were encouraged to nurture German customs, literature, and culture, . . ." he said. But Dern's speech served primarily to bolster and legitimize support of the German war effort by German Americans in Utah. Dern encouraged, "Let us not give up, but trust in God and the strength of German manhood that the outcome of the war will not be disappointing." He concluded with references to the oft-sung patriotic hymn, "Watch on the Rhein," and its applicability to Utah's German Americans: "Let us sing 'Dear Fatherland, you can be calm, strong and true stands the watch on the Rhein.' But not only do the guards stand watch on the Rhein, also far away in the enemy's land."¹⁷

Removed from the activities of larger German American groups in the East and Midwest, Utah's German American community sought ties to the national movement. In August 1915, Dr. Charles J. Hexamer, president of the German American National Alliance, made a twenty-four hour stop in Salt Lake City while en route to San Francisco. Escorted on a tour of the city by John Dern and honored with a dinner at the Newhouse Hotel by leading German businessmen, Hexamer spoke about the immigration of Germans to America, the service they had given their new country, and the heritage of culture to the United States and the world as he declared, "No one will find us prepared to step down to a lesser Kultur; no, we have made it our aim to draw the other up to us."¹⁸

Earlier German Americans in Utah used this theme, though in a much less offensive manner, to try to counter the Utah anti-German press. Writing in late August 1914 to answer the question "Must we be

¹⁶*Der Stern*, September 15, 1916, pp. 273-75.

¹⁷*Salt Lake City Beobachter*, August 16, 1916. Dern was born in Germany in 1850 and immigrated to America after the Civil War. A Utah mining magnate with a mansion on South Temple, he was the father of George Dern, governor of Utah from 1924 to 1932. Margaret D. Lester, *Brigham Street* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1979), pp. 141-144.

¹⁸*Salt Lake City Beobachter*, August 4, 1915, and Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, p. 100.

ashamed of being German?" Fritz Boede expressed the frustration of many with American newspapers that for years had praised the industry, loyalty, piety, culture, and education of the German people but less than three weeks forgot all the good Germany had created and fostered and now spoke only of Germany's arrogance, lust for conquest, and blind allegiance to their Kaiser.¹⁹

The first great crisis for German Americans erupted with the sinking by a German submarine of the British liner *Lusitania* and the death of nearly 1,200 passengers including 124 American citizens off the coast of Ireland in May 1915. The *Salt Lake Herald Republican* reported in an interview with the director of the *Beobachter* that Utah Germans considered the attack a serious mistake in the conduct of the war. Arnold Schulthess claimed he was misquoted and that he found no fault with the German government although he, as did all Germans, regretted the loss of so many lives and wished they could have been brought to safety before the ship sank. Such tragedies, however, could not be avoided when ships carried war materiel. Schulthess concluded, "The enemy had been given warning enough, more than is usually done, and the German submarine had done nothing more than what the enemy would have done under similar circumstances."²⁰

Later, in response to an article in the *Salt Lake Telegram* under the title "The German Spy System in the United States," Schulthess insisted that history demonstrated German Americans had always proven their loyalty to America, and it was "unjust to insinuate that every German in the United States goes to bed at night with his boots on so that he is ready at any time to spy for Germany."²¹

Other writers to the *Beobachter* found the other Salt Lake newspapers—*Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, and *Salt Lake Herald Republican*—to be pro-English and guilty of inflammatory writings against Germany based on fabricated reports from London, Paris, and Petersburg. Furthermore, Utah German Americans charged the Salt Lake papers with failing to support President Wilson's policy of strict neutrality.²²

By early 1917 America stood on the brink of war with Germany. The infamous Zimmermann telegram, in which Germany secretly offered to restore to Mexico American territory (including all of the state of Utah) lost during the Mexican War of 1846 if Mexico joined in a

¹⁹*Salt Lake City Beobachter*, August 26, 1914.

²⁰*Ibid.*, May 19, 1915.

²¹*Ibid.*, February 16 and May 24, 1914.

²²*Ibid.*, September 30, 1914.

military alliance against the United States, plus Germany's decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare, indicated that Germany already regarded America as an enemy. Following the sinking of several American ships by German submarines Congress responded to Wilson's call for a declaration of war against Germany "to make the world safe for democracy" with an overwhelming vote of support on April 6, 1917, of 373 to 50 in the House and 82 to 6 in the Senate.

Utah's Germans became even more preoccupied with the war situation. A period of adjustment set in as the dilemma of divided loyalties became a reality. Indicative of the situation, during the first Salt Lake City German LDS Conference held after the declaration of war, President Carl F. Buehner welcomed the congregation and reminded them that they had come to hear something of the Gospel and to be strengthened in their belief. Therefore, he expected to hear no comments about the war.²³

Still the problem persisted. Recruiting officers made their rounds and urged the sons of German immigrants to show their loyalty by joining the army to fight against Germany. As Elizabeth Hofer, a resident of Washington, Utah, expressed: "While I was in Switzerland, the Elders said to us, whoever does not want to raise a sword against his neighbor should come to Zion. But now our sons here must use weapons against their own relatives. That is, for me, very terrible."²⁴

Concerned with the state of affairs, citizens of German and Swiss origin living in the Logan area had met the last week of March 1917, before America's declaration of war, to consider the political situation and their options. They found no reason for the U.S. to throw itself into the war and allow thousands of America's young men to be slaughtered. Reassuring doubters of their loyalty to America, they nevertheless expressed sympathy for Germany and its defense against a superior enemy force. However, if the U.S. did enter the war, they stood ready to offer their possessions and lives for their new homeland, maintaining that no reason existed to doubt the sincerity or loyalty of citizens of German or Swiss descent to America.²⁵

Sensing the future course of events, the German American community had held a mass meeting on March 29, 1917, more than a week before Congress declared war. At the meeting Gov. Simon Bamberger, a German-born Jew, justified concerns that the foreign born prove their

²³*Ibid.*, July 18, 1917.

²⁴*Ibid.*, April 18, 1918.

²⁵*Ibid.*, April 4, 1917.

loyalty by becoming American citizens. The Americans have the right to say "who is not for us, is against us," he said; furthermore, "you cannot expect the United States to allow foreigners to move freely among its citizens, if one does not know that they are in harmony with them." LDS Apostle B. H. Roberts spoke to the young men in the audience, urging them to join the National Guard in case they were needed and promising he would accompany them to the trenches as a chaplain. The mass meeting concluded with those assembled unanimously passing a resolution declaring their allegiance to the U.S.²⁶

As spokesman for Utah's Germans, the *Salt Lake City Beobachter* made a conspicuous demonstration of loyalty. Upon the declaration of war, the American flag, "The symbol of Freedom," found a prominent place in the center of the front page. A later edition published all four verses of the "Star Spangled Banner" in English and German. The newspaper's masthead announced the *Beobachter's* role as the "Official German organ of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—American in everything but language," and that "This paper has enlisted with the government in the cause of America for the period of the war."²⁷

German American citizens saw clearly that the impending conflict posed a greater threat to their status as American citizens than anything since their entry into the country. As one writer concluded, Americans saw everywhere spies ready to betray the U.S. to Germany even though the German-born had taken an oath of allegiance upon becoming American citizens. Neighbors no longer trusted neighbors, and "... if one is so uncautious as to suggest that . . . America had no reason to throw itself into the world conflict, that is enough to consider him a traitor to the country and have the police watch him carefully."²⁸

The war soon touched the lives of all Utahns in a direct way. The Selective Service Act required the registration of all men between the ages of 18 and 45. In the first draft lottery in July 1917, 53 Germans were among the 1,050 men selected. In Washington County 60 young men drafted were identified as of German or Swiss descent.²⁹

Utah's German-born were encouraged to purchase Liberty Bonds. One ad in both English and German summed up the proper conduct for loyal Americans: obeying cheerfully the laws made necessary by the war;

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., March 22, 1917, May 30, 1917, and May 2, 1918.

²⁸Ibid., April 4, 1917.

²⁹Ibid., July 25, 1917, and August 1, 1917.

learning to speak English or teaching others to speak it; preparing to become a citizen if not one already; and purchasing Liberty Bonds with every dollar that could be spared.³⁰

German American leaders prodded their countrymen who had not become U.S. citizens to obey the law and register as aliens. The *Beobachter* published the names of some of the 470 Salt Lake City Germans who complied with the law, noting that a number of the registrants were respectable businessmen who had already applied for citizenship. German citizens were encouraged to attend American citizenship and English language classes offered at West High School.³¹

Loyal German Americans were concerned about alien malcontents creating problems in the already tense situation. Information was provided on how aliens could leave the U.S. if they could not be good citizens. The *Beobachter* published accounts of how unpatriotic Germans were made patriotic, such as a Boise resident who spoke against the U.S. government and painted his hay barn with the German colors red, white, and black. Angry neighbors went to his farm and forced the man to kiss the Stars and Stripes and repaint his barn red, white, and blue.³²

When German prisoners of war incarcerated at Fort Douglas attempted to escape by tunneling out of the prison, the *Beobachter* wondered why the prisoners were not happy to be in a camp where they were better cared for than any other prisoners in the world. The German prisoner of war camp was an enigma for the German American community, a constant reminder to Utahns of the German enemy. Leaders warned German Americans not to speak about the camp or attempt to visit the prisoners lest they arouse more suspicion. Yet leaders also asked German-speaking Mormons to donate church books printed in German for the prisoners. Issues of the *Beobachter* circulated among the prisoners and a few letters from prisoners appeared in it.³³

The *Beobachter* dutifully published lengthy articles prepared by the Committee on Public Information in Washington, D.C., and distributed by the Utah State Council of Defense. Thirteen months after

³⁰Ibid., August 1, 1917.

³¹Ibid., July 18, October 10, 1917; January 9, February 13, and March 27, 1918.

³²Ibid., May 2, 1917.

³³Ibid., October 10, December 12, 1917; January 9, and September 19, 1918; and June 19, 1919.

America's entry into the war, a front-page article tried to explain again the reasons for America's declaration of war.³⁴ Reports of German Americans who served in the United States Army reflected the patriotism of the German American community.

While most German Americans expressed loyalty to the United State, evidence for continued sympathy toward Germany can also be found. One speaker at the mass meeting held on the eve of America's declaration of war with Germany had questioned the conspicuous absence of a number of prominent Salt Lake City German Americans. In November 1917, the *Beobachter* Publishing Company advertised for sale such German-language books as *Zeppelins over England* and *Die Fahrt der Deutschland*, an account by Capt. Paul Koenig of the travels of the German submarine *Deutschland*. In a later advertisement for German books by another dealer, in Salt Lake City, the ad carried the poignant lead sentence: "German books of which even the greed of our enemies cannot rob us and wherein we can seek enjoyment and from which we can find the spiritual strength of which we are now in such great need."³⁵

German Americans, embittered by the seemingly excessive anti-German hysteria that expanded with America's declaration of war, could do little. The non-German public demanded that Congress outlaw the publication of German newspapers and magazines and place other restrictions on the use of the German language. Utah German Americans resented that their own senator, William H. King, took the lead in attaching a rider to the Trading-with-the-Enemy Act requiring German-language newspapers to supply English translations of "any comments respecting the Government, . . . its policies, international relations, the state or conduct of the war, or of any other matter relating thereto." Later King introduced a bill to revoke the charter of the National German American Alliance and chaired a Senate investigation aimed at the organization's destruction.³⁶

Recognizing the call for German customs, German names, German songs, and the German language to be suppressed, a *Beobachter* editorial reminded readers that German was spoken in America before the country was founded, that the first Bible printed in America was in German, and that during the war for independence the issue of freedom

³⁴Ibid., December 29, 1917, January 9 and May 2, 1918.

³⁵Ibid., October 28, 1920.

³⁶Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, pp. 241, 269-70.

was furthered through leaflets and newspapers in the German language. The editorial maintained that in the seeming fight to destroy everything German (including suppression of German-language newspapers) American citizens and their elected officials stood on the verge of attaining what no autocracy could accomplish or would even attempt without great harm to itself. The editorial warned that although it was hard to imagine America would deny its history, principles, and ideals by action to suppress German-language newspapers, the danger was real and could only be thwarted by demonstrations of loyalty to America and support for everything the administration did or requested.³⁷

Contradicting those who would suppress the German-language newspapers, German Americans argued that the newspapers helped America's war effort in a number of ways. First, they taught and explained why the United States was at war against Germany. Second, they could demonstrate the loyalty and patriotism of the German Americans to their adopted country. Third, the newspapers could help allow German Americans to continue to live the kinds of lives they had before the war—as loyal, hard working citizens who found meaning in their German religious services, songs, customs, and heritage.

The *Beobachter* did continue publication without restrictions during the war years but not without difficulty. When war broke out in August 1914, Canadian subscribers stopped receiving it in a blanket prohibition of German-language publications. In 1915, long before America entered the war, anti-German sentiment made it impossible to offer the *Beobachter* for sale in Salt Lake City newspaper stands. When publication of the *Beobachter* was delayed for two weeks in a row because typesetter G. F. Buschmann was ill, rumor spread that the repression of German-language newspapers had at last become a reality. In a near-desperate move to maintain subscribers and advertising, the *Beobachter* staff printed a long explanation that concluded with a commitment to continue to publish until forced to stop by the government.³⁸

Anti-German sentiment did not end with the campaign against German-language newspapers but broadened to include a call to boycott the teaching of the German language in American schools. Germans and others responded that such proposals were a misguided expression of patriotism as "German was not taught and learned to serve the Kaiser and the German Reich, but for the same reason that one

³⁷*Salt Lake City Beobachter*, April 18, 1918.

³⁸*Ibid.*, November 11, 1914, January 5, 1916, and January 9, 1918.

would learn any language or pursue useful knowledge."³⁹ Through a knowledge of German, scholars could read scientific works as well as literature in the original language so that the full meaning of the author could be understood and not distorted through imprecise translations. In contrast to the United States, Germany emphasized the teaching of English while England and France stressed the teaching of German. Finally, those calling for an end to teaching German had a shortsighted view of the future. The fighting would not last much longer and there would be an even greater need for expertise with the German language in dealing with postwar issues and problems.

Despite all the arguments and logic against restrictions on teaching German, war hysteria prevailed in Utah. The State Textbook Commission and the State Council of Defense passed resolutions calling for an end to teaching German in all schools and colleges. Responding to government pressure "that the teaching of the language would be an aid to German propaganda in America, and the presentation of . . . everything unfavorable to the German nation . . . would tend to weaken the morale of the German Army," principals in the LDS church school system voted unanimously to eliminate the teaching of German for the duration of the war. This action came even though "a number of the school heads declared that they saw not the slightest relation between the teaching of the Teutonic language in the classroom and the successful waging of the big war."⁴⁰

Anti-German sentiment took other forms of expression as well. At the Utah State Capitol, designed by German-born Richard K. A. Kletting, two German double eagles, which had been placed as decorative elements at the foot of the wide stairs when the Capitol was constructed in 1915, became thorns in the eyes of certain patriots during the height of the anti-German hysteria and were replaced with "American eagles."⁴¹ Other extremists accused Utah German Americans of harboring enemy aliens who poisoned the water used by cattle. In addition, German sympathizers reputedly tried to discourage loyal Americans from planting victory gardens with the argument that Salt Lake City did not have enough water to meet the demands.⁴²

Critics also charged that the *Beobachter* was disloyal. In an article

³⁹Ibid., May 23, 1916.

⁴⁰*Salt Lake Tribune*, April 14, 1918, and *Deseret News*, April 18, 1918.

⁴¹*Salt Lake Beobachter*, February 27, 1918.

⁴²Ibid., April 4, and May 2, 1918. The editor of the *Beobachter* concluded that such rumors were completely false and were the fabrication of people who were too lazy to plant.

published in the *Salt Lake Tribune*, Gustav Buschmann claimed that all German-language newspapers, including the *Beobachter* with which he had been associated for fourteen years, were disloyal. Since he had recently left the *Beobachter*, his attack seemed personally motivated against the paper's editor Arnold Schulthess.⁴³

A more serious attack on the newspaper came when Schulthess announced a \$100 reward to anyone who could substantiate rumors circulated by several Utah papers about the relocation to Utah and Idaho of Belgian children whose hands, nose, or ears had been cut off by German soldiers. In justifying the reward, Schulthess said he considered it not a defense of the German cause but an attempt to learn the truth and to defend German Americans when they were slandered. The *Logan Journal* saw the reward as evidence of the pro-German sympathies; The editor charged that the reward portrayed a German soldier as honest, humane, and "incapable of committing an act so brutal as the cutting of the hands of a child; that he is in fact, a Christian soldier, even though he may be upholding a mistaken cause." It made no difference if the mutilated children could be found in Utah or not, because without question such atrocities had been committed. The German crimes, he declared, "would shame the lowest devils in hell and . . . make the name German a stench in the nostrils of civilized, Christian peoples, for generations to come . . . and the one who will either deny or defend will bear watching." Schulthess countered by refocusing the issue on false allegations of the mutilated Belgian children in Utah and insisting that the reward had nothing to do with the question of a German soldier's humanity. He noted that contrary to the charge he was not German but a native of Switzerland, that he had lived in the U.S. for over forty years, and that he had become an American citizen as soon as he could.⁴⁴

This and other problems had a devastating effect on Arnold Schulthess. Less than three weeks after his gallant defense of Utah's German-born he suffered a severe stroke, and friends found him unconscious in the Sharon Building.⁴⁵ The forced retirement ended his twelve and a half year career as editor of the *Beobachter*.

By the time the war finally ended in November 1918, an obvious weariness was present within Utah's German American community. Despite the purchase of Liberty Bonds, sending sons off to the American

⁴³Ibid., February 12, 1918.

⁴⁴Ibid., February 6, 1918.

⁴⁵Ibid., February 27, 1918.

army, and other demonstrations of loyalty, a cloud of defeat and resignation covered the German Americans of Utah and would continue for the next several years. Instead of sounding the honor of Germany and the glories of her culture the community saw only hunger and need in the homeland and the beginning of an unjust peace. A committee, armed with a letter of support signed by the LDS First Presidency, collected money, food, clothing, and shoes for several years after the war to send to Germany. Energy was also directed toward building up the German LDS organizations but under a constant fear that church authorities would dissolve and withdraw support for the *Beobachter* in a dual attempt to bring greater uniformity to the Utah church and more quickly "Americanize" members from non-English-speaking lands.

Looking back to Europe, Utah's German Americans were frustrated with a disappointing peace that brought increased problems with the Poles in the east and the occupation of the Rheinland, in part by black troops. The latter development stirred Salt Lake Germans to circulate petitions unashamedly through LDS church organizations as well as non-church groups calling for the withdrawal of the unwanted troops "to protect women and girls in the Rheinland from the black pest!"⁴⁶

The 1920s saw discouragement prevail as hunger and want persisted in much of Germany and runaway inflation destroyed the savings and lives of thousands of Germans. America gave little thought to the plight of Germany, and for most Americans, Germany in the 1920s was still the Germany of 1917. But in time evidence of a reconciliation appeared as ideals of equality and sympathy replaced the iron-hearted intolerance of an earlier day. Perhaps the first public demonstration that the healing was underway came from those who had suffered the most.⁴⁷ When American disabled veterans held their fourth annual national convention in Salt Lake City in June 1924 they enthusiastically recognized the noted German-born singer Ernestine Schumann-Heink as their "honorary mother." As Utah Gov. Charles Mabey proclaimed, "Hate is dead, long may love reign," the respect paid by the wounded veterans of World War I seemed most appropriate to a mother who had lost one son fighting under the Stars and Stripes as an American citizen and another fighting for the German cause.

⁴⁶Ibid., December 25, 1918.

⁴⁷Ibid., June 25, 1924.

Enemy Aliens and Internment in World War I: Alvo von Alvensleben in Fort Douglas, Utah, a Case Study

BY JOERG A. NAGLER

DURING WORLD WAR I, ESPECIALLY AFTER THE AMERICAN DECLARATION of war against Germany on April 6, 1917, a wave of xenophobia engulfed everything endowed with a German name. Many individuals suffered tragic fates in the wake of this virtually hysterical atmosphere of persecution. Reports concerning pro-German activities and actions of the German *Geheimdienst* ("Secret Service") were already coming into the Justice Department during the neutrality period which could only alarm the Wilson administration. According to the reports of the fledgling Bureau of Investigation, where J. Edgar Hoover was already serving as a "special agent,"¹ German spies and saboteurs were at work undermining the internal security of the United States, planning and carrying out bombings of strategically important bridges and munitions factories. The best known of these actions was the destruction of the Black Tom Terminal on July, 16, 1916, and the bombing of the assembly plant of the Canadian Car and Foundry Company in Kingsland, New Jersey, on January 11, 1917.² The Wilson administration saw itself confronted with a virtually insoluble task. How could a population so large as the quarter-million persons classified as "enemy aliens"—defined as males born in Germany over fourteen years of age

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¹From the end of 1917 Hoover worked in the Alien Enemy Bureau; see Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 36-55.

²See most recently Jules Witcover, *Sabotage at Black Tom: Imperial Germany's Secret War in America, 1914-1917* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1989); Reinhard R. Doerries, *Imperial Challenge. Ambassador Count Bernstorff and German-American Relations, 1908-1917* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 188-89, 197, and idem, "The Politics of Irresponsibility: Imperial Germany's Defiance of United State Neutrality during World War I," in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1980), pp. 3-20.

and unnaturalized—be politically evaluated and controlled?³ Following the American declaration of war against Austria-Hungary on December 11, 1917, another two million enemy aliens were added in, generally categorized as “Austrians” by authorities. In April 1918 Congress extended surveillance and registration to female enemy aliens. With that the number of persons classified as enemy aliens had grown to about four and a half million persons.

On the very day of the American declaration of war against Germany, President Wilson issued twelve “enemy alien regulations,” adding eight more the following November. These twenty regulations defined the legal foundation for the registration, surveillance, and restriction of the rights of enemy aliens. They were not permitted, for example, to live in Washington, D.C., or to visit there; they were also not allowed to be found within a specific radius of canals, docks, rail depots, and similar installations. Enemy aliens were also required to carry a registration card on their persons at all times. These regulations provided the legal foundation for officials to oversee and intern those who were believed to be potentially dangerous to the public.⁴ The historic foundation for these regulations was the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, which declared that the president was authorized to restrict the rights of noncitizens by proclamation in time of war.

Both during and after World War I (1917-20) about 6,300 men and a few women were kept in four internment camps in the United States. The majority were crew members of German ships seized in areas under American sovereignty at the start of the war. They were classified by the Immigration and Naturalization Service as nonlegal immigrants and thus fell technically into the category of enemy aliens. About 2,300 of the prisoners, however, were civilian enemy aliens who had either been determined to be threats to internal security or had made themselves conspicuous through pro-German statements.

Internment camps in the United States during the First World War have yet to receive the attention they deserve from historians.⁵ This is all the more unfortunate because this theme provides insight into the

³Persons from Austria-Hungary were included in this definition following the U.S. declaration of war against that state in December 1917, and women were included in early 1918.

⁴For the first twelve Enemy Alien Regulations see *U.S. Attorney General: Annual Reports, 1917* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917), pp. 57-59; for the November regulations see *New York Times*, November 20, 1917.

⁵Exceptions are William Barnes Glidden, “Casualties of Caution: Alien Enemies in America” (Ph. D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1970), and Raymond Kelly Cunningham, Jr. “Internment, 1917-1920: A History of the Prison Camp at Fort Douglas, Utah, and the Treatment of Enemy Aliens in the Western United States” (M.A. thesis, University of Utah, 1976.)

systematic violation of civil rights, the beginnings of the (Federal) Bureau of Investigation, and the American Protective League, as well as military intelligence in the period.⁶ During the Second World War, experiences with the treatment of enemy aliens from this time were often cited as precedents for administrative purposes.⁷ As the example of the internment of the Japanese Americans demonstrates, not a great deal was learned from the failures of the First World War. The wave of hatred against foreigners as well as the hysteria—which John Higham describes as a “Crusade for Americanization”⁸—about anything even distantly related to German culture that gripped the country after America’s entry into the war was immense.⁹

According to the census of 1910, 8.3 million Americans out of a total population of almost 92 million regarded Germany as their land of origin; 2.5 million had been born there, 4 million born in the United States of German parents, and the remnant had one German parent.¹⁰ Of these, approximately 6,000 were arrested and of that number 2,300—predominantly of German origin—were interned during this period, a microscopically small percentage of the total number of potential internees, particularly when measured against the prevailing social climate of “100 percent Americanism.”

Geography determined who was interned where: enemy aliens living east of the Mississippi were taken either to Fort Oglethorpe or Fort

⁶On the Bureau of Investigation, see David Williams, “The Bureau of Investigation and its Critics, 1919-1921: The Origins of Federal Political Surveillance,” *Journal of American History* 68 (1981): 560-79. The “Old German Files” which are part of the Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation (1908-22), Record Group 65 in the National Archives, have been available to researchers for only a brief time. They consist of almost six hundred microfilm rolls and are an extremely valuable source for researchers interested in the surveillance technique of the period. On the American Protective League, see Joan M. Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1968).

⁷See, for example, the memorandum to FBI Director Hoover, November 18, 1940, Justice Department, RG 60 (henceforth abbreviated as JD), 9-16-12, Section 20, National Archives.

⁸Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, chap. 9, pp. 234-63.

⁹See what is still the standard treatment of German-Americans during the First World War, Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); also Carl Wittke, *German-Americans and the World War with Special Emphasis on Ohio's German-Language Press* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1936); Ronald Fernandez, “Getting Germans to Fight Germans: The Americanizers of World War I,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 9 (1981): 53-68, and most recently John Christine, Sister Wolkerstorfer, *Blanket of Suspicion: The Rejection of German-Americans during World I* (New York: Associated Faculty Press, 1988). See also works that do not concentrate on German-Americans but portray the spirit of the home front and social as well as official reaction to the aliens: Felice A. Bonadio, “The Failure of German Propaganda in the United States,” *Mid-America* 41 (1959): 40-57; Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origins of Civil Liberties* (New York, 1979); John D. Stevens, “When the Sedition Laws Were Enforced: Wisconsin in World War I,” *WASAL* 58 (1978): 39-60; Steven Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979).

¹⁰U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910 Population* (1913), 1:875-79.

McPherson in Georgia. Hot Springs, also located east of the Mississippi in North Carolina, housed only merchant officers and seamen. Enemy aliens living west of the Mississippi were interned at Fort Douglas, three miles east of downtown Salt Lake City at the foot of the Wasatch Mountains. At the height of its use 870 enemy aliens lived there.

One of them was Alvo von Alvensleben, whom I have chosen as the subject for a case study of the problems of the internment of German enemy aliens in the United States. Alvensleben was by no definition a typical internee; rather, he was a member of what could be called the "ethnic elite." These had made themselves conspicuous to surveillance through their education, their families, and often their wealth as well.

Alvo von Alvensleben—the complete name is Gustav Konstantin Alvo von Alvensleben—was born in 1879 in Neugattersleben, near Magdeburg. The estate of Alvensleben had been in the family's possession for several centuries, and the family had been closely tied with emperors and kings; the von Alvensleben house played a significant role in German history from the twelfth century on. At the age of twelve, Alvo attended the *Kadettenanstalt* ("Cadet School"), leaving it at the age of nineteen to become a lieutenant in a rifle battalion stationed in Berlin. The many opportunities for diversion in this attractive metropolis along with Alvensleben's extravagant lifestyle soon landed him deeply in debt. His father, Werner Alvo von Alvensleben, gave him the alternatives of either being disgraced or resigning from the army. Alvo chose the latter, following his father's wish that he seek his fortune in the Americas. Alvo went in 1904 to El Salvador, where his brother owned a coffee plantation, but did not linger there long, traveling on to Vancouver, where he arrived later in 1904 almost penniless. For a short time he worked as a common laborer in Seattle, eventually becoming a fisherman with his own small boat. During the real estate boom then taking



Alvo von Alvensleben. Courtesy of the author.

place in British Columbia and Washington state he became relatively prosperous through intelligent buying and selling. By means of newspaper advertisements in German papers he managed to attract German investors to the potential for profits in British Columbia. Alvensleben traveled to Germany several times in this period to enlist investors—the largest flow of capital into British Columbia in that period—including such noted persons as Field Marshal von Mackensen, Reich Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, Bertha Krupp, and even the Emperor Wilhelm II. Through his extraordinarily successful management, Alvo rapidly rose to the highest circles in Vancouver. He managed investments totaling \$8 million in wood, coal, and land. He lived in one of the largest houses in the town with his Canadian wife, Edith May Westcott, whom he married in 1908, and their three children.¹¹

The war broke out while Alvensleben was on a trip to Germany in 1914. Although he had been an officer of the German army from 1899 to 1904, he had been mustered out without taking the usual commission in the reserves because his residence overseas made it impossible for him to fulfill the duties. For this reason Alvensleben was not required to enter German military service at the outbreak of the war. Ignorance of this fact later disturbed the Canadian as well as the American press. An officer who left his country at the start of a war, if not a spy, certainly seemed suspicious. So, in August 1914 Alvensleben left Germany to resume his business interests. At this time he was in correspondence with the Canadian prime minister, Sir Richard McBride, seeking a Canadian visa to allow him to settle his business investments there. Since his representative in Canada had been interned,¹² Alvensleben did not return there but remained near the border in Seattle, unsuccessfully attempting to prevent the collapse of his Canadian investments from there. In 1916 and 1917 he spent most of his time in Indianapolis and Chicago. When diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States were severed, Alvensleben went to the German embassy to ask Prince Hatzfeld,¹³ a diplomat, to issue exit visas for himself and his

¹¹Telephone interview with Gero von Alvensleben, son of Alvo von Alvensleben, June 26, 1989; telephone interview with Margaret Newcomb, nee von Alvensleben, June 28, 1989; JD, 9-16-12 between 33 and 35, National Archives; Ingrid E. Laue, "Gustav Konstantin Alvo von Alvensleben (1879-1965). Ein Lebensbild," *German-Canadian Yearbook* 5 (1979): 162-63; Udo von Alvensleben-Wittenmoor, *Alvenslebensche Burgen und Landsitze* (Dortmund, Germany, 1960), p. 48.

¹²For internment camps in Canada in the First World War see Desmond Morton, "Sir Richard Otter and Internment Operations in Canada during the First World War," *Canadian Historical Review* 55 (1974): 32-58.

¹³Prince Hermann Trachtenberg-Hatzfeld, second counselor of the German Embassy.

family to return to Germany. Hatzfeld was unable to fulfill this request, so Alvensleben returned to Seattle.

At this point the American press began to become interested in Alvensleben's affairs, not least of all because of publicity he had received in the Canadian press before and especially after the outbreak of the war. These accounts speculated that he had taken on "other assignments" for the German government overseas, since he had been allowed to leave his country in time of war and had not been inducted as an officer. The American press repeated these and similar rumors. Despite the fact that Alvensleben had voluntary interviews with the district attorney and the Secret Service in Seattle in which he was assured that he had conducted himself properly, he was arrested on August 8, 1917, during a business trip to Portland, with the approval of the Justice Department. He was never informed of the reason for his arrest.¹⁴

What was the actual motivation for his arrest, and what evidence was there against him? Even before the American declaration of war against Germany, the Justice Department had received a notice that Alvo von Alvensleben should be classified as a dangerous German spy. This information had been provided to the Justice Department by British intelligence, together with reports on other Germans suspected of espionage in America. Alvensleben appeared, remarkably enough, at the top of the list.¹⁵ Naturally he was predestined to be included in any surveillance operation of the Military Intelligence Division, the Bureau of Investigation, or the American Protective League—an organization of 250,000 self-appointed volunteers doing surveillance for the Justice Department.¹⁶ His ties to the German imperial house through his father, Werner Alvo von Alvensleben, awakened suspicions that his residence in the United States was a center of secret operations. The telephone conversations of Ernst Leybold, a business partner of Alvensleben, began to be tapped in May 1917.¹⁷ Alvensleben's mail was under surveillance, and when he stayed in Chicago on a business trip his

¹⁴Military Intelligence Division (War Department General Staff), Record Group 165 (henceforth abbreviated MID), 9140-1421-6, August 9, 1917, National Archives.

¹⁵Investigative Case Files of the Bureau of Investigation, 1908-22 (henceforth abbreviated BI), British suspect list, reel 877, 9-19-1880-0, National Archives. The British consul in Chicago gave this list to the local chief of the Bureau of Investigation, who passed it several days later to the office of the director of the Bureau of Investigation, A. Bruce Bielaski, in Washington, D.C.

¹⁶On the ties of the APL to the Justice Department, see Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance*. For a description of the holdings of the Justice Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service concerning enemy aliens, see Mary Ronan, "Watching and Warning: Reactions of the Department of Justice and Immigration and Naturalization Service to World War I" (paper delivered at the Eighty-second Annual Meeting of the Organization of American Historians, April 7, 1989).

¹⁷August 11, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-7.

bags were taken to the Bureau of Investigation office there and searched. None of these investigations provided any evidence to show that he was involved in espionage.¹⁸

So clear evidence was lacking. Despite this, high officials were convinced that Alvensleben had to be interned. A statement by the U.S. attorney for the western district of Washington is particularly informative about the motivation behind Alvensleben's internment and the whole complex of problems about enemy aliens. In a message to the attorney general he recommended that Alvensleben and such acquaintances as Ernst Leybold be interned even if no evidence against them emerged, since "... the local atmosphere would be improved rather than hurt by the internment of these men."¹⁹ When the U.S. marshal in Tacoma, Washington, hesitated to arrest a "man of family, with acquaintance and prominence" such as Alvensleben without direct proof, he still followed the recommendations of the MID and approved internment, even if only on the grounds that Alvensleben had not obtained the necessary permit to be in areas closed to enemy aliens.²⁰ A significant, but unstated, factor was that publicity about Alvensleben forced the Justice Department to demonstrate to the public an official response in proportion to the individual's notoriety.

Following Alvensleben's arrest in Portland he spent two nights in the city jail and was escorted during the day by a marshal. Then he was taken back to Seattle, and from there he was brought to Fort Douglas on August 13.²¹ In Portland, Alvensleben had attempted to inform dinner acquaintances about his internment. The waiter to whom he gave the names happened to be a member of the American Protective League and passed information at once to the district attorney.²²

What was the appearance of the internment camp Alvensleben entered in August together with his business partners Hans Cron, Georg Schloetelberg, and Ernst Leybold? What internees were already there? Fort Douglas had been officially declared an internment camp on

¹⁸Office of United States Attorney for the Western District of Washington, Seattle, to the Attorney General, Washington, D.C., MID (RG 165), nos. 9771-23-1103 and 9140-1421.

¹⁹July 6, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-45, National Archives. In the attorney general's reply, which included the order for arrest, he confirmed this evaluation: "... his [von Alvensleben's] presence in our district at large is to the danger of the public peace and safety of the United States. ..." Attorney General to U.S. Attorney, Western District, August 8, 1917, JD, 9-16-12-33-6.

²⁰U.S. Marshal, Western District of Washington, Tacoma, to the Attorney General, July 28, 1917, JD, 9-16-12-33-6.

²¹*Salt Lake Tribune*, August 14, 1917. See Alvensleben to the Legation of Switzerland, September 11, 1917, MID, No. 9140-1421-48.

²²August 18, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-12.

May 3, 1917, and Col. Arthur Williams named as camp commandant. The camp consisted of fifty buildings on an area of fifteen acres. The first internees arrived in June. The *Salt Lake Tribune* described the delivery of about 300 "enemy German prisoners" on June 10, 1917, as a great spectacle without equal in Salt Lake City. The word of the day was "See the Germans!" and thousands of curious ran to the streets to view "Teutons" in the flesh²³ They were the crew of the SMS *Cormoran* which had been blown up by its captain to avoid impending seizure. Colonel Williams declared to the press on this occasion that he proposed "to make the Third War Prison barracks at Fort Douglas the cleanest, most sanitary and best regulated prison camp in the United States . . ."²⁴

Unfortunately, the last of Williams's proposals was not put into practice, since the camp more often resembled a combat zone than an internment camp. More prisoners soon arrived, including the balance of the *Cormoran's* crew as well as the first true enemy aliens, including Baron von Elpons who was supposedly a member of a pro-German organization on the Pacific Coast.²⁵ At the start of August there were fourteen enemy aliens in the camp, including such later opponents of Alvensleben as Dr. William Othmer, a jurist and former "junior judge of the Prussian Supreme Court,"²⁶ and Julius Knispel, a respected attorney from the Portland area. At first both groups, prisoners of war and enemy aliens, were kept together on the grounds of the internment camp. The crew of the *Cormoran* had a status different from the civilian enemy aliens, and they claimed certain privileges; they received new clothing (uniforms), while the enemy aliens had to keep wearing what they had owned on their arrival in camp. The camp administration resolved these conflicts by dividing the two groups with barbed wire at the beginning of August. Henceforth the camp consisted of two separate units, with the military prisoners able to use sports facilities on their side that were not available to the enemy aliens. This led to protests and tension between the enemy aliens and the guards, who obviously favored the military prisoners.²⁷ Cursing and humiliation by the guards were routine and helped to poison the atmosphere of the camp. This was the situation Alvensleben encountered on his arrival at Fort Douglas, where he was placed with about thirty other enemy aliens.

²³*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 11, 1917, p. 14.

²⁴*Ibid.*

²⁵*Salt Lake Tribune*, June 21, 1917, pp. 1 and 14.

²⁶Memo for Colonel Van Deman referring to May 18, 1918, July 5, 1919, MID, 10972-5-24.

²⁷Glidden, *Casualties of Caution*, 329-30.

His arrival in the camp attracted considerable attention in the American press. In an article with the headline "German Lieutenant was Kaiser's Financial Agent" and decorated with a large picture of Alvensleben, the *Salt Lake Tribune* reported: "Von Alvensleben is a typical officer of the Prussian type, highly educated, polished in manner and with the upright carriage that denotes years of service in the army . . . Canadian government officials declare they have positive information showing that German machinery was set to work before the war to make von Alvensleben governor of British Columbia."²⁸ It was true that Alvensleben corresponded at least in appearance with the stereotype of a Prussian officer. The last assertion concerning a role as governor in a German occupation of Canada—without any basis in fact—appeared frequently in the materials of the MID and the Bureau of Investigation.²⁹ On the German side, there had certainly been discussions about attacking Canadian territory from the state of Washington. The background of these plans was Berlin's fear that Japan could transport troops to Europe via Canada.³⁰ Alvensleben's involvement in or knowledge of such plans has never been proved.

Soon after his arrival in the internment camp, Alvensleben wrote the Swiss legation in Washington, which had taken over the representation of German affairs there since the American entry onto the war. The Swiss legation would receive a flood of letters during Alvensleben's internment. His first message exemplified the concerns of many internees. How could the economic support of the families left behind be guaranteed once their chief supporter had been interned? In the case of Alvensleben, his arrest left a family, consisting of a wife and three children in Seattle, without support.

Another interesting aspect of this letter is that Alvensleben claimed his rights under the Prussian-American Treaty of 1785 (revised in 1799 and 1828). From the time of the ratification of this Treaty of Amity and Commerce between Prussia and the United States, still in effect at the outbreak of World War I, there existed special regulations in the event of a conflict between Prussia (or the German Empire, its legal successor) and the United States. The relevant passage on the treatment of foreign

²⁸*Salt Lake Tribune*, August 14, 1917, p. 16.

²⁹See, for example, the memorandum of the Attorney for the Western District of Washington, Seattle, to the Attorney General, MID, 9140-1421-45, National Archives: "Canadian authorities at Vancouver believe that von Alvensleben was already slated in German military circles as the governor of British Columbia when the time should come that that section fell under the control of the German government."

³⁰Doerries, *Imperial Challenge*, p. 205.

civilians (Article 23) provided that merchants should be permitted to remain for nine months in the enemy's country to finish up their remaining business. According to the agreement, the parties to the treaty had the right to name a representative in the other country who could concern himself with the well-being of all internees and who would have the right to visit them regularly and to inspect the camps. After the American declaration of war this treaty was continually mentioned in the German-American press and had become very familiar to Germans in the United States.³¹ In his letter to the Swiss legation, Alvensleben also asked that his father be informed of his internment.³² A few days later he made the same request of the attorney general in Washington and included these interesting assertions: "If I do not clear myself entirely, I am entitled to be sentenced to something more severe than internment in a detention camp. If I *do* clear myself of every suspicion [*sic*], internment singles me out necessary [*sic*] from thousands of Germans to whom the privileges as set out in the President's proclamation of April 6th, 1917, are freeley [*sic*] extended."³³ Alvensleben was justified in referring to a situation that applied to most of the other enemy aliens: they seldom were informed by the Justice Department of the reasons for their internment, which made defense and justification impossible.

Internment and the rumors that circulated on the grounds for imprisonment naturally had consequences for members of the families, and in the anti-German climate they often became as much the targets of suspicion as the internees. Alvensleben's Canadian wife reported to him the feelings in their neighborhood in Seattle after his internment: "Two fool women . . . seem to be making themselves busy during my absence in telling the neighborhood generally that in their opinion I am just as much a spy as you are supposed to be! Isn't it perfectly disgusting! There is no end to it."³⁴ She received both moral and financial support from her German neighbors, however, and German-born merchants extended her credit during this difficult time.³⁵

In the middle of September 1917 almost two hundred crew

³¹See for example the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, May 9, 1917, p. 1. For the complete text of the treaty see the trilingual edition, *The Treaty of Amity of 1785 between His Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America*, ed. Karl J. Arndt (Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1977).

³²August 21, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-46.

³³August 24, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-47.

³⁴Edith von Alvensleben to Alvo von Alvensleben, April 1, 1918, in War Department, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, RG 407 (henceforth abbreviated as WD), Box 1, Alvensleben file.

³⁵Telephone interview with Margaret Newcomb, nee von Alvensleben, June 28, 1989.

members of the ships *Geier* and *Locksun* arrived at Fort Douglas,³⁶ and an increased number of German-speaking members of the leftist Industrial Workers of the World (called IWWs or Wobblies)³⁷ entered the camp. At this time the administration, now under its new commandant, Col. George Byram, learned of the first escape attempt.

By November 1917, the time of the first inspection by the Swiss embassy, 87 enemy aliens were confined at Fort Douglas. Afterward, Theodor Stempfe, an acquaintance of Alvensleben who was also interned there, wrote with resignation: "The long-desired inspection by the Swiss embassy is over! The newspapers spat out all their poison yesterday morning to greet the commission, and they called us civilians the 'agents of the Kaiser,' the 'German Spys [*sic*],' pelted us with dirt . . . although the commission has nothing at all to do with the question of whether we have been rightfully interned or not. Today, to finish up, the same rude lies!" Afterward a critical memorandum was composed to be sent to the attorney general in Washington.³⁸

The repeated attempts made to escape to freedom by digging tunnels were eloquent testimony that conditions in the camp did not invite people to linger. In December the first internees, two members of the Industrial Workers of the World, managed to escape through such tunnels.³⁹ There would be many more attempts to escape from this camp. The press was always interested in escapes. For example, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* reported in February 1918: "Col. George L. Byram, commandant at the war prison camp, announced today that the seventeenth tunnel which interned Germans had built as a road to liberty had been discovered."⁴⁰ On February 2, 1918, the Seattle newspaper reported that a certain Augusta Minnie Dechmann had worked with Alvensleben on plans for "conspiracies" and that Alvensleben had been interned in part to break this connection. The woman herself was arrested because of alleged evidence that she had been preparing for Alvensleben's escape from the internment camp.⁴¹

At the end of February 1918 Alvensleben was again in the center of camp events. A bomb, obviously made by an internee, was discovered

³⁶*Salt Lake Tribune*, September 14, 1917, p. 16.

³⁷On the Industrial Workers of the World see Melvyn Dubovsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

³⁸Theodor Stempfe to his wife, November 21, 1917, MID, 9140-1421-26, National Archives.

³⁹On Kurt G. Wilkens, one of the escapees, see David G. Wageman, "'Rausch Mit' The I.W.W. in Nebraska during World War I," in Joseph R. Conlin, ed., *At the Point of Production: The Local History of the I.W.W.* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 124-5.

⁴⁰*Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 24, 1918; MID, 9771-23-1103.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

by a guard on the camp grounds. The press, notified of this event with astonishing rapidity, reported it as a plot to kill the camp commandant and his aides.⁴² Alvensleben and another internee went to the camp administration to discuss the affair. The commander confirmed that the bomb had presented a real danger and threatened to shoot every tenth internee if anything serious happened in the future.⁴³ This statement naturally produced a good deal of tension and excitement among the internees. A telegram to the Swiss embassy requesting an investigating committee was signed by a majority of the internees but was not permitted to be sent. A letter by Alvensleben to the embassy on the matter was not held back, but it was accompanied by a letter from Colonel Byram casting doubt on Alvensleben's truthfulness: "His record in both this country and in Germany, as given me by a party who knows it well, is not of such a nature as to justify one in giving much credence to anything he says."⁴⁴ It is probable that Byram received the information from Dr. William Othmer, who was serving him as an informant and had offered his services to the Justice Department at an early point.⁴⁵ The fact that Othmer was living in a barracks apart from the other prisoners confirmed their suspicions that he was an agent of the camp leadership, creating irritation. Byram wrote: "His [Othmer's] segregation is apparently causing a great deal of uneasiness among certain other prisoners (notably Alvo von Alvensleben). Von Alvensleben is so anxious to see this man that he is going to all sorts of extremes to get himself confined in the building where he is. Both of the men apparently fear that something has come to our knowledge which endangers them."⁴⁶ As a result of this incident, as well as the increasing radicalization of internees and the fear of negative influence from the agitation of the IWWs in the camp, the War Department transferred all military prisoners to Fort McPherson.⁴⁷

Alvensleben increasingly came to be seen by the administration as one of the biggest troublemakers in the camp. This evaluation often had serious consequences for him. He passed many days in the so-called

⁴²*Salt Lake Tribune*, February 24, 1918, p. 1.

⁴³Cunningham, *Internment, 1917-1920*, p. 117.

⁴⁴Cited in *ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴⁵Colonel Byram to the Adjutant General, January 9, 1918, RG 165, MID, 10972-5-17, on Dr. William Othmer and his function as a spy, especially concerning Alvensleben.

⁴⁶Dr. Othmer: "I did my best to discover a bomb plot against his life (Col. Byram) in the Camp" referring to September 1918, July 5, 1919, MID 10972-5-49.

⁴⁷Glidden, *Casualties of Caution*, p. 330.

Hindenburg House, the euphemistic term for an isolation cell measuring a mere four by seven feet, in which the prisoner endured indecent hygienic conditions.⁴⁸ The names of barracks and "streets" reflected grotesque humor as well. Thus the internees called the main road of the camp *Unter den Linden* after the main street of Berlin, and a small mustering field was known as *Bolsheviki Plaza*.⁴⁹

In April 1918 a camp committee was established with Alvensleben as chairman, representing an overwhelming majority of the 335 enemy aliens then in the camp.⁵⁰ The creation of this committee must be seen as the internees' answer to two events in the camp. First, a general search of the camp had uncovered hand-made weapons among the internees, and the camp leadership feared a violent attempt to escape. A second episode, in which an internee was fired on by a guard, actually precipitated the formation of the committee. The leadership of the camp refused to recognize any such committee, especially with Alvensleben as chairman. It was declared that every individual was responsible for himself and would be punished for giving false information, particularly to the Swiss embassy. Alvensleben was the first to be penalized by this regulation, having written to the embassy complaining of what he saw as the inadequately honorable burial of an internee. He was placed in the Hindenburg House for five days.

Alvensleben's leadership role is astonishing in view of the large number of IWWs in the camp, who could have been expected to choose someone else. There is no doubt, however, that they accepted him as the representative of the internees. Erich Brandeis, a member of the anti-Alvensleben minority and a self-proclaimed pro-American,⁵¹ reported on this in a contemporary article in the *New York Sun* entitled "Birds in a Barbed-Wire Cage." It was widely publicized nationwide, and at the head of the article was a short introduction by Brig. Gen. Marlborough Churchill, chief officer of the Military Intelligence Division, in which he expressed his belief that the article would "serve a useful purpose." Directly referring to Alvensleben, Brandeis wrote:

⁴⁸Alvensleben to Swiss Legation, June 1, 1919, RG 165, MID 10972-20, "I had to spend altogether eleven days in the guardhouse under humiliating conditions. . . ."

⁴⁹Erich Brandeis, "'Little Prussia' in an Internment Camp," *American Law Review* 53 (1919): 107-8.

⁵⁰WD, Box 184, Alvensleben File.

⁵¹Erich Brandeis came to the United States in 1908 to avoid military service in Germany. After the First World War he went to New York and became a respected journalist there. Among other things, he published a biography of Roosevelt, *Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Man* (New York: American Offset Corporation, 1936).

The peer of the camp nobility is the worthless son of a well known family of counts in Prussia. He is looked up to by the other men, or at least most of the other men, with an awe that amounts almost to worship . . . That this man is really a dangerous enemy is certain; that he had connections with the fatherland which he used against the welfare of the United States is also sure. This son of a count is the chief trouble maker in the camp, and many of the disturbances which occur can be traced directly to him.⁵²

. . . Although a typical German aristocrat, with all the arrogance, the snobbishness, the conceit of the breed, he allied himself soon after his arrival with the most turbulent element in the camp, the I.W.W. And, strangely enough, these men, who decry all rights of class and heritage, were glad enough to accept his leadership and under his guidance to be as obstreperous as possible.⁵³

Internal social controls were partially suspended under the impact of the shared experience of imprisonment. The guards made it very clear to the prisoners what they thought of them. Curses were used as a matter of routine. Erich Brandeis's interesting comment that Alvo von Alvensleben was totally acceptable to the IWWs, who were radical workers, is another index of how internment relativized social contradictions. The minority in the camp was represented by Brandeis and Othmer, both of whom disliked Alvensleben intensely, not the least because of his alleged pro-German orientation and because of his reputed support for the digging of tunnels.

A report on the camp, composed by Intelligence Officer Lorenzo D. Browning, reached the Military Intelligence Branch in Washington, D.C., in August 1918. At the head of the report was a general description of the camp and its 590 enemy aliens, which the author divided into two classes: "the I.W.W. and the Germans." According to this officer, at least some of these enemy aliens were agents of the German Empire. Prisoners were permitted to write four postcards and two letters a month which were read by the censor before they could leave the camp. Relatives of an internee could visit him once a week for two hours under the control of a guard. The guard personnel had risen to 142. In the last paragraph of this report Browning dealt with the group of internees causing the camp leadership the most concern, to which Alvensleben of course belonged: "About fifty of the worst prisoners in the camp, agitators and trouble makers, have been organized in one company and are kept separate from other prisoners . . . This does away with a great

⁵² Brandeis's article appeared in the *New York Sun*, then reprinted in the *American Law Review* 53 (1919): 107-14.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 110. After reading this article, Alvensleben complained to the attorney general that his name had been injured by direct reference even without being given. He objected particularly to Churchill's comments; Alvensleben to Attorney General, March 27, 1919, JD, 9-16-12-33-28.

deal of trouble in the camp."⁵⁴ Once again internees "loyal to America" were mentioned, even if not by name, who provided the camp administration with information about other prisoners. Through these informants officials learned of conversations in which plans were laid for setting fire to the camp. Beginning August 1, 1918, all members of the internees' committee, including many IWWs, were placed in a single dormitory separated from the rest of the camp by a double barbed-wire fence and fed on bread and water. These conditions provoked a riot during which several internees were wounded by gunfire.⁵⁵

The abrupt end of the war on November 11, 1918, brought no radical change for the internees. New enemy aliens actually continued to enter the camp, since Wilson's suspension of war regulations did not cover internment. Armistice did not alter the climate in the camp, but there was a change of administration: Col. Emory West was replaced by Lt. Col. Frank L. Graham. Alvensleben's relation to the camp leadership changed dramatically, as a comment from a Justice Department official shows: "Following a change in the executive officers at Fort Douglas, Alvensleben's relations with the military authorities became much more *cordial*."⁵⁶

In fact, Alvensleben's attitude altered considerably. His complaints became fewer, but the intensive correspondence between him and the Justice Department did not decline. His letters to the attorney general contain some remarkable analyses of the times and an objective vision that extended far beyond his own fate. Questions covered included national loyalty, the international treatment of "enemy aliens," and the American press in time of war. Here is one example among many:

It has served your purpose to use me—just as you have used thousands of my countrymen—as an apparent object-lesson of German intrigue. You arrested and gave no reasons, the press did the rest. It vilified, exaggerated, invented, insinuated, in short it did the dirty work and you remain "The Department of Justice." Your part was to appear lenient, just, broad-minded, liberal—the press was vindictive, unscrupulous, sensational, untrue and to use your own words: "Your department was not aware of any means at your disposal to control public opinion." The alien enemy was indeed between these two levers. If perfection per se is to be applauded; excellently done; if an excuse is wanted something along the lines of the old Jesuit motto: "Omnia in majorem Dei gloriam" might do. Possibly! But is

⁵⁴August 1, 1918, MID, 10972-7-2.

⁵⁵Cunningham, *Internment, 1917-1920*, pp. 142-43.

⁵⁶December 20, 1918, JD, 9-16-12-33, emphasis in the original.

World War I camp for
POWs and enemy aliens
at Fort Douglas, Utah.
USHS collections.



the process to be continued?

The period of general reconstruction is so vital and necessary for the whole world, [it] can spare the effort of *no* man; it demands bigger efforts by the individuals of every nation to co-operate and rebuild, than those which were ever put forward in the past years to dislocate and destroy.⁵⁷

The camp continued operating until April 1920. The release of the internees proceeded very slowly, in part because of the requirement of the Justice Department that only those internees be released who had a job ready for them. This was, of course, extremely difficult in postwar conditions with an overcrowded labor market. Also, the “Red Scare,” which began in 1919, did its bit to keep “dangerous radicals” in custody for as long as possible. This demonstrated clearly the connection between xenophobia and the fear of radicals, as the administration shifted its attacks against an “international German conspiracy” to an “international communist conspiracy.”⁵⁸

When Sen. Reed Smoot of Utah visited the camp in March 1919 his comments on the internees appeared the next day in the *Salt Lake Tribune*; he described them as “a bunch of criminals of the worst kind, men who would bring misery, disaster and trouble wherever they

⁵⁷ Alvensleben to Attorney General, May 2, 1919, JD, 9-16-12-33-30.

⁵⁸ Glidden, *Casualties of Caution*, pp. 390-91.

went.”⁵⁹ Despite this extremely negative assessment, together with the effort of Senator Smoot to convince the attorney general to deport as many of these “criminals” as possible, 200 internees were released in April 1919.⁶⁰ Of the 791 enemy aliens in Fort Douglas, more than half were paroled (412), perhaps a third (271) were repatriated, and only 7 were deported, ignoring the recommendation of the attorney general that undesirable “enemy aliens” should be deported en masse.⁶¹ The Alien Deportation bill passed by Congress in May 1920 came a month too late for the internees, some of whom would probably have been deported if it had been in force before their release.

It is remarkable that Alvensleben was not among those deported; rather he was released and permanently paroled in March 1920 after having spent two and a half years in the Fort Douglas camp. In July 1919 he had still been saying that he intended to leave the United States immediately after release, perhaps to go to Mexico;⁶² but in September 1919 the attorney general had informed him that he had had no hope for release except for the purposes of repatriation.⁶³ Then, in February 1920 he had indicated that he wished to remain in the United States until his business affairs could be settled.⁶⁴ The fact that Alvensleben was not deported demonstrates that the Justice Department had no evidence for expulsion, and it also shows that Alvensleben, despite the length and the harshness of his treatment during internment, did not wish to be repatriated. After his release the Canadian government rejected his request to return to Canada, since he had been declared an “enemy of the Dominion” after the peace treaty. His total property was confiscated without time limit by the Canadian government. He was only permitted to enter Canada nine years after the conclusion of peace. But by then he had determined to remain in the United States. In 1939 he became an American citizen. In the meantime he had made an attempt at launching an import business (with German wares) requiring several trips to Germany to restore his old financial situation. But these attempts did not have the desired result.⁶⁵ Alvensleben saw the

⁵⁹Cited in Alvensleben to Attorney General, April 10, 1919, JD, 9-16-12-33-29.

⁶⁰Cunningham, “Fort Douglas,” p. 163.

⁶¹List of internees with information on their release, repatriation and deportation in WD, Box 184; on the attorney general’s attitude see Glidden, *Casualties of Caution*, p. 369, 397.

⁶²Alvensleben to Attorney General, July 23, 1919, RG 407, Box 184, Alvensleben file.

⁶³Attorney General to Alvensleben, September 8, 1919, RG 407, Box 184, Alvensleben file.

⁶⁴Memorandum for Mr. Garvan, February 3, 1920, JD, 9-16-12-33-41.

⁶⁵Laue, “Alvo von Alvensleben,” pp. 170-71.

emergence of fascism in Germany as a misfortune, and he observed the acts of Adolf Hitler with horror. After the Second World War he invested for a time in a gold mine but without large-scale success. Alvo von Alvensleben died in Seattle in 1965.

Since the conviction of British intelligence that Alvo von Alvensleben was a spy was probably wrong⁶⁶ and since the authorities would have brought him to trial as a spy if there had been substantial evidence, as was the case with about 150 enemy aliens,⁶⁷ the actual grounds for his internment have to be seen in the overwhelmingly anti-German mentality of the time. Alvensleben's direct ties to the German imperial house had to provoke reaction from the public, since the newspapers had taken to portraying the lurid deeds of the child-murdering "Hun-Kaiser." The sabotage and spying of the German *Geheimdienst* contributed as well by enveloping all German-born, especially noncitizen enemy aliens, with grave distrust, since the concept itself suggested that individuals were enemies.

The press helped to elevate anxiety through exaggerated accounts, which led to a hysteria and finally a crusade against everything German. During the war the Justice Department was bombarded with proposals to intern all enemy aliens in the United States or to make them more visible, such as through the wearing of armbands.⁶⁸

The xenophobia, which is always an aspect of the mobilization of patriotism, achieved a life of its own and threatened to get beyond the control of the authorities. Although Alvensleben continued to recall his time of internment for the rest of his life, he harbored no resentment toward the country whose citizen he had become. Instead, he rationalized his fate, insofar as he responded to his children in later years when they asked him about the reason for his internment and his unjust treatment during this time: "It was just the hysteria which emerges in every war and under which individuals must suffer."⁶⁹

⁶⁶My research in the relevant archives of the German Foreign Office in Bonn (Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn) has discovered no information about any sort of official German activities by Alvensleben.

⁶⁷Jensen, *The Price of Vigilance*, pp. 160-61.

⁶⁸See for example Edward Yates to Attorney General, November 14, 1917, JD, 9-16-12-814; an employee of the Macbeth Evans Glass Company made the following recommendation to the Attorney General: "... make all alien enemies and those Americans upon whom justified suspicion of disloyalty rests wear on one or both arms of outer garment a distinctive arm band, say of white cloth. Failure to comply with order would, of course, carry with it the strictest sort of punishment, nothing less than internment at hard labor at any rate." JD, 9-16-12-689.

⁶⁹Telephone interview with Gero von Alvensleben, June 26, 1989, and with Margaret Newcomb, nee von Alvensleben, June 28, 1989.



Letters from Exile: The Correspondence of Martha Hughes Cannon and Angus M. Cannon, 1886-1888. Edited by CONSTANCE L. LIEBER and JOHN SILLITO. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books in association with Smith Research Associates, 1989. 1 + 286 pp. \$60.00.)

Even now, a hundred years later, it wrenches your heart. How men and women in plural marriages dealt with the demands of communication, patience, and suppression of jealousy entailed by their unusual matrimonial arrangement differed with the husband and each of his wives, but the correspondence between Martha Hughes Cannon and Angus M. Cannon brings their dilemma painfully home. Martha Cannon fled Utah with her baby daughter in 1886 to elude warrants that would place her on the witness stand in the prosecution of her husband for cohabitation. A graduate of the University of Michigan Medical School in 1880, she was a resident physician at Deseret Hospital who also would have been asked to testify about delivering babies to other polygamous families. Faced with either living in precarious hiding in Utah or walking with her head up among strangers, Martha Cannon went to England, which forced her to express herself to her husband through letters or not at all. The original correspondence assembled in *Letters from Exile* forms the single most valuable conduit to understanding the plural marriage dynamic I have yet seen, and Martha's deprivation now enriches the historian's resources immeasurably.

This book contains a brief biographical sketch introducing the correspond-

ence, but its most valuable contribution is making accessible the letters themselves. They provide information from 1886 to 88 about such diverse topics as political events in Utah, the lives of missionaries in England, life in the British countryside, medical nostrums, extended family relationships, household economics, modes of travel, and late nineteenth-century attitudes toward cranky children. But without question it is the relationship between Martha and Angus Cannon that rivets the reader and researcher. While Martha moved about England and the Continent under assumed names to avoid the suspicion drawn by a woman and child without visible means of support, she struggled with poverty, her child's chronic illnesses, and her own debilitating gynecological ailments in order to keep Cannon out of the clutches of the law. He, however, took two additional wives and continued to father children. Exhausted by the ordeal of taking care of a child continually ill, Martha asked her husband, "What manner of babies are you producing now? Better physiques I trust." Repenting her lapse in the same letter she assured him, "I don't think you will find me lashing myself into jealous rages if you see fit to take additional young wives for eternity, & to propagate the species, as I have come

to the conclusion that I am totally unfit for the work, & must be content to see others do it."

The letters are remarkable for their candor; far from being the asexual embodiment of the cult of true womanhood, Martha's letters addressed her feelings as well her disquieting physical disorders. Over the two years she was unable to maintain her bouyant sense of adventure and expressed more freely the pain, anger, jealousy, and sense of abandonment occasioned by her choice of plural marriage to a man twenty-seven years

her senior. The letters are beautifully reproduced; minimal editorial notes do not detract from the letters themselves, but neither do they help much in keeping track of peripheral events and people. This book performs a priceless service to the historical community; I applaud the courage evident in its publication, both in content and quality.

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The Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad Company, Union Pacific's Historic Salt Lake Route.
By JOHN R. SIGNOR (San Marino, Calif.: Golden West Books, 1988. 258 pp. \$54.95.)

Everyone knows about the Union Pacific Railroad—one-half of the fabled Golden Spike scene—the long, long trains pulled by monstrous yellow diesel locomotives across the western deserts, through canyons, and over the western mountains. Like all present-day rail systems, the UP is the culmination of numerous mergers of smaller lines, some of which still retain their corporate existence although swallowed up in the ultimate conglomerate.

The Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad is one of these entities, itself a product of the combining of several short railroads in Utah, Nevada, and California. This particular 780-mile stretch of the Union Pacific has been mentioned in a number of previous railroad volumes, and photos have appeared in many different publications. This book, however, is unique in that it covers in complete detail the formation of the line from the various small roads, the development of a

mainline artery across the vastness of the American west desert, and the present high-speed, high-tech rail system so important not only to parent Union Pacific but to the nation.

The history of this line, originally known as the San Pedro, Los Angeles & Salt Lake Railroad, affectionately referred to by old-time railroaders as "The Pedro," is written in a down-to-earth manner befitting the nickname, yet still in an accurate and scholarly way. The story details the aspirations of Sen. William A. Clark of Montana, the well known mining speculator, capitalist, and western railroad organizer. His role and that of Edward H. Harriman, who eventually controlled the Salt Lake Route and merged it into the Union Pacific system, are examined and explained. Also mentioned are how the Utah Parks Services originated to provide access to Zion, Bryce Canyon, and Grand Canyon national parks and Cedar Breaks National Monument.

John Signor, a trainman employed

by the Southern Pacific and the author of four previous western railroad books, had access to a great number of superb photos from UP files, the Utah State Historical Society, and many private collections from which to select. The entire locomotive parade, from the early diminutive iron horses, through the huge steamers for which "Uncle Pete" was so noted, to today's innovative diesels that UP has helped to design, is portrayed through the use of these 365 photos and 8 color plates.

Signor's expertise is evident in ways in addition to his writing: he painted the very realistic dust jacket and produced 20 maps specifically for the book, including several unusual ones that show perspective in a detailed and enlightening form, bringing the terrain

through which the railway passes to life. A great deal can be learned simply from a study of the maps on pp. 30-31 of the Leamington Cutoff, from Salt Lake City to Lynndyl, and on p. 57 of the Tintic Mining District. Also included for the serious railroad aficionado are a complete steam locomotive roster, locomotive ratings for steam and diesel engines, and samples of various timetables utilized through the years. A complete index and an extensive bibliography round out the volume. Although the book is expensive, it is a fine volume concerning a very important aspect of Utah railroad transportation.

STEPHEN L. CARR
Holladay, Utah

The Western Photographs of John K. Hillers: Myself in the Water. By DON D. FOWLER. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989. 166 pp. \$24.95.)

A chance meeting of John K. Hillers and John Wesley Powell in 1871 in Salt Lake City led to a lifetime friendship and working relationship between two men prominent in the development of the western United States. Hillers joined the second Powell expedition as a boatman knowing nothing about photography. As the expedition progressed he developed an interest in the photographic processing and asked if he could learn. Expedition photographers E. O. Beaman and later James Fennimore taught him photographic processes and techniques. Hillers proved to be an adept pupil. He eventually mastered the art of photography and became the chief photographer on Powell's expeditions.

Several points make this book worthwhile as a historical documentation of western life. Hillers was a con-

temporary of photographers Jackson, O'Sullivan, and Bell, but unlike them he spent his life in the service of government agencies. His photographs have been more widely disseminated than those of other photographers who spent only short periods in government employment. Another difference between Hillers and other contemporary photographers is that he worked for the same person, John Wesley Powell, for twenty-five years. Hillers's overall work and subject matter was determined by the nature and interest of the research expedition. Powell, however, recognized and appreciated talent, giving Hillers and others time to pursue their own interests within the framework of their work assignments. Fowler's volume gives a full complement of Hillers's photographs, including his classic views of the Grand Canyon, Zion

National Park, southern Utah, Hopi mesas, Rio Grande pueblos, Canyon de Chelly, and Yosemite. Unique to this book is a series of previously unpublished Indian photographs taken in eastern Oklahoma in 1875.

Another important feature of the book is the excellent quality of the reproduction of Hillers's photographs. Hillers had a unique ability to document scientific and geological discoveries while giving an artistic quality to his photographs with the use of atmospheric light and reflection. "Myself in the Water," as Hillers was known to the Indians, created images of the western United States that combined actual physical features with an aesthetic quality that elevated Hillers beyond the limitations of ordinary photographers.

Fowler's book is basically a photographic essay on Hillers. Fowler has, however, done much research on Hillers's life so that the volume becomes, in a sense, a geography. Since little has been written on Hillers's life, this volume is especially valuable to

both the general history buff and the scholarly researcher interested in the Colorado River and the development of the western United States.

The early western explorers like Lewis and Clark did not have the benefits of photography to document their research findings. Ultimately, four federally sponsored surveys led by Wheeler, Hayden, King, and Powell used photography systematically to document scientific information discovered in the West. Hillers and Powell worked together for twenty-five years, forming a great friendship and mutual respect for each other's talents. "John Wesley Powell left the world a great scientific and organizational legacy," Fowler says. "Jack Hillers, under Powell's comradely guidance, left the world a great visual legacy..." Fowler's excellent book is a must for all interested in the West and all its beauty.

SUSAN WHETSTONE

Utah State Historical Society

Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah. By ALLAN KENT POWELL (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989. xvi + 325 pp. \$25.00.)

A German prisoner of war in Utah during World War II had a full stomach, opportunities to work for pay, and even the right to display a Nazi flag. In the history of prisoners of war through all time they may have been the most fortunate. When they returned home in 1946-47 they were healthier than German soldiers who survived the battles and their homefront families. From the prisoners' view, which Kent Powell has gathered, almost all praise their Utah and American captors for the humane treatment, but the camp internees were still surrounded by barbed wire and it

oppressed them.

The mental torment was their real problem. If they responded positively to the democratic overtures that United States government officials presented, they ran the risk of court-martial when they returned home. If they spoke candidly to their colleagues about the impending defeat of Germany (which was obvious for at least a year), they invited the censure, even torment, of the super-patriotic prisoners who held to the myth of a last-minute secret weapon that would bring victory to Hitler. If they withdrew from the end-

less, anxious discussion among their compatriots, they fell into the sullen dullness that only moved them from meal to meal. Even under the best conditions, such as they experienced in Utah, the prospect of going home to Germany was viewed in terms of failure, for each had allowed himself to be taken prisoner for any one of several suspicious reasons.

Powell has unearthed a little-known story in Utah and American history, the plight of 370,000 German and Italian prisoners of war in some 700 camps throughout the United States. Any reader will be pleasantly surprised to find how absorbing the tale is. Some Utahns alive today can remember one or more of the seventeen camps in Utah (from Logan to Salina) that confined World War II prisoners. Some even worked with the prisoners, especially in sugar beet harvests. But largely it is a forgotten story. Powell's book, the first detailed account in any of the 45 states that hosted prison camps, is a marvelously crafted work. He used previous minor studies to discover the names of individual prisoners, he discovered extensive records of the camps in the National Archives where more names were unearthed, and then went to Germany and sleuthed the whole country to find and interview survivors. To cap it off, he reversed the process and found Utahns who were in prisoner of war confinement in Germany and interviewed them. The result is a fascinating human interest story, an account of the experience from the mouths of the survivors.

Beyond the interesting narratives of individual prisoners (including Italians and even a few Russians), the book raises some substantive issues: (1) Was the reeducation effort in prison camps effective? Did the propaganda help

Germans prepare for the creation of a democratic Germany? (2) Were American efforts to live up to the Geneva Convention agreements on treatment of prisoners of war any better than the German treatment of American servicemen imprisoned in Germany? (3) Was the experiment worthwhile to create Italian service units that gave some Italians a different status after their government's surrender? (4) Did American resolve to honor the Geneva Convention evaporate after the defeat of Germany? (The prisoners remained here at least a year after the war.)

A final concern was the U.S. government's handling of the tragedy in the Salina camp. The author helps us understand that the guard who fired into the tents of sleeping prisoners, killing nine and wounding thirty-one, acted as a berzerk individual. No one claims that it was an official act of persecution. The question that remains unanswered is, "Why did the U.S. Government refuse to notify the German relatives of the deceased, even after the war?" The issue of indemnification is also not satisfied. The author could have probed further. Perhaps there are defensible reasons, beyond bureaucratic obfuscation, for the apparent stonewalling.

The book also raises some thorny issues of public opinion. On one side Utahns lobbied hard to get permission to use the German and Italian prisoners as agricultural workers. They even lobbied to keep them through the harvest of 1946. On the other side were people who complained about the "soft" life of the prisoners. They wanted the rations cut — and they succeeded in getting reductions after the war ended.

So the story is not completely comforting. The author clearly sides with American policy, but he details all the

unpleasantries. Nonetheless, it is a positive story, even counting the several breakdowns of good intentions. It is also an exemplary work that shows how an able scholar can mine archival records and tease out insights from extensive interviews. This work makes

us look forward to Powell's next book, a spinoff from this one, which will detail the personal experiences of Utahns who fought in World War II.

DOUGLAS D. ALDER
Dixie College

Word and Image in Maya Culture: Explorations in Language, Writing, and Representation.
Edited by WILLIAM F. HANKS and DON S. RICE. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1989. vi + 385 pp. \$45.00.)

This handsome, well-illustrated volume represents an important contribution to the study of Maya writing and civilization. Those who specialize in the art history, anthropology, or linguistics of Mesoamerica will want to own this book, and it has much to offer those interested in the study of New World civilizations. Maya hieroglyphic writing, one of the New World's most tantalizing pre-Columbian mysteries, has begun to reveal its secrets during the last twenty-five years due to the efforts of a group of very dedicated researchers, a number of whom are authors of articles in this volume which is an interdisciplinary effort involving linguists, anthropologists, and art historians. The dual focus of the volume is language and symbolic forms in Maya culture. Although the articles are diverse in their subject matter and approach, the goal of "gaining new perspectives on Maya representational traditions as a unified development, including spoken language, written form, iconography, ritual practice, material culture, and architecture, along with their changing institutional contexts" is ably achieved.

In the introduction, a chapter by Don S. Rice presents historical background for the study of the Maya civilization and a chapter by William F.

Hanks provides a semiotic perspective for understanding the forms included in the "Maya corpus of glyphs, iconography and symbolic representation." The book is divided into two parts; Part I deals with "Origins and Linguistic Principles of Maya Writing" and Part II with "Representational Conventions of Maya Iconography."

Part I has two major themes: "Grammatical Bases of Scribal Traditions" and "Principles of Style and Composition." Concerning scribal traditions, John S. Justeson discusses the reconstruction of spelling rules used by Maya scribes and concludes that in terms of Maya spelling conventions, contexts of application, and developmental trends there are many parallels with Old World logographic and syllabic scripts. Victoria R. Bricker examines the post-Conquest books of Chilam Balam of Chumayel and Chan Kan where she finds the use by scribes of three conventions also characteristic of some Old World logographic scripts, suggesting that all three were used in the Maya script. Using the Moon Goddess Almanacs of the Dresden Codex, Charles A. Holling investigates discourse highlighting mechanisms closely related to those in extant Yucatecan languages.

Under the second theme of Part I, Floyd G. Lounsbury focuses on the

signs that compose the name phrase of an important ruler from Copan as one example of a Maya compositional principle that he suggests offers epigraphers "a built-in 'Rosetta stone.'" William F. Hanks, exploring elements of style and construction in Colonial Yucatec Maya discourse, finds that although the Maya in colonial society had to make certain linguistic innovations these were fundamentally indigenous as evidenced by strong continuities in Maya style through the colonial period and across the language family. Using several different approaches, Barbara MacLeod investigates the 819-Day-Count and its role in Classic Maya ritual life. Carol Hendrickson employs structural analysis to investigate divine power and lordly rule in the Popol Vuh, a sixteenth-century Quiche Maya document.

Part II has two themes: "Representational Conventions of Maya Iconography," and "Maya Kingship, Cosmology, and Ritual." Under the first theme, Brian Stross presents evidence that the rebus was employed by the Olmec ca. 700 B.C. and that precursors of writing in Olmec iconography are possible sources of signs in the later Maya script. Robert J. Sharer gives intriguing evidence for the presence of two functionally distinct recording systems from the Salama Valley in the Maya highlands during the latter part of the Preclassic period whose interaction may have strongly influenced the development of Maya writing. The questions of whether Maya art can function like text and whether Maya writing explains pictures are explored by Arthur G. Miller. Dorie Reents-Budet discusses three types of narrative found in Classic Maya art and explores the interaction of image and text. By analyzing the style of Classic Maya funer-

ary ceramics produced by one painter and his associates, Marvin Cohodas suggests that dramatic changes in style at a certain point indicate societal changes as reflected by the changes in the context and function of funerary ceramics.

The first article under the second theme of Part II is a study of dedication and termination rituals among the ancient Maya by David A. Friedel and Linda Schele. Michael P. Closs presents a dynastic history of the late period at Naranjo, and Christopher Jones demonstrates how careful stratigraphic analysis at Tikal is combined with epigraphic data to produce a more complete history. A paper by Arthur Schlak is concerned with some relationships between iconography and astronomy. Wendy Ashmore identifies a specific layout that demonstrates how Classic Maya rulers used principles of cosmology-based site planning to symbolize and reinforce their membership in the political elite. The star warrior motif in stone sculpture at Chichen Itza is analyzed by Virginia E. Miller. In a paper by Prudence M. Rice, reptilian motifs on Postclassic pottery from the Peten, which seem to have signified elite status and had other important ritual associations, are interpreted as having functioned in the realm of renewal ritual. Andrea Stone presents a study of Maya cave art as evidence of a cave ceremonial complex. The ritual use of a complex system of sacred breads, or corn cakes, by the modern Yucatec Maya is shown by Bruce Love to extend back into Classic times. Karl Taube's study of ceremonial clowns and jesting in pre-Hispanic Maya art is the final article in the volume.

RAY T. MATHENY
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