

NORMAL STUDENTS
EXCEPTIONAL DOUGHBOYS

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University-San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of ARTS

by

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San Marcos, Texas
May 2009

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I will never leave thee or forsake thee.

—Hebrews 13:5.

To Jeri,

Who trusted these words and practiced these words;
after enduring many
long-suffering hours—Triumph.
Thank God

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to the finest group of committee members ever assembled. To Dr. Everette Swinney I humbly acknowledge your responsibility for the inspiration for this thesis. I thank you for pointing me at the target. To Dr. Dennis J. Dunn I offer my appreciation for your support twenty-five years ago and today. You are my personal connection to the past, and my goal was unattainable without your help. To Dr. Ronald C. Brown I extend my gratitude for your questions, suggestions, and attention to detail. The knowledge and insight you imparted regarding Normal student life was invaluable. To Dr. James W. Pohl I offer a salute of enduring respect. I am grateful for both the kind encouragement and the kicks in the pants.

This manuscript was submitted on April 8, 2009.

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GLOSSARY

French Terms:

bois. woods or stand of timber.

côte. Hill, or more specifically, hillside or slope.

Croix de guerre. Literally cross of war. A French decoration for valor.

ferme. Farm.

forêt. forest.

sur. A French term meaning over or above.

Military Terms:

barrage. A covering curtain of fire from machine-guns, or more commonly, artillery. Several types existed: 1. A preparatory barrage was fired for extended periods of time prior to an infantry assault; 2. A rolling or walking barrage, usually artillery, preceded the infantry advance at a set pace, i.e., advance of 100 yards every three minutes; 3. A box barrage was artillery that fired in the rear and on the flanks of the enemy to prevent, or at least retard, possible resupply or reinforcement. 4. A machine-gun barrage was an effective means of providing well aimed and quickly moveable covering fire for advancing infantry.

battalion. An American military unit consisting of four companies usually commanded by a major with a number designation and having an AEF strength of 1,000 men.

brigade. An American military unit consisting of two regiments with a number designation and usually commanded by a brigadier general and having an AEF strength of about 8,300 men.

company. An American military unit of four platoons of about 235 officers and men usually commanded by a captain and having a letter designation. (A-M; no J) Each platoon of about 50 men was commanded by either a 1st or 2nd lieutenant.

consolidate. A term meaning to fortify a position for defense.

Doughboy. The common term applied to soldiers of World War I. Many theories exist for the derivation of the name. The one most easily subscribed to, for the purpose of this essay about Texans, was stated by Laurence Stallings in his 1963 book *Doughboys*. The infantry on the Texas/Mexican border were covered in adobe dust and therefore called “adobes.” The evolution from *adobe* to *dobie* to Doughboy is possible if not completely convincing.

division. An American military unit consisting of two brigades or four regiments with a number designation, commanded by a major general with an AEF strength of 28,000 men.

machine-gun nest. A fortified, and usually concealed or camouflaged position with one or more fixed, heavy machine-guns operated by from three to five men. Additionally, one fortified position was normally covered by the fire of at least two more machine-gun nests, one on each flank. The interlocking system of fire presented a very difficult problem for assaulting infantry, especially without armor support and with old style frontal assault tactics. The newer fire-and-maneuver tactics of open warfare could defeat these positions, but at high cost since little effective armor existed in 1918.

regiment. An American military unit consisting of twelve companies lettered A through M (J was not used) and a headquarters, commanded by a colonel with an AEF strength of 3,700 men. Often the unit’s number designation was followed by the type of unit. For example: the 141st Infantry Regiment was often referred to as the 141st Infantry.

salient. A angled military line projecting into enemy territory.

mopping up. A term meaning to clear an area of enemy soldiers by capturing or killing them.

PREFACE

While sitting on a bench near Flowers Hall during the spring semester of 2008, I noticed a monument to six former Southwest Texas Normal School students who died during World War I. The monument raised many more questions than it answered and was the original inspiration for this thesis. As I began investigating the possibilities and asking for guidance and direction, I was advised to look for the historical significance of the subject; namely, it was not enough that the named students had died. What may have originally sounded callous turned out to be excellent counsel. Because while investigating how the student-soldiers died, what emerged were the immensely historically significant facts of how they lived.

This thesis is not a comprehensive look at all Normals, as they were commonly called, who served in World War I. The focus was narrowed to less than thirty because of research limitations and practical concerns. This thesis will concentrate on the lives and deeds of twenty-six former Normals who served in France with the American Expeditionary Force (AEF). Three others died of disease in stateside training camps. Other Normals, besides those selected for this paper, also served in France; however, since the research involved both school records and military records, Normals that lacked one or the other were eliminated. The Texas State registrar's office had many, though not all, student records from the period. In that regard, I wish to express my appreciation to Mellissa Hyatt of the registrar's office for her able and cheerful assistance. The *Pedagogs*

provided a back-up, in some cases, for missing student information, but the service record card file at Camp Mabry in Austin provided the key that unlocked the entire process. In that regard, I wish to express my sincerest gratitude to Sergeant Diane Tominaga of the Texas Military Forces Museum for her patience and attention to detail. Without her support the card file work would have been extremely more difficult. The cards were essential to this work. The individual cards provided essential information such as wounds, decorations, and most importantly, unit identification. The information contained on the cards unlocked the very detailed military orders, dispatches, and unit movements included in the respective division histories. Because of the Camp Mabry card file, it was possible to determine what these men did and where and when they did it. The significance of their contributions became apparent.

The twenty-five Normals are historically significant; but not just for what they accomplished in helping the AEF change history. The Normals are also important for the link they provide between the past and present, both as soldiers and students. Links such as these serve to verify the historical record and authenticate memory. The similarities and the differences of the Normal student-soldier, when compared to the present, provide surprising, humorous, sad, and at times, comforting views of ourselves. This is the story of twenty-nine Normal Doughboys who helped change history; and twenty-nine Normal students who once lived in San Marcos, Texas and walked Chautauqua Hill.

INTRODUCTION

I slumbered with your poems on my breast
Spread open as I dropped them half-read through
Like dove wings on a figure on a tomb
To see, if in a dream they brought of you.

—Robert Frost, *To E.T.*

It has been more than ninety years since the Doughboys of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF) swept across France. In that span of time, most of the Doughboys and what they accomplished have been forgotten. Some of those forgotten Doughboys were former students of Southwest Texas State Normal School. The twenty-eight former students who are the subject of this thesis served in three AEF divisions during the last critical months of the war. The introduction of the AEF onto the western front ended World War I in 1918 and thereby changed the trajectory of history. The Normals in the 5th, 36th, and 90th Divisions made significant contributions to their individual units' achievements and thereby the success of the AEF.

American involvement in World War I was short but intense. Two major battles fought by the AEF proved decisive, and Normals participated in both. First, at St. Mihiel, the brand new American First Army was initiated. In a tremendously swift campaign, the AEF demonstrated unexpected agility and speed. Normal Kenneth Gardner in the 5th Division and seven former Normals in the 90th Division participated in the victory. The AEF then moved east and within twelve days launched another major offensive. Between the Meuse River on the east and the Argonne Forest on the west, in a forty-seven day

sledgehammer brawl of a battle, the AEF demonstrated battlefield power and supremacy. All three Normal divisions inclusive of at least twenty-five Normals took part in the Meuse-Argonne battle that ended the war. The Normal's units played significant roles, and each unit individually achieved a measure of fame. All the Normals performed admirably within their respective units, and a few performed beyond the call of duty. They were recognized at the time, but have since faded from memory. Who they were and what they accomplished has been long neglected.

Monument Names

A World War I monument in a quiet corner outside of Flowers Hall memorializes seven men (figure 1). Their names, carved in granite, are apparently preserved forever. Regrettably, the monument only serves to highlight the sad degree of anonymity they have all achieved. The monument lists the names of six former Normals who died in service: Jack Arnold, Kenneth S. Gardner, David Haile, William Harris, William Joe Stribling, and Henry Whipple. Three died of disease in stateside training camps, and three others died as a result of action against the enemy.

David Haile, born in April of 1895, attended Normal from 1916 through 1917. He earned enough credits to become a sophomore receiving average grades. His school record is brief and ends with the handwritten notation "resigned."¹ After resigning, he enlisted in the National Guard (NG) on 27 June 1917. He was in Company I, First Texas Infantry before the 36th Division was nationalized. The resulting reorganization put Haile

¹ Grade Reports: Southwest Texas State Normal School, selected students 1912-1920, Registrar's Office, Texas State University-San Marcos, San Marcos, TX.

into Company B, 141st Infantry, 36th Division. At least four other Normals served in Company B, including another monument name, Henry Whipple. David Haile, twenty-two years old, and recently promoted to corporal at training camp, contracted pneumonia and died on December 3, 1917.²

William T. Harris attended San Marcos High School through 1914. Born in June of 1898, he likely was steered towards the teaching profession by his father, T.G. Harris, who was a teacher. He enrolled at Normal in 1914, made good grades and was apparently making significant progress towards his goal of certification before he also resigned in 1917.³ Harris left school and enlisted in the Regular Army (RA) at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio on 4 September 1917. He must have contracted pneumonia shortly after enlistment, because his service record indicates that he never got out of the hospital. He suffered horribly and was apparently delirious in his final days. He died on November 14, 1917.⁴

Joe Stribling was born in February 1896 at Sulphur Springs (figure 9 and table 4). He graduated from Sulphur Springs High School in 1916 and spent the next year at junior college. He enrolled at Normal in 1916 and remained through 1917. He was a History-English major who improved initial poor history grades in later semesters.⁵ He was also an active member of the Harris-Blair Literary Society, one of Normal's two literary/debating societies. The competing literary societies were club-like organizations

² United States Federal Form No. 724-1 ½ ; 724-6; 724-8a and 8b, A.G.O., World War I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

³ Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁵ Grade Reports, Texas State.

that provided both a fraternal atmosphere and entertainment. Debates, apparently well attended, were intra- and inter-school affairs.⁶ Normal had two rival groups: the Harris-Blair Literary Society (HBLS) and the Chautauqua Literary Society.⁷ Joe Stribling was a member of HBLS, and he had school work to do, but he also had an automobile—a fact which apparently presented him with a different set of priorities. He wrote of himself that his “six senior subjects [*and*] his Ford kept him from debating the Chautauquans.⁸ The Ford could not keep him out of the army though. Inducted in San Marcos on 13 September 1918, he was in the service for all of thirty-six days. Assigned to Officers Training School in Arkansas, William Joe Stribling twenty-two years old, contracted pneumonia and quickly died on October 19, 1918.⁹ The other students named on the marker, Jack Arnold, Kenneth Gardner, and Henry Whipple, died in France. A seventh name also appears on the monument; that of Professor M. L. Arnold who authored the verse on the memorial.

Marcus Llewellyn Arnold was a member of the very small 1917 History Department at Southwest Texas State Normal. The department had three instructors: M. L. Arnold, Miss Frances White, and the then head of the department, A. W. Birdwell.¹⁰ Born in Arkansas in 1870, Arnold moved to Texas as a youth. In 1893, he was one of the

⁶ Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog 1907-1920* (San Marcos, TX: Southwest Texas State Normal School). Alkek Library, Texas State University-San Marcos, San Marcos, TX.

⁷ *Pedagog* 1917, 24.

⁸ *Pedagog* 1917, 24.

⁹ Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹⁰ Southwest Texas State Normal School, *The Normal School Bulletin*, July, 1913 (Austin, TX: Von Boeckman-Jones, 1913), Alkek Library, Texas State University-San Marcos, San Marcos, TX.32; *Pedagog* 1914, 18-19.

first graduates of North Texas State Teachers College. The next year he married Nora Carpenter, and began his teaching career in small rural schools before eventually returning to Denton. With a growing family to support, eventually one daughter, Dorothy, and three sons, Jack, Ross, and Frank, he moved to San Antonio and began teaching at the Main Avenue High School. In 1911 he was hired to teach history at Southwest Texas Normal School.¹¹ Not only was he the father of one of the men killed in France, but he also was a respected teacher of many and beloved mentor to others. All of M.L. Arnold's students were aspiring to become teachers. Most of them had been average to above average students. The events of 1917 transformed the Normals as they volunteered or were inducted and began to prepare for combat duty with the AEF in France. There they would show themselves to be well above average, even exceptional.

Normal Choices

As noted, most Normal students were preparing to become teachers in Texas public schools. Teaching Certificates, good for varying lengths of time, were awarded to students after completion of prescribed coursework.¹² Some of the future veterans such as William Blocker had teaching experience prior to enrolling, but enrolled at Normal to upgrade their certifications. A few, such as Kenneth Gardner, William Harris, and Henry Whipple, with parents who were teachers, were presumably at Normal to follow parental example; however, most of the future veterans at Normal came from agricultural

¹¹ Obituary of M.L. Arnold, Arnold family file, San Marcos History Collection (SMHC), San Marcos Public Library, San Marcos, TX.

¹² *Normal School Bulletin* 1913, 11.

backgrounds. Of the parents of the future veterans, eight were farmers, four were teachers, two were merchants, as well as one carpenter, one oil-field worker, one railroad worker, and one doctor.¹³

The student annual, the *Pedagog*, and the campus newspaper, the *Normal Star*, pictured a variety of student activities and organizations. Many of the future veterans were members of the football, baseball, and basketball teams. Jack Arnold was right guard on the 1916 football team,¹⁴ Kenneth Gardner and Arthur Flake had been on the 1913 football team, and Clyde Hunsucker and Robert Shelton had played baseball in 1913.¹⁵ William Blocker was a two-sport star, having played on the Normal football and basketball teams in 1914.¹⁶

The prominently featured non-athletic clubs for men were the Chautauqua and the Harris-Blair Literary Societies. The societies were established to “study the organization and conduct of deliberative bodies according to parliamentary usage, and the art of public speaking and debate. [Further], they were expected to give moderate expression of their work, in public debates with teams from [other] Normals; and in society ‘evenings’ and entertainments.”¹⁷

Chautauqua had some Methodist roots but it was not a religious organization. The school too had some Chautauquan connections witnessed by the name of the hill on

¹³ Grade Reports, Texas State.

¹⁴ *Pedagog* 1917, 125.

¹⁵ *Pedagog* 1913, 177.

¹⁶ *Pedagog* 1914, 223.

¹⁷ *School Bulletin* 1913, 10.

which Old Main rests. Kenneth Gardner, Clyde Hunsucker, Claude Barnes, Charley Kuykendall, and C. B. Carter were all Chautauquans of different years.¹⁸

The Harris-Blair Literary Society was the Chautauquans' main rival. The rivalry was friendly, but real. The Chautauquan society was the original literary society on campus. A small group, unhappy with the Chautauquan leadership, had seceded from the Chautauquan organization and formed Harris-Blair. Named after Principal Harris and English instructor J. E. Blair, the society was very popular. Jack Arnold, Henry Whipple, DeWitt Neighbors, and Joe Stribling were all members over the years as was M. L. Arnold.¹⁹ Debates were held frequently, and in addition to providing entertainment, the societies "afforded opportunities for the development and training so essential to the successful teacher in the arts of expression and public speaking."²⁰

The German Gessellschaft was a Normal club of students with German origins. Future veteran Robert Klingelhoffer was a member in 1912.²¹ In an interesting comparison with today's language controversies, complete pages of the yearbook associated with the German Gessellschaft were printed in German. No translation was offered.²² Other clubs existed and future veterans were well represented. Jack Arnold was in the 1916 Agriculture Club, Carl Walker was in the Science-Math Club, and Joe Stribling was a member of the History-English Club in 1917.²³ Many were also members

¹⁸ *Pedagog* 1907-1919.

¹⁹ *Pedagog*, 1914, 161.

²⁰ *Pedagog* 1917, 13.

²¹ *Pedagog* 1912, 128.

²² *Pedagog* 1912.

²³ *Pedagog* 1916, 85, 96; *Pedagog* 1917, 24.

of the YMCA. The YMCA crossed all lines; Chautauquan Clyde Hunsucker and Harris-Blair DeWitt Neighbors were both members as were many others of the veterans. Then as now, the YMCA was a popular service and entertainment organization.

Normals, as all students, made jokes about professors and needled each other. Miss Shipe, apparently a very stern-faced instructor, had this description of her in the 1911 *Pedagog*: “The photographer told her: ‘look pleasant for the photograph; ready, one, two, three, [snap]; now you may resume your natural expression.’”²⁴ An example of the light-hearted needling would be the identification in the *Pedagog* of two future veterans as the school’s “Biggest Flirt” and another as the “Biggest Liar.”²⁵ One group identified as “liars,” were the juniors who claimed to never having kissed a girl, while the “Biggest Liar” was the freshman who said he had.²⁶ Humorous but maybe also true, then and now.

There is no sense that the Normal students took themselves very seriously. One Normal student wondered why a sleeping course was not offered (a similarity with today’s Texas State students). Another, lamenting the difficulty of an offering in medieval history often taught by M. L. Arnold, wrote this verse:

But if all the courses at Southwest Texas State Normal
Were as hard as History 4,
I’d take the first train out of town
Or—maybe the one before.²⁷

²⁴ *Pedagog* 1911, 166.

²⁵ *Pedagog* 1918, 136-138.

²⁶ *Pedagog* 1917, 189.

²⁷ *Pedagog* 1917, 186.

Similarly, the Last Will and Testament of the 1914 Freshman Class, bequeathed to: “Mr. Arnold our left over histories, and request that he lead the freshmen of 1915 as gently through the dark-ages into the light of the New World as he did the freshmen of 1914.”²⁸ The freshmen writings about M. L. Arnold may have shown a hint of irreverence, but a measure of respect as well. In fact, Mr. Arnold was very well respected in his *Pedagog* treatments. To the Harris-Blair Society he was known as “our peacemaker.”²⁹ In another year, he was portrayed favorably as a gentle scolder with a bit of a sarcastic bite. After an argument with a particularly stubborn student, Mr. Arnold reportedly said of him: “If he ever drowns, be sure to look upstream for him; for he will not go like anybody else.”³⁰

On April 2, 1917, in response to Germany’s unrestricted submarine warfare and with the stated purpose of “making the world safe for democracy,” the United States declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary. Four days later the Senior Class of Southwest Texas State Normal held a final meeting. The tone of the meeting’s minutes appear calm and determined. The 1917 *Pedagog* records without further comment: “A motion was made and passed that the class disband in order to answer our country’s call.”³¹

The school newspaper, the *Normal Star*, acknowledged the “willingness of all students to sacrifice in service of country” but still counseled against volunteering for “the Federal Army or National Guard.”³² Many of the male students of Southwest Texas

²⁸ *Pedagog* 1915, 145.

²⁹ *Pedagog* 1914, 161.

³⁰ *Pedagog* 1912, 192.

³¹ *Pedagog* 1914, 145.

³² “Military Training for Normal Students,” *Normal Star*, April 6, 1917.

Normal School eventually served in the armed forces of the United States during World War I. The 1919 *Pedagog* lists the names of 435 student/veterans. A large number of students waited to be inducted and served honorably with the Student Training Corps in San Marcos. A small number of students enlisted in the US Army Air Service and most were still in stateside training at war's end. A few, like Normal Pat Cour, joined the Navy.³³

In May, shortly after the senior's final meeting, and against the advice of the *Star*, Jack Arnold volunteered for the National Guard. Henry Whipple and others soon followed. Kenneth Gardner enlisted in the Regular Army.³⁴ Clyde Hunsucker and DeWitt Neighbors were drafted into the service as commissioned officers in August. Throughout the summer of 1917 recruits and draftees began arriving at training camps. Unfortunately for some, M. L. Arnold would not be able to lead any of them out of the rapidly descending new dark-age.

Some of the Normal National Guard volunteers surely knew they were eventually headed for the front. National Guard service during the Vietnam era was desired because it often meant stateside service; conversely, today's National Guard units routinely serve regular tours in combat zones; the National Guard enlistees of 1917 also had a very high probability of eventually being in a combat zone. All knew the consequences in 1968, all know them today, and the Normals of 1917 knew them too.

³³ United States Federal form No. 724-1 ½ through 724-6; 84b-9; 84c-9, A.G.O, World War I service cards, Card File by alphabetized name, Texas Military Forces Museum, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas. Normal Pat Cour served on the USS *Delaware*.

³⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

Certainly no one envisioned his name on a memorial; however, Normal students who enlisted in the National Guard and Regular Army in 1917 knowingly bought a ticket to the front. Some of them have their names preserved in granite.



Figure 1. Monument in Texas State University-San Marcos Memorial Gardens, Flowers Hall.

Source: Personal photograph taken by Jeri Birdwell.



Jack Arnold killed in action
8 October 1918.



Kenneth S. Gardner killed in action
5 November 1918.



David Haile died of pneumonia
3 December 1917



William Joe Stribling died of influenza
19 October 1918.

Figure 2. Monument Names-A.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog* 1917, 6-10. (San Marcos, TX: Southwest Texas Normal School).



Sgt. Henry Whipple 141 Inf. Co. B.
Wounded 8 October 1918. Died of his
wounds 19 November 1918.

Not Pictured: William Harris
died of pneumonia 14 November 1917



M.L. Arnold in 1919, the year he authored the poem which appears on the Texas State World War I Memorial.

Figure 3. Monument Names-B.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas Normal, *Pedagog*, 1919.

CHAPTER I

NORMAL TRANSITION: FROM SAN MARCOS, TEXAS TO FRANCE

Student-Soldier

The Great War, initially a war of movement, quickly became a static trench war. Machine-guns reaped a ghastly harvest as troops went *over-the-top* and charged *en-masse* across no-mans land. Britain, France, and Germany each lost a generation buried in the French mud.³⁵ Names like the Somme and Verdun produced a gag reflex when mentioned. They still do. The numbers of dead were impossible to comprehend. They still are.³⁶

While Normals volunteered or filled out draft registration cards, a few Doughboys arrived in France. They arrived with typical American swagger, a confidence often misinterpreted as arrogance, but it was tempered with a degree of humility. America was presented an opportunity to repay a debt owed to France since the American Revolution. On the Fourth of July, 1917, reverently acknowledging the obligation, an American contingent stood respectfully in front of the flag draped tomb of the Marquis de Lafayette

³⁵ Laurence Stallings, *The Doughboys: The Story of the AEF, 1917-1918* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 20.

³⁶The numbers of casualties are staggering. The numbers vary, but for all countries the total death toll is likely in excess of eight million. France lost 1.4 million, Germany 1.6, Austria-Hungary 1.2, Russia 1.7, Great Britain 703,000, and the United States 117,000. Many times more were wounded. At the Battle of the Somme in 1916 the French losses were 200,000; the British lost 420,000; and the Germans suffered 400,000. At Verdun, also in 1916, French losses were 550,000, and German losses were 434,000. (www.firstworldwar.com/battles/htm. [accessed 20 March 2009]).

as Colonel C. E. Stanton pledged American lives, fortunes, and honor and pronounced, “Lafayette, we are here.”³⁷

Normals like DeWitt Neighbors, Kenneth Gardner, Dillard Snow, and Jack Arnold, would be asked to help pay the debt. Young men like William Blocker, Arthur Flake, and Henry Whipple, who until recently were not sure life existed beyond the next exam, would be asked to make good on Colonel Stanton’s pledge. The Germans did not think the Americans could do it. The French were not sure either. The German’s initial impression of American units was unfavorable. The Americans are a “wild, untamed, negligible, untrained mob.”³⁸ The Germans also thought of most Americans as a mixed breed. A lieutenant with the German General Staff expressed it this way: “Only a few men are genuinely Americans by ancestry, the majority is of German, Dutch, or Italian parentage; but these *half-Americans* (italics mine), who were born in America...consider themselves unhesitatingly as genuine sons of America.”³⁹ The half-Americans from Normal like Robert Klingelhoffer, Charley Kuykendall, and Clyde Hunsucker would soon join the AEF in France.

The American Army of 1917 had three types of divisions, Regular Army (numbered 1-25), National Guard (numbered 26- 42), and National Army (numbered 43 and above).⁴⁰ Fittingly, Normal students served in all three. The 36th Division, a National

³⁷Henry Mattox, “One Example of Natural Allies,” *American Diplomacy* (Durham, NC: American Diplomacy Pub., 2000, http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/AD_Issues/amdipl_16/edit_16.html, (accessed August 21, 2008), pages 1-2.

³⁸ Major Frederick Palmer, *America in France* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1918), 246.

³⁹ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 111.

⁴⁰ John S. D. Eisenhower, *Yanks* (New York: The Free Press, 2001), 61. The Selective Service Act of 1917 required men of ages 18-45 to register. Twenty-four million were registered and 2.8 million were eventually inducted.

Guard unit, contained eighteen Normals. Ten of these men, including Jack Arnold, David Haile, and Henry Whipple, had enlisted. Eight others were inducted. The 90th Division, a National Army unit, had seven Normals, all of whom were draftees. Kenneth Gardner had enlisted in the Regular Army in September 1917 and was the lone Normal in the 5th Division.⁴¹ The National Guard Divisions were initially almost entirely volunteers and the National Army Divisions were almost entirely draftees. Later draftees served in all units as they were brought up to combat strength.

All or parts of the Normal's divisions trained in Texas before sailing for Europe. Kenneth Gardner and parts of the 5th Division trained at Camp Logan near Houston, Texas.⁴² The 90th Division, with DeWitt Neighbors and William Blocker, was organized and trained at Camp Travis near San Antonio, Texas.⁴³ The 36th Division, a National Guard unit which had served along the Mexican border through March of 1917, was drafted into the U.S. Army in August 1917. They were assigned to train at Camp Bowie near Fort Worth, Texas (figure 9).⁴⁴

⁴¹Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁴² Lieutenant Kenyon Stevenson and the Society of the Fifth Division Association, United States Army, Veterans of the World War, *The Official History of the Fifth Division, USA, during the period of its organization and of its operations in the European World War, 1917-1919; The Red Diamond (Meuse) Division*, (Washington, D.C.: The Society of the Fifth Division, 1919).

⁴³ Major George Wythe, *A History of the 90th Division* (New York: 90th Division Association, 1920), 3.

⁴⁴Alexander White Spence, formerly Captain of Infantry 36th Division, "The History of the Thirty-Sixth Division, U.S.A. 1917-1919" unpublished manuscript (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1919), 1-6.

36th Division Normals:
Camp Bowie to France

The 36th Division (table 1) was made up of National Guard units primarily from Texas, but with a few units from Oklahoma. The separate units arrived at Camp Bowie from August through September 1917 and had all assembled by early October. They were men of German, Irish, Italian, and Swedish descent. Some were recent immigrants. There was also a large contingent of men of Mexican descent, especially in the units formed close to the border. Most interestingly though, were the inclusion of more than five hundred Indians in the Oklahoman regiment.⁴⁵ It is not known what the Germans thought of these full-blooded Americans, but all of the Normals obviously fell into the half-American category.

The division adopted a shoulder patch acknowledging a shared heritage—a large arrowhead with a super-imposed “T.” The eighteen Normals that went overseas with the 36th Division were from many different areas of Texas (figure 9 and table 4). Three listed their hometown as San Marcos. The other fifteen were from fifteen different places. One was from the big city of Houston; the rest were from towns still tiny today. Lee Burkett, part of the 111th Hospital Train, was from Mullin, a town near Brownwood that today has a population of 150. Odus Jennings, in Company B, 143rd Infantry, was from Sour Lake; a town near Beaumont that in 2000 had a population of 1667. From Goliad in the South Texas Plains, to Jayton, on the Rolling Plains; and from Sour Lake, in the Gulf Prairies Region to Fredericksburg on the Edwards Plateau, there was a wide range of geographic

⁴⁵ Captain Ben H. Chastaine, *Story of the 36th: The Experiences of the 36th Division in the World War* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1920), 17.

diversity (figure 9 and table 4). However, they were all from Texas, and all serving in the “Lone Star Division.”⁴⁶

Camp Bowie, opened 17 August 1917, was near Fort Worth in the Arlington Heights area. In generally primitive conditions, the men were billeted in pyramid tents—a very crowded twelve men per eight-man tent. The mess halls were wooden buildings, but had no floors. The tents were also supposed to have floors, they did not. Nor did they have lights or heat.⁴⁷

There were a few supply warehouses but no supplies. The most severe winter in decades arrived in late October about the same time as the new summer clothing. Nearby towns sent blankets and bedding, but disease began to take a toll, because most of the men had never been exposed to the usual childhood diseases. From October through December, there were thousands of cases of mumps and measles.⁴⁸ Jack Arnold had been sick with the mumps at Normal a few months earlier and managed to avoid others of the more serious camp diseases.⁴⁹ David Haile of Company B, 141st Infantry was not so lucky.

The hospital building burned in November. Other buildings were appropriated but were less suitable. Many of the sick had to remain in their tents. By regulation, tent flaps were to stay open but it was so cold that flaps were understandably closed.⁵⁰ Two

⁴⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State; Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 377.

⁴⁷ Chastaine, 36th, 11.

⁴⁸ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 15-17.

⁴⁹ *Normal Star*, March 16, 1917, 3.

⁵⁰ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 17. The opening of the tent flaps was apparently a preventive measure against the spread of disease; its effectiveness can only be surmised.

types of pneumonia were the killers. Hospital records show several hundred cases of lobar and bronchial pneumonia. Often measles victims also developed pneumonia. The mortality rate in pre-antibiotic days was high. For the period October through December, 210 deaths were recorded from pneumonia.⁵¹ David Haile was one of them—he died on December 3, 1917.⁵²

The men trained without adequate equipment. Those like Jack Arnold, who had served on the Mexican border had rifles, but most did not. In December a shipment of 7,000 rifles arrived, not even half the number needed. The rest did not arrive until the following March. Also in short supply were grenades, mortars, and the new Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR). In fact, equipment was so short that those standing guard were issued only clubs.⁵³

Training went forward even without equipment. Schools teaching the use of French machine-guns, trench mortars, and gas defense were instituted. Men threw grenades made of concrete and dug replica trench works. The Commanding General and his staff went to France to examine battlefield conditions and returned in mid-December 1917 armed with some new training techniques. One of the new methods required the men to live in the trenches for four days at a time. What seemed to be realistic training for late 1917 turned out to be totally unsuitable for what lay ahead.⁵⁴

The rifle course was fired from both prone and standing positions; the latter normally called the trench position. The men had to demonstrate proficiency with either

⁵¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 17.

⁵² Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁵³ Chastaine, 36th, 16-18.

⁵⁴ Chastaine, 36th, 18-21.

the “Americanized” Enfield or the newer Springfield 1903 A3. The newer Springfield was of American design, but had not yet been produced in sufficient quantities to supply all American troops. Instead the British Enfield was “Americanized” and served well. Both rifles were bolt-action, 5 round, magazine fed, .30 caliber rifles. The newer 1903 A3 had an internal magazine reloaded by use of a stripper-clip and fired a 150 grain bullet at about 2800 feet per second.⁵⁵

The Normals, just like all the other men, would have gone to the range almost every day. All had to complete successfully three separate courses. The first had a total of 200 targets at 100, 200, and 300 yards. The second course had thirty targets at longer 500 and 600 yard ranges. The third course had ten targets at 1,000 yards—a real challenge.⁵⁶

Another of the many difficulties encountered was the paperwork. Family allotment forms took months to process. Problems were resolved only after considerable discomfort.⁵⁷ Also, the men were continually advised, as only the military can do, to purchase War Risk Insurance. For men who were less than twenty-five years old, \$1,000 of insurance cost about \$7.50/year or about seventy cents a month. The maximum amount that could be purchased was \$10,000. The death benefit was not paid out in a lump sum. Instead, the unfortunate family was paid 240 monthly installments of about \$6.00/\$1,000 of insurance.⁵⁸ Accordingly, it is likely M. L. and Mrs. Arnold, along with

⁵⁵ Gary James, “Classic Test: 1903 Springfield NRA Sporter.” *Guns & Ammo*. “1903 Springfield Tribute Page,” www.m1-garand.com/1903_Springfield.htm (accessed 21 January 2009).

⁵⁶ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 20-21.

⁵⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 22.

⁵⁸ United States. Dept. of the Army, Office of Military History, *United States Army in the World War: Bulletins, Volume 17* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992), 16.

the other grieving parents, received and opened another official government envelope every month until 1938.

In May of 1918, just weeks away from movement to France, the Division instituted the new fire-and-maneuver training; abandoning trench warfare instruction in order to more accurately reflect battlefield conditions in France. Also in May, an accident during a trench mortar firing exhibition caused the death of ten men involved in the demonstration.⁵⁹ The Normal observers had their first taste of violent death. Most of the dead were from the same 141st Regiment as Normals Clyde Hunsucker, Robert Shelton, Dillard Snow, Carl Walker, Jack Arnold, and Henry Whipple.

In late May, 1918 the division received orders to move to embarkation areas. Every man was issued a new heavy overseas uniform and heavy wrap leggings, and moved by train to New York.⁶⁰ The first sailed on July 14 and the last by August 3, 1918. Lee Burkett wrote home to the Mullin *Enterprise* about his Atlantic crossing.

Lee Burkett was from Mullin, a small ranching community between Goldthwaite and Brownwood. He travelled to San Marcos to enroll at Normal and attended from 1916 through the spring semester 1917. Following induction in May 1917, he was assigned to Field Hospital #141, 111th Sanitary Train. The 111th designation applied to all trains associated with the 36th Division, but #141 designated his assignment with Arnold and Whipple's 141st Infantry.⁶¹ At Normal, he had known something of M. L. Arnold's dark-ages; he had failed History 4. Now he would be involved in making some history. His

⁵⁹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 22.

⁶⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 29.

⁶¹ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

mind was likely on things other than school and history classes as he boarded the *George Washington* en route to Brest, France, because he most likely had never seen the ocean. Though his letter spoke of the boring and uneventful twelve day trip,⁶² the coming days for Lee Burkett, Jack Arnold, Henry Whipple, and the other Normals would be dramatic. By the first week of August 1918, the 36th Division had moved by train to New York, crossed the Atlantic, landed in France, and settled into the training area at Bar-sur-Aube.⁶³

The 36th Division was in Bar-sur-Aube to be trained and equipped for active service. Even though the 36th had no Browning machine-guns, no rolling kitchens or water carts and few draft animals, and even though they trained without artillery, and without adequate maps, and even though they were below authorized strength by almost 4,000 men and had just received ninety-five new officers, they felt ready.⁶⁴

Back at Normal, with many men in the service and headed for France, the school dedicated a service flag. Many organizations like schools and churches had service flags honoring members who were away. At Normal, the flag had a star for each student then in service. M. L. Arnold spoke at the dedication. No doubt the ceremony held a personal significance for M. L. Arnold, and he apparently communicated those feelings as he spoke. The *Pedagog* description said: “[He] very clearly gave us [the flag’s] meaning and significance. Beautiful tributes of affection and love were paid to our boys

⁶² Lee Burkett to Mullin *Enterprise*, William Denning Hornady Transcripts of World War I letters and personal accounts., Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission. Box 1975/070-12, Folder 5631, p. 69.

⁶³ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 35.

⁶⁴ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 40.

at the front.”⁶⁵ Jack Arnold wrote home in September with a confident voice. In contrast to the real situation, his letter optimistically stated: “Everything is pretty smooth and looking better every day.”⁶⁶

Jack Arnold had been born in Denton County Texas in 1897. The family had moved a few times as M.L. Arnold changed schools. In 1911 the Arnold family moved to San Marcos when M. L. Arnold was hired as a History Instructor at Normal. Their two-story house occupied the ground where Flowers Hall now stands and Mrs. Arnold ran a cafeteria from the home. Apparently an excellent cook, she was known for serving “the most delectable foods.”⁶⁷ Jack began attending Normal in 1915 and continued through May of 1917. He was Agriculture and not a History major. Though their academic interests differed, father and son were members of the same literary society. In 1917, Jack was an officer in Harris-Blair, and M.L. was an honorary member.⁶⁸ Regardless of major, Jack’s poor history grades must have been a source of frustration for both father and son, and surely prompted some lively dinner table discussions at the Arnold home.⁶⁹ Another topic of discussion must have been Jack’s military enlistment. He was only nineteen years old when he enlisted in the 36th Division of the National Guard.⁷⁰ Following a few months of service on the Mexican border, the division went into training

⁶⁵ *Pedagog* 1918, 128.

⁶⁶ Jack Arnold to parents, Arnold family folder, SMHC.

⁶⁷ Ronald C. Brown and David C. Nelson, *Up the hill, down the years: a century in the life of the college in San Marcos, Southwest Texas State University 1899-1999* (Virginia beach, VA: Donning Co., 1999).

⁶⁸ *Pedagog* 1916, 128.

⁶⁹ Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁷⁰ Card File, Camp Mabry.

at Camp Bowie near Fort Worth.⁷¹ Another few months after U.S. entry into World War I, the National Guard was federalized and reorganized in accordance with regular army standards.⁷² Jack Arnold went to France in July of 1918 as a member of Company D, 141st Infantry, 36th Division.⁷³

As Jack Arnold's letter indicated, morale was high. The men "were in superb physical condition, well-disciplined, exhibited excellent spirit and...were brimming with confidence. Even considering their brief military experience, "they had come to France to whip the Boche, and it never occurred to any of them that they would not do it."⁷⁴

At least one Normal Doughboy wanted to get the job done and get home quickly because he was already disgusted with France. Paul Russell, former Normal student, served in the 111th Sanitary Train with Lee Burkett. He wrote a letter home to Bertram that was printed in the hometown newspaper. In it he stated that since leaving home he had done nothing but sleep on the ground. Sounding more than a little irritated by this situation, he wrote: "[I] wouldn't give my five acres in Texas for all of France."⁷⁵ He would later be cited twice for bravery.⁷⁶

⁷¹ *Pedagog* 1919, 7.

⁷² Alexander White Spence, formerly Captain of Infantry 36th Division, "The History of the Thirty-Sixth Division, U.S.A. 1917-1919" unpublished manuscript (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1919), 1.

⁷³ Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁷⁴ Spence "Thirty-sixth," 40.

⁷⁵ Paul Russell to Bertam, TX newspaper, William Denning Hornady Transcripts of World War I letters and personal accounts., Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission. Box 1975/070-4, Folder 5628, p. 74.

⁷⁶ Paul Russell letter, Hornady Papers.

The 36th Division took no part in combat operations during the St. Mihiel attack, but some of their officers did participate in a successful cloak-and-dagger operation. Early in September, after orders were received supposedly moving the 36th to Belfort; the division sent three officers to a Belfort hotel for a large pre-offensive meeting. The Belfort site was a ruse. A copy of the battle plans and maps were “accidentally” left in the hotel and quite predictably disappeared. The trickery seems all too transparent now, but was exceedingly convincing to the Germans. Perhaps the Germans thought these half-Americans incapable of fooling them. However, the deception was so complete that the Germans concentrated five divisions in the Belfort area prior to the St. Mihiel attack and kept them there until the beginning of the Meuse-Argonne offensive on September 26th.⁷⁷

Jack Arnold and the other Normals of the 36th Division had yet to see real war. Before they saw home again that would change. They had yet to suffer a single battle casualty, and that would also change. Jack Arnold, writing from “*Somewhere in France*,”⁷⁸ said he felt that training was over. He felt sure they would soon be on the move.⁷⁹ “Go” rumors are almost always wrong, but this one was right. Special Order No. 286 of September 23rd announced an end to training and a move to a new area where

⁷⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 42.

⁷⁸ Jack Arnold letter, SMHC. The phrase *Somewhere in France* was on all soldier’s letters. The censors did not allow actual locations to be relayed. Most probably the soldiers put the phrase on their letters themselves as the phrase was well known; however, if not, the censors did. There was even a song of the era entitled “*Somewhere, Somewhere in France*.” (www.militarysheetmusic.com. [accessed March 15, 2009]). In WW I the phrase applied to all locations, even Belgium. The phrase was again used in WW II, but *Somewhere in Germany* was later added. (www.unc.edu. [accessed March 15, 2009]).

⁷⁹ Jack Arnold letter, SMHC.

they would be attached to the French Army of the Center.⁸⁰ For Jack Arnold, Henry Whipple, and the rest of the 36th Division Normals, the road home went through St. Etienne.

⁸⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 42.



Cpt. DeWitt Neighbors,
357 Inf. Co. E.



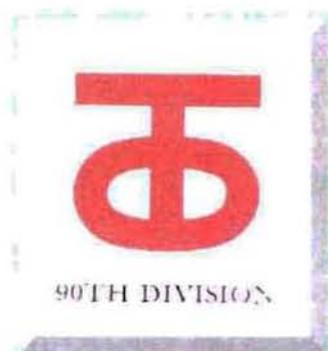
Sgt. Wm. Blocker
360 Inf. Co. I.



Sgt. Arthur Flake
360 Inf Co. I.



Pvt. Robert Klingelhoffer
360 Inf



Cpl. Walker Parr
Division Artillery



Cpl. John Haisler,
360 Inf. Co G



Pvt. Charley Kuykendall,
315 Tr. Mortar

Figure 4. 90th Division Normals.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog* 1907-1916; United States Federal Form 724-11/2, A.G.O., Texas Military Forces Museum, WW I service records, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, TX.

90th Division Normals:
Camp Travis to St. Mihiel

The 90th Division (table 2), a National Army unit, was organized at Camp Travis on 25 August 1917. Camp Travis was physically connected to Fort Sam Houston northeast of San Antonio and was one of sixteen National Army Camps established across the United States (figure 9). The 90th Division was originally made up of Texas and Oklahoma draftees. Both the 179th and 180th Brigades had many Texans, but the 180th became known as the “Texas Brigade.” The 90th Division adopted a shoulder patch with a large red T over which a smaller red O was super-imposed. They had the official nickname of the Alamo Division but preferred the *Tough Ombres* moniker that seemed to better reflect their feelings about themselves. The men arrived at camp over a thirty day period from early September to early October 1917. The junior officers, like former Normal, Captain DeWitt Neighbors, had trained at Leon Springs Officers Training School.⁸¹

Training at Camp Travis was similar to Camp Bowie. Normals William Blocker, Arthur Flake, and John Hailser, as well as the rest of the new inductees learned close-order drill, the use of automatic weapons, trench and gas warfare, signals, and even the fundamentals of the French language. A rifle range was built at nearby Camp Bullis where they spent as much as fifteen hours a day.⁸² They also practiced combat problems

⁸¹ Major George Wythe, *A History of the 90th Division* (New York: 90th Division Association, 1920), 3.

⁸² Wythe, *90th Division*, 9.

and maneuvers with map and compass, and by early 1918 they felt ready for battle.⁸³

Normals Walker Parr and Charley Kuykendall were in the 90th Division artillery units and would have had other training regimens in addition to the above instruction.⁸⁴

In March 1918, the 90th Division, thinking it was ready to ship out, faced a serious delay similar to that experienced later by the 36th Division. Many of the 90th Division's experienced NCO's, cooks, and other specialists were reassigned to units then shipping to France. Instead of heading for embarkation points, they had to quickly train and equip a large number of new soldiers.⁸⁵ One of these new additions was Robert Klingelhofer, a former Normal from Fredericksburg (see figure 9 and table 4). He had attended Normal from 1911-1913 and was an average student. He had been a member of the YMCA in 1912 and President of the German Gessellschaft at Normal in 1913. Truly fitting the definition of half-American, he was drafted in late February, 1918, and assigned to Headquarters Company, 360th Infantry in March.⁸⁶

Some of the Normals benefited from the March reassignments. William Blocker, Company I, 360th Infantry, from Loraine (see figure 9 and table 4), had attended Normal from 1913-1914 and was a good student. He was also active in many student organizations. He played on the 1914 basketball team, was a member of Harris-Blair, and sang tenor in the Glee Club. Inducted in San Marcos in September 1917, he was

⁸³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 7-11.

⁸⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁸⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 8-9.

⁸⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

assigned to I Company, 360th Infantry. Promoted to Corporal just before the March reassignments, he made Sergeant on 1 April.⁸⁷

Arthur Flake, another Normal, was also assigned to Company I. A real San Marcos native, having attended San Marcos High School, he enrolled at Normal in 1914 and attended through 1917. Flake had played on the same 1916 Normal football team as Jack Arnold and Paul Russell and was also an officer in Harris-Blair. Inducted in San Marcos on the same day as William Blocker, he too was promoted quickly; first to Corporal in March and then to Sergeant before the division left for France.⁸⁸

John Haisler, like Blocker and Flake, also seems to have benefitted from the March reassignments earning a promotion to Corporal in early April. Haisler, from Caldwell, served in G Company 360th Infantry.⁸⁹ He had attended Normal from 1914-1917 and was an average student. However, in the summer session of 1917, and maybe anticipating a September induction, he failed M.L. Arnold's History 4.⁹⁰ Following the 1917 summer session at Normal, Haisler went home for a short visit to Caldwell. He was inducted on 21 September and assigned to G Company, 360th Infantry.⁹¹

DeWitt Neighbors, former Normal from Waelder (figure 9) was called into federal service as a Lieutenant in August 1917.⁹² In 1912 Neighbors had graduated from

⁸⁷ *Pedagog* 1914, Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁸⁸ *Pedagog* 1916, Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁸⁹ Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁹⁰ Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁹¹ Card File, Camp Mabry.

⁹² Card File. Enlisted men were inducted, but officers were either drafted (National Guard) or called into service (Regular Army).

Normal and received his diploma and lifetime teaching certificate.⁹³ He had been a member of the YMCA and an officer in Harris-Blair.⁹⁴ He too, like Haisler and Burkett, knew about the dark-ages of M.L. Arnold's History 4; however, he had emerged on the far side with a very respectable B.⁹⁵ He was promoted to Captain in January, 1918, and led E Company, 357th Infantry from training through the end of the war.⁹⁶ In April and May the training intensified as the new men were absorbed. The Division left for the embarkation point on June 5, 1918.⁹⁷

During the last weeks of June the division crossed the Atlantic. Most went to Liverpool or Southampton and later crossed the Channel to Cherbourg or Le Havre. From the French ports they moved to the Aignay-le-Duc training area and spent many hours over the next six weeks getting ready for the front. On August 15, 1918, orders came for the division to move to Toul and relieve the American 1st Division. During the third week of August the Tough Ombres were put into the line relieving the Big Red One.

Captain DeWitt Neighbors' Company E, 357th Infantry moved into the line on the night of 22-23 August, as did Private Haisler and Private Klingelhoffer with the 2nd battalion of the 360th. The 3rd Battalion of the 360th, with Sergeant Blocker and Sergeant Flake, were held in brigade reserve near the south end of Forêt de Puvenelle a few kilometers behind the main line of resistance.⁹⁸

⁹³ *School Bulletin* 1912, 59.

⁹⁴ *Pedagog* 1912, 136.

⁹⁵ Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁹⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

⁹⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 9.

⁹⁸ Wythe, *90th Division*, 24.

Normals Walker Parr and Charley Kuykendall were part of the artillery regiments attached to the 90th Division. Walker Parr had attended Normal in 1907 with Clyde Hunsucker and sang in the bass section of the Glee Club.⁹⁹ Following induction, he was assigned to the 344th Field Artillery. Parr, from Moulton (figure 8), was actually inducted in Hallettsville in October 1917.¹⁰⁰

Charley Kuykendall, also from Hallettsville (figure 9 and table 4), first attended Normal in 1912, as a nineteen-year-old freshman. He earned a Grade 1 Certificate in 1913 and later a diploma. Like many of the former Normals, Kuykendall also had a connection to M.L. Arnold. Interestingly, he took M. L. Arnold's History 9 as a correspondence course in 1914.¹⁰¹ Inducted in Hallettsville shortly after the March reassignments in 1918, he was assigned to the 315th Trench Mortar Battery.¹⁰² Unlike the other Normals in the 90th, Walker Parr and Charley Kuykendall, both in the division artillery units, did not move forward with the division. Arriving artillery units were often stripped of animals and equipment which were then used to resupply existing units. In fact, many artillery units went overseas without equipment. Parr and Kuykendall's units spent most of the active part of the war in a training area awaiting equipment and orders.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ *Pedagog* 1907, 115.

¹⁰⁰ Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹⁰¹ Grade Reports, Texas State.

¹⁰² Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹⁰³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 171-73.

Although Captain Neighbors and the other Normals had moved into a so-called quiet sector, nightly patrols were still instituted. Objectives were to familiarize the men with no-man's land, take prisoners if possible, and give the men some practical field experience prior to battle.¹⁰⁴ During these first few weeks the 90th Division suffered a few casualties, losing ten killed and thirty-nine wounded. None, however, were from any of the Normal companies.¹⁰⁵

Preparations were under way for the forthcoming St. Mihiel attack. Quietly, and under cover of night, supply and ammunition dumps were created. To add to the activity, the 90th Division executed an eastward, so-called side-slip, maneuver on the night of 8 September to make room for the 5th Division into the line. In addition, and no doubt to the "delight" of the men, several daily inspections were made by the medical department, ordnance staff, gas service personnel, and Headquarters observers.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 26.

¹⁰⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 223-54. Compiled from casualty lists.

¹⁰⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 24-28.



Pvt. Kenneth Gardner, 61 Inf. Co. I

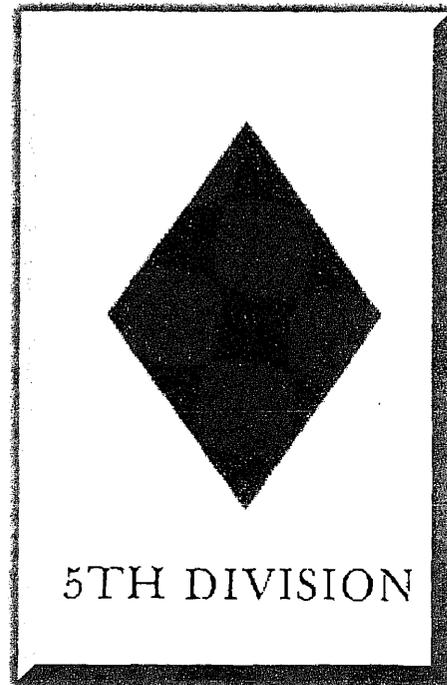


Figure 5. 5th Division Normal.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog* 1919, San Marcos, TX.

5th Division Normal:
61st Infantry
Camp Logan to St. Mihiel

The 5th Division was a Regular Army unit (table 3) with a more complicated beginning. In November of 1917 the Army ordered the central, southeastern, and southern departments to transfer enlisted men to Camp Logan near Houston to form the 5th “Red Diamond” Division.¹⁰⁷ Their nickname was based on the “Ace of Diamonds,” and their shoulder patch was a red diamond with a centered “5.” The number was

¹⁰⁷ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 50.

dropped before they went overseas.¹⁰⁸ Most of the division trained at Camp Logan through January 1918, but was not fully assembled until it arrived in France in May of 1918. Once in France, they moved from Le Havre to the Bar-sur-Aub training area (later the area used by the 36th Division) during the first week of May and began what was described as “intensive training.”¹⁰⁹

Kenneth Gardner, former Normal student, had volunteered in September of 1917, and was assigned to I Company, 61st Infantry, 5th Division.¹¹⁰ Born in Goliad County, Texas (figure 9) in August of 1896, he had aspirations of becoming a teacher like his mother when he enrolled at Normal in 1912. Kenneth Gardner attended through 1914, was a Chautauquan and a good student. A senior in the fall of 1913, Gardner was said to have been “the pink of courtesy.”¹¹¹ Because many of the one-line descriptions in the *Pedagog* are left-handed compliments, Kenneth Gardner may have had a spicy personality. Following enlistment and then training with the 5th Division at Camp Logan near Houston, Texas,¹¹² he went overseas in April of 1918 as a member of Company I, 61st Infantry Regiment, 5th (Red Diamond) Division.¹¹³ He was one of the first 200,000 American combat troops to enter France. Forty-two divisions went to France during World War I. The Red Diamonds were the eighth division to arrive. They immediately began preparing for action.

¹⁰⁸ Edward J. Barta, “The Fifth Division: World War I,” Fort Carson Information Office. <http://www.societyofthefifthdivision.com/WWI/WW-I.htm> Accessed July 20, 2008.

¹⁰⁹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 57.

¹¹⁰ Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹¹¹ *Pedagog 1914*, 29.

¹¹² Card File, Camp Mabry; Stevenson, *5th Division*, 50.

¹¹³ Card File, Camp Mabry.

Private Gardner's training would have included machine-gun schools, signal schools, and intelligence schools. Gas training was also a high priority because all knew they soon would be headed for the front. Discipline was light, but as they moved into the line at the end of May, no one needed strict discipline to keep up the level of concentration. The division was pronounced "fit for service," and attached to the French 70th Division in the Arnould area. They trained alongside the French for a few days learning the ways of the trenches. Unbelievably, this included their first practice with live grenades. On June 11, 1918, they relieved the French 70th Division in the front line.¹¹⁴ Private Kenneth Gardner, Company I, 61st Infantry Regiment, 3rd Battalion, 9th Brigade, 5th Division, American Expeditionary Force would soon be the first Normal asked to make-good on Colonel Stanton's pledge.

The 5th Division entered the line in the Arnould area on June 14th. Just as in the 90th Division sector, the first task was to gain control of no-man's land. A seeming contradiction, the intent was to control the area and keep out German patrols. New machine-gun positions were established, new wire laid, and most importantly patrols were initiated.¹¹⁵

Kenneth Gardner's unit, the 61st Infantry, gained valuable experience in the next few weeks in the line. The 61st launched a large raid and repelled a larger one. They learned how to deal with fear and nerves on outpost duty on very black nights. They also

¹¹⁴ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 58-63.

¹¹⁵ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 65.

got an opportunity to practice urban warfare when they attacked the village of Frapelle on 17 August.¹¹⁶

The Frapelle attack was preceded by a machine-gun barrage on all street exits of the town. Trench mortars cut three paths in the German wire, and smoke shells fell just in front of the advancing infantry which included Kenneth Gardner's I Company. The fight was short. By 6:30 a.m., the town and all surrounding territory was in American hands.¹¹⁷ The next day, after a determined German counterattack was repulsed, the division was relieved.¹¹⁸ They moved to an area near Moselle to rest, rearm, and refit in preparation for participation in the St. Mihiel Operation. They had been in the line only a couple of months, had seen some action, and suffered a few casualties. The 61st Infantry, to which Normal Kenneth Gardner belonged, lost eighteen men killed in action (KIA). However, only one KIA was from Kenneth Gardner's Company I.¹¹⁹

Although they were out of the line, it probably didn't seem like a break to Private Gardner and his comrades as the daily training regimen began.¹²⁰ The training schools were established to practice map and terrain problems, gas and mortar training, and the infantryman's stock-in-trade, rifle practice. In general, the schools taught the relatively new open-warfare concept.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 71.

¹¹⁷ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 71-73.

¹¹⁸ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 78.

¹¹⁹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 79.

¹²⁰ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 77.

¹²¹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 85.

Open warfare and trench warfare were terms defined by General Pershing in his “Combat Instructions.” “Trench warfare [was] marked by uniform formations, the regulation of space and time by higher commands down to the smallest detail...fixed distances between units and individuals [with] little initiative.”¹²² On the other hand, open warfare, wrote Pershing, was “marked by...irregularity of formations...comparatively little regulation in space and time by higher commanders... [the] greatest possible use of the infantry’s firepower to enable it to get forward, variable distances between units and individuals, brief orders and the greatest possible use of individual initiative by all troops engaged in the action.”¹²³ Even in a time prior to large armored formations, the new infantry tactics of fire-and-maneuver combined with spacing discipline proved less costly in human lives than the old, over-the-top and charge en masse, tactics so often employed in the earlier years of the war by all armies.

Kenneth Gardner surely must have been anxious for an end to training and a chance to do his job. So the orders of 4 September must have come as a relief. The 5th Division was ordered to Mortincourt in preparation for a major attack. The move was carried out with utmost secrecy. Marching hours were only between 2000 and 0400 and strictly enforced. No lights were used, and camp was made in cover of the woods during the day. Naturally it rained—incessantly. Everything and everyone was soaked and miserable;¹²⁴ however, as was the usual practice with fresh divisions, they had been given some practical experience in the line; they had been “inoculated.” Kenneth Gardner had

¹²² Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 125.

¹²³ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 125-6.

¹²⁴ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 86-88.

now seen the fire and heard the rumble. The 5th Division's next task, and that of Private Gardner, would be a large operation with the new American First Army at St. Mihiel.

CHAPTER II

BATTLE PERIOD: NORMALS IN THE 5TH AND 90TH DIVISIONS

The Americans always expected to form their own Army. General Pershing insisted on a separate American Army and resisted using American divisions as replacements for British and French units. The argument was logical—America had declared war on Germany and meant to fight with her own army, on her own terms, in her own way. The first use of the new American First Army was against the St. Mihiel salient on 12 September 1918 (figure 11 and 12).

The American First Army included Normals Kenneth Gardner of the 5th Division, and DeWitt Neighbors, William Blocker, Arthur Flake, John Haisler, and Robert Klingelhofer of the 90th Division. As part of the seven division attack against the so-called south face of the German salient, they were to swing like a large gate towards the middle of the triangle at Hattonchâtel.¹²⁵ Captain Neighbors and the rest of the Normals in the 90th Division were the second in from the hinge. Kenneth Gardner with the 5th Division was to their left¹²⁶ (figure 12).

¹²⁵ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 214.

¹²⁶ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 89.

5th Division Normal:
The St. Mihiel Salient
(figure12)

The infantry element of the 5th Division, which included Kenneth Gardner, left the training area headed for Mortincourt on the night of 6 September. Forced marches for the next four nights laboriously moved them past the bogged down artillery, supply, and hospital trains in the quagmire of French muck. They travelled fifty kilometers and arrived at their assigned positions near Mortincourt on 10 September. Wet, cold, exhausted, and caked with French mud,¹²⁷ they readied themselves for the attack on 12 September. H-Hour was 5 a.m.¹²⁸

The attack would be led by the 5th Division's 10th Brigade with the 9th Brigade in support (table 3). After a thirty-minute artillery barrage the infantry assault leapt out of the mud and sprang forward. Battalions attacked with three companies in front and one in reserve. Machine-gun companies had trouble displacing fast enough to stay abreast. The cold, mud-spattered American Red Diamonds overran German guns, equipment, supply dumps, and quickly retreating Germans. The day's objectives were reached in twelve hours.¹²⁹ So rapid had been the advance, and so decisive the victory, the 61st Infantry, and consequently Private Gardner, was barely involved.

Late in the afternoon of 12 September, a spirited counter-attack was launched by the German 123rd Division. The 61st Infantry was called forward as support against this new threat, and the German attack was quickly repulsed. By 8 p.m. the sector was

¹²⁷ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 91.

¹²⁸ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 102.

¹²⁹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 112-117.

quiet.¹³⁰ The Red Diamonds fought against scattered German resistance for a few days and were then relieved by the 77th Division on the night of 16-17 September. The St. Mihiel operation was over.¹³¹ Kenneth Gardner and the 61st infantry had almost been just spectators.

The Germans obviously withdrew in haste and disorder and it was obvious they had been surprised. In the 5th Division sector, besides losing irreplaceable war material, the Germans had also lost over 300 men killed and 1242 men captured.¹³² The 5th Division had suffered too. They had 305 men killed and over 1200 wounded or gassed. The 61st Infantry losses, less than other more heavily engaged regiments, were twelve men killed. None were from Kenneth Gardner's I Company.¹³³

The men spent the next ten days resting and refitting. New uniforms were issued, and the men cleaned off the mud and enjoyed the welcome sunshine. After the brief respite, replacements were received, and inspections were reinstated to reinforce discipline. Training regimens were also reinitiated with special emphasis on problems experienced during the offensive, namely, gas discipline and infantry unit liaison problems, especially in the woods.¹³⁴ These two issues had caused many of the casualties during the St. Mihiel Operation and needed attention before the next offensive in the Meuse-Argonne.

¹³⁰ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 113.

¹³¹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 117.

¹³² Stevenson, *5th Division*, 118.

¹³³ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 122.

¹³⁴ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 119.

90th Division Normals:
The St. Mihiel Salient
(figure 12)

Field Order No. 3 of 1700 hours 9 September prescribed how the 90th Division would attack. The Brigades would fight side-by-side and within each Brigade the regiments would fight side by side (table 2). This meant the 357th, 358th, 359th, and 360th would line up left to right along the division sector. The 90th was near the hinge-point of the right pincer which meant the 357th (Captain Neighbors) had the farthest to go and the 360th (Blocker, Flake, Haisler, and Klingelhoffer) the least. Accordingly, regiments that had farther to go occupied a narrower front.¹³⁵

The front of the 357th was about 800 kilometers and the 1st Battalion was the assault unit with 2nd Battalion, including Captain Neighbor's Company E, in support. The 3rd Battalion was designated as brigade reserve. The 360th Infantry, containing four Normals, was on the far right and had more than 1500 kilometers of front but had to move forward only a short distance. To cover the expanded front, the 360th attacked with the 1st and 3rd (Sergeants Blocker and Flake, Company I) Battalions in line while the 2nd Battalion (Corporal Haisler and Private Klingelhoffer) was held in division reserve.¹³⁶

The attack of the 90th Division was preceded by a four hour preparatory artillery barrage. The infantry assault was to follow a creeping barrage that advanced 100 meters every four minutes. The attack began promptly at 5 a.m. as a wave of Texas and Oklahoma Doughboys pushed themselves out of the mud and across the rain swept front. The area over which they advanced was a desolate moonscape turned into French sludge by the storms. Advancing was made more difficult by the hundreds of trench work

¹³⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 36.

¹³⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 37.

mazes and miles of wire entanglements. The 90th Division equipped four men per platoon with the two-handed wire cutters with the singular mission of cutting wire. Another plan to minimize the wire danger was to have the assault companies attack by squad column (squads in single file). The supporting battalion was to attack in “columns of half-platoons,” (two squads). When even this proved too slow, the big Americans jumped the obstacles. The French staff officers, sent to observe, marveled at the skill of the Americans traversing an area where the French had previously died by the score for scant inches.¹³⁷

The men of the 90th, new to the offensive, were naturally anxious. The supporting battalions had to be restrained from hustling up to join the assaulting wave, but every effort was made to maintain adequate combat spacing. The men of the support battalions, like DeWitt Neighbors’ Company E, had the very important job of wiping out pockets of resistance that had waited in hiding for the first wave to pass. Often these were German machine-gunners who emerged from concealment as the support troops advanced. The Company E assault was bitterly contested by the Germans. Two of Neighbors’ platoon leaders were wounded early in the attack; consequently, non-commissioned officers or even privates took the lead. A Private First Class in Captain Neighbors’ E Company was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his actions on 12 September.

Sergeant Blocker and Sergeant Flake, part of I Company, 360th Infantry had the shortest distance to move. 3rd Battalion, 360th Infantry was near the hinge of the First Army gate and advanced the one kilometer to their day-one objective in an astoundingly brief ninety minutes. The 357th Infantry had furthest to go and took slightly more time.

¹³⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 40-1.

The men of DeWitt Neighbors' E Company made their four kilometer advance to their day-one objective by 9:30 a.m.¹³⁸

By 2 p.m. all division objectives along the six kilometer front had been reached. The 90th Division was not the only one to achieve such rapid success. The St. Mihiel Operation was essentially a one-day battle. Field Order No. 51 issued by the American First Army told the plain truth: "The enemy has been thoroughly defeated along our whole front. Every objective laid down by the army for two days was attained in one under trying weather conditions. The spirit and dash shown by our troops is very gratifying, and reflects credit upon all concerned."¹³⁹

The St. Mihiel Operation was an overwhelming American victory. Field Order No. 51 complimented the men for doing their jobs. The Normals too could be proud of accomplishing their unit's goals. They had done so against German troops from the 77th Reserve Division, the 94th, 68th, and 153rd Landwehr Regiments, and the 255th German Infantry Division. Many German soldiers, after years of war, exhibited signs of fatigue; however, it should not be forgotten that most of the German soldiers in these units had years of combat experience.¹⁴⁰ By contrast, on 12 September, their first real day of battle, many of the Americans who fought at St. Mihiel had been in service for less than *one* year. Sergeant William Blocker and Corporal John Haisler were nine days short of serving one year, while Sergeant Arthur Flake had served exactly fifty-three weeks. Private Robert Klingelhoffer had only been in the army for a few days more than six months, and Private Kenneth Gardner of the 5th Division would not pass the one-year

¹³⁸ Wythe, *90th Division*, 46.

¹³⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 47.

¹⁴⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 47.

anniversary of his enlistment for another 16 days. The veteran of the group was Captain DeWitt Neighbors who had been in the army for all of one year and twenty-eight days.¹⁴¹ Seemingly a mismatch—and so it was.

The American 90th Division spent 13-15 September consolidating its position. Paragraph two of Field Order No. 51 specified “that the outpost line must be pushed two kilometers in front of the line being fortified and the whole position occupied in depth....before morning [and the] position...held against all attacks of the enemy.”¹⁴²

The 357th (Captain Neighbors) frustrated a German counter-attack and pushed the two kilometers towards the “exploitation” line. Blocker and Flake’s battalion of the 360th pushed past their exploitation line and occupied the town of Norroy and routed some pockets of resistance from the Norroy quarries.¹⁴³ During the few days of the exploitation and mop-up, Sergeant Blocker participated in some successful I Company patrols. A primary objective of combat patrols was enemy prisoners. The patrols of Sergeant Blocker brought in a lot of prisoners.¹⁴⁴ The term “mopping-up” is often used in the official reports to describe the activities during this period, but the work done by Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, and Captain Neighbors was certainly nothing a custodian would recognize.

On 14-15 September the 90th Division pushed out a reconnaissance-in-force towards the Hindenburg line. Part of this operation was the taking of the St. Marie valley accomplished by the 2nd Battalion 357th Infantry (Captain Neighbors’ Company E

¹⁴¹ Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹⁴² Wythe, *90th Division*, 48.

¹⁴³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 50-1.

¹⁴⁴ Tom Johnson to home, San Marcos History Collection (SMHC), Folder titled: The European War 1914-1918 , San Marcos Public Library.

included) and the taking of Côte 327 and Hill 367 by the 360th Infantry. Again, Blocker and Flake's I Company was in the thick of it as they surprised and captured several enemy outposts near Côte 327 complete with machine-guns and crews.¹⁴⁵ The attacks on the evening of September 15th ended the forward movement of the 90th Division during the St. Mihiel Operation, but they stayed in position until 10 October when they were relieved by the 7th Division.¹⁴⁶

As the line stabilized, the men were treated to plenty of hot food. In spite of poor road conditions and bad weather, the rolling kitchens made super-human efforts to stay close to the advancing infantrymen. The wagoners, like Normal W.H. Ellison, often ignored warnings from the Military Police and braved artillery and machine-gun fire to get to the front.¹⁴⁷ Many of their efforts went under, or more often, *un*-appreciated. Hot food boosts morale and the AEF was unequalled in supplying it. Many of the army cooks, often with undeserved reputations for poor cuisine, "created" very edible meals from some unnamed and even unknown ingredients. The reputations of the cooks for a certain hard-bitten crabbiness *was* deserved however, but may have also contributed to boosting morale. One example is of the cook who, when asked why he was making so much mulligan stew for so few men, grouched this reply: "Listen, buddy, hash ain't no orchid that has to be worn the same day!"¹⁴⁸

The 90th was continuously subjected to troublesome German artillery fire. The American artillery replied when forward observers could find the source, but artillery fire

¹⁴⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 59.

¹⁴⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 62-64.

¹⁴⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 62.

¹⁴⁸ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 134.

often cut telephone lines making communication difficult. Gas attacks too caused hundreds of disfiguring casualties and rendered others unfit for duty.¹⁴⁹ During this so-called stabilization period, over three hundred men were put out of action by gas alone.¹⁵⁰ The division's total casualties from the St. Mihiel operation to their entry into the Meuse-Argonne battle were 524 officers and men killed and more than 4,500 wounded or gassed. None of the Normals had so far become a casualty. Robert Klingelhoffer's Headquarters Company had lost two Sergeants killed, Corporal Haisler's 360th, G Company had one man killed, while Sergeant Blocker and Sergeant Flake's 360th, Company I had lost one sergeant, one corporal, and four privates. Captain Neighbors' Company E, 357th Infantry had suffered the most; one sergeant, three corporals, and ten privates were dead.¹⁵¹ After being relieved, the 90th Division moved back to the Blercourt area. Neighbors, Blocker, Flake, Haisler, and Klingelhoffer could get a bath and some clean uniforms. But this was not just a rest period. The units received replacements, rearmed, and trained in preparation for their part in the largest and most decisive battle of the war, the Meuse-Argonne.¹⁵²

The American Expeditionary Force launched an offensive between the Meuse River on the east and the Argonne Forest on the west on 26 September 1918. The first phase from 26 September to 1 October saw some rapid gains. The second phase through

¹⁴⁹ Three basic types of gas were used during WW I. Chlorine gas caused choking and coughing and quickly destroyed lung tissue. Phosgene gas was similar to chlorine, but caused less choking and coughing resulting in a larger, more effective dose delivered to the victim. Mustard gas, a later innovation, could be delivered by artillery shells, caused severe blistering of the skin and respiratory passages, and could remain in the earth for weeks ("Weapons of War: Poison Gas," FirstWorldWar.Com, www.firstworldwar.com/weapons/gas.htm, [accessed 28 March 2009]).

¹⁵⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 67.

¹⁵¹ Compiled from casualty lists: Wythe, *90th Division*, 228-251.

¹⁵² Wythe, *90th Division*, 74-6.

the end of October was more of a slugfest with not as much movement, and the final phase from 1-11 November was a series of American breakthroughs and German collapses culminating in the armistice of 11 November.

The Normals Divisions would take part in cracking two of the very formidable German Stellungen (defensive lines) named Kremhilde and Freya after Wagnerian witches. “What bitches they were,” remarked the Doughboys.¹⁵³ William Blocker, Arthur Flake, DeWitt Neighbors, and the other 90th Division Normals took part as the division was the first to pierce the last section of the famed Hindenburg line, the Freya Stellung.¹⁵⁴ The Normals were a part of the largest and most decisive battle of World War I, the Meuse-Argonne.

5th Division Normal:
Meuse-Argonne
(figure 13)

The easy town living that Kenneth Gardner and his fellow Red Diamonds had been experiencing since 27 September, all of five days, ended when the orders of 2 October directed them to move to an area southeast of Verdun. The march began on 3 October, and as usual the men spent the nights marching and the days under cover of the trees. However, they did not just rest during the daylight hours. Training was instituted to further work on liaison field problems as well as instruct the newly added replacements in everything from grenade to gas mask.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 225.

¹⁵⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 105.

¹⁵⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 129.

After being held in corps reserve for a week, the Red Diamonds relieved the 80th Division on the night of 11 October. The outpost line was taken by 1st Battalion, 61st Infantry, while Gardner in the 3rd Battalion, 61st Infantry, was put in the support line. The other battalions were held in reserve.¹⁵⁶

The entire line was visible from the enemy-held heights east of the Meuse. Consequently, harassing shell-fire was a constant irritant as the Germans lobbed gas, shrapnel, and high-explosive shells into the 5th division area.¹⁵⁷ As with all other reliefs, patrols from the various sectors roamed “no-man’s land” and attempted to affect some kind of control. The 5th division patrols immediately ran into some fairly stiff resistance in the form of enfilading machine-gun nests.

Patrols from the 60th and 61st attempted to reconnoiter the enemy positions and assess their strength prior to the next major attack scheduled for 14 October against the Bois des Rappes (figure 15). The battalions of the 60th Regiment were the assault wave with the 61st battalions in support. The attack carried the enemy front lines but did not succeed in taking the Bois des Rappes.¹⁵⁸ The 61st moved through the 60th into the assault position and continued the attack. By 2 p.m. the 3rd Battalion (Kenneth Gardner Company I) had pushed the line to the edge of the woods, but it would be days before the stubborn German resistance could be overcome.

The men of the 3rd Battalion, 61st Infantry, Kenneth Gardner’s battalion, resumed the attack on the Bois de Rappes on 15 October. The Battalion commander, Major James

¹⁵⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 133.

¹⁵⁷ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 133.

¹⁵⁸ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 142-43.

D. Rivet led from the front. He wiped out a machine-gun nest and eliminated a sniper hidden in a tree. Moments later he fell to a German rifle bullet.¹⁵⁹ On 16 October, though no new attacks were ordered, the 61st Regiment sent out several large combat patrols. Finally on 19 October, the 61st Infantry succeeded in driving the Germans from the Bois de Rappes. The next day the rolling kitchens appeared and the men had their first hot meal in a week. Later in the evening of 20 October Kenneth Gardner and the 3rd Battalion repulsed a very determined counterattack and the Germans retreated from the Bois de Rappes for the last time.¹⁶⁰

Three German divisions faced the Red Diamonds in the Bois de Rappes. They were the Third Guards, the Twenty-eighth who had fought at Belleau Wood, and the 123rd Saxons who had faced these same Red Diamonds of the 61st Infantry at St. Mihiel.¹⁶¹ The German soldier, some war-weary, had fought with courage and pride. Again, it should be remembered that most German soldiers had been in France longer than Private Kenneth Gardner had been in the army. On 19 October, Private Kenneth Gardner, barely twenty-two years old, had been in the army for one year and twenty-one days. By even the most liberal measure, he had been in the line for only about four months.

The 5th Division fought a resolute enemy for eleven days and regained eight square miles of French territory. The human cost was 4,449 casualties of whom 779 were dead.¹⁶² In the 61st Infantry, forty-seven officers were casualties of whom ten were

¹⁵⁹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 155.

¹⁶⁰ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 163.

¹⁶¹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 153.

¹⁶² Stevenson, *5th Division*, 169.

dead. Only two of the twelve companies were led by the same company commander at the end of the battle. Two of the three battalion commanders were also out of action. Kenneth Gardner's battalion commander, Major Rivet, was dead. The 61st Infantry suffered over one thousand enlisted casualties of which 117 were dead. The 3rd Battalion had twenty-six dead, and twelve of those were from Kenneth Gardner's I Company.¹⁶³ Normal Kenneth Gardner, not long in the service, was now a veteran.

The 90th Division of Neighbors, Blocker, and Flake relieved Kenneth Gardner and the rest of the beleaguered 5th Division on 22 October.¹⁶⁴ The 5th moved only slightly to the rear, got some hot food, a change of clothes, some new replacements, a little extra training, very little rest, and prepared to reenter the lines by noon 26 October.¹⁶⁵ They moved east a few kilometers to cover the eastern flank of the American Army. They relieved the 3rd Division and their new eastern boundary was the River Meuse.¹⁶⁶

The men spent the next few days in exploitation mode—combat patrols pushed outpost lines further out and secured the villages in the sector. The men refitted and rearmed. The weather cooperated. The air was dry. The sky was clear. The kitchens put out large quantities of hot food. News from other fronts was encouraging. Morale was high. All felt that one more push could finish Germany.¹⁶⁷ Kenneth Gardner did some of the pushing as the Red Diamonds attacked on 1 November 1918.

¹⁶³ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 159; 172-3.

¹⁶⁴ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 165.

¹⁶⁵ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 169, 180.

¹⁶⁶ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 180-83.

¹⁶⁷ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 185-87.

The objective of the new offensive (Meuse-Argonne third phase) was to cut the Sedan-Metz rail line and drive into Luxembourg thereby disabling German supply lines and cutting off entire enemy armies.¹⁶⁸ Parts of the 61st Regiment protected the flank of the 90th Division on the left of the 5th Division. Again, Normals DeWitt Neighbors, William Blocker, Arthur Flake, Robert Klingelhoffer, and Kenneth Gardner were essentially shoulder-to-shoulder.

The objective of the 5th Division was simple, force a crossing of the Meuse River. The French had been trying to force a crossing for weeks. Now would come the American chance. In preparation, the Red Diamonds were to take the approaches to the river, "...secure an advantageous footing...", and scout possible crossing sites.¹⁶⁹

Kenneth Gardner and I Company were ordered to move to the edge of one of the last wooded areas west of the Meuse known as Bois de Babiemont (figure 13). Supported by a platoon of the 14th Machine-Gun battalion, Captain Russell Fisher (Commanding Officer of Kenneth Gardner's I Company) led his men in a rush towards the German line at edge of the woods. After some furious hand-to-hand fighting, Company I, with only eighty men, took the forward German positions and captured six guns and 110 prisoners. German machine-guns in the woods forced an end to the advance on the evening of 1 November.¹⁷⁰ The next day, 2 November, I Company was joined by L Company, and together they pushed the Germans out of Bois de Babiemont.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 187.

¹⁶⁹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 191.

¹⁷⁰ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 192.

¹⁷¹ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 195.

Now both brigades of the 5th Division faced the Meuse and division engineers planned to build pontoon bridges on the night of 3 November. However, the necessary French pontoon boats did not arrive until after daybreak on 4 November. The German artillery, biding its time, waited until the boats were in position before unleashing a murderous fire on the bridge-builders and the assaulting waves of infantry. Despite this resistance, the division forced a crossing during the night of 4 November and by the early morning hours of 5 November, Kenneth Gardner and Company I, 61st Infantry, was part of the force securing a bridgehead on the east bank of the Meuse River.¹⁷²

An adjacent canal and two nearby hills had to be crossed and occupied before the Meuse bridgehead would be secure. Two small pontoon bridges were thrown across the canal but just as quickly destroyed by German machine-gun fire. In the pre-dawn darkness of 5 November, parts of I Company, 61st Infantry (Kenneth Gardner) swam or waded the canal at the point where the pontoon bridges had been previously destroyed and established a secure bridgehead. The establishment of this canal bridgehead allowed the rest of the brigade to quickly cross the river and then the canal, which they did.¹⁷³ Captain Fisher led another part of I Company, 61st Infantry against Côte 292 as part of this operation.¹⁷⁴ The hill was secure by 8 a.m., and attention turned towards the German stronghold in the town of Dun-sur-Meuse (figure 13).

Côte de Jumont and the Dun-sur-Meuse stronghold protected each other. The 1st and 2nd Battalions of the 61st Infantry attacked Dun, while 3rd Battalion (Company I and

¹⁷² Stevenson, *5th Division*, 215.

¹⁷³ "Fifth Division Back From France," *New York Times*, July 20, 1919.

¹⁷⁴ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 215.

Kenneth Gardner) attacked Côte de Jumont. The Germans had fortified the hill with numerous enfilading machine-gun positions, but the 61st Infantry kept the pressure on. Company I and the rest of 3rd Battalion charged directly up the hill and quickly overcame the defenders and captured many guns and prisoners.¹⁷⁵

At the end of a very difficult day many of the Red Diamonds could reflect on their accomplishments. Kenneth Gardner and Company I had been heavily engaged all day. By nightfall on 5 November they had crossed the Meuse, crossed the adjacent canal, captured the heights east of the river, secured the stronghold of Dun-sur-Meuse, offered cover for the building of a heavy bridge over which trucks and large guns could cross, and clearly had the Germans on the run.¹⁷⁶ In the debris left on the battlefield as the front advanced on 5 November 1918, lay thousands of dollars worth of destroyed equipment, discarded packs, web gear, canteens, rifles, pistols, rations, and doubtless many personal items; also the body of Kenneth S. Gardner, American soldier, Red Diamond, Normal student.¹⁷⁷

Just six days later came the news of German defeat. Near the same time Mrs. Mary S. Gardner of 706 Brooklyn Avenue, San Antonio, Texas received notification of Kenneth's death. Mary Gardner, no doubt still grief-stricken, but obviously and deservedly proud of son Kenneth, made application almost two years later, in October 1920, to receive his United States Victory Medal with three battle clasps (figure 19).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 218-19.

¹⁷⁶ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 222-23.

¹⁷⁷ Card File, Camp Mabry; *Pedagog* 1919, 8. The 1919 *Pedagog* states Gardner was killed on 2 Nov 1918. The record that exists in the Card File at Camp Mabry records the 5 November date in three places. I used the date on the government document (figure 19).

¹⁷⁸ Card File, Camp Mabry.

90th Division Normals:
Meuse-Argonne

The 90th Division entered the line on the night of 21 October. They relieved the 3rd Division and held the front between the 89th (Middle West) Division on the left and the 5th (Red Diamond) Division on the right. This sector of the front would belong to the Alamo Division through war's end.¹⁷⁹

The German Army was reeling in late October 1918, and every available resource was put into trying to end the war before winter. In an effort to extend the combat life of the large AEF divisions, the First Army policy instructed each division to designate one of its brigades as an attacking brigade and the other as a reserve. Further, the reserve brigade would replace the attacking brigade when the latter suffered heavy casualties or needed a rest.¹⁸⁰ Consequently, the division originally designated the 179th Brigade which included Normal DeWitt Neighbors' 357th Infantry, Company E as the attack brigade. Normals Haisler, Klingelhoffer, Blocker, and Flake of the 180th Brigade were initially held in reserve.¹⁸¹

The first mission of the 357th (Captain Neighbors) was to straighten the line by taking Hill 270 and the village of Bantheville (figure 15). Following a day and a half of hard fighting, the regiments accomplished these goals and awaited the inevitable counterattacks. The first came on the evening of 25 October. The attacks were driven off

¹⁷⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 88.

¹⁸⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 88.

¹⁸¹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 88.

with some difficulty, but the German divisions sustained severe damage. The second counterattack came “on the afternoon of 26 October.”¹⁸² Again, the German attack was driven home smartly but was just as savagely repulsed. Opposing Blocker, Flake, Haisler, and Neighbors, and delivering the spirited counterattacks, were regiments of the German 123rd Division, two Grenadier Regiments of the German 28th Division, and the 40th Fusilier Regiment.¹⁸³

These were quality German units who fought with tenacity and skill. The German 28th Division was known as “The Kaiser’s Favorite,” and had a deserved “shock troop” reputation.¹⁸⁴ These units were put into the line to retake ground lost to the Americans. They could not do it. The Germans were well-trained capable soldiers who were accustomed to victory. Normals like Captain Neighbors, Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, Corporal Haisler, and Private Klingeloffer, had a hand in changing that.

The attack by the 357th and 358th Regiments, and the subsequent German counterattacks, had also taken a toll on the Americans. Burial details worked under fire to cover corpses that had been on the ground for days. The casualty lists were long. Many were dead. Scores more were wounded. There were only two categories of wounds: severe or slight.¹⁸⁵ The word severe speaks for itself. Obviously, a slight wound was anything less than a severe one, not a very precise diagnostic measurement. The 179th had sustained many casualties of which seventy-eight men were dead. Captain

¹⁸² Wythe, *90th Division*, 92.

¹⁸³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 94.

¹⁸⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 94.

¹⁸⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 199.

Neighbors' Company E had lost three dead and many more wounded.¹⁸⁶ Included on the 28 October list of casualties was Captain DeWitt Neighbors, E Company, 357th Infantry Regiment, with a slight wound.¹⁸⁷

On 30 October, as per First Army policy, the 180th relieved the 179th and assumed the attack designation.¹⁸⁸ Blocker, Flake, Haisler, and Klingelhoffer moved past Neighbors' brigade into the line. An attack was planned for 1 November. Directly opposite the 90th Division lay the Freya Stellung, the last of the three witches, and beyond that was open ground with no German prepared defensive positions. Victory lay just beyond the Freya Stellung and all knew it. The German defense opposite the 90th was organized in considerable depth. The terrain was well suited for defense. It was dominated by three ridges, two ravines, and numerous hills and woods. Lastly, and most importantly, the positions were manned by experienced German soldiers from three divisions: 88th, 28th, and 107th.¹⁸⁹ These were fierce opponents, described as "first-class" in 90th Division reports, who not only knew how to fight, but had a "last-ditch" mentality.¹⁹⁰ Normals in the 360th Infantry faced a severe test.

On 1 November the mission of the Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, Corporal Haisler, and Private Klingelhoffer of the 360th Infantry was to capture a "wooded ridge

¹⁸⁶ Compiled from casualty lists, Wythe, 90th Division, 223-54.

¹⁸⁷ Card File, Camp Mabry. The service record card notes a slight wound. Apparently true because Neighbors had returned to duty by early November. He is mentioned by name in Major Wythe's history as leading his Company E in an attack against the town of Wisepepe on 4 November.

¹⁸⁸ Wythe, *90th Division*, 96.

¹⁸⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 99.

¹⁹⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 99.

along the left boundary of the Division.”¹⁹¹ The 3rd Battalion of the 360th was designated to make the assault, specifically K Company and Company I with Sergeant William Blocker and Sergeant Arthur Flake. The 2nd Battalion of Corporal Haisler and Private Klingelhoffer would support while the 1st Battalion was held in reserve.¹⁹²

The Germans, anticipating the blow, opened an artillery barrage on American positions around midnight the night before the attack. The regimental headquarters “suffered a direct hit at 1:30 a.m. on 1 November and 360th Headquarters Company suffered twenty-six casualties.”¹⁹³ Robert Klingelhoffer was uninjured.¹⁹⁴

American preparatory bombardment began at 3:30 a.m. The Germans returned fire and inflicted some casualties as the men waited for H-hour. At 5:30 A.M. Sergeants Blocker and Flake and the rest of I Company rose from cover and attacked. They were immediately raked by a terrible machine-gun fire from the ridge top centered near some farm buildings. The German positions were overcome with some difficulty, but by 8:30 a.m. the ridge top and two hills had been captured. The men “halted on the intermediate objective for thirty minutes,” as laid out in the attack order.¹⁹⁵ The ordered pause turned out to be a mistake.

By the time the attack resumed, the Germans had regrouped. They opened such a withering fire on the remainder of I and K companies from machine-guns and artillery that the attack could not be restarted. Near noon the 2nd Battalion, including Corporal

¹⁹¹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 100.

¹⁹² Wythe, *90th Division*, 101.

¹⁹³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 102.

¹⁹⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

¹⁹⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 102.

Haisler, passed through the 3rd Battalion and pressed the assault. Major Hall Etter, 2nd Battalion commander, quickly maneuvered the battalion through some woods to the right and managed to flank the main German resistance.¹⁹⁶ The advance was then very rapid and quickly surrounded and captured many German soldiers and their guns. The fighting was at extremely close range and described as vicious.¹⁹⁷

By 4:30 p.m. 1 November, Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, and Corporal Haisler, along with the rest of the Texas Brigade, had succeeded in the day's mission. They "were on the corps objective, thus breaking the Freya Stellung."¹⁹⁸ That evening the 90th Division issued new orders. All units were to push forward on 2 November rather than reorganize. The German units were thought to be confused and disorganized. The 90th was ordered to give them no breathing space. Therefore, all units were to push forward "with the utmost vigor."¹⁹⁹

The news of 1 November was almost anti-climatic. The last Wagnerian witch was dead. The Texas Brigade had broken the Freya Stellung. Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, Corporal Haisler, and Private Klingelhoffer had been part of an historic triumph of American arms. And though Captain Neighbors had not been in the vanguard on 1 November, he too deserved credit. The so-called unbreakable Hindenburg line had been demolished on a wide front. The German Army was in retreat but still capable of inflicting serious damage. A history making accomplishment had been achieved. But the war was not over.

¹⁹⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 103.

¹⁹⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 103.

¹⁹⁸ Wythe, *90th Division*, 105.

¹⁹⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 105.

On 2 November the attack resumed. There were no orders specifying objectives, all units were to exploit previous gains and keep the pressure on. German machine-gun nests, located on a hill and in a nearby wood, opened a deadly fire as the attack commenced. The 360th Infantry, 3rd Battalion (Blocker and Flake), having again assumed the assault position, attacked the Bois de Raux while the 1st Battalion attacked Hill 321.²⁰⁰ The German defenders, fighting a desperate rear-guard action, battled ferociously to the death. However, by shortly after 2 p.m. on 2 November, the 1st and 3rd Battalions had control of both woods and hill.²⁰¹ During this fight, the Normans faced the German 27th Division. The German 27th, after four weeks rest, had been “put into the line...with the express purpose of saving the situation at this point.”²⁰² It had failed utterly.

The Texas Brigade captured 800 enemy officers and men as well as a large number of weapons during the two-day battle. Of particular interest was the firing chart of one of the guns captured by Corporal Haisler’s battalion. On that chart was the location of the regimental headquarters that had been so accurately shelled the morning of 1 November. Apparently, the headquarters “had been spotted by aerial photography, and the coordinates turned over to this gun.”²⁰³

On 3 November, the 179th Brigade attacked with the 358th Regiment on the left and the 357th (Captain DeWitt Neighbors) on the right. The objective was some dense woods that covered approaches to the Meuse River. The attack jumped-off at 8 a.m. behind a rolling artillery barrage that advanced 100 meters every eight minutes. The men

²⁰⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 105.

²⁰¹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 106.

²⁰² Wythe, *90th Division*, 107.

²⁰³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 108.

crossed the open and entered the trees and met no German resistance. The executive-officer of the 357th sent this message back to division: “No enemy in sight; no artillery; good view for miles.”²⁰⁴ Most of the German forces had retreated east of the Meuse River intending to make use of the natural obstacle as a defensive line. Nevertheless, they maintained some forces in a few villages west of the Meuse where they were to fight rear guard actions and attempt to slow the American crossing of the river.

The 90th Division spent the next few days exploiting approaches to the Meuse and supporting operations of the 5th Division in crossing the Meuse at Dun-sur-Meuse. They were ordered to remain in contact with the enemy and scout their sector for intact bridges.²⁰⁵ In real terms there was little movement.

One of the approaches to the Meuse River still protected by the German rear-guard included the village of Wiseppe. “At daybreak the morning [of 4 November] Captain DeWitt Neighbors, Company E, 357th Infantry... advanced against the town, but was forced to withdraw after having fourteen men killed and thirty-eight wounded.”²⁰⁶ During the afternoon of 4 November, Neighbors’ E Company, supported by H Company advanced against Hill 206 but avoided Wiseppe which was then being heavily shelled by the Germans.

While the 90th camped in the woods and waited for orders to advance beyond the Meuse, they tried to regain some strength. Many of the men were sick. Forty percent had diarrhea and twenty percent had “sub-acute bronchitis.”²⁰⁷ The weather was cold and

²⁰⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 113.

²⁰⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 117.

²⁰⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 117.

²⁰⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 119.

damp, and supplies were not coming forward in as rapid a fashion as most would have liked.

Generally, when the infantry went into an attack they were issued 220 rounds of ammunition and two grenades.²⁰⁸ The remainder of their gear along with their packs which included "...a shelter half, blankets, overcoat, extra underwear, and shoes...were tied in bundles, marked with [a] name and collected in battalion dumps." Later these would be retrieved and distributed.²⁰⁹ The advance by the units of Sergeant Blocker, Sergeant Flake, Corporal Haisler, Private Klingelhoffer, and Captain Neighbors had been rapid, and the policy of alternating attack brigades meant that packs had not been brought up in a coordinated timely fashion. Many men suffered from exposure.

Another supply issue was food. Each infantryman was issued two days rations before a major attack. These so-called "iron-rations" were hardtack and bacon. The regimental rolling kitchens were proud of staying near the front and supplying hot meals, and they did an excellent job, but roads were poor and animals were in short supply, so, unavoidably, there were times when cold iron-rations had to suffice.²¹⁰

Finally, on 9 November, the division was ordered to cross the Meuse. The 179th Brigade was still in the van. The 358th regiment was to take Stenay, a town on the east side of the Meuse, and the 357th (Captain Neighbors) was to cross the river and take some

²⁰⁸ Wythe, *90th Division*, 138.

²⁰⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 139-40.

²¹⁰ Wythe, *90th Division*, 135-6.

wooded heights near Baalon known as the Bois de Chenois²¹¹ (figure 11). The end was near, but some difficulties remained.

The Germans established rear guard strong points between Stenay and Baalon to cover their retreat to the Chiers River near Montmédy some eight to ten miles east. The German rear guards were comprised of two companies from each regiment supported by machine-gun detachments. Further, the “German high command had thrown into line [against the 90th]...its last remaining fresh division—the 20th—a first class unit.”²¹² On 10 November the Germans faced the 90th Division with the 55th Infantry, 92nd Infantry, 77th Infantry, 79th Infantry, and 354th Infantry, all or parts of three divisions. All of the German units “fought with the fiendish skill which characterized German rear-guards.”²¹³

The 358th attacked Stenay during the day of 10 November but did not finally occupy it until the early morning hours of 11 November. The 357th (Captain Neighbors) had similar trouble taking Baalon but managed to take the high ground overlooking the town on the evening of the tenth, finally occupying the town on 11 November.²¹⁴

Casualties for 10 November were 34 killed and 183 wounded.²¹⁵

The next day, 90th Division headquarters received word of the Armistice at 7:20 a.m. “You are informed that all hostilities will cease along the whole front at 11 hours on November 11, 1918, Paris time.”²¹⁶ The combatants traded artillery fire during the

²¹¹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 120.

²¹² Wythe, *90th Division*, 124.

²¹³ Wythe, *90th Division*, 124.

²¹⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 126-29.

²¹⁵ Wythe, *90th Division*, 124.

²¹⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 129.

morning hours which resulted in four 90th Division men being killed just hours before the guns fell silent.²¹⁷ The war was over.

As for the Normals of the 90th Division, Captain DeWitt Neighbors of E Company, 357th Infantry, was wounded in late October but returned to duty.²¹⁸ In the 360th Infantry, Sergeant Blocker and Sergeant Flake, both of I Company, had seen a lot of combat but emerged unscathed; likewise, Corporal Haisler of G Company, who had been in a few tight spots, was uninjured. Private Klingelhoffer, who had at least one near miss in the artillery attack of 1 November, was also unhurt.²¹⁹ No doubt they were all ready to see home, but first they would have to spend the 1918 holiday season in Germany.

²¹⁷ Wythe, *90th Division*, 131.

²¹⁸ Card File, Camp Mabry; Wythe, *90th Division*, 117.

²¹⁹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 117; Card File, Camp Mabry.



Lt. Clyde Hunsucker,
141st Inf., Co. M.



Sgt. Dillard Snow,
141st Inf. Co. B.



Sgt. Robert Shelton,
141 Inf., Co. B.



Sgt. Carl Walker,
141 Inf., Co. B.



Sgt. Henry Whipple,
141 Inf. Co. B.



Cpl. Jack Arnold,
141 Inf. Co. D.

Figure 6. 36th Division Normals-A.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas Normal, *Pedagog*, 1907-1916.; Card File Camp Mabry; patches from Laurence Stallings, *The Doughboys*, (New York: Harper and Row), inside-cover.



Cpl. Helliard Shands,
111th Supply Train



Not Pictured: Wagoner W.H. Ellison
144th Supply Co.



Pvt. R.E. Lee,
111th Ammunition Train



Captain Roy C. Jackson,
111th Signal Battalion



Pvt. Lee Burkett,
111th Hospital Train.



Not pictured: Sgt. James Buckner,
111th Sanitary Train.



Paul Russell, rank unknown,
111th Sanitary Train.

Figure 7. 36th Division Normals-B.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog*, 1907-1916. ; United States Federal Form 724-1 ½, WW I service records, Card File Camp Mabry; patches from Laurence Stallings, *The Doughboys*, (New York: Harper and Row), inside-cover.

CHAPTER III

BATTLE PERIOD OF THE 36TH DIVISION NORMALS

You went to meet the shell's embrace of fire
On Vimy Ridge; and when you fell that day
The war seemed over more for you than me,
But now for me than you—the other way.

—Robert Frost, *To E.T.*

Attack of 8-9 October: Normals
of the 141st Infantry
(figure 14)

Eighteen former Normals served in the various units of the 36th Division. One was with the 133rd Machine-gun (MG) Battalion; two were in the 143rd Infantry; three in the 144th Infantry; and six served in the various units of the 141st Infantry Regiment. Six others served in the supply, ammunition, or hospital trains (table 1 and table 4). One Normal was a Captain in the signal battalion which also carried a 111 number. Most of the Normals were enlisted men who served in everything from ambulance companies to front line infantry units.

One of those enlisted men was Jack Arnold, D Company, 141st Infantry. In his earlier letter home he had predicted the 36th Division was about to move. On 23 September they did. Special Order No. 286 stated the division would move by train to the Pocancy area.²²⁰ The 36th Division began the move inadequately equipped. As earlier

²²⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 42.

described, they lacked many of the essential pieces of rolling stock a combat unit needed. Critical combat weapons such as Browning Automatic Rifles (BAR), mortars, or automatic pistols were also in short supply. The men also, for the first time, were able to practice with a few live grenades.²²¹ Another tremendous deficiency was the lack of adequate maps, which would eventually prove to be a severe handicap.²²² Quite understandably, all available supplies were being sent to the front-line units.²²³

The 36th Division headed into the line without ever training with live artillery or tanks. Tanks were a new battlefield ingredient in 1918, but small French tanks often accompanied infantry attacks at this stage of the war, and it was not unusual for the men to have some training experience prior to battle; not so the 36th Division. No one in the division had ever even fired a machine-gun in barrage. Most of the other divisions of the AEF were trained, and like the 5th and 90th Divisions, sent to a quiet sector for a period of “inoculation.” Normal procedure had been to put fresh divisions into a so-called quiet sector for some gradual exposure to front line duty. The Normals in the 5th and 90th Divisions had each been exposed to front line routine and small-scale action prior to participation in a major attack. The 36th Division, by contrast, was being sent to an active area in preparation for an immediate assault.²²⁴ Knowing this, they spent the few weeks training in the newer fire-and-maneuver tactics. They practiced taking advantage of cover and flanking positions rather than assaulting head-on. Additionally, “model”

²²¹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 42-55; Chastaine, 36th, 52-55.

²²² Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 49.

²²³ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 45.

²²⁴ Chastaine, 36th, 55-6.

platoons were developed who, after intensive training in the fire-and-maneuver method of attacking machine-gun nests, demonstrated the new tactics for their companies.²²⁵

The reason for using the 36th Division at this point was simple. The AEF was straining to end the war in 1918. Every effort was being made to destroy the German Army before winter and avoid the possibility of fighting on into the spring of 1919.²²⁶ The men of the 36th were eager to do their job.²²⁷ Corporal Jack Arnold, D Company, 141st Infantry knew he would soon be very busy. All were told to prepare for departure by taking only a short list of field equipment of less than a dozen items—the most important being one-each rifle and sling.²²⁸ Jack's attitude, not necessarily eager, was determined. His resolute feelings, probably reflective of the general attitude, were conveyed in his letter home: "I haven't heard a word from you all yet....[but] I may not be able to write much now."²²⁹

On 4 October they were transferred to the French Fourth Army. During the night of 5 October, in a steady rain, they moved laboriously by bus to an area just rear of the lines. They rested under cover during the day. They enjoyed a hot breakfast and coffee supplied by regimental cooks who, without rolling kitchens, had ingeniously set up field ranges. The Normals of the 141st Infantry, including Lt. Clyde Hunsucker of M Company, and Sergeant Robert Shelton, Sergeant Carl Walker, Sergeant Henry Whipple,

²²⁵ Chastaine, 36th, 51-2.

²²⁶ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 43.

²²⁷ Chastaine, 36th, 56.

²²⁸ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 51. List included wool blanket-1 ea., suit underwear-1 ea., shirt-1 ea., pair stockings-1 ea., shelter half-1 ea., overcoat-1 ea., slicker-1 ea., mess kit-1 ea., cartridge belt-1 ea. bayonet and scabbard-1 ea., canteen and cover-1 ea., first aid pouch-1 ea., haversack to put it all in, and entrenching tool-1 ea.

²²⁹ Jack Arnold letter, SMHC.

and Corporal Dillard Snow, all of B Company, got as much sleep as possible and readied themselves for the front line.²³⁰

During the night of 6-7 October the 141st and 142nd Infantry occupied a section of the line formerly occupied by the American 2nd Division. Part of the 2nd Division should have remained in place, but mistakenly the entire division pulled back. This movement left only two regiments, the 141st and 142nd Infantry, attacking on a four regiment front.²³¹ There were not any Normals in the 142nd Infantry, but some of the Normals in the 141st Infantry would suffer from this mistake.

The German units facing the Normals were from the 17th, 195th, and 213th Divisions, inclusive of the 8th Jager Regiment, 18th Pioneer Battalion, 74th Reserve Regiment, 75th Regiment, 89th Regiment, 90th Regiment, 149th Regiment, and the 368th Regiment. Enemy units were under-strength but comprised of many veterans and well supplied. German planes strafed the 141st Infantry on 7 October and caused some casualties which included ten men killed.²³² These were some of the first casualties suffered by the 141st Infantry. Normal Carl Walker was one of those wounded on 7 October.²³³

Carl Walker, from Dripping Springs (figure 10 and table 4), had attended Normal in 1916 as a Science-Math Major.²³⁴ He was a good student and returned to Normal after the war earning a degree in 1922. He was very active at Normal after the war and was

²³⁰ Chastaine, 36th, 81.

²³¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 59.

²³² Compiled from casualty lists: Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 490-504.

²³³ *Pedagog* 1922, 33.

²³⁴ *Pedagog* 1916, 86.

listed as a Student Council member, part of the Glee Club, and a Chautauquan. Most interestingly, he was a 1922 member of the Normal German Club.²³⁵ On 7 October, he was enduring the first leg of an ambulatory journey which would eventually put him in a Paris hospital. His wound may have been more than slight because he was still in a Paris hospital on 10 November.²³⁶

The afternoon may have been filled with excitement, but the night of 7 October, was fairly quiet as the men prepared for the attack. For most, there was nothing to do but wait. There was no hot food, and little water was available due to a complete dearth of water carts. The “warning order” was issued on the evening of 7 October at 7:45 p.m. D-Day was 8 October and H-Hour was 5:00 a.m. The Brigade would attack with regiments abreast, and each regiment with battalions in three lines.²³⁷ The 141st was on the right with the 142nd to its left. The 141st Infantry designated D, C, B, and A Companies as the assault wave (from right to left), with the others being in support or reserve.²³⁸ Word of the exact time of the attack was late arriving, and apparently A Company did not get the word at all because, as was later learned, one runner had been killed and others got lost.²³⁹ As a result of this communication difficulty, Company A began its assault late; leaving the right flank of B Company (Whipple, Shelton, Snow, and formerly Walker) exposed.

²³⁵ *Pedagog* 1922, 33.

²³⁶ “From A Soldier,” *Normal Star*, January 17, 1920.

²³⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 100.

²³⁸ Chastaine, 36th, 103.

²³⁹ Chastaine, 36th, 103.

There was a certain amount of confusion owing to the lateness of the order and the newness of the troops, but carrying parties with grenades and ammunition arrived in time. Problems were compounded because the 141st Infantry attack sector fell on four adjoining corners of four different maps. Major difficulties were encountered pasting the maps together and then making sense of the result.²⁴⁰

Maps were not needed to know the attack would proceed north, and the objective was a line of woods just beyond the town of St. Etienne.²⁴¹ The ground rose gently and was cut by more than several streams and ravines which “were overgrown with scrub pine thickets and underbrush.”²⁴² The terrain offered good concealment for German infantry and machine-guns, and presented liaison difficulties for any attacking force. A preparatory artillery barrage of thirty minutes was to precede the infantry advance and a “walking barrage” would advance at a rate of about 100 meters every four minutes.²⁴³ Small French tanks were to also accompany the infantry and assist in destroying machine-gun nests.²⁴⁴

Normals took part in the assault made by the 141st Infantry on 8 October. Sergeant Shelton, Corporal Snow, and Sergeant Whipple of B Company were on the right of the regiment because of Company A’s late start. Corporal Arnold, in Company D was several hundred meters to the left of the other Normals. Lt. Hunsucker of M Company was in the reserve battalion. The attack commenced shortly after 5 a.m., as ordered, and

²⁴⁰ Chastaine, 36th, 88, 106.

²⁴¹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 101.

²⁴² Chastaine, 36th, 102.

²⁴³ Chastaine, 36th, 95.

²⁴⁴ Chastaine, 36th, 95.

was immediately met with a tremendous volume of artillery and machine-gun fire. Apparently, the preparatory barrage landed behind the German lines and only served to alert them to the exact position of the attack. The French tanks, put off by the German artillery fire and the slick conditions, did not advance properly. The Normals were under fire for the first time with no support. The men of D, C, and B Companies (left to right) advanced by "squad-column" (single-file) through the woods on the brigade front past the line of departure which was just south of the St. Etienne-Orfeuil road.²⁴⁵

As the assault companies crossed the road headed north and exited the woods, they began to immediately receive casualties from well directed artillery and machine-gun fire. Liaison was difficult, and platoons and companies intermingled. The Battalion commander, Major Hutchings, put himself in command of C Company (between Arnold's company and Whipple's company) and was killed within the first 300 yards.²⁴⁶

However, by means of flanking attacks and short advances, parts of Company B and remnants of Company D reached a section of woods about 400 yards in advance of the line of departure. The men used fire-and-maneuver tactics to advance from shell hole to shell hole and from machine-gun nest to machine-gun nest. BAR's were highly prized as the "[Germans] could not stand against their fire,"²⁴⁷ and when one was dropped it was immediately picked up.²⁴⁸ During the advance Jack Arnold's company commander, 1st Lieutenant Graham Luhn, was killed and many officers were wounded. The attack that

²⁴⁵ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 118. Squad column formation was apparently used as the best way to advance through wire entanglements. Ideally, paths were blown through the wire by artillery or mortars. Additionally, select men were equipped with wire cutters at the head of each column.

²⁴⁶ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 118.

²⁴⁷ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 116.

²⁴⁸ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 116.

carried into the woods was, in many cases, led by non-commissioned officers or even privates. The attack had commenced at 5:00 a.m. By 5:15 a.m. Sergeant Henry Whipple, Company B, 141st Infantry lay wounded. One trait of an outstanding non-commissioned officer (NCO), a good sergeant, is his ability and desire to take care of his men. Along with an ability to retain their reasoning powers under fire, exceptional NCO's have an almost paternal instinct. Sergeant Henry M. Whipple exhibited all of these traits during his short fifteen minutes of battle. In the midst of the murderous artillery and machine-gun fire, he was "wounded trying to retrieve one of his men."²⁴⁹ Fifteen minutes later, another former Normal, and another 141st Infantry NCO, Corporal Jack Arnold, D Company was dead.²⁵⁰

Corporal Arnold, apparently had been one of those seen advancing from shell-hole to shell-hole. He posthumously received a *Croix-de-Guerre* with Silver Star (figure 10) for his actions. The citation, issued under order No. 15364 "D", stated: "During the combats at St. Etienne October 8-10, 1918, he displayed extraordinary heroism. Was killed while valiantly advancing to the assault on the enemy guns."²⁵¹ His next of kin was noted on the citation as father, M.L. Arnold, San Marcos, Texas²⁵² (figure 17).

Company B, now with only two Normals (Shelton and Snow) was subjected to machine-gun fire from the front and right flank; the latter because of the late start of Company A. The extra volume of fire slowed the attack. Sergeant Whipple was

²⁴⁹ Headstone of William (Bill) Whipple. San Marcos City Cemetery in the Whipple family plot. The explanation regarding "Uncle Henry" is on the back of William Whipple's grave marker.

²⁵⁰ *Pedagog* 1919, 7-10.

²⁵¹ Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁵² Card File, Camp Mabry.

wounded early in the assault, but the rest of the company pressed forward into some trees having advanced about four hundred yards.²⁵³ Sergeant Shelton and Corporal Snow were at least two of the non-commissioned officers who took charge of the assault as many of the officers had become casualties.

Robert Shelton, from Dripping Springs (figure 9 and table 4) had been very active at Normal during his tenure there from 1912-1915, and again in 1916. Obviously one who enjoyed school, he was credited in 1919 with twelve hours earned while he was in the service. He not only enjoyed school, but he was good at it. He made very good grades and took a history course every semester he attended. He even made a B in M.L. Arnold's notorious History 4. Joining the Chautauqua Literary Society, he was made Sergeant-at-Arms as a freshman. Obviously, a pretty good athlete as well as a leader, he played shortstop on the 1913 and 1914 baseball teams. Not waiting to be drafted, he enlisted in the National Guard in late June of 1917 and served in Company B, 141st Infantry Regiment. He was promoted to Sergeant on 5 August 1918, shortly after arriving in France.²⁵⁴

Dillard Snow, originally from a town in Arkansas with the improbable name of Yellville, attended Normal in 1916-1917. His father farmed near the small community of Merkel, Texas (figure 9 and table 4). Merkel, even today barely large enough to have a Dairy Queen, is a community on the outskirts of Abilene. Largely a Church of Christ community, it may explain why Snow was not a Methodist like so many other Normals. A Chautauquan, the one sentence description of him brought his eloquence into question:

²⁵³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 120-1.

²⁵⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

“When he spoke, Morpheus’ gentle influence stole in upon us.”²⁵⁵ He must have slept through a few classes too, because his grades were unremarkable. Snow enlisted in the National Guard in late June 1917 and was assigned to Company B. Promoted to Corporal in August about the same time Whipple and Shelton made Sergeant, he earned his Sergeant stripes a week before the Armistice.²⁵⁶

Company B, 141st Infantry, suffered horrible casualties during the attack of 8 October. Of the 107 enlisted men fit for duty, thirty had been killed and forty wounded; one of whom was Henry Whipple. Also, three of Company B’s five officers were casualties²⁵⁷ which, as noted earlier, put the leadership responsibilities squarely on some of the former Normals.

The wounded, such as Normal Henry Whipple were initially treated and taken from the battlefield, often under fire, by men like Normal James Buckner, Sergeant in the 111th sanitary train.²⁵⁸ James Buckner, from Blanco (figure 9 and table 4), had attended Normal from 1914-1916, and had been a fairly good student. He enlisted in July 1917 and made PFC by September. Serving with Ambulance Company #143, he made Sergeant in February 1918. However, in April he apparently got into some trouble, because he was busted back to private where he remained for the duration.²⁵⁹

It was the job of Private Buckner to transport wounded soldiers such as Sergeant Whipple to the main dressing station set up for the 141st Infantry, most likely by

²⁵⁵ *Pedagog* 1917, 102.

²⁵⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

²⁵⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 491.

²⁵⁸ Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁵⁹ Card File, Camp Mabry, Grade Reports, Texas State.

motorized ambulance. At the main dressing station, men such as Private Lee Burkett of the Regimental Hospital Train would have attended him. Burkett, former Normal from Mullin, had attended from 1916-1917. After the war, he reenrolled and attended Normal in 1921 and again in 1924.²⁶⁰ The three year time span would suggest he earned a Grade 1 Certificate (three year certificate). Burkett had written home in July about the uneventful twelve days he spent crossing the Atlantic.²⁶¹ No doubt he felt differently about 8 October.

At the main dressing station Sergeant Whipple would have been treated by Private Lee Burkett, Paul Russell, or someone like them. Paul Russell had attended Normal in 1916 and had been an agriculture major like Jack Arnold. He was also on the same football team as Arnold and Arthur Flake.²⁶² He had written home to the Bertram newspaper disgusted with France; no doubt this day's work reinforced those feelings. At the aid station Russell and Burkett would have begun the process of determining the patient's status, initiating a written record, administering morphine as necessary, giving doses of antitetanic (ATS or tetanus) serum to all, and providing quantities of water and nourishment in the form of a warm broth.²⁶³ Sergeant Carl Walker, also a Normal from Company B, 141st Infantry, would have received a similar treatment the day before.

²⁶⁰ Grade Reports, Texas State.

²⁶¹ Lee Burkett letter, Hornady Papers.

²⁶² *Pedagog*, 1916, 88; 1917, 153.

²⁶³ Major General M.W. Ireland, Surgeon-General, *Medical Department of the United States Army in the World War, Medical Reports Volume VII*, Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1925), 678.

The final leg of the ambulatory journey was transportation to the Mobile Hospital. In the case of the 36th Division, that meant Mobile Hospital #7.²⁶⁴ The average trip from battlefield to Hospital was ten hours. So from the time he was wounded at approximately 5:15 a.m., the earliest Sgt. Henry Whipple could have arrived at the Mobile Hospital near Ferme de Suippes would have been 3 p.m. Often the elapsed time for evacuation, which was considered “satisfactory” for the era, could exceed sixteen hours.²⁶⁵

Of course, Whipple and Walker were not the only casualties, there were many more. In fact, 8 October would be the costliest day of battle for the 141st Infantry and for Normal too. But the day’s fighting had only begun when Jack Arnold and Henry Whipple fell. The support battalion and the reserve battalion, which included Normal Clyde Hunsucker, 1st Lieutenant, Company M, were thrown into the fight after only a short time.

Clyde Hunsucker attended Normal in 1907 and 1908. A native of San Marcos, he lived in Staples (figure 9 and table 4) by 1917. He was active in school organizations both academic and athletic. In 1907, he was on the baseball team and was President of the Chautauquan Literary Society.²⁶⁶ He earned at least a Grade 1 Teaching certificate during his time at Normal and, on his draft registration card, listed his occupation as teacher, but added: “bookkeeper at present.”²⁶⁷ After 5 August 1917, when he was

²⁶⁴ Ireland, *Medical Reports Volume VIII*, 869.

²⁶⁵ Medical Department, *Field Operations*, 838.

²⁶⁶ *Pedagog* 1910, 77.

²⁶⁷ Guadalupe County Draft Board, “Registration Card of Clyde Hunsucker,” <http://content.ancestry.com/Browse/view.aspx?dbid=6482&path=Texas.Guadalupe+Count...> Accessed June 14, 2008.

drafted into federal service, his occupation became infantry platoon leader, First Lieutenant, Company M, 141st Infantry.²⁶⁸

It was pre-planned by division orders that successive battalions would “pass through” preceding battalions on a specific timetable.²⁶⁹ However, the commitment of the other 141st units was in advance of the timetable. By late morning on 8 October all of the 141st was engaged.²⁷⁰ The extra weight translated into some forward movement, but it too eventually bogged down. During the afternoon, the Germans launched several counter-attacks which were dealt with severely. In fact, one of the men in Lt. Hunsucker’s battalion noticed a counter attack being organized and alerted the Browning machine-gun crews to the threat. The German force preparing to counter-attack was annihilated before it ever got started.²⁷¹

Later in the morning, as the 3rd Battalion, 141st Infantry advanced, all four companies (I, K, L, and M) were quickly engulfed in a tremendous firestorm of artillery and machine-guns. Lt. Clyde Hunsucker, a platoon leader in Company M, was recognized for his heroic actions of 8 October. First Lieutenant Clyde Hunsucker, former Normal student, was awarded a Croix de Guerre with gilt star. Lt. Hunsucker’s leadership was praised in the citation which read: “A very brave officer. During the attack of October 8, 1918, near St. Etienne, and in spite of the fire of the enemy artillery

²⁶⁸ Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁶⁹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 103-4.

²⁷⁰ Chastaine, 36th, 108-9.

²⁷¹ Chastaine, 36th, 108.

and machine guns, he displayed audacity, valor, and technical knowledge. His example contributed largely to the success of the day (figure 20).²⁷²

By nightfall initial reports described the “success of the day” as an advance of over two kilometers.²⁷³ In reality, the lines had advanced only as far as a kilometer on the regiment’s right and about half of that on its left.²⁷⁴ The cost had been too high. The 141st Infantry had begun the day with 2,574 officers and men. Six hundred and thirty-seven men were (24%) casualties. One hundred and ninety-six men (7%) were dead.²⁷⁵

Explanations for the extreme casualty figures in the assault companies emphasized poor execution. The artillery preparation was short and inadequate, most falling behind German front-line positions; expected tank assistance from the French did not materialize; and last, and possibly most important, the men were “green,” inexperienced, and over-eager.²⁷⁶ Also, the Germans facing the Normans were experienced combat soldiers who had fought tenaciously. Accordingly, they had not abandoned their positions or retreated pell-mell as the attack commenced. The Germans understood that a breakthrough at St. Etienne probably would lead to a crossing of the Aisne River which would expose sections of the Kremhilde Stellung to flanking artillery fire; a danger they were straining to avoid.²⁷⁷ At the end of the day, the Germans had

²⁷² Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁷³ Center of Military History, *United States Army in the World War Volume 13, Reports*, 344.

²⁷⁴ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 129.

²⁷⁵ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 491.

²⁷⁶ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 113-114.

²⁷⁷ Chastaine, 36th, 142.

been pushed back by the efforts of Jack Arnold, Henry Whipple, Dillard Snow, Robert Shelton, and Clyde Hunsucker, but they still held a solid, orderly defensive line.

The men of the 36th Division had come to France to beat the Germans, and they fully expected to do it.²⁷⁸ However, in this their first opportunity, many men had been too anxious. One soldier of the 141st, possibly exhibiting some of the aforementioned excessive eagerness and definitely exhibiting some extra bravado, wrote a friend, “[we] dealt the Boche hell—they found out American school boys, as they first called us, were hard to kill and not to be pushed back.”²⁷⁹

American schoolboys were certainly involved, but hell was dealt by both sides. The Germans that faced the Normals of the 141st Infantry were combat veterans who knew how to fight. The Americans of the 36th Division were in their first fight. The Germans, thought by some to be close to exhaustion, showed few signs of fatigue in front of the 36th Division Normals. Most German soldiers had years of combat experience. The Americans had none. Moreover, the Americans had only a few months of total military experience. The Normals came extremely close to accurately fitting the term schoolboy. Typical was Jack Arnold who had been in the Army for only eighteen months; Henry Whipple had worn a uniform for only fourteen months, as had Dillard Snow, Robert Shelton, and Clyde Hunsucker.²⁸⁰ On this day, 8 October 1918, the Normal *school boys* had most definitely done some learning; they had done some teaching too.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 40.

²⁷⁹ Walter B. Nichols to W.A. Bennet, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-3-60, Folder 5627, p.272.

²⁸⁰ Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁸¹ During the action of 8 Oct, but primarily on 9 October, the 142nd Infantry attacked through the town of St. Etienne. A part of the fight took place in the town cemetery. Here, Lieutenant Ben Hur Chastaine, later Captain, was in charge of Company A, 142nd Infantry that attacked the cemetery. Captain

Most of the next day was spent realigning and reorganizing the front.²⁸² Again, military history uses some sterile and emotionless descriptive words. For example: “realignment.” This would not be anything like the job a mechanic might do to an automobile’s front-end. Instead, to accomplish the military version of realignment, soldiers would have to shoot at each other. Accordingly, as soldiers shot at each other during the course of the so-called realignments of 9 October, Lieutenant Clyde Hunsucker was slightly wounded.²⁸³ Again, only two categories of wounds existed, slight and severe. Though the degree of Lt. Hunsucker’s wound cannot be determined, the list of officers of the 141st Infantry for 19 October contains his name, indicating a return to regular duty.²⁸⁴

All movements, small or large, of the 36th Division encompassed an untold number of supply and communication headaches. Here too, the Normals were involved. Private Robert E. Lee, Company D, 111th Ammunition Train, had some very perilous duty helping organize the ammunition dump (Dump Bowley) the night before the infantry assault of 8 October.²⁸⁵

Robert E. Lee, from Mason, attended Normal in 1913 and 1914 and was an average student. He was a member of Harris-Blair during both years and an officer in

Chastaine is the author of one of the two 36th Division histories (the Spence manuscript being the other) researched for the writing of this thesis. Interestingly, Chastaine’s own description of his companies’ relief of the cemetery speaks of himself in third person never mentioning himself by name. Chastaine writes of “this officer,” or “the commander of the detachment.” Chastaine was awarded a *Croix de Guerre* for his actions. Captain Spence identifies “this officer” as Captain Chastaine (Chastaine, 149-51; Spence, 157).

²⁸² Chastaine, 36th, 131-6.

²⁸³ Card File, Camp Mabry.

²⁸⁴ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 539.

²⁸⁵ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 168.

1914. Inducted in late May 1918, he was in France just two months later. Going overseas must have been a huge adventure for most of these men. Many had not been far from home except to go to school. R.E. Lee was born in Mason, lived in Mason, farmed near Mason, and was inducted into the service in Mason. For a short time in 1913 and 1914 he lived in San Marcos and gone to Normal, but Lee was apparently a real home-body from Mason. By October 1918 country boy Lee had seen New York and was now in France. If that were not enough, people were trying to kill him. Assigned to Company D, 111th Ammunition Train, 36th Division,²⁸⁶ he was asked to assist in driving one of the units forty-four trucks, heavily loaded with grenades, small arms, and stokes mortar ammunition, after dark, with no lights, in a heavy rain, on slick, unfamiliar, and congested roads. Further, once at Dump Bowley, the trucks had to be unloaded; at night, in the rain, and under heavy German artillery fire.²⁸⁷ Simple.

The dumps were moved in leap-frog fashion on a regular basis to keep up with the forward movement of the infantry. This method meant Private Lee would always be in the process of loading, unloading, or moving a truck. From the forward dump, like Dump Bowley, the infantry units would draw ammunition by means of carrying parties or combat carts. On the night before the attack by the 141st Infantry, the ammunition train's vehicles had to make some extra trips because it was found the dump was low on the .30 caliber machine-gun ammunition used by the 36th Division. The 2nd Division, which was

²⁸⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

²⁸⁷ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 168.

being relieved by the 36th, had been using French machine-guns and French ammunition instead of the American Browning machine-gun in .30 caliber.²⁸⁸

While Private Lee and others of the 111th Ammunition Trains concerned themselves with munitions and ordnance; Helliard Shands of the 111th Supply Train hauled everything else. Helliard Shands, from Forney, attended Normal in 1914. He was quarterback of the 1914 football team that finished the season with five wins, three losses, and two ties.²⁸⁹ He was drafted in mid May 1918 and assigned to the 133rd Field Artillery. Transferred to Company E, 111th Supply Train just before the division sailed for France, he served in a meaningful capacity as opposed to the 133rd Field Artillery that never quite got into action. By the time the 36th Division went to the front in October, Private Helliard Shands had been in service for all of 145 days.²⁹⁰

The primary task facing Private Shands and the men of the 111th supply train was to bring forward food and water. To accomplish this task, they required the use of rolling kitchens and water carts. Without these pieces of rolling stock and the animals to pull them, Private Shands job would have been almost impossible. The Division was authorized seventy-six water carts and seventy-eight rolling kitchens. On 2 October, as they prepared to move into the line, the 111th Supply Train was in possession of three water carts and eight kitchens. They did have most of the wagons they were authorized but few animals to pull them. The Tables of Organization and Equipment (TO&E)

²⁸⁸ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 168. The American equipment really simplified the ammunition supply requirements. The Americanized Enfield or the Springfield A3-03 used the same .30 caliber ammunition as the BAR and the Browning .30 Caliber machine-gun; the latter of course being belt-fed. They all are often referred to as .30 calibers because that is the bore diameter, but they all fire what is popularly known as the 30-06 round (a .30 caliber first developed in 1906).

²⁸⁹ *Pedagog* 1914, 221.

²⁹⁰ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

authorized the division 3,347 draft animals. In fact, it had only 1,074. Days before they were to leave the rear area, the Division Quartermaster received an extra twenty-nine rolling kitchens, two more water carts, and two animal-drawn ambulances. They did not however, receive any animals to pull the new equipment. It had to be left behind and brought forward later.²⁹¹

In general, the work of Private Shands and men like him were accompanied by many hazards and difficulties. Normal practice was for the supply trains (Private Shands and others) to establish a supply dump just behind the lines. For example, on 8 October, the 141st Infantry dump was near the regimental command post a few hundred yards to the rear of the front. Rolling kitchens would prepare hot food and coffee, and filled water carts would be brought forward to the so called ration dump. Carrying parties from the various front line units would arrive with empty canteens and carry filled canteens, hot food, and hot coffee back to the front. This activity of course, described the best case scenario. In reality, because of the severe shortage of kitchens and water carts, the food was often cold and the water was actually canned tomatoes.²⁹² In addition to canned tomatoes, Private Shands and the other men of 111th supply also found other ways to improvise around the water problem. To alleviate their capacity difficulties, they repaired abandoned leaky water carts, and “procured” wine casks to transport water.²⁹³

It should not be forgotten that the men of the 111th supply train like Private Shands were in a combat zone. They were not operating miles to the rear out of sight or

²⁹¹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 39-40, 48.

²⁹² Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 229-230.

²⁹³ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 229-230. Captain Spence wrote that the supply officer *picked up (italics mine)* three wine casks between Somme-Py and St. Etienne. If they were actually empty when they were picked up is not noted.

sound of battle. The greatest danger was from artillery fire. For example, one of the repaired water carts was not in service long when it was put out of action by a direct hit from an artillery round. Roads, especially those filled with carts or vehicles, were prime targets; so were the men attending them. In addition, water was often procured from wells, the location of which was well known to the German gunners. Consequently, a large group around a well, especially over extended periods, was sure to draw more than an intermittent German artillery shell. The regular runs of the 111th Supply Train put men like Private Shands in danger all hours of the day. Nevertheless, in addition to the so called regular runs, the men of the 111th made extra runs after the division moved into the line on 7 October to bring forward the rations that had previously been left behind because of the animal shortage.²⁹⁴ The slippery, unlit roads were hazard enough; the extra trips just magnified the danger. Rarely did men like Private Shands ever receive formal recognition. The most acknowledgement Helliard Shands received was a promotion to Corporal on 1 November 1918. Seldom is anyone decorated for filling a canteen or delivering a can of tomatoes; however, lack of recognition should not be equated with a lack of meritorious conduct.

Another unheralded, yet indispensable responsibility was communications. Roy C. Jackson was an officer in the 111th Signal Battalion. Captain Jackson, Company Commander of A Company, 111th Field Signal Battalion had the difficult and hazardous task of maintaining a communications net. The task was made more difficult because the front line units were displacing so quickly. They too were short of required equipment. Wagons for transporting communications equipment were hard to get, and reel carts used

²⁹⁴ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 167.

for laying communications wire only arrived on 6 October. The battalion was responsible for establishing and maintaining a message center which connected battalion level units to regiment and the four regiments to division.²⁹⁵

Wire was constantly broken by traffic and artillery fire. The men of Captain Jackson's Company A would have to first find the break, often under fire, and then repair it.²⁹⁶ "Sometimes the same line would have to be mended five or six times. Each time the linesmen [possibly one of Captain Jackson's men] would have to search along every foot of wire until they came to the broken place which had to be joined with the loose end of the other part of the line. To accomplish this in the dark "required the greatest patience and hardihood."²⁹⁷ Much of the new wire was laid on the ground, but if it were found that the retreating Germans had not cut all the wire between poles, the 111th Signal Battalion would reconnect the remaining lines with a technique they called "jumpering."²⁹⁸

Captain Jackson, and the men of the 111th signal battalion, had a few other options besides line communications. There were radios, which were not particularly reliable in 1918, and there were motorcycle couriers. Finally, there were runners whose name suggested their mode of transportation. The runner system was used prior to the attack of 8 October because of a wire shortage. The wire ran out several hundred yards

²⁹⁵ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 170-72.

²⁹⁶ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 260-61.

²⁹⁷ Chastaine, 36th, 171.

²⁹⁸ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 277 note. Apparently a term coined by officers of 111th Signal Battalion.

short of the bunker in which the regimental command post was established.²⁹⁹ Men from Captain Jackson's A Company would have been part of the runner system used to relay messages over the three hundred yard gap. The runner system was prone to failure. Runners could get lost, be wounded, or even killed. Apparently this was the failure that kept Company A, 141st Infantry from receiving the messages instructing them to attack on the morning of 8 October.³⁰⁰

Message security was a separate issue but an important one. Field telephones could use voice or in some cases a so-called buzzer (telegraph) phone was used. All messages were supposed to be encoded and code names were given to each unit. Initially, telephone security procedures were carelessly followed with hazardous results.³⁰¹ The buzzer set made encoding more secure and less tedious, although it required another skill. Some unidentified officer in the 141st or the 142nd revolutionized telephone communications by employing Choctaw Indians of the 36th Division. They spoke their native language, "in the clear," and greatly reduced the time delays inherent in coded messages.³⁰²

Communications were an essential element regardless of conditions on the front. If the units of the division were under fire, so were Captain Jackson and the men of the

²⁹⁹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 128.

³⁰⁰ Chastaine, 36th, 103.

³⁰¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 288.

³⁰² Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 288; Chastaine, 36th, 231. It was found that the Choctaws of the division spoke twenty-six different languages or dialects of which only four or five had been written. This necessitated some training so that communications were consistent, and so that words like battalion or machine-gun, that had no counterpart in Choctaw, could be understood by all. The Choctaw codetalkers, another forgotten part of a forgotten war, and a generation prior to the more famous Navajo "windtalkers" of WW II, were finally recognized posthumously. In 2005 they were awarded Congressional Gold Medals. In a ceremony at Camp Mabry in 2007, their families were also presented, by the State of Texas, with Lone Star Medals of Valor.

signal battalion. If the sector were quiet, while the infantry soldiers rested, Captain Jackson and his men were hard at work maintaining and improving the communications network.³⁰³

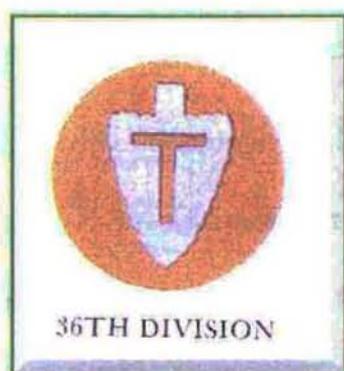
³⁰³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 226 note. One signal platoon lost nineteen of seventy-two men in the engagement of 8-9 October. The job was hazardous as witnessed by the number of signal battalion officers and men who were awarded DSC's and Croix de Guerre (Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 226 n).



PFC Odous Jennings,
143rd Inf. Co. B



PFC Odus Henderson,
143 Inf. Co. F.



Sgt. Claude Barnes,
144 Inf. HQ Co



Sgt. James McBride,
133rd M-G Battalion Co. D



Pvt. C.B. Carter,
144 Inf. Co. L

Figure 8. 36th Division Normals, 143rd, 144th Infantry, 133rd M-G Battalion.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal, *Pedagog*, 1907-1916. ; Federal Form 724-1 ½, WW I service records, Card File Camp Mabry; patches from: Laurence Stallings, *The Doughboys*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), inside-cover.

Attack of 10-12 October:
Normals of 143rd and
144th Infantry

The attack of the 141st and 142nd Infantry which commenced on 8 October and concluded on 9 October had been especially costly for the 141st Infantry. The various units had suffered many casualties and had become intermingled and disorganized. Normals had been wounded, killed, and decorated. Objectives had been achieved, but the fighting efficiency of the 141st had been decreased. Therefore, it was ordered that the 143rd and 144th Infantry (72nd Brigade) pass through the lines and assume the assault position. Five Normals saw service in separate units of the 72nd Brigade.

The 143rd Infantry fell in behind the positions of the 141st Infantry in anticipation of moving through them to the attack. Two former Normals with surprisingly unusual and similar first names were part of the 143rd Infantry. Odous Jennings was in Company B, 143rd Infantry and Odus Henderson was in Company F. Jennings enlisted in the National Guard in July 1917 from Sour Lake Texas. He was assigned to Company B, 143rd Infantry and served honorably with the division throughout the war. Henderson, from Dawson (figure 9 and table 4), had attended Normal in 1909 and waited to be inducted. Drafted in late May 1918, he was probably one of the late replacements added to the division before it sailed for France. He too served honorably for the duration of the war as a Private in Company F 143rd Infantry.³⁰⁴

Company F, 143rd Infantry, occupied the same positions as had been occupied by Jack Arnold's Company D, 141st, just two days before.³⁰⁵ The view afforded Private

³⁰⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

³⁰⁵ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 176.

Jennings and Private First Class (PFC) Henderson, must have been ghastly. The wounded, of course, had been evacuated, but the dead were likely still on the field. It was not until 10 October that a division memorandum was issued appointing the Division Chaplain as the burial officer.³⁰⁶ Burial details were chosen from the division reserve and directed by the regimental chaplains.³⁰⁷

A Corps memorandum explained the situation in more detail. Dead bodies “soon became a mass of maggots and flies [and] the surrounding country [became] infested with them.”³⁰⁸ The stench caused some gastro-intestinal discomforts but was not fatal. More disconcerting were the signs of an outbreak of dysentery. The Corps Chief Surgeon noted Flexner and Shiga bacilli had been isolated and it was presumed “that flies were responsible.”³⁰⁹ The plan assigned corps troops (Pioneer Infantry) as burial details under the supervision of division chaplains.³¹⁰ Consequently, a few bodies may have been buried prior to 10 October, but most of the almost 200 dead from the 141st Infantry, as well as many of the German bodies, would have still been lying where they fell.³¹¹ Proof

³⁰⁶ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 282.

³⁰⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 282.

³⁰⁸ Chief Surgeon, First Army Corps, A.E.F. to Chief Surgeon S.O.S. A.E.F. “Subject: Systematic Method for Burial of the Dead,” Memorandum 21 October 1918 (Doughboy Center, www.worldwar1.com/dbc/burial.htm [accessed 3 March 2009]), 2.

³⁰⁹ Chief Surgeon, “Burial,” 2.

³¹⁰ Chief Surgeon, “Burial,” 2. The memorandum of the Chief Surgeon mentioned above, noted that corps troops were used for the sake of uniformity, to relieve tired front line troops from more labor, and most importantly, to avoid the adverse affects on moral possibly accompanying front line troops burying their own dead.

³¹¹ The bodies were buried in a blanket along with one of the soldier’s identification tags. The grave was marked with a cross to which the second identification tag was affixed (if available). The burial officer would then notify the American Graves Registration Services, newly created in August 1917, of the identity and location of the body. (Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldier*, [New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2006], 335).

of this condition is the letter one man from the same Company D, 111th Ammunition Train with Normal Robert Lee wrote his mother, “[the] dead are in piles. Believe everything you hear, it is so bad—but all true.”³¹²

The 144th Infantry, containing three Normals, came in behind the positions occupied by the 142nd Infantry in a similar fashion, and with similar intentions as the 143rd Infantry. The men of the 144th, with Normals Claude Barnes and C. B. Carter, dug in near the top of Blanc Mont Ridge.³¹³

Claude Barnes attended Normal from 1910-11. He made average grades, making a C in M.L. Arnold’s History 4. He was a Chautauquan in 1910 and a member of the YMCA in 1911. He enlisted in the National Guard in July 1917 in his native Dallas. Originally assigned to Company F, 144th Infantry, he was transferred to Headquarters Company, 144th Infantry where he served the remainder of his enlistment. He earned promotion to Corporal while the division was still in stateside training and made Sergeant shortly after arriving in France.³¹⁴

C.B. Carter (every record lists his name as initials only) called Normangee home (figure 9 and table 4). He attended Normal in 1915 and again after the war. He was inducted at Madisonville, near Huntsville, on 25 May 1918, and assigned to L Company, 144th Infantry shortly before they shipped out to France. He served honorably as a Private for the duration.³¹⁵

³¹² J.B. Irvin to mother, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-6 Folder 5629, p. 250.

³¹³ Chastaine, 36th, 144.

³¹⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

³¹⁵ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

Wesley H. Ellison, from Corpus Christi, attended Normal in 1915. He took M. L. Arnold's History 4, as most were required to do, and passed through the so-called dark-ages with a D. His father was an oil field worker which could explain why Wesley's records listed so many different addresses. Born in Mason, he listed Corpus Christi as his home when applying to Normal in 1915. When he was inducted at Clairemont in October 1917, he listed Jayton as his residence (figure 9 and table 4). He was assigned to 144th Supply and earned a stripe in January of 1918. Before the unit went to France he was promoted to Wagoner.³¹⁶

While Sergeant Barnes and Private Carter settled into their new surroundings on Blanc Mont Ridge and anticipated their coming assault, W. H. Ellison was no doubt working hard bringing forward food and water. Road conditions and the continued movement and shifting of units made supply work difficult, but supplies did find their way forward. The work of Wagoner Ellison would have been particularly treacherous as he moved his wagon along muddy, rutted, shell-torn roads in the pitch black. Until the kitchens came up, the men ate cold corned beef and hardtack supplemented with canned tomatoes.³¹⁷

On the afternoon of 10 October, the 143rd and 144th Infantry went on the attack. The Germans were thought to be retreating, and close contact was supposed to be maintained. In pursuit mode, it was easy to lose contact. It turned out that the Germans had not been retreating on 10 October. It was the work of men like Private Carter, Private Jennings, and PFC Henderson that forced the Germans into wholesale retreat by

³¹⁶ Card File, Camp Mabry; Grade Reports, Texas State.

³¹⁷ Chastaine, 36th, 134.

12 October.³¹⁸ On the right side of the brigade front, the 143rd Infantry assigned Companies E and F (Pvt. Henderson) as the assault wave while Private Jennings, in the 1st Battalion, was held in reserve.³¹⁹ Private Henderson would be right up front, and Private Carter in L Company, 144th Infantry, would be right behind in the second assault line.³²⁰

The men advanced shortly after 5 p.m. They began the attack in a so-called artillery formation³²¹ that apparently had adequate combat spacing for limiting casualties during an artillery attack, but exposed too many to machine-gun fire. The attack moved forward in this formation in the apparently erroneous belief that the Germans were retreating. Fire-and-maneuver tactics were relatively new, and intelligence estimates were often wrong. However, in deference to the ability of men like Normals Jennings, Henderson, and Carter to adapt, as the advance was met by both artillery and machine-gun fire, the units quickly changed to platoon formation and finally into combat groups.³²² The tactics of fighting in smaller and smaller units was slower but more adept at attacking machine-gun positions. The attackers were also less vulnerable to raking machine-gun fire as they took advantage of available cover and protection. Combat group formation described a squad sized (eight to ten men) unit that advanced by rushes. The attack slowed as individual fights took place at many separate German machine-gun positions. Three factors further hampered the advance. First was the complete dearth of

³¹⁸ Chastaine, 36th, 140-170.

³¹⁹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 207.

³²⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 215.

³²¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 208.

³²² Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 208.

hand grenades, rifle grenades, or pyrotechnics. The trains were coming up to the Ammunition Dump Bowley but lacked these essentials.³²³ Second, darkness was rapidly approaching, and third, gas was detected, so the men were forced to attack wearing their gas masks.³²⁴ Casualties for 10 October in the 143rd and 144th Infantry were eight men killed and 123 wounded.³²⁵ None of the dead were from the Normal's companies.

As Normals Jennings, Henderson, Barnes, and Carter advanced with their respective units on 10 October, the four companies of the 133rd Machine-gun Battalion were split between the 143rd and 144th Infantry Regiments. D Company, 133rd Machine-gun Battalion, was assigned to the 143rd Infantry and supported the flank held by Normal Private Jennings and the others of the 1st Battalion of the 143rd Infantry.³²⁶ Close to Private Jennings position would have been a member of D Company, 133rd M-G Battalion, Sergeant James Wesley McBride.

Normal James McBride, born in Rockdale, attended Normal in 1916 and was one of the older enlisted men in the regiment. He was 31 years old when inducted on 8 October 1917. He made PFC by February 1918, and then skipped Corporal and went right to Sergeant in late August.³²⁷ On the night of 10 October Sergeant McBride was on the left flank of the 143rd Infantry as part of liaison detachment trying to find the flank of the 144th Infantry.³²⁸ Liaison work was difficult work. Units so assigned were supposed

³²³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 210-211. No explanation for the inadequate supply is given.

³²⁴ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 208.

³²⁵ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 217.

³²⁶ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 182; Chastaine, 36th, 168-69.

³²⁷ Card File, Camp Mabry.

³²⁸ Chastaine, 36th, 168-9.

to maintain contact with units on both flanks and plug any gaps. Machine-gun units were perfectly suited for this duty because their firepower afforded them greater abilities in protecting flanks and filling gaps. However, as units on both sides moved or advanced at different speeds, liaison duty became exceedingly difficult and perilous. Such was the task of Sergeant McBride on 10 October.³²⁹

The German units in front of the Normals were from three divisions. From east to west they were the 17th, 213th, and 195th Divisions. The German 17th and 195th Divisions were said to be of normal ability with good "morale, discipline, and physical condition."³³⁰ The 17th and 195th were also up to strength, having approximately 100 men per company.³³¹ By contrast, the German 213th Division was thought to be disorganized and severely degraded by recent combat.³³² Wisely, the Germans supported the degraded unit on both sides with quality divisions.

It should not be forgotten however, that in the German units most of the men had several years of combat experience; the Normals in the 36th Division, on 10 October, had been in combat for two days. Again, the Normals could rightly be called school boys. Although Normals who had volunteered early, like Robert Shelton, had been in the military for approximately sixteen months, they had as recently as April 1918, been throwing grenades made of concrete and walking guard duty with wooden clubs. Robert

³²⁹ Machine gun battalions had four companies which each had four machine gun platoons. That means the two companies, C and D, assigned to the flank of the 143rd Infantry would have together had eight .30 caliber machine-guns in line.

³³⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 190.

³³¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 190. Remembering that American divisions were twice as large as other WW I divisions, and effectives in line for companies of the 141st on 8 October had been approximately 150 out of a possible 235, the German strength seems quite remarkable.

³³² Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 190.

Shelton, James McBride, Dillard Snow, and C. B. Carter had been in school in San Marcos, Texas learning to be schoolteachers when many of the Germans they now faced were in combat against the British or French. Now Sergeant Shelton, Sergeant McBride, Corporal Snow, and Private Carter were seemingly doing the impossible.

The next task for most of the 36th Division Normals, beginning on 12 October, was to chase the retreating Germans to the Aisne River (figure 14). The Germans fought a rear guard action for the next few days as they tried to escape the rapid pursuit of the 36th Division. The entire 36th Division was involved in the pursuit as they spread along a five kilometer front.³³³ From east to west (right to left) were the 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th Infantry Regiments. The three M-G Battalions filled in the gaps.³³⁴ One of the men in Corporal Arnold's old D Company wrote a letter home. "We ran those Germans like a dog does a rabbit," he wrote, then added, "they are as afraid of Americans as you are a rattlesnake."³³⁵ The words maybe had a little too much bluster, but were probably reflective of the attitude of most.

On the first night of the pursuit, somehow the kitchens caught up and the men had their first hot meal in a few days.³³⁶ On the menu was fresh meat, fresh bread, and fresh vegetables delivered by Normals Private Shands and Wagoner Ellison. Normal Walker Parr (90th Division) described these meals in a way that certainly many Normals of the

³³³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 272.

³³⁴ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 272; Chastaine, 36th, 190.

³³⁵ Henry M. Watts letter, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-1, Folder 5627, p. 126.

³³⁶ Chastaine, 36th, 190.; Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 251.

36th Division would have found appropriate. “[We are] eating good now. Had steak, beans, rice, potatoes, soup and bread. But of course it is army cooking.”³³⁷ Indeed.

Water too, long a deficient commodity, was now brought forward in plentiful supply. In addition, the men each got a new blanket. Pistols and the coveted BAR also began to arrive in quantity.³³⁸ For all that, their advance was not uncontested. German resistance in the form of machine-gun emplacements, snipers, and artillery fire were a constant irritant.³³⁹ Another threat was German aircraft. The area where the 2nd Battalion, 143rd Infantry (Private Henderson) was advancing was attacked by a German airplane on the afternoon of 12 October. The battalion observed the plane in their area and was shortly thereafter hit with a tremendous volume of artillery fire. Not just an artillery spotter, apparently the plane also dropped a few bombs.³⁴⁰

Regardless of impediments, the pursuit continued. Opposition was of a rear-guard nature, and men like Lt. Hunsucker, Sergeant McBride, Private Carter and Private Jennings overcame all obstacles. The pursuit was rapid. In two days, the division moved twenty-one kilometers. The Normals who had started just north of St. Etienne on 12 October, were splashing along the south bank of the Aisne River forty-eight hours later (14 October).³⁴¹ If they had suffered some casualties, they had also earned a reputation. The two day, twenty-one kilometer pursuit was a fairly good hike even absent machine-

³³⁷ Walker Parr to Hallettsville newspaper, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-7, Folder 5629, p. 105.

³³⁸ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 283-84.; Chastaine, 36th, 196.

³³⁹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 284. Irritant—another sterile military term that sounds like they were swatting mosquitoes—hardly.

³⁴⁰ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 238.

³⁴¹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 235.

gun bullets and artillery shells. A soldier in the 141st Infantry spoke more eloquently than a debating Chautauquan and certainly echoed the feelings of many Normals when he wrote home: “[The] old 36th has some ‘rep’ but look who’s in it.”³⁴²

On 15 October, and continuing for the next twelve days, the area south of the Aisne River was consolidated in depth. Regular patrols were instituted, wire laid, foxholes dug, and all preparations were made to cross the Aisne River. The Normals, in almost every unit of the 36th Division, were spread across a five mile front.³⁴³ On 15 October, they probably would have been disposed as follows. From east to west (right to left) along the Aisne River would have been Sergeant Shelton, Sergeant Snow, and Lieutenant Hunsucker of the 141st Infantry; to their left were Private Jennings and Private Henderson of the 143rd Infantry, and left of them were Private Carter and Sergeant Barnes of the 144th Infantry. Sergeant McBride of D Company, 133rd Machine-gun Battalion was still attached to the 144th Infantry. Behind the lines, Private Shands and Wagoner Ellison were busy establishing a new supply dump; Private Lee was occupied with maintaining adequate ammunition supplies; Captain Jackson was supervising the laying of telephone wire between newly established command posts; and Private Burkett, Sergeant Buckner, and Paul Russell were attending to their duties with the hospital. Sergeant Walker and Sergeant Whipple were in the hospital, and back near St. Etienne, Corporal Arnold was in the ground.

³⁴² N.L. Birdwell to Seguin newspaper, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-6, Folder 5629, p. 27.

³⁴³ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 289.

Forêt Ferme

As the 36th Division waited for orders to cross the Aisne River, the men got a chance to bathe, shave, get new uniforms, and eat some hot food. This was not, however, a rest area. Artillery and sniper fire were problems, and there was one major obstacle ahead of the 141st Infantry, a large horseshoe loop in the river known as Forêt Ferme (figure 14).³⁴⁴ The ground inside the loop rose sharply and extended northward some two-and-a-half kilometers into the German lines. Across the three kilometer mouth of the loop were formidable defenses consisting of trenches, wire entanglements, and machine-gun nests manned by the 9th Regiment of the 3rd Prussian Guard Division. The area was further protected by German artillery positions north of the river.³⁴⁵ On 24 October the 141st Infantry was ordered to assault and take Forêt Ferme by 27 October.³⁴⁶ Sergeant Shelton and Corporal Snow, veterans now as were the rest of the Normals, readied themselves for another assault.

The plan of attack was somewhat unusual. D-Day was 27 October and H-Hour was 4:30 p.m.³⁴⁷ First, the time of the attack, late afternoon, was selected because of the poor evening visibility afforded the Germans from across the river, yet with still enough

³⁴⁴ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 307.

³⁴⁵ W.D. Cope, "36th Division in World War I," Texas Military Forces Museum, Camp Mabry, Austin Texas, <http://www.texasmilitaryforcesmuseum.or/gallery/36div.htm>, page 8.

³⁴⁶ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 307.

³⁴⁷ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 313.

light for the attackers.³⁴⁸ The Normals would attack with the setting sun at their backs—advantageous for the attacker and extremely difficult visually for the German defenders. Second, there would be no preparatory artillery barrage. Both departures from regular procedure were an attempt to surprise the German defenders.³⁴⁹ The attack would commence at the signal of a single artillery piece followed by smoke shells. The infantry would immediately attack behind a rolling barrage which advanced 100 meters every three minutes.³⁵⁰ The assault would be carried out by the 2nd Battalion (E, F, G, H Companies) with the addition of Corporal Arnold's old D Company.³⁵¹ Sergeant Shelton and Corporal Snow of B Company would be part of the second line, the so-called "cleaning operation."³⁵²

The assault began as scheduled and quickly achieved success. Following the barrage at a 100 meter distance, the assault waves moved forward rapidly, bypassing strong points and dugouts which were left for men like Shelton and Snow to mop-up. The clean-up detachments not only eliminated machine-gun emplacements and dugouts, but also captured a number of prisoners as well.³⁵³ At 5:17 p.m. the objectives were

³⁴⁸ Chastaine, 36th, 223. The Germans would be looking into the setting-sun and the EENT (end of evening nautical twilight) conditions were a considerable advantage for the Americans. Alternately, a dawn attack by the Americans would have favored the Germans as BMNT (Beginning of Morning Nautical Twilight) conditions would have put the rising sun in the American's eyes.

³⁴⁹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 309.

³⁵⁰ Chastaine, 36th, 224.

³⁵¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 317.

³⁵² Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 307. Paragraph number four of Field Order # 59 uses the words cleaning operation to describe the work of Company A and B, 141st Infantry.

³⁵³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 317.

reached and the loop was clear of Germans.³⁵⁴ The 9th Regiment of the Prussian Guards had been annihilated during the course of the assault. One hundred and ninety-four of the Prussian Guards were captured and the rest were killed.³⁵⁵

The Prussian Guards had a tough reputation and the Normals knew it. Many were understandably proud of their accomplishments and wrote home about *Fôret Ferme*. Normal Paul Russell (111th Sanitary Train) wrote with an apparently typical attitude of subdued pride in having fought and defeated the Prussian Guards.³⁵⁶ The 36th Division Normals were veterans now and the bluster was gone, even after only a few weeks in the line. They had achieved much, but triumph had been tempered with loss. At *Forêt Ferme* the 141st Infantry lost eleven killed and thirty-six wounded.³⁵⁷ There were no more Normal casualties, but one man in Sergeant Shelton and Corporal Snow's B Company was killed.³⁵⁸ With this success, the combat operations of the 36th Division were ended.

The day after the *Forêt Ferme* assault, the division was relieved by the 22nd French Division. The 36th Division pulled back to a rest area, was transferred back to the American First Army, moved by train to the rear of the American First Army in the Meuse-Argonne sector, and after a two-day rest period, began training in improved open warfare tactics.³⁵⁹ The troops expected to be ordered forward for the next offensive. The

³⁵⁴ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 317.

³⁵⁵ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 324.

³⁵⁶ Paul Russell to Bertam newspaper, Hornady Papers.

³⁵⁷ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 324.

³⁵⁸ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 490-504.

³⁵⁹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 334.

orders never came. The men received news of the Armistice around 8:30 a.m. on 11 November 1918.³⁶⁰ The war was over.

The 36th Division had achieved a remarkable amount during their relatively short twenty-one days in the line.³⁶¹ They also suffered. The division had 509 men killed in action, of which 217 were from the 141st Infantry.³⁶² Two of the dead were Normals. Jack Arnold had written home before going into his first battle: “[J]ust wait till I get home. I will have plenty to tell for a long time.”³⁶³ Jack Arnold was buried near where he fell at St. Etienne. Sadly, the other fatality was Henry Whipple.

Henry Whipple had been born in Waukomis, Oklahoma in March of 1896. He enrolled as a freshman at Normal in 1913.³⁶⁴ His father, Orva L. Whipple, was a teacher, and his older brother Lester (later a lawyer) had also been a student at Normal.³⁶⁵ Henry was a member of the Harris-Blair Literary Society; the same group in which M. L. Arnold was an honorary member.³⁶⁶ Henry had a teaching certificate and even a little

³⁶⁰ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 335.

³⁶¹ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 363-64.

³⁶² Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 366.

³⁶³ Jack Arnold letter, SMHC.

³⁶² Card File, Camp Mabry.

³⁶³ Grade Reports, Texas State.

³⁶⁴ Grade Reports, Texas State.

³⁶⁵ *Pedagog* 1914, 161.

³⁶⁶ Grade Reports, Texas State.

teaching experience. Apparently, he was enrolled, as were many others, to upgrade his certification. Henry must have exhibited some leadership qualities because he served as Assistant Editor for the 1914 *Pedagog* as a freshman.³⁶⁷ After he enlisted in the 36th Division of the National Guard at Austin, Texas in July 1917, the army also noticed his leadership skills. Promoted to Sergeant just one month after enlistment, he went to France in July 1918 as Sergeant Henry Whipple, Company B, 141st Infantry Regiment, 36th Division.³⁶⁸ Wounded near St. Etienne at 5:15 a.m. on 8 October, he fought to recover from his wounds for forty-two days. On 19 November 1918, eight days after the war was over, Henry M. Whipple died of his wounds. He was buried near Blois, France.³⁶⁹

The 36th Division had also suffered 1,976 wounded.³⁷⁰ Normal Clyde Hunsucker seemingly recovered quickly and returned to duty; however, Carl Walker was still in a Paris hospital after the Armistice. While there he penned a poem (figure 25) which was later printed in the school newspaper the *Normal Star*. The poem, entitled "Oh Liberty Bell," is many stanzas long and is largely a blustering, comical treatment about things such as hanging the Kaiser; it turned a little more serious in the final lines:

³⁶⁷ *Pedagog* 1914, 9.

³⁶⁸ Card File, Camp Mabry.

³⁶⁹ *Pedagog* 1919, 10.; Card File, Camp Mabry. Henry Whipple, Jack Arnold, and Kenneth Gardner may all be buried in France. However a database search of US military cemeteries in France yields negative results. See pages 113-114 and note 401 for an explanation.

³⁷⁰ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 366. A "died of wounds" list in Spence page 503 does not include Henry Whipple. Probably the wounded list was compiled prior to Whipple's death.

God Bless all the soldiers who ever chased Huns
With Bayonets, shells, and all kinds of guns,
May we end this war—and the Allies the winner
And get back home for an Xmas Dinner.³⁷¹

³⁷¹ "From a Soldier," *Normal Star*, January 17, 1920. The poem is many stanzas long and is entitled "Oh Liberty Bell" (figure 25.).

CONCLUSION

The Normals in the 36th and 90th Divisions spent the 1918 Thanksgiving and Christmas holidays in Europe. The 36th Division Normals were bivouacked near Paris. Their training continued but with less urgency, and in December many men were allowed to go on leave.³⁷² Many probably celebrated the end of the war and the holidays with adult beverages. The beer was reportedly “no good, but the wine was okay.”³⁷³ Some may have possibly over celebrated. For reasons that can only be surmised, Dillard Snow, formerly Sergeant Dillard Snow, Company B, 141st Infantry was busted back to Private Dillard Snow on New Year’s Day 1919.³⁷⁴

Thanksgiving dinners had apparently been a little light on turkey and dressing,³⁷⁵ but Christmas dinners were much better. The men ate “turkey, two kinds of pie, cake, salad, fruit, sauce, dressing, sweet milk, coffee, and ‘good’ biscuits.”³⁷⁶ Undisturbed sleep was also a luxury enjoyed by many for the first time in a long time. Normal Walker Parr wrote almost gleefully about sleeping in a bed at a Red Cross hotel in Paris. He was

³⁷² Chastaine, 36th, 263.

³⁷³ H.U. Woos to friend, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-5, Folder 5628, p. 89-90.

³⁷⁴ Card File, Camp Mabry.

³⁷⁵ Oscar Wallace to unknown, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-6, Folder, 5629, p. 210.

³⁷⁶ Lon M. Peoples to Mr./Mrs. Braun, Hornady Papers, Box 1970/070-1, Folder, 5627, p. 405-6.

not bothered all night, and he writes half gloating and perhaps half embarrassed, “[I] slept till 9 a.m.”³⁷⁷

Many men took advantage of schools instituted by the AEF. One former Normal, H. W. Dobson, wrote that under one program he would receive \$90 per month to continue his college education in France or England.³⁷⁸ Another Normal, Sergeant Robert Shelton, company B, 141st Infantry took twelve hours of college level courses.³⁷⁹ Rumors circulated freely about going home or possibly even becoming part of the occupation force in Germany.³⁸⁰

The 90th Division Normals were assigned to occupation duty and spent most of December moving into Germany. Captain Neighbors settled in near Daun, Germany, four days before Christmas, and Sergeant Blocker and Sergeant Flake arrived in Wehlen, Germany, one day later.³⁸¹ All waited anxiously for orders home. In late May 1919, after a few months of occupation duty, the 90th Division Normals sailed for home.³⁸²

The 36th Division Normals, who had been in a French training area since war's end, also sailed for home in May. Private Jennings and Private Henderson of the 36th Division landed at Newport News, Virginia where they apparently traveled to Camp Bowie by train. Most of the rest of the 36th Division Normals landed at Hoboken, New

³⁷⁷ Walker Parr to Hallettsville newspaper, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-7, Folder 5629, p. 105.

³⁷⁸ H.W. Dobson to Miss Floy Wallace, Hornady Papers, Box 1975/070-12, Folder 5631, p.395-99.

³⁷⁹ Grade Reports, Texas State.

³⁸⁰ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 360.

³⁸¹ Wythe, *90th Division*, 183.

³⁸² Wythe, *90th Division*, 195.

Jersey, and then trained to Camp Travis.³⁸³ The 90th Division Normals followed similar routes with most going to Camp Bowie although a few went to Camp Travis.³⁸⁴ Many of the Normal Texans who began their military service at Camp Travis saw it end at Camp Bowie; others did the reverse. In either case, all were quickly discharged. Dillard Snow was one of the last Normals to be discharged on 5 August 1919. Most were released by late June or early July.³⁸⁵

The Normals came home and resumed their lives. At least four returned to school. Robert Shelton came back to Normal shortly after being discharged in 1919 and continued his studies through 1921. In 1920 he was President of the Chautauquan Society and played on the Normal football team.³⁸⁶ He applied, and received credit, for the twelve hours of work he had earned while in France.³⁸⁷

Dillard Snow came back to school in 1920 and founded the school band and was identified as the first band instructor.³⁸⁸ He played trumpet, but apparently concentrated on instructing and directing. He was also a Chautauquan and a member of the new Administration Club.³⁸⁹ The Admin Club, as it was generally called, had been founded the previous year to prepare students for school administrative work.³⁹⁰

³⁸³ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 353.

³⁸⁴ Wythe, *90th Division*, 196.

³⁸⁵ Compiled data from: Card File, Camp Mabry.

³⁸⁶ *Pedagog* 1920, 145, 155.

³⁸⁷ Grade Reports, Texas State.

³⁸⁸ *Pedagog* 1920, 64.

³⁸⁹ *Pedagog* 1920, 64.

³⁹⁰ *Pedagog* 1920, 64, 149.

Carl Walker, although not fully recovered from his wounds, played enough football on the 1919 team to earn a letter.³⁹¹ Walker was also a Chautauquan, a member of the YMCA, in Rotary Club, was part of the Admin Club, and sang with the Glee Club.³⁹² He probably also took a few classes.

Charley Kuykendall had started at Normal in the summer of 1913, taken a correspondence course from M.L. Arnold in 1914, and earned a diploma in 1916. He went back to school after the war, made nothing but A's and proudly graduated in August 1923, with a Bachelor of Science Degree and a permanent teaching certificate.³⁹³

M.L. Arnold also continued with his life. Faced with enduring a parent's worst fear, losing a child, he persevered. *Pedagog* treatments of him change little; apparently he was very much respected by his students. He wrote at least two poems about losing Jack. "The Deathless Dead" appeared in the 1919 *Pedagog*; fittingly, one verse was part of Dr. Swinney's design for the World War I Monument dedicated in 2007. The other M.L. Arnold poem, "Springtime in France" was printed in the 1920 *Pedagog*. It has a different tone and pulls in the Texas theme (figures 23 and 24).

M.L. Arnold was also a community leader who was many times asked to speak at Legion Halls and Memorial Day celebrations. No doubt his words carried some extra significance.³⁹⁴ He also continued his own education. While teaching at Normal, M.L. Arnold attended the University of Texas and earned his M.A. in 1920 followed by his

³⁹¹ *Pedagog* 1922, 33.

³⁹² *Pedagog* 1922, 33

³⁹³ Grade Reports, Texas State.

³⁹⁴ Arnold Family Folder, Arnold campaign Literature, "The Arnold Observer," SMHC, San Marcos Public Library.

Ph.D. in 1929.³⁹⁵ Afterwards, Professor Arnold continued to lead Normal students out of the educational dark-ages until he was mandatorily retired in 1941 at age seventy.³⁹⁶

In 1942 Professor Arnold ran for a seat in the Texas Legislature against a thirty-one year old businessman from Kyle. Age was a major campaign issue if judged by the campaign material Arnold produced.³⁹⁷ To make the age issue an even tougher hurdle for Arnold, the opponents name was Charles Young. However, the elder Arnold made the race extremely close, and on election night Young edged Arnold, in a three man race, by only twenty-five votes. In the subsequent runoff Arnold lost by a few hundred votes.³⁹⁸ In January 1952, after what was described as a lengthy illness, he died and was buried in the San Marcos City Cemetery.³⁹⁹ Father and mother, Marcus L. and Nora A. Arnold are under the same headstone; Jack is to their left. The area is somewhat overgrown and the headstones are covered with years of mold and mildew stains. Jack's headstone displays carvings of the 36th Division patch and a Croix de Guerre with silver star. Henry Whipple has a stone in the Whipple family area near the entrance to the cemetery. His marker too is lichen covered, but the words, carved long ago, echo with pride: "Henry M. Whipple Sgt. Co. B. 141st Inf 36th Div. Meuse-Argonne Offensive"⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ Obituary, M.L. Arnold, Arnold family folder, SMHC. A search of the University of Texas library catalog reveals these titles under Marcus Llewellyn Arnold: "The later phases of the secession movement in Texas," M.A. Thesis 1920; "Jefferson Davis and his critics," Ph.D. dissertation, 1929.

³⁹⁶ Obituary, M.L. Arnold, Arnold family folder, SMHC.

³⁹⁷ "The Arnold Observer," Arnold Family Folder, SMHC.

³⁹⁸ Bob Barton, *Buda Citizen*, November 14, 1974, p. 7.

³⁹⁹ Headstone information and obituary. The cemetery is close to school on RR 12. The Arnold area is on the back fence line on Evening Star street between Chapel Way and Morning Glory. The Whipples are closer to the entrance near the intersection of Memorial Drive and Morning Star street.

⁴⁰⁰ Headstones in San Marcos City Cemetery.

Many remains were brought home after 1919. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker offered the families a choice of burial in one of eight overseas military cemeteries or return of the remains to the U.S. Over 70% of next of kin opted for a return to the U.S. of their loved one's remains; at least one notable did not. Theodore Roosevelt decided to let son Quentin's remains stay in France.⁴⁰¹

During the two decades following the end of World War I disappointment with the results of the war, disillusionment with the Versailles Treaty, emerging concerns over communism, the Depression, and the rise, and subsequent defeat of fascism, led to a resorting of historical priorities. World War I was often forgotten, overlooked, or just left out. Although the student-soldiers of Southwest Texas State Normal were remembered in the 1919 *Pedagog*, their sacrifice and accomplishments quickly faded into obscurity. A World War I memorial plaque, remembered by some to having once been located in Evans Hall and later in a war memorial collection near Old Main, inexplicably did not make the move to the new Texas State Veterans' Memorial Garden near Flowers Hall in 2000.⁴⁰² The anonymity of the WW I Normals was complete.

A World War I memorial was erected and dedicated in 2007, thanks in no small part to the work of Dr. Everette Swinney who directed the effort to fund and create the new World War I monument.⁴⁰³ As noted, the memorial lists the names of six students who died in service, as well as one of their mentors and teachers, Professor M.L. Arnold. The memorial correctly speaks to loss but not to triumph. It quite rightly commemorates

⁴⁰¹ Neil Hanson, *Unknown Soldier*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 242-43.

⁴⁰² Pat Murdock, "WWI monument to join campus Memorial Garden," University News Service: Texas State. http://www.txstate.edu/news/news_releases_news_archive/2007/10/WWImemorial101107 Everette Swinney, "The Missing Monument," <http://uweb.txstate.edu/~es08/wwi4.html>.

⁴⁰³ Murdock, "Memorial Garden;" Swinney, "The Missing Monument."

sacrifice but cannot recapture memories of achievement or victorious accomplishment. The Normals of the AEF sacrificed and suffered, but they also performed outstanding feats of arms.

The 5th Division contained only one Normal, Kenneth S. Gardner, Company I, 61st Infantry Regiment. He endured the most front line duty of any Normal in the war. The 5th Division advanced over thirty-five kilometers and retook from the Germans two hundred and twenty square kilometers of France. They were in the line for one hundred and four days and had over 10,000 men killed or wounded. They were the first to cross the Meuse River and thereby earned the nickname the Meuse Division. General Pershing, in his post-war letter to the division, wrote of the Meuse crossing: "This operation was one of the most brilliant military feats in the history of the American Army in France."⁴⁰⁴ Kenneth S. Gardner, no doubt wet, hungry, and miserable, struggled mightily until he was killed at the moment of his unit's most outstanding triumph. On 6 November 1918, he rested in a French grave.

The 90th Division fought at St. Mihiel and in the Meuse-Argonne and contained seven Normals. They were in the line for sixty-nine days, advanced seventeen miles,⁴⁰⁵ and suffered 9,400 casualties.⁴⁰⁶ Normals DeWitt Neighbors, William Blocker, Arthur Flake, John Haisler, Robert Klingelhoffer endured every patrol, ate cold food under a leaky shelter-half, and many times slept shivering wrapped in a wet blanket during those sixty-nine days. Included in the effort are the contributions of Normals Charley Kuykendall and Walker Parr. The 90th Division Normals were victorious in every single

⁴⁰⁴ Stevenson, *5th Division*, 11.

⁴⁰⁵ Stallings, *The Doughboys*, 377.

⁴⁰⁶ Wythe, *90th Division*, 199.

engagement, large or small, they fought. They were part of the force that first pierced the Freya Stellung. The Freya Stellung, the formidable, formerly impregnable, and last German defensive line was smashed, in part, by a bunch of half-American schoolboys from Southwest Texas State Normal. This accomplishment alone should have brought them everlasting fame—it did not.

The 36th Division contained many Normals. One, David Haile, died while stateside. Eighteen more went to France. The 36th Division was in the line for twenty-three days; a seemingly trifling number compared to the other Normal divisions.⁴⁰⁷ Even so, the country did take notice at the time. No less than the *New York Times* ran a 20 October 1918 article with the headline: “Texans Heroic in First Battle.”⁴⁰⁸ The article spoke of the raw troops of the 36th Division making a name for themselves before they were fully organized.⁴⁰⁹ General Pershing also spoke glowingly, in his post-war letter to the division, of the unit’s outstanding performance in spite of training and equipment handicaps.⁴¹⁰

The Normals could be proud of the fact that the 36th Division accomplished, in a few short days, every task known to exist for a 1918 military unit, and they did it with flair. Lacking sufficient equipment, or ordnance, or even training, they managed to attain division size objectives with a two regiment assault on 8-9 October; they engaged in a classic combat pursuit of over twenty kilometers at almost a dead run; and they ended their combat tour by demonstrating a near perfect textbook assault on prepared positions

⁴⁰⁷ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 365.

⁴⁰⁸ Edwin L. James, “Texans Heroic in First Battle,” *New York Times* 20 Oct 1918, p. 25.

⁴⁰⁹ Edwin L. James, “Texans Heroic in First Battle,” *New York Times* 20 Oct 1918, p. 25.

⁴¹⁰ Spence, “Thirty-sixth,” 347.

at Forêt Ferme.⁴¹¹ When their short service ended, two men, Clyde Hunsucker and Carl Walker had been wounded; three, Paul Russell, Jack Arnold, and Clyde Hunsucker had been decorated;⁴¹² and two, Jack Arnold and Henry Whipple lay under white crosses.

The AEF, and the Normals in it, diverted the course of history in the late summer and fall of 1918. What had been developing as a German victory was changed by the efforts of Normals like DeWitt Neighbors and William Blocker; by the exertions of Normals like Carl Walker and Dillard Snow; by the energy of Normals like Lee Burkett and James Buckner; and by the dedication of Normals Jack Arnold, Kenneth Gardner, Henry Whipple, Joe Stribling, David Haile, William Harris.

The Normals trained stateside, often ill-equipped, in a short period of time. They moved to France and trained some more. Often this training did not adequately prepare them for the battle conditions they would face. They then moved to the front and prepared for battle. From their first day in the army to their first day of front line duty was in no case longer than eighteen months and in most cases less than one year. The transformation from classroom to battlefield was both short and dramatic. Yet the Normals defeated an enemy, thought by some to be war-weary and fatigued, who nevertheless had vastly more combat experience and had the advantage of being on the defensive.

⁴¹¹ Spence, "Thirty-sixth," 365.

⁴¹² Card File, Camp Mabry. Five levels of the Croix de Guerre existed during WW I depending on the level of dispatch in which one was mentioned. Mention in a regiment or brigade level dispatch earned a Croix de Guerre with bronze star; a silver star was attached for being mentioned in division level dispatches; then there was a gilt star, and a bronze palm, for mention in either corps or army level dispatches respectively. Finally, a silver palm was attached to the medal for five bronze stars. Hunsucker's notation says gilt star and Arnold's says silver star. Apparently then, Arnold was mentioned in dispatches at the 36th Division level while Hunsucker would have been mentioned at the next higher level in a corps dispatch. (FirstWorldWar.Com "French Croix de Guerre," www.firstworldwar.com/atoz/croixdeguerre.htm [accessed January 20, 2009]).

The Normals made history not only for what they did, but also how they did it. These half-American, Normal school boys from San Marcos, Texas were exceptional Doughboys; and although differences are evident, it is also, in a way, comforting to recognize how similar to them we are. Their achievements have been forgotten. Their glory has faded. Their memories are neglected by all but a few. Students walk past their memorial and take no notice. This is a very predictable natural progression. History is now. However, as Tennyson so eloquently reminds us, it is occasionally necessary to remember how easily things are forgotten.

Flow down, cold rivulet, to the sea,
Thy tribute wave deliver:
No more by thee my steps shall be,
For ever and for ever.

Flow, softly flow, by lawn and lea,
A rivulet, then a river;
No where by thee my steps shall be,
For ever and for ever.

A thousand suns will stream on thee,
A thousands moons will quiver;
But not by thee my steps shall be,
For ever and for ever.

—Alfred Lord Tennyson, *A Farewell*

Table 1.

Organization of the 36th Division

Division HQ

71st Brigade

72nd Brigade

141st Inf. Rgt.

142 Inf. Rgt.

143rd Inf. Rgt.

144th Inf. Rgt.

All Inf. Rgt.'s had a HQ Co. and 1st Btn.(A,B,C,D Co.); 2nd Btn. (E,F,G, H Co.); 3rd Btn. (I, K, L, M Co.)

132nd Machine Gun Btn.

A-D Co.

133rd Machine Gun Btn

A-D Co.

61st Field Art. Brigade

131st FA

132nd FA

133rd FA

111th Trench Mortar

Division Troops

131st MG Btn.

111th Engineers

111th Field Signal Btn.

Division Trains

111th HQ and Military Police

111th Ammunition Train

111th Supply

111th Engineer Train

111th Sanitary Train

Each Infantry A-M (no J) Company authorized strength: 5 officers & 232 enlisted

Company Commander—Captain

First Platoon—1st Lt. Second Platoon—2nd Lt.

Third Platoon—2nd Lt. Fourth Platoon—1st Lt.

Each platoon authorized: 58 enlisted

3 Sgt.

8 Cpl.

15 PFC

32 Privates

Sources: Alexander White Spence, formerly Captain of Infantry 36th Division, "The History of the Thirty-Sixth Division, U.S.A. 1917-1919" unpublished manuscript (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1919), 8-11; United States Department of the Army, *The United States Army in the World War 1917-1919 Volume I* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1948), 347.

Table 2.

**Organization of
the 90th Division**

Division HQ

179th Brigade

180th Brigade

357th Inf. Rgt. 358th Inf. Rgt. 359th Inf. Rgt. 360th Inf. Rgt.

All Inf. Rgt. 's had a HQ Co. and 1st Btn.(A,B,C,D Co.); 2nd Btn. (E,F,G, H Co.); 3rd Btn. (I, K, L, M Co.)

343rd Machine Gun Btn.

A-D Co.

344th Machine Gun Btn

A-D Co.

165th Field Art. Brigade

343rd F.A.

344th F.A.

345th F.A.

315th Trench Mortar

Division Troops

345th MG Btn.

315th Engineers

315th Field Signal Btn.

Division Trains

315th HQ and Military Police

315th Ammunition Train

315th Supply

315th Engineer Train

315th Sanitary Train

Company organization and strength the same as Table 1.

Source: Data from Major George Wythe, *A History of the 90th Division*, (New York: 90th Division Association, 1920), 204-222.

Table 3.

**Organization of
the 5th Division**

Division HQ

9th Brigade

10th Brigade

60th Inf. Rgt. 61st Inf. Rgt. 6th Inf. Rgt. 11th Inf. Rgt.

All Inf. Rgt.'s had a HQ Co. and 1st Btn. (A,B,C,D Co.); 2nd Btn. (E,F,G, H Co.); 3rd Btn. (I, K, L, M Co.)

13th Machine Gun Btn.

A-D Co.

14th Machine Gun Btn

A-D Co.

5th Field Art. Brigade

19th F.A.

20th F.A.

21st F.A.

7th Trench Mortar

Division Troops

15th MG Btn.

7th Engineers

9th Field Signal Btn.

Division Trains

5th HQ and Military Police

5th Ammunition Train

5th Supply

5th Engineer Train

5th Sanitary Train

Company organization and strength the same as Table 1.

Source: Data from Second Lieutenant Kenyon Stevenson, 21st Field Artillery, 5th Division, *Official History of the 5th Division* (New York: Wynkop, Hallenbeck Crawford Co., 1919), 271.

**Table 4.
Normal List**

Name	Years of Normal attendance	Unit Name	Service Record/rank	Hometown-letter corresponding to map (fig. 9).
<u>5th Division Normal</u>				
1. Kenneth S. Gardner	1912-1914	I Co. 61 st Infantry	Private., Killed in action 5 November 1918.	Goliad-Y
<u>90th Division Normals</u>				
2. William Blocker	1913-1914	I Co. 360 th Infantry	Sergeant	Loraine-B
3. Arthur Flake	1914-1917	I Co. 360 th Infantry	Sergeant	San Marcos-A
4. DeWitt Neighbors	1911-1912	E Co. 357 th Infantry	Cpt., wounded 28 October 1918.	Waelder-X
5. Walker Parr	1916	344 th Field Artillery	Corporal	Moulton-D
6. John Haisler	1914-1917	G Co. 360 th Infantry	Private	Caldwell-E
7. Robert Klingelhoffer	1911-1913	Hq. 360 th Infantry	Private	Fredericksburg-F
8. Charley Kuykendall	1912; 1922-1923	315 th Trench Mortar	Private	Hallettsville-G
<u>36th Division Normals</u>				
9. Jack Arnold	1915-1917	D Co. 141 st Infantry	Corporal, killed 8 October 1918, Croix de Guerre.	San Marcos-A
10. Claude Barnes	1910-1911	Hq Co. 144 th Infantry	Sergeant	Chester-H
11. James Buckner	1914-1916	111 th Sanitary Train	Sergeant	Blanco-I
12. Lee Burkett	1916-1917	111 th San. Tr. 141 st Hospital	Private	Mullin-J
13. C.B. Carter	1915	L Co. 144 th Infantry	Private	Normangee-K
14. W.H. Ellison	1915 Summer session	144 th Infantry Supply	Wagoner	Jayton-L
15. David Haile	1914-1917	B Co. 141 st Infantry	Corporal, died of pneumonia 3 Dec. 1917.	San Marcos-A
16. Odus Henderson	1916	F Co. 143 rd Infantry	Private	Dawson-M
17. Clyde Hunsucker	1907-1908	M Co. 141 st Infantry	1 st Lt., wounded 9 October 1918, Croix de Guerre.	Staples-Z
18. Roy Jackson	1917	A Co. 111 th Signal Battalion	Captain	Houston-N
19. Odous Jennings	1917	B Co. 143 rd Infantry	Private First Class	Sour Lake-V

Table 4. Continued

20. Robert E. Lee	1913-1914	111 th Ammunition Train	Private	Mason-P
21. James McBride	1916	D Co. 133 rd MG Battalion	Sergeant	Lott-K
22. Paul Russell	1916	111 th Sanitary Train	Unknown, cited for bravery.	Bertram-S
23. Helliard Shands	1913-1915	E Co. 111 th Supply	Corporal	San Marcos-A
24. Robert Shelton	1916-1917, 1919-1921	B Co. 141 st Infantry	Sergeant	Dripping Springs-T
25. Dillard Snow	1916-1917	B Co. 141 st Infantry	Corporal	Merkel-C
26. Carl Walker	1916-1917, 1920-1921	B Co. 141 st Infantry	Sergeant, wounded 7 October 1918.	Dripping Springs-T
27. Henry Whipple	1913-1914	B Co. 141 st Infantry	Sergeant, wounded 8 October 1918 and died of wounds 19 November 1918.	Goliad-Y
<u>Monument Names not in the units listed above.</u>				
28. William Harris	1914-1915, 1916-1917	In base hospital	Private, died of bronchial pneumonia.	San Marcos-A
29. William Joe Stribling	1916-1917	Officer Training Camp Pike, AK	Private, died of bronchial pneumonia.	Sulphur Springs-U

(See figure 9 for town and student correlations).

Source: United States Federal Form 724-1 through 86c-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas; "Grade Reports: Southwest Texas State Normal School," selected students 1912-1920, Registrar's Office, Texas State University-San Marcos.

APPENDIX

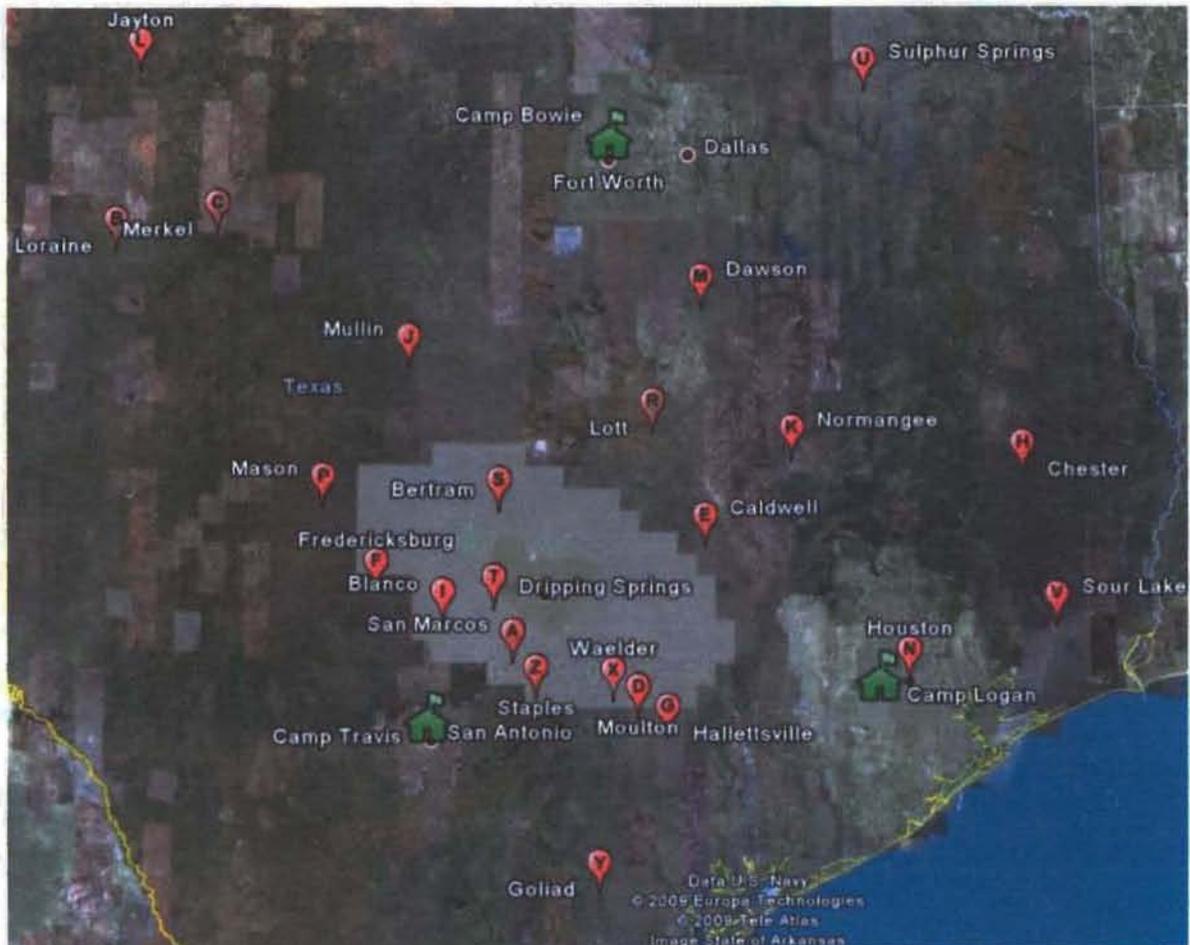


Figure 9. Normal hometowns and training camps. (See table 4 for student correlations).

Source: Google Earth; United States Federal Form 724-1 ½, 724-6, A.G.O., Texas Military Forces Museum, WW I service records, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin TX; Grade Reports, 1912-1920, Southwest Texas State Normal School, Registrar's Office, Texas State University-San Marcos.



French Croix de Guerre
Arnold's had a silver star on the ribbon
and Hunsucker's a gilt star.



United States Victory Medal.
Many Normals applied for this as did
survivors such as Mr./Mrs. Arnold and
Mrs. Gardner.



Purple Heart like those awarded to Carl Walker, Clyde Hunsucker, and DeWitt Neighbors., and the families
of Jack Arnold, Henry Whipple, Kenneth Gardner.

Figure 10 . Medals.

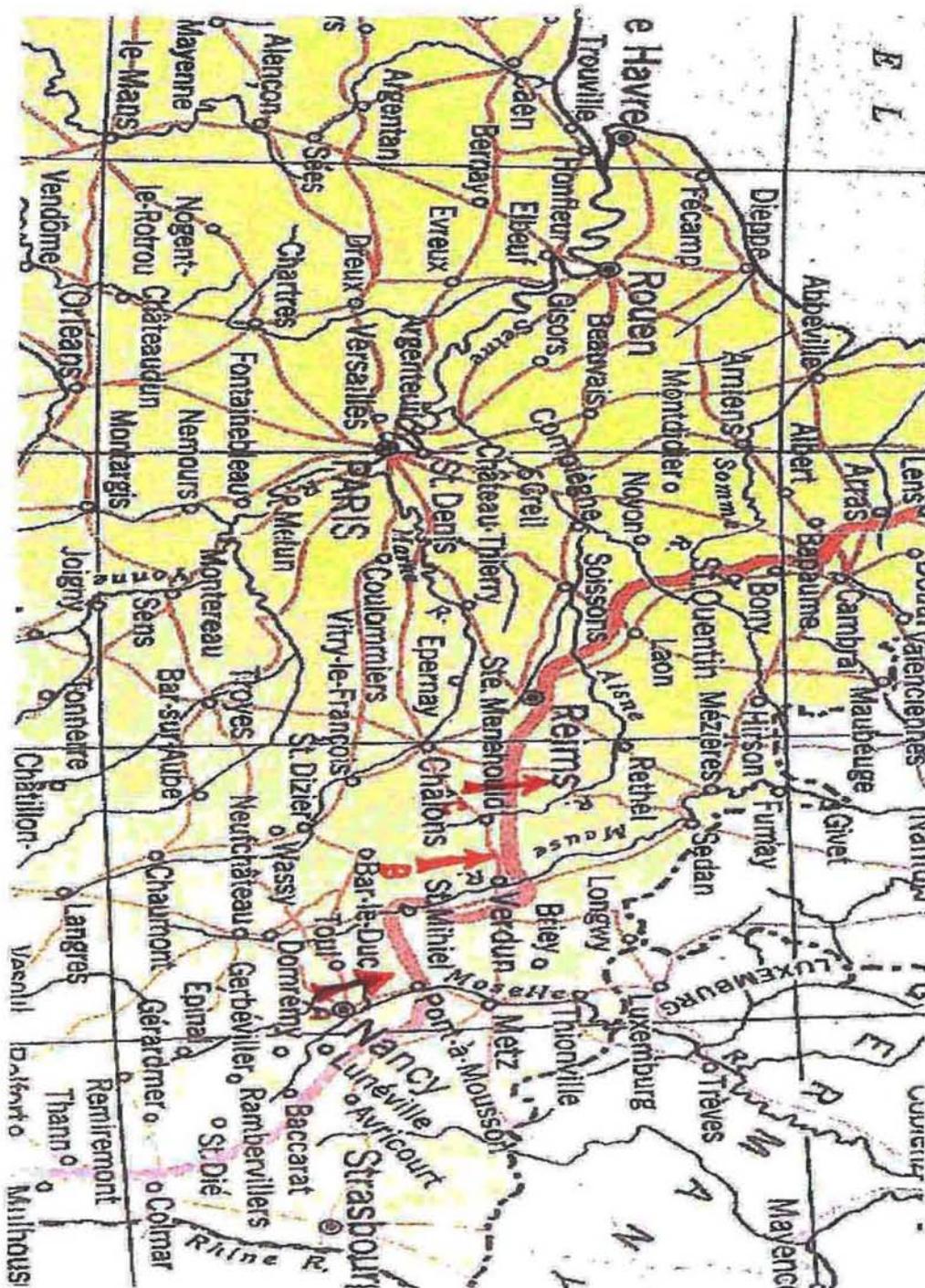


Figure 11. Map of Allied lines before formation of American First Army and attack on St. Mihiel salient 12 September 1918. Note arrows:

- A. Approximate position of 5th and 90th division attack against St. Mihiel salient 12 September.
- B. Approximate position of Meuse-Argonne Offensive 26 September-11 November.
- C. Approximate position of 36th Division operations 8 October- 11 November.

Source: American Battle Monuments Commission. *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe; a history, guide and reference book*. (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938).

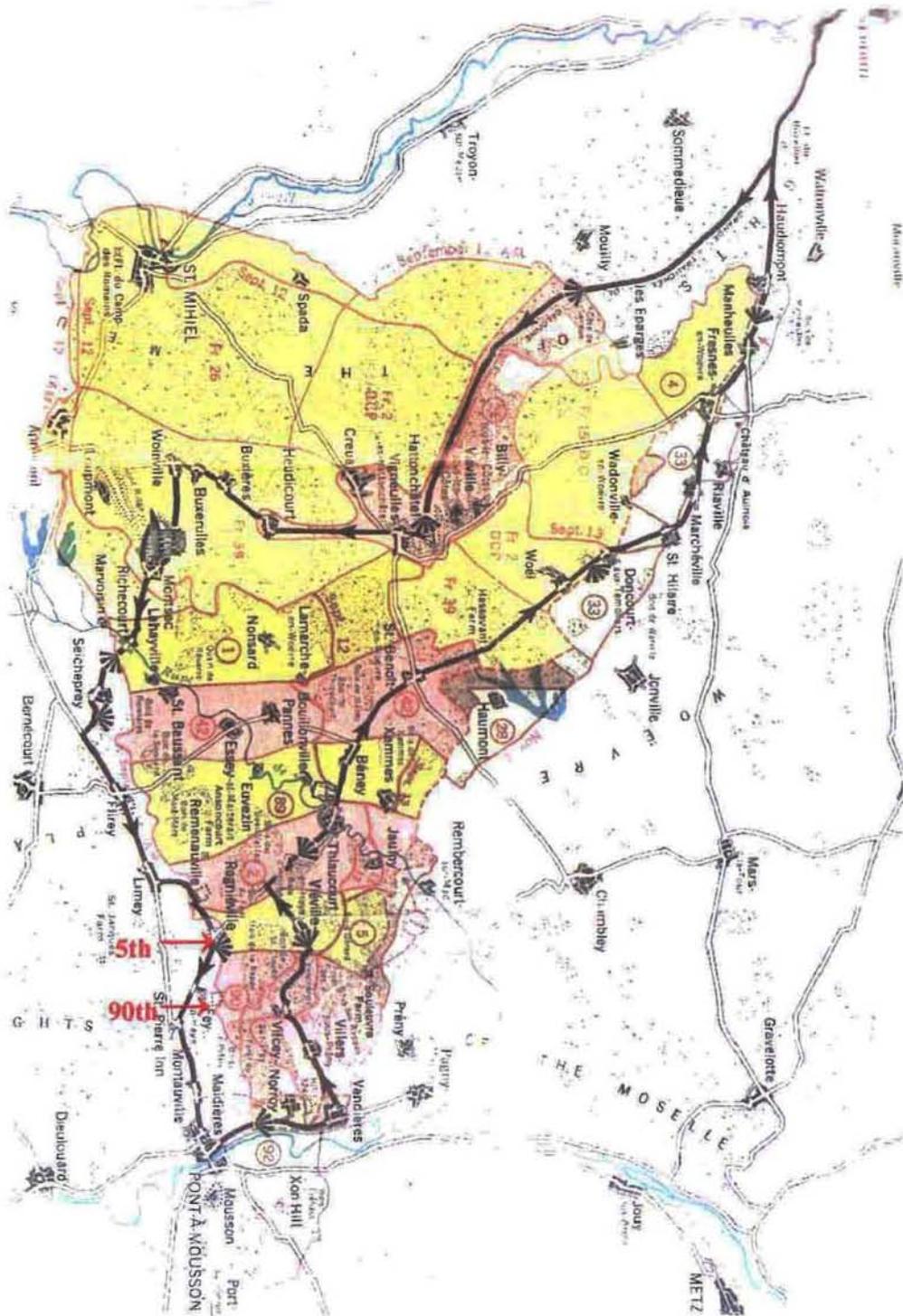


Figure 12. AEF Operations, St. Mihiel September 1918.

Source: American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938).

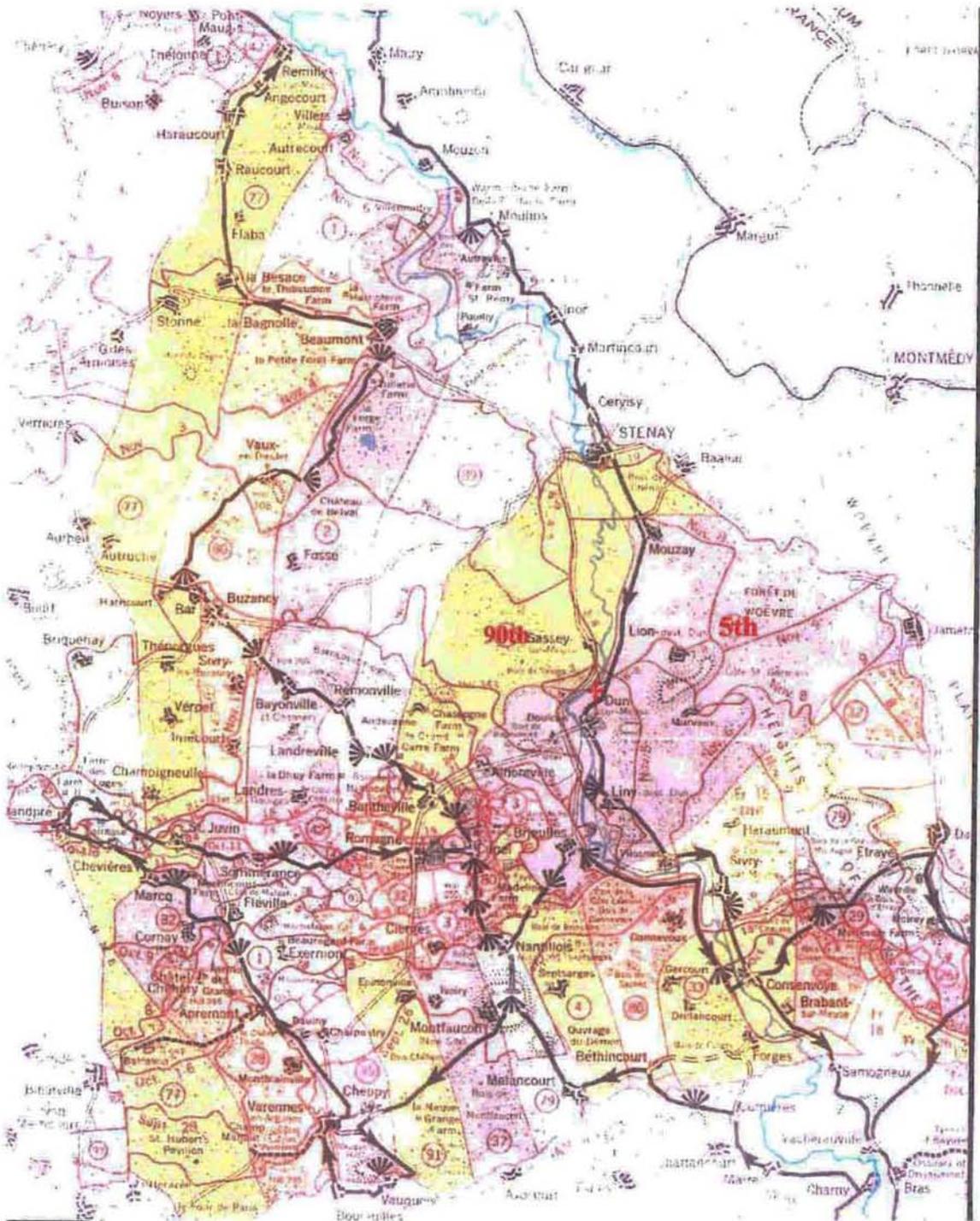


Figure 13. Meuse-Argonne Offensive 26 September-11 November 1918.
Location of † is approximate location of Kenneth S. Gardner on 5 November 1918.

Source: American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938).

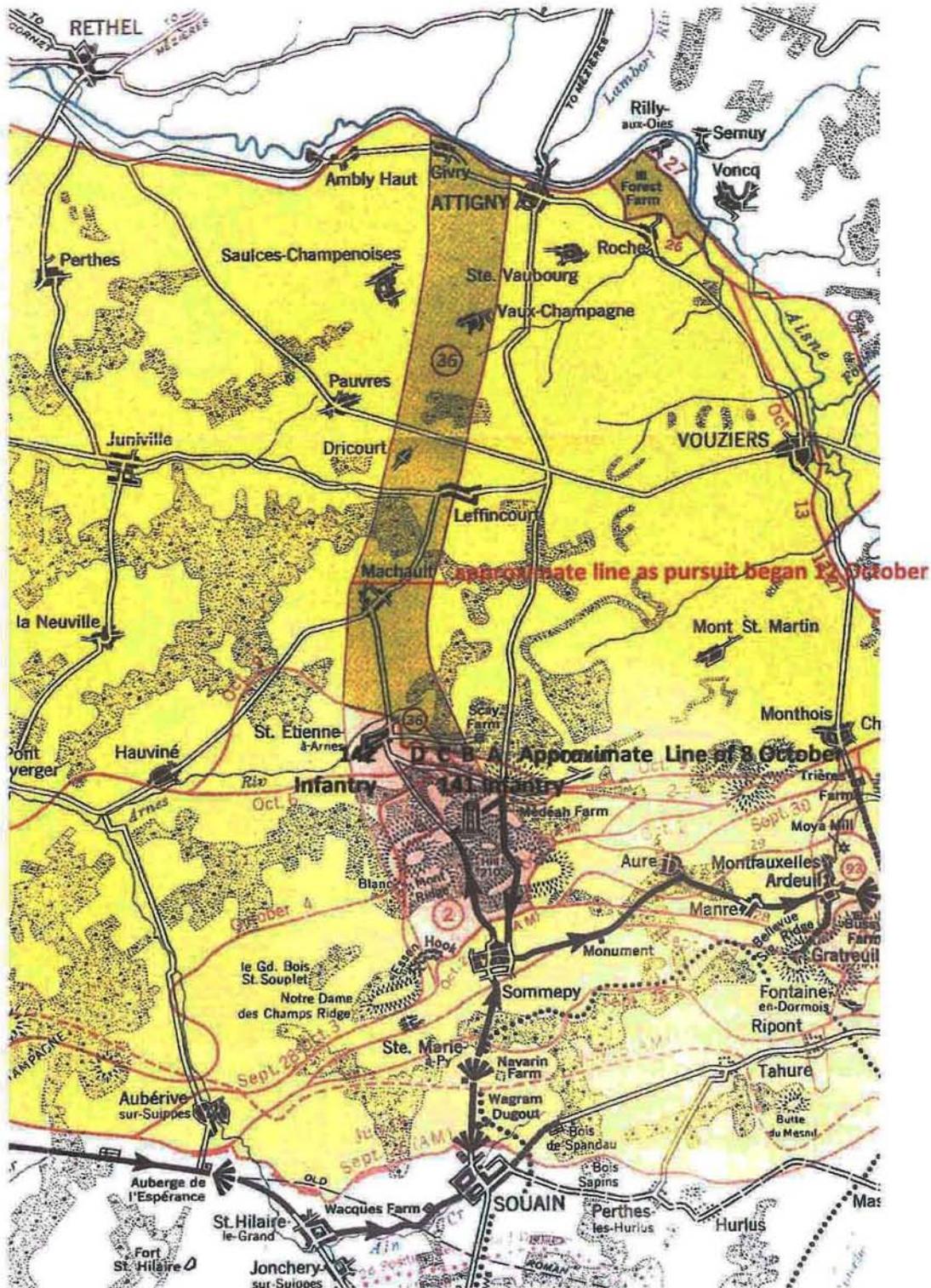


Figure 14. 36th Division combat operations October 1918.

Source: American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938), Captain Alexander White Spence, "The History of the Thirty-Sixth Division, USA, 1917-1919," Manuscript, (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1919).

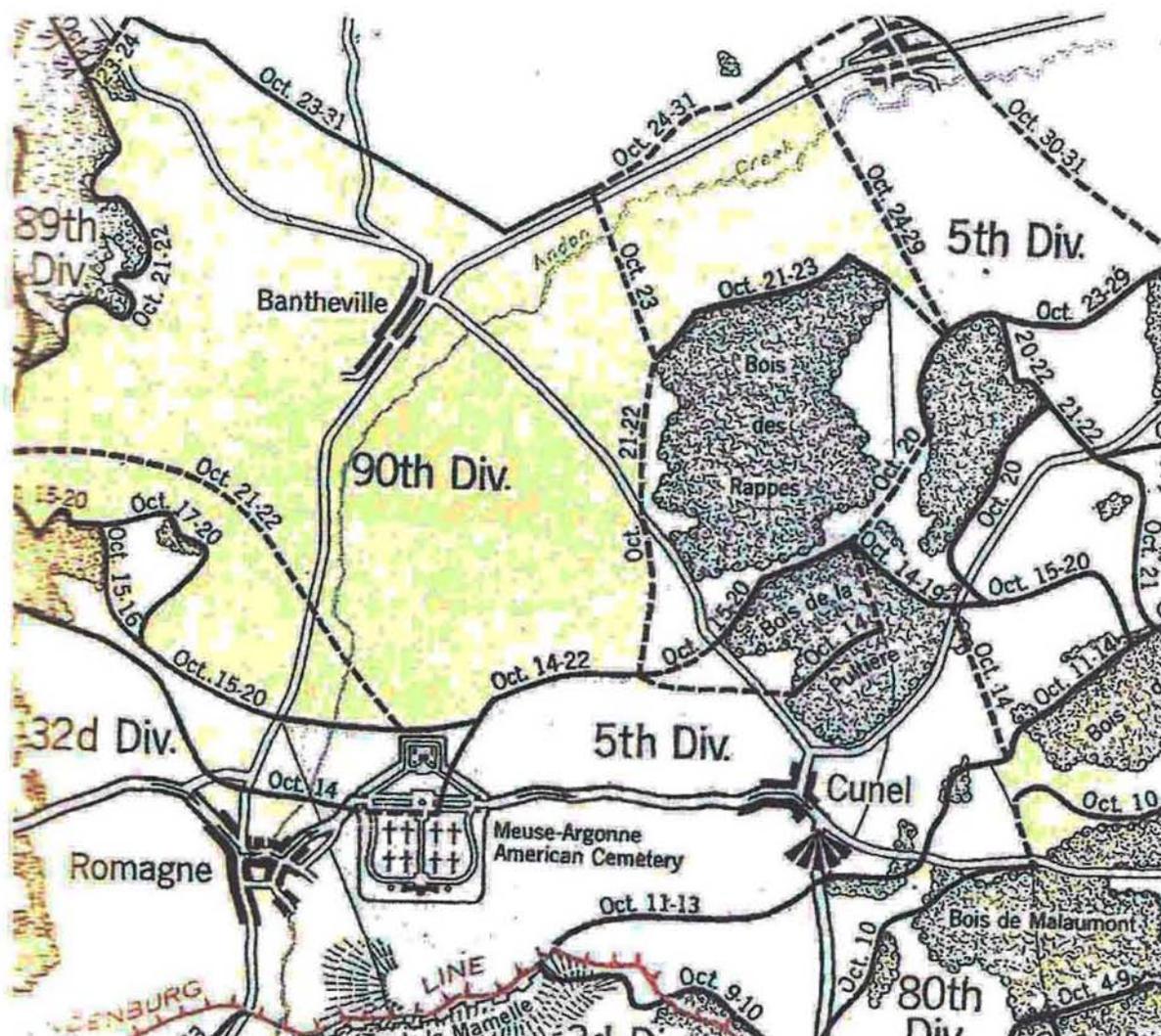


Figure 15. Operations of the 5th and 90th divisions late October 1918.

Source: American Battle Monuments Commission, *American Armies and Battlefields in Europe* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 1938).

6

Arnold, Jack 1,487,364 *White *Colored
 (Surname) (Christian name) (Army serial number)

Residence: One San Marcos Flays Texas
 (Street and house number) (Town or city) (County) (State)

* Enlisted USA, * N. G. * Enlisted at Fort Sam Houston Tex on May 4, 1917
 Place of birth: Denton County Texas Age or date of birth: 19 Yrs

Organizations served in, with dates of assignments and transfers: Co F 2nd Inf Tex 24
May 2/17 to Oct 18, 17; 3rd Dist Inf Oct 8/18

Grades, with date of appointment: Pvt May 2/17; Pvt 1st Cl Sept 25/17
Corp Nov 18/17;

Engagements: Snippes

Served overseas from July 26/18 to Oct 8/18, from † _____ to † _____
 Killed in action Oct 8, 1918

Other wounds or injuries received in action: None

Person notified of death: Mrs. Nora Carpenter Arnold (If none, so state) Mother
Box 298 (Name) San Marcos (Degree of relationship) Tex
 (No. and street or rural route) (City, town, or post office) (State or country)

Remarks: _____

Form No. 724-4, A. G. O. * Strike out words not applicable. † Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S.
 Nov. 22, 1919. 2-724

APPLICATION FOR VICTORY MEDAL DUPLICATE

BY NEXT OF KIN FOR

Arnold, Jackson B., 1487364, Corporal, Co. D, 141st Inf
 (Surname) (Christian name in full) (Army serial number) (Grade and organization—Instr. 1) deceased

I apply for Victory Medal with appropriate clasps for his service in the United States Army in The World War. Major operations participated in (Instruction 2):

CAMBRAI	SOMME OFFENSIVE
SOMME DEFENSIVE	OISE-AISNE
LYS	VPRES-LYS
AINSE	ST. MIHIEL
MONTDJER-NOYON	MEUSE-ARGONNE
CHAMPAGNE-MARNE	VITTORIO-VENETO
AINSE-MARNE	

Defensive sector service (Instruction 3): _____

Service abroad not entitling him to battle clasp, in (Instruction 4): _____

FRANCE: _____ ITALY: _____ SIBERIA: _____ RUSSIA: _____ ENGLAND: _____

Signature of Applicant (Instr. 5) Marion L. Arnold
 (Next of kin)
 Relationship and address father
Box 298, San Marcos, Texas.

Date _____ (Instructions 7 and 9)

TO BE FILLED OUT BY FORWARDING AND APPROVING OFFICER

U. S. ARMY COMMISSIONER OF GENERAL INVESTIGATION
 (Station) Blackburn Hall, or approp. office (Date) _____
 (Instruction 8)
 To The Adjutant General of the Army (Instr. 9)
 Signature Blackburn Hall
 Approved for Victory Medal.
 With battle clasps: *
Blackburn Hall
109934
MEUSE-ARGONNE.
DEFENSIVE SECTOR

With clasp _____ for service not entitling to battle clasp.*
 Signature of Approving Officer P. C. Harris
 (Rank and designation)

* If none, so state.

Figure 16. Jack Arnold: Card File Camp Mabry-A.

Source: United States Federal Form 724-1 through 86c-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

Remarks (continued): ~~the~~ French Croix de Guerre with silver star, under order No. 15,364 "D", dated April 3, 1919, General Headquarters, French Armies of the East, with the following citation:

"During the combats near St. Etienne October 8-10, 1918, he displayed extraordinary heroism. Was killed while valiantly advancing to the assault on the enemy guns."

1. This statement of service is furnished under the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 11, 1919.
2. This statement is furnished primarily for historical and statistical purposes, although it may be used in adjudicating claims in which the State is solely concerned. It is not to be used before a court of justice or in support of any claim against the Federal Government. The law prohibits the furnishing of any information that may be used in the prosecution of a claim against the Government, except to the proper Government officials.
3. Applications from individuals other than historians and statisticians, for information from this statement of service should be denied and the applicant directed to apply for the information to The Adjutant General of the Army, who is the custodian of the official records of the Armies of the United States. Exceptions to this rule may be made in the case of officials of patriotic and philanthropic societies and associations, provided they certify positively that the information is to be used exclusively by said society or association, and will not be used to be published nor disseminated to any individual who may use it directly or indirectly as a basis for, or in the prosecution of, a claim against the Government, or to the injury of the soldier.
4. Except as hereinbefore provided, all persons seeking information relative to the military and medical histories of the soldier should be denied information from, or access to, this statement of service, as otherwise information legally unobtainable would be made available to persons who might perpetrate frauds upon the Government, or who might seek to injure the soldier.
5. Except the data contained on the first page of this statement, relative to the casualties and physical disability, this statement is prepared as far as practicable from the service record, and no effort has been made to compare the data obtained from the service record with other records, except where an error or discrepancy is patent.

A Successful applicant reports how age at enlistment, with others at the time of birth. The entries recorded herein are in the

725
P. C. HARRIS,
The Adjutant General.

Arnold, Jack, (deceased), 1487384, corporal, Company D, 141st Infantry, 36th Division.

French Croix de Guerre with silver star, under Order No. 15,364 "D" dated April 3, 1919, General Headquarters, French Armies of the East, with the following citation:

"During the combats near St. Etienne October 8-10, 1918, he displayed extraordinary heroism. Was killed while valiantly advancing to the assault on the enemy guns." (Next of kin: Mr. L. Arnold, father, San Marcos, Texas)

Residence at enlistment: San Marcos, Texas.

Hayes Co

Figure 17. Jack Arnold: Camp Mabry Card File-B.

Source: United States Federal Form 724-1 through 86c-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

Flake Arthur † 2,229,976 1
 (Surname) (Christian name) (Army serial number) *White *Colored.

Residence: Loop St San Marcos Hays TEXAS
 (Street and house number) (Town or city) (County) (State)

Enlisted *R. A. *N. A. *C. *Inducted at San Marcos Tex on Sept 5, 1917
 Place of birth: Lavasota Tex Age or date of birth: 31 6/12 yrs

Organizations served in, with dates of assignments and transfers:
 U S I CGO Inf to Disch

Grades, with date of appointment:
 Corp Oct 3/17; Pvt 1st Jan 17/18; Corp Feb 1/18;
 Sgt June 3/18

Engagements:

Wounds or other injuries received in action: None.

Served overseas from June 14/18 to June 7/19, from † to †
 Honorably discharged on demobilization June 20, 1919

Previous occupation he was, on date of discharge, reported 0 per cent disabled.

Remarks:

Form No. 724-1, A. G. O. *Strike out words not applicable. † Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S.

Harris, William T 8
 (Surname) (Christian name) (Army serial number) *White *Colored.

Residence: San Marcos Hays TEXAS
 (Street and house number) (Town or city) (County) (State)

* Enlisted *R. A. *N. A. *C. *Inducted at Ft Sam Houston Texas on Sept 4, 1917
 Place of birth: Austin Texas Age or date of birth: 19 3/12 yrs

Organizations served in, with dates of assignments and transfers: Det M D 1918 PA to death

Grades, with date of appointment:
 Pvt

Engagements:
 XXX

Wounds or other injuries received in action: *None.

Served overseas from † to † from † to †

Died of broncho pneumonia contributory to wounds Nov 14, 1917
 in neck insanity (Cause and date of death)

Person notified of death: Mrs C T Harris mother
 (Name) (Degree of relationship) Texas
 (No. and street or rural route) (City, town, or post office) (State or county)

Remarks:

Form No. 724-1, A. G. O. *Strike out words not applicable. † Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S.

Figure 18. Arthur Flake and Wm. T. Harris: Camp Mabry Card File.

Source: United States Federal Form 724-1 through 86c-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

Gardner, Kenneth S. 756 959 * White * United States
 (Surname) (Christian name) (Army serial number)

Residence: Goliad Goliad TEXAS
 (Street and house number) (Town or city) (County) (State)

* Enlisted * R. A. * ~~At~~ ~~St. Sam Houston Tex~~ on Sept 28, 17
 Place of birth: Goliad County Tex Age or date of birth: 21 1/12 Yrs.
 Organizations served in, with dates of assignments and transfers: Co I 61 Inf Sept 28/17 to Nov 5/18.

Grades, with date of appointment: Pvt

Engagements: St Mihiel Salient; East of Meuse.

Served overseas from † Apr 30/18 to † Nov 5/18 from † to †
 Killed in action Nov 5, 1918

Other wounds or injuries received in action:

Person notified of death: Mrs. M. S. Gardner (If none, so state) Mother
 706 Brooklyn Avenue (Name) San Antonio (Degree of relationship) Tex.
 (No. and street or rural route) (City, town, or post office) (State or country)

Remarks:

Form No. 724-6, A. G. O. * Strike out words not applicable. † Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S.
 Nov. 22, 1919: 5-786

APPLICATION FOR VICTORY MEDAL
 BY NEXT OF KIN FOR
 Gardner, Kenneth S., 756959 Pvt Co I 61st Inf. ~~deceased~~

(Surname) (Christian name in full) (Army serial number) (Grade and organization - Instr. 1)

I apply for Victory Medal with appropriate clasps for his service in the United States Army in The World War:
 Major operations participated in (Instruction 2):

CAMBRAI		SOMME OFFENSIVE
SOMME DEFENSIVE		OISE-AISNE
LYS		YPRES-LYS
AISNE		ST. MIHIEL
MONTDIDIER-MOYON	X	MEUSE-ARGONNE
CHAMPAGNE-MARNE	X	VICTORIO-VENETO
AISNE-MARNE		

Defensive sector service (Instruction 3):
 Service abroad not entitling him to battle clasp, in (Instruction 4):
 FRANCE; ITALY; SIBERIA; RUSSIA; ENGLAND

Signature of Applicant: Mary S. Gardner (Next of kin)
 Relationship and address: Mother
 204 G. Green Street, San Antonio, Tex. Date: OCT 11 25

TO BE PREPARED ON TYPEWRITER BY APPLICANT

TO BE FILED OUT BY FORWARDING AND APPROVING OFFICER

USA NOT SEA
 SAN ANTONIO TEXAS OCT 11 25
 (Station of forward. or apprv. officer) (Date)

To The Adjutant General of the Army (Instruction 8)
 WILE A. BOST
 To the Depot Officer, U. S. Depot, Ft. Monmouth, N. J.
 Approved for Victory Medal.
 With battle clasps:
 ST. MIHIEL
 MEUSE-ARGONNE
 DEFENSIVE SECTOR
 588903

With clasp for service not entitling to battle clasp
 Signature of Approving Officer: P. C. Harris
 (Rank and designation)
 * If none, so state.

Figure 19. Kenneth Gardner: Camp Mabry Card File.

Source: United States Federal Form 724-1 through 84c-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

OFFICER - NG	
Name (Surname)	Hunsucker, Clyde A.
Rank	1st Lt.
Residence (Street and house number)	Staples, Texas
Branch	San Marcos, Tex.
Entered into Federal service Aug. 6, 1917, as	1 Lt. Inf. - F. D. G.
Organization and assignment	36th Div. (141 Inf.) to disch.
Trinidad Station	Begun, Tex.; Brownsville, Tex.; Op. Bowie, Tex.; Op. Middle NY; Op. Travis, Tex.; AHP.
Assignments	Meuse-Argonne.
Wounded in action	Oct. 9/18 at Meuse-Argonne, slight.
Sorted overseas	July 26/18 to June 19/19
Non-disch.	for the convenience of the Government, service no longer required
Discontinued	July 19/19
Remarks	Awarded French Croix de Guerre.
Form 84b-9	(Give place and date)
A. G. O.	(Give date of departure, terminal return to the United States)
Mar 17, 1921	(Give date)

Hunsucker, Clyde A., first Lieutenant, 141st Infantry, 36th Division.
 French Croix de Guerre with gilt star, under Order No. 15,373 "D",
 dated April 3, 1919, General Headquarters, French Armies of the East, with
 the following citation:

"A very brave officer. During the attack of October 8, 1918,
 near St. Etienne and in spite of the fire of the enemy artillery and machine
 guns he displayed audacity, valor and technical knowledge. His example
 contributed largely to the success of the day."

Residence at appointment: Staples, Texas.

Figure 20. Clyde Hunsucker: Camp Mabry Card File.

Source: United States Federal Form 84b-9, A.G.O., WW I service records, Texas Military
 Forces Museum, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.

Southwest Texas State Normal School

1. Registration number 609
2. Name of student Gardner, Kenneth
3. Date of birth 1896
4. Date of entrance 10-12-1912
5. Home Postoffice San Antonio
6. County Bexar
7. Experience, if any, in teaching -
8. Nativity Texas
9. Name of your Parent or Guardian W. L. Gardner
10. Occupation of Parent Teacher
11. Church Membership X
12. If not a member, state preference Methodist
13. Class desired in Normal
14. Admitted to _____ Class on account of:
 - (a) Completion of _____ year in _____ Normal
 - (b) Credit for work done in _____ College,
 - (c) Completion of _____ year in _____ H. S.
 - (d) _____ Certificate of _____ Grade
15. Supplemented by Examination 4
16. Boarding House Wm. Morrison

Figure 21. Grade Report Kenneth Gardner.

Source: Southwest Texas State Normal School. Grade Reports, Registrar's Office, Texas State University- San Marcos, San Marcos, TX. Grades and courses were handwritten on the back of the card.

Whipple, Henry M		1,487,081	* White * Colored	7
(Surname)	(Christian name)	(Army serial number)		
Residence:	San Marcos	Hays	TEXAS	
(Street and house number)	(Town or city)	(County)	(State)	
* Enlisted * Rec'd. * N. G. * E. R. C. * Inducted at Austin Tex on July 30 1917				
Place of birth: Wankhonia Okla		Age or date of birth: 21 3/12 yrs		
Organizations served in, with dates of assignments and transfers:				
Co I 1 Inf Tex MG Camp Bowie Tex to Oct 15/17; Co B				
141 Inf to death				
Grades, with date of appointment:				
Pvt; Sgt Aug 5/17				
Engagements:				
Shippes; Champagne				
Served overseas from † July 26/18 to † death from † to †				
Died Nov 19 1918 of wounds received in action.				
Other wounds or injuries received in action: None (If none, so state)				
Person notified of death: Orva L Whipple (Name) San Marcos (City, town, or post office) Texas (State or country) Father (Degree of relationship)				
Remarks: (No. and street or rural route) (City, town, or post office) (State or country)				
Form No. 724-7, A. G. O. * Strike out words not applicable. † Dates of departure from and arrival in the U. S. Nov. 22, 1919. 3-7267				

Figure 22. Henry Whipple: Camp Mabry Card File.

Examples of the Card File documents and the Grade Reports from Normal are included to illustrate the type and amount of information contained on each card. Note that with regards to the service cards, officer cards were different, even having the upper-right corner angle-cut. Kenneth Gardner's card lists his date of death as 5 November in three places, but the 1919 *Pedagog* states the date as 2 November. The same 1919 *Pedagog* lists Harris' cause of death as heart trouble. His card doesn't seem to confirm that. Note too that the cards of those who died are a different form number and contain lines the other cards (like Flake's) do not have. This is maybe not a huge issue except it raises two questions since the Arnold, Gardner, and Whipple cards were obviously filled out after their deaths.

1. Where is the original card? The card that looks like Flake's? They are not in the file.
2. The "person notified of death" is by name and relationship. It would appear the name listed is not just the standard "next-of-kin" entry but actually the person who answered the door. This is suggested by referencing Jack Arnold and Wm. Harris' cards. One Jack Arnold card says his mother was the one notified, but his father. M.L. Arnold is indicated as next-of-kin on the citation. The card of Wm. Harris states Mrs. G.T. Harris was notified, but he recorded his father G.T. Harris as next-of-kin in his school records. Interesting.

Source: United States Federal Form No.'s 724-1, 724-6, 724-7, 724-8, 84b-9, A.G.O.; Application For Victory Medal, Texas Military Forces Museum, World War I service cards, Card File, Camp Mabry, Austin, Texas.; Grade Reports, Southwest Texas State Normal 1914, Registrar's Office, Texas State University-San Marcos, San Marcos, TX.

THE DEATHLESS DEAD

The deathless dead, they shall not die,
They'll still live on in memory and dreams,
Tho' far away their mould'ring bodies lie
Where once rang out the golden bells of Reims,
On Argonne wood or Flanders' harried plain,
By Verdun's scarred and crumbling piles,
While 'round them once more springs the 'rip'ing grain,
And o'er their tombs the blushing poppy smiles;

For freemen in the coming years,
As long as men are free,
As long as Valor's death endears,
As long as honor yet may be,
With words of love and looks of pride,
With glowing cheek and kind'ling eye,
Will tell of how they died;
The deathless dead, they shall not die.

—M. L. Arnold.

Figure 23. M.L. Arnold poem, part of which appears on the WW I Monument.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal. *Pedagog* 1919, San Marcos TX: Southwest Texas Normal.

Springtime in France

The spring has come upon the Marne
Where Texas heroes gently sleep
While round their couches, lush and deep
The young grass springs, and wild vines
 creep,
This strange, sad spring upon the Marne.

The spring has come in France's fields
Where sleep our silent hero dead;
She comes with slow and stately tread
And decks each soldier's lowly bed
With blossoms grown in France's fields.

The spring has come on France's hills,
With wooing corn and poppies' bloom,
And woven in a fairy loom
In peace of Winter's sombre gloom,
A bright robe wraps the hills of France.

'Tis springtime in the clouds of France,
Those clouds that sweep her darken'd
 sky,
And as their broken ranks drift by,
A star gleams down where heroes lie,
Those weeping clouds of Martyr'd France;

But, hist, they stir along the Marne,
Each silent form, our hero dear,
For dreaming in his narrow bed,
The gurgling river's silver tread
Tells him of Texas' sunlit streams!

They rise, those heroes by the Marne,
They spend the ghostly midnight hours
In searching 'mid the tangled flowers,
The gift of springtime's teeming showers,
For one blue-bonnet's homelike hue.

When Spring has decked our sunny vales,
When Texas skies are deepest blue,
When from the clouds the stars peep
 through,
Our burden'd hearts will turn to you,
O lonely graves along the Marne!

See how their faces, sad and pale,
Are turned to scan the darken'd sky,
As still they watch with eager eye
The rolling clouds as they drift by
For one bright glint of Texas blue!

O lonely graves along the Marne,
Where sleep our glorious hero band
Who died for home and motherland,
From Sabine's banks to Rio Grande,
How rich the sacred dust you hold!

—M. L. Arnold.

Figure 24. "Springtime in France." As it appeared in the 1920 *Pedagog*, page 58.

Source: Students of Southwest Texas State Normal. *Pedagog* 1920, San Marcos TX:
Southwest Texas Normal.

Oh Liberty Bell

Its nearly time, "Oh Liberty Bell"
 For we've shot the Huns all into hell.
 We've stood for Liberty, we've "stuck" for right,
 And we've shown those devils how to fight.
 We've crushed their power—The Imperial Realm
 Oh we've shocked the spirit out of him.
 And that he's finished—you all agree,
 Then we'll hang the others to the tree.
 But wait a minute—Oh the Boche,
 They're bringing the (white) flag to Marshal Foch.
 Well if to Armistice they don't agree,
 We'll hang them all to the same old tree.
 But some of the Huns have enough self-respect,
 That they say they won't hang with that old "Heck."
 With the Kaiser I mean—and to be on the level,
 He's too mean to hang with the devil.
 Gee, no wonder they're yelling for Peace,
 They've got plenty money, but they've got no grease.
 Yes, the old Kaiser is all out of luck,
 And even the others are starting to cluck.
 And say, no wonder he's bumming around,
 All of his "Friends?" are turning him down.
 Well I hope his next Kingdom will be below in Hell,
 And all the strong gasses he'll have to smell.
 And all of his subjects who wish to cries,
 Will be pouring from Hell—fire in his eyes.
 God bless all the soldiers who ever chased Huns,
 With bayonets, shells, and all kinds of guns.
 May we end this war—and the Allies the winner,
 And get back home for "A Xmas Dinner."

—Sergeant Carl Walker
 B Company, 141st Infantry

Figure 25. Poem written by Carl Walker from a Paris hospital bed in November 1918, days before the end of the war.

Source: "From a Soldier," *Normal Star*, page 2, January, 17, 1920.

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VITA

Glenn Birdwell was born in Austin, Texas on April 21, 1953 to Joe M. and Nora Lee Birdwell. He graduated from Austin McCallum High School in 1971 and first attended the University of Texas in the fall semester of the same year. Three years of service in the United States Army interrupted his college career which resumed in January 1976. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Texas in December 1979. He began work on a graduate degree at Southwest Texas State University in the summer of 1981. Following twenty-eight years of life experience, Glenn Birdwell reenrolled in Texas State University-San Marcos, in January 2008. He completed his work on his Master of Arts degree in May 2009.

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