Soldiers in War: A Brief History of the United States' Participation in World War I with Special Emphasis on the Kentucky National Guard

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SOLDIERS IN WAR:
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES' PARTICIPATION IN WORLD WAR I
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON THE KENTUCKY NATIONAL GUARD

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of History
Western Kentucky University
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Rhonda Lynn Smith
May, 1992
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In June, 1916 the Kentucky National Guard was called on active duty. After guarding a section on the Mexican border, the guard took up positions around Kentucky to watch for sabotage. Following the United States declaration of war on Germany, the Kentuckians were sent to Camp Shelby, Mississippi. Here, they joined up with guardsmen from Indiana and West Virginia to form the 38th Division. After spending over a year at Shelby, the 38th was sent to wartime France. Serving as a replacement division, members of the 38th took part in the drive on the St. Mihiel Salient.
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Using mainly primary sources, the activities of the Kentucky National Guard in World War I are chronicled. The major contribution of these Kentuckians was the 149th Infantry, which served on the front line in France. After extensive research, it is concluded that the Kentucky Guard did not play a major role in the war effort.
"Soldier in war, civilian in peace ... I am the Guard."

_________________________ the National Guard Association
KENTUCKIANS IN WAR

World War I remains one of the most extraordinary world events of the 20th century. From 1914 until 1918, the western world was locked into a bitter struggle for survival. By the time the war ended, almost an entire generation had been slaughtered. In all, nearly nine million men lost their lives.¹

For the United States, World War I marked the end of innocence. American soldiers entered the conflict believing they were fighting to save democracy. However, after the peace conference, the United States became disillusioned. The war had failed to produce a noble settlement. America's idealistic dream of world peace soon faded. The Great War was also a turning point in United States foreign policy. Although, following the war, America retreated into isolationism, her involvement was the beginning of future participation in international affairs. Overall, America's participation in the Great War was minimal. In fact, United States soldiers took part in only two major offensives: the

St. Mihiel Salient and the Meuse-Argonne. Furthermore, America was not totally involved in the fighting until September of 1918. Despite this fact, 83,000 Americans died as a result of battle, another 40,000 by other causes.\(^2\)

Kentucky's participation in World War I has been largely ignored by historians. Although Kentuckians did not play a decisive role, their sacrifices should not be forgotten. Kentuckians were present in several Army divisions in the Great War. For example, the 84th Division was composed of draftees from Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois. Nicknamed the "Lincoln Division" (because its members represented states associated with the sixteenth President), approximately two-thirds of the 84th saw action in the World War.\(^3\) Kentuckians also fought with the famous 42nd or Rainbow Division, which was briefly commanded by General Douglas MacArthur. The 42nd was composed of national guardsmen from Kentucky and twenty-five other states.\(^4\) Eventually, the division received replacements

\(^2\)Ibid., 187.


from almost every state in the Union. By the end of the war, the 42nd Division had lost over 19,000 men - suffering the most casualties of any National Guard Unit. The majority of Kentucky's National Guardsmen became part of the 38th Division. The troops were federalized in the spring of 1917 and began preparing for the battleground of France. However, before discussing the activities of the 38th Division, it is important to understand why the United States became involved with World War I.

In the late summer of 1914, war erupted on the European continent. For several years, tensions had been building between the European countries. Europe was indeed a powder keg fueled by nationalistic hatred and past injustices (both real and imagined). The causes of the First World War are too complex to be briefly explained. A European wide military build up and secret tangled alliances are only two reasons why Europe was ready for war. The only ingredient that seemed to be missing was a spark to ignite an explosion of war. Finally, on June 28, 1914, the Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand was assassinated by a Serbian nationalist. Due to promises of alliance, this tragic, yet isolated incident, started a violent chain reaction. By August 23rd, the stage was set for a full scale war. Despite the locale

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5"The Forty-Second Division" Brief Histories of Divisions, U.S. Army 1917-1918, Prepared in the Historical Branch, War Plans Division, General Staff, June 1921.
of the war's origin, France became the battlefield with Germany the principle aggressor. The German war plan stated that in the event of a continental war, France must be conquered before Russia had a chance to mobilize. Therefore, following the German declaration of war, the German Army enacted Von Schlieffen's plan to invade through Belgium and attack Paris. The great German General Graf Helmuth Von Molte had warned the army to make the widest swing possible at the Belgium coast. "Let the sleeve of the last man on the right brush the English Channel". Von Schlieffen, however, had revised the plan and cut the army closer to land. This change proved fatal for the plan. The German drive on Paris was stopped by the French at the Battle of the Marne. From this point, the war became a stalemate on French soil.

Meanwhile across the Atlantic, the United States watched the spectacle of war with a haunted fascination. However, America was determined to remain neutral. The security of isolationism had long appealed to the United States, and Americans were happy to be free of European entanglements. As late as 1916, Wilson was still clasping to peace, winning reelection on the slogan "He kept us out of war." Although several incidents helped draw the United

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States into World War I; two major events inspired the United States to take up the fight for democracy overseas. The first incident involved the high seas, and the second national security.

Control of the seas was an important objective for the participants in the Great War. In 1915 when Great Britain stepped up the blockade campaign, the enemy responded with unrestricted submarine warfare. Inevitably, the foreign policies of Germany and the United States began to clash. Despite her neutral stance, the United States became entangled in the war on the high seas.

In May 1915, a German U-boat torpedoed the British passenger liner Lusitania. This tragedy claimed the lives of innocent civilians, including 114 Americans. As one historian wrote, "no event since the sinking of the Maine had so stirred the country." The American people were more shocked than angry. Germany's willingness to sink neutral ships was appalling to the sensitive nation. The United States had naively believed that labeling herself

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9 Ibid., 120.
"neutral" would spare any involvement in the war a foolish miscalculation that cost several Americans their lives. Suddenly, the *Lusitania* incident brought total war to the doorstep of America.\(^\text{11}\) The United States could no longer look to the Atlantic for protection against Europe. With danger lurking beneath the high seas, isolation no longer seemed like a safe policy. Germany was becoming an increasing threat to the security of the United States. However, despite the growing tensions between Germany and the United States, peace remained an option. In fact, it is difficult to say which side wanted most to avoid war. After all, Woodrow Wilson viewed war as a failure of diplomacy. Therefore, he was determined to keep the *Lusitania* incident from drawing the United States into the European conflict. As America's President strived for honor, the Kaiser struggled to survive. Germany opted for peace, knowing that an additional enemy could prove fatal. If the Germans wanted a chance to win the war, the United States must remain neutral. Therefore, after a series of diplomatic exchanges between Germany and the United States, the unrestricted submarine warfare campaign was temporarily halted.\(^\text{12}\)

With the closing of the *Lusitania* incident, President

\(^{11}\)Ibid.

\(^{12}\)Griffiths and Griess. *The Great War*, 73.
Wilson had won a diplomatic battle in the campaign for neutrality. It is quite probable the United States would never have entered the war, had not Germany forced her into it.\textsuperscript{13} In 1915, Germany began conspiring with Mexico against the United States. These cloak and dagger activities helped bring American into the war.

Since 1915, Germany had been urging Mexico to incite a war with the United States. Finally, in February 1917, German Ambassador Arthur Zimmerman sent a telegram to the Mexican government offering help in regaining parts of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico in exchange for creating trouble with the United States.\textsuperscript{14} However, Britain intercepted the message and informed the United States of Germany's devious plan. The Zimmerman Telegram was the supreme insult to the United States. Secretly, the German government conspired with America's neighbor to bring ruin on the United States.\textsuperscript{15} The Zimmerman Telegram, coupled with the resurgence of Germany's submarine warfare campaign, drew Wilson further away from peace and in April, 1917, the United States declared war.


\textsuperscript{14}Barbara Tuchman, \textit{The Zimmerman Telegram} (New York, 1958), 5.

\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., 179
Perhaps no other American President tried harder to avoid war than Woodrow Wilson. He deeply believed in his policy of neutrality and was crushed when war became his only option. To be sure, Woodrow Wilson was a good man. However, good men do not always make the best politicians. Wilson's stubborn resolve and naivete toward international policies helped draw the United States into World War I.\textsuperscript{16} Given the chance, Wilson the crusader might have proven extraordinary in domestic policies, as shown by the successes of his first administration. However, due to the war, he was forced to concentrate on external problems. It was a situation he deeply regretted. "It would be the supreme irony of fate," Wilson once remarked, "if my administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs."\textsuperscript{17}

Indeed, foreign affairs became the major focus for every American in 1917. The United States had not been involved in a serious war for over fifty years. And, never had the country been faced with a conflict of greater magnitude than the First World War. Naive to the realities of total war, the American people rallied around the conflict with great vigor. According to Dolcia Layman, a school teacher during World War I, people were more patriotic in 1917 than today. "If you were a farmer," Mrs.

\textsuperscript{16}Deweerd, \textit{President Wilson}, 9.

\textsuperscript{17}Tuchman, \textit{The Zimmerman Telegram}, 38.
Layman explained, "you grew food; if you were called up, you went." Kentuckians were certainly no exception. In fact, approximately 2700 Kentuckians volunteered for service in World War I. As veteran Sam Ketron explained, "If you didn’t enlist, you were a yellow dog." "It was big," recalled Frank Smith, "assassinations, fall of kingdoms - there had never been a big war. It captured people's imaginations." Certainly, this war was different from any conflict in the past. Americans looked on with morbid curiosity as new weapons wiped away men as well as yesterday's military tactics. "If they have machines like guns," Smith remembered thinking in 1917, "how will there be anyone left? It was frightful."

The United States' participation in World War I was very brief. In fact, the war ended eighteen months after the first Americans arrived in France. Length of service and lack of glory has perhaps affected the number of books about America's part in this conflict. Truly, World War I is part of Kentucky's forgotten past. Although Kentuckians

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18 Interview with Dolcia Layman, December 18, 1990.
19 Military Department of Kentucky, Military History of Kentucky, 342.
20 Interview with Sam Ketron by Arthur Kelly, July 25, 1985, Oral History Collection, University of Kentucky.
21 Interview with Frank Smith, December 20, 1990.
22 Ibid.
carried few banners into battle, their presence should not be diminished. In the Great War, Kentuckians put their lives in danger, and for the National Guard it was a voluntary risk.

In history, as in war, the National Guard takes second place to the Regular Army. Sadly, the guardsmen rarely receive recognition. Throughout history, the National Guard has been the protector of the states. Whenever, an emergency arose on the state level the citizen soldiers were called up to perform their duty. However, it was not until the twentieth century that the National Guard gained real importance.

The Dick Act ushered in benefits for the National Guard. For example, the organization became eligible for federal aid and modern equipment, which the state was often unable or unwilling to supply. Furthermore, the Guardsmen were given the opportunity to attend Army schools and receive instructions from professional officers. However, these improvements were only the beginning. Five years later, several amendments were added to the original bill that further elevated the position of the National Guard. One change stated that in the event of an emergency,

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the organized militia would be called up before volunteers. However, the most important clause dealt with the Guard and federal service. For the first time in National Guard history, the organized militia could be called into federal service, "either within or without the territory of the United States." In other words, the National Guard would no longer be limited to state duty. The Dick Act gave the federal government the right to involve the National Guard in international wars.

In the early 1900s, Kentucky's National Guard was composed of three regiments - appropriately named the First, Second and Third. The First Kentucky was comprised entirely of men from Louisville. In fact, the regiment was a direct descendent of the old "Louisville Legion" which first saw action in the Mexican War. The Second Regiment consisted of members from all across the state, while the Third, hailed as the "Pride of the Pennyroyal," was composed of men from Western Kentucky. Eventually, these three regiments would come together and form part of the 38th Division in World War I. However, before the regiments trained for France, they participated in another conflict.

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24 Ibid., 203.
25 Ibid.
In 1916 the Kentucky National Guard was sent south of the border to protect the United States from Mexican bandits.

Throughout Woodrow Wilson's administration, Mexico remained a constant problem, which was partially his own making. Perhaps the President's first mistake was assuming that Mexico could be governed as the United States. Mexico, however, was an impoverished and unstable country, a long way from achieving democracy. The Mexican people were more concerned with survival than political equality. In fact, even though various factions rivaled for control, the Mexicans had difficulty distinguishing one faction from another.27 The leader of the Constitutionist was Venustiano Carranza. Ironically, Carranza's major rival was one of his own commanders, Francisco "Poncho" Villa. Until August 1914, Villa remained loyal to Carranza.28 Then, following the advocation of Mexican President Victoriano Huerta, Villa began actively seeking a leadership position.29 Woodrow Wilson, however, was convinced that Venustiano Carranza would provide the best leadership. After all, Carranza called himself a Constitutionalist and therefore, in Wilson's eyes, he was Mexico's best hope for

27 Tuchman, The Zimmerman Telegram, 39.
29 Ibid.
democracy. In late 1915, Wilson recognized Carranza as the legitimate President; Villa was naturally angered by Wilson’s decision. After all, as late as August 9th, the Mexican bandit was supported by the United States.

As previously stated, Germany wanted to prevent the United States from entering the war. Germany’s secret dealings with the Mexican government eventually led to the ill-fated Zimmerman Affair. However, even before the Zimmerman episode, Germany was conspiring against the United States. The Germans believed that creating a crisis on the American continent would force United States troops to remain at home. Observing events in Mexico, the Germans realized that Poncho Villa might be the catalyst to incite a Mexican/American war. After all, Wilson refused to recognize Villa as the legitimate Mexican leader. Therefore, Germany believed that Villa was anxious to enact revenge upon Americans. Inspired by this outside encouragement, Villa began random attacks against Americans. In January 1916, Villistas pulled seventeen mining engineers from a train near Santa Ysabel. Only one man escaped with his life. Although this act of violence

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30 Tuchman, The Zimmerman Telegram, 39.
31 Ibid., 85.
32 Ibid., 89.
33 Ibid., 90.
angered the United States government, Wilson was not ready for war. An uneasy peace remained between the United States and Mexico until Villa crossed the border.

In February 1916, the rumors concerning Villa and his whereabouts increased. Reports that Villa was either dead or preparing to attack Chihuahau, Mexico, reached the United States. It was apparent that Villa was ready to strike; the only question was where and when. The answer came the first week in March when approximately 400 Mexican horsemen galloped into Columbus, Texas, and assaulted the inhabitants. Houses and businesses were burned and looted. When the attack ended, seventeen Americans had been killed.

Villa's raid placed Woodrow Wilson in a difficult position. After all, the American President did not want war and particularly not eight months before the election. However, Villa could not be allowed to raid American territory. Villa's raids were harmful to the American public, as well as politically damaging to Wilson. By crossing the border, Villa had created a personal vendetta between himself and the United States. The raid into Columbus was the final breaking point for Wilson's policy of maintaining peace on the border. With regret, the President ordered a military force into Mexico, led by

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34 Vandiver, Black Jack, 603.
35 Ibid., 604
Brigadier General John J. Pershing. The American soldiers embarked on the invasion armed with a two-fold objective: (1) capture Villa and (2) prevent further raids into United States territory. 36 Wilson planned to withdraw the soldiers when Carranza's men replaced American troops or Villa's bands were dispersed. 37

The Mexican border campaign, with its clear objectives and excellent leadership, had the makings of a successful expedition. From the beginning, however, the campaign was plagued by problems. Diplomatically, Pershing was bound by Wilson's limitations and Carranza's on again/off again support of American intervention. 38 Militarily, Mexico was a logistical nightmare. 39 Pershing was faced with supplying an army in a vast dry area without the use of railroads. 40 The campaign would be a testing ground for Pershing's leadership, American soldiers and equipment, and logistical planning.

The Punitive Expedition began when two columns of American troops crossed the Mexican border. In all,

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 636.
39 Ibid., 611.
40 Herbert Molly Mason Jr., The Great Pursuit (New York, 1970), 80, 81.
Pershing would spend eleven months chasing the elusive Villa and clashing with Carranazists. The campaign might be construed as comical had it not been so tragic. After all, here was a Mexican bandit alluding the army of the United States. For Wilson, the affair could have humiliating implications. Unable to locate Villa, the Americans spent more time fighting Carranazists. For example, two troops of the 10th Cavalry were attacked by Carranza’s forces while attempting to pass through Carrizal. As Americans penetrated further into Mexican territory, the legitimacy of their presence was questioned. After all, what right did American troops have to cross the border? A declaration of war had not been issued against Mexico. Instead of standing united under one leader, the Mexicans found it simpler to band together against Yankee imperialism. This thought provided Villa’s cause with legitimacy.

Before summer, Wilson realized that more men were needed to protect the American border. Therefore, he called up the National Guard in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. A few months later, more National Guardsmen were federalized. Finally in June the Kentucky National Guard was called to duty.

The significance of the Kentuckians on the border lies not in what they did, but rather how they prepared for the coming action. As part of the 10th Division, the
Kentuckians represented a small force on the border.\textsuperscript{41} However, as one guardsmen proclaimed, "there is class to what there is of us."\textsuperscript{42} The duties of the border guardsmen were limited. In fact, during their nine months of service, the Kentucky Regiments spent a total of fifteen days a piece patrolling the border, protecting Texas from further invasion. For the most part, their stay was uneventful. Beginning in December, the first regiment took its turn on the border. They guarded approximately sixty miles of territory between Fabens, Texas, and Nogal, New Mexico. As a whole, the first regiment enjoyed its stay on the border.\textsuperscript{43} They feasted on wild duck, quail and rabbits and saw no sign of Villa or his Mexican band. When their time ended, many wanted to remain on the border for another fifteen days.\textsuperscript{44} Instead, the second regiment took over the first's position. Meanwhile, the third Kentucky replaced the South Carolina regiment stationed between Las Cruces and El Paso.

The third regiment experienced the most action on the border. On Christmas Eve, Mexican snipers fired on the

\textsuperscript{41}"Kentuckians Gain Honors," \textit{The Courier Journal}, October 15, 1916.

\textsuperscript{42}Ibid.


\textsuperscript{44}Ibid.
Kentuckians from across the Rio Grande. The enemy fired approximately twenty times into the American camp, continuing until the third responded with machine gun fire. While inflicting some casualties upon the Mexicans, the Kentuckians escaped without harm. Throughout the month of December, the third Kentucky continued to be harassed by snipers. Forced to abandon their front line trench, the Kentucky outpost dug in near the New Mexico/Chihuahua border. Also, fearing additional attacks, the third dug two more trenches. Unlike the first, the men of the third Kentucky faced hardship on the border. They spent their fifteen days exchanging fire with the Mexican bandits and battling the weather. At Christmas time, a sudden drop in temperature brought on snow and sleet, followed by wind and dust storms.46

As 1916 came to a close, Pancho Villa still remained loose on the border. However, the new year brought new policies from Washington. Unable to negotiate a peaceful close to the border crisis, Wilson became discouraged with the campaign. Mexico could have been devastated by the United States had the punitive Expedition been a full scale war. However, Wilson realized that the conflict in Europe


was escalating and it would not be long before America became involved. Therefore, he considered Mexico secondary to the impending involvement in Europe. Wilson also realized that the expedition had reached a standstill. Increasing American involvement in Mexico was no longer a viable solution for capturing Villa. Furthermore, since the expedition was successful in crippling the raids, trapping the Mexican bandit was no longer the prime objective. On January 19th, Wilson gave the order to withdraw. Thirteen days later, Pershing's rear guard crossed the border back into the United States. As for the Kentuckians, part of their force was sent back to Kentucky the day before the withdrawal. Company A of the First, Company L of the Second and the Hopkinsville Company of the Third were ordered to Murray, Kentucky, to keep peace at a racially hostile court trial. The other guardsmen soon followed. The Second Kentucky, disembarking on February first, was the first full Kentucky regiment to leave. A little over a month later, the Third arrived in Louisville, with the First Kentucky finally coming home March 24th. The rest period was brief. By April 17th, the entire Kentucky National Guard was back in federal service – preparing to fight in World War I.

The Border Campaign marked the second time the United

States fought with Mexico. Not unlike the 1848 war, the American campaign was viewed by the Mexican people, as an exercise in United States imperialism. The Americans, however, saw Pershing's expedition as an extension of foreign policy. After all, Wilson had tried a succession of peaceful solutions before he decided to send in troops. It soon became apparent to the United States that Mexico could not control Villa. This fact was exemplified by his raid on Columbus. These attacks on American territory had to be stopped and force became the only solution. Pershing's expedition has often been criticized as a "wild goose chase." Certainly, the campaign was a chaotic affair as Villa always seemed to remain one step ahead of the American forces. In military terms, however, the Expedition was a success. Although still at large, Pancho Villa had been rendered inoperative. Pershing had broken and scattered Villa's outlaw band which was, after all, the main objective of the expedition. Black Jack Pershing was an exceptional commander. His clear head and confident manners helped bring success to the campaign. Furthermore, considering the limited equipment Pershing possessed, he handled the campaign well. In fact, Villa's elusiveness was not a result of Pershing's mistakes, but rather the poor

48 Mason, The Great Pursuit, 231.
state of military equipment. Pershing's greatest disadvantage was his lack of air support. Invading such a vast area, the Americans needed airplanes to track Villa's movements. However, in 1916 air power was basically nonexistent and the few planes Pershing possessed were unreliable. For example, Pershing began the campaign with eight airplanes - losing six in thirty days. Furthermore, the first Air Squadron was painfully ill equipped. The planes had no reliable compasses nor interior lights to view the instruments. Perhaps even more incredible was the pilots' lack of military weaponry. The airmen were not provided with bombs and machine guns for a period of sixty days. In some instances, the equipment was useless. As Lt. Edgar S. Gorrell recalled, "the bombs arrived in April and were but three-inch artillery shells and nobody knew how to use them." Unfortunately for the border campaign, the First Air Squadron was never a reliable reconnaissance force. Pershing was forced to depend on the cavalry to scout Villa's whereabouts. This system was not always successful, due to the size of the area.

Overall, the Mexican Border Campaign was an inglorious

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50 Mason, The Great Pursuit, 103.
51 Ibid., 109.
52 Ibid., 108.
53 Ibid.
expedition. This fact can certainly be applied to the Kentucky National Guard. However, the experience gained in the border campaign served as a valuable prerequisite for World War I. Upon their arrival in Mexico, the National Guard as a whole presented a pitiful spectacle. The Guardsmen were unprepared in strength, equipment and training. For example, they needed provisions in everything from ammunition and weapons to cots and warm blankets. However, despite the various problems of the Guard, Pershing viewed these men as the core of a great army. For General Pershing, Mexico served as a testing ground for his men as well as their equipment. During the long months of the campaign, Pershing practiced with the machinery of modern warfare including: machine guns, cars, trucks, and radios. But perhaps most importantly, the General was given the chance to experience the difficulties of supplying an army over a vast area with poor communications and transportation. As for the National Guardsmen, they received training unmatched by their annual

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55 Ibid.

56 Vandiver, Black Jack, 673.

57 Ibid., 670.
two week encampments. When the Kentuckians arrived for
duty, they were thrust into intense training. In mid
September, the three Kentucky regiments were pitted against
each other in mock battles. Under the guidance of Regular
Army officers, the Kentuckians fought a mock battle and were
praised for their performance. In between marching and
bivouacking, the Kentucky National Guard participated in
target practice and were victims of mock ambushes. Overall,
the Kentuckians were an impressive force on the border. The
training these men and other National Guardsmen received was
invaluable practice for the European theater. When their
service on the border ended, the Guardsmen returned home
comparative veterans.  

The information on how well the national guard
performed on the border is often contradictory. In most
conflicts, the conduct of guardsmen is far from impressive.
Therefore, it is not surprising that most guardsmen were
unsettled on the border. In fact, some citizen soldiers
held protest parades and demanded discharges. Kentuckians, however, stood courageous on the border. Once
home, they were praised for their remarkable work. In many
ways, the Kentucky National Guard withstood the hardships

58 Coffman, The War to End all Wars, 14.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
better than other guardsmen or Regulars. As Brigadier General Roger D. Williams wrote of the Kentucky National Guard, "In all my service of thirty odd years I have never seen better disciplined or better behaved troops."

The Mexican Border Campaign was an important turning point for the National Guard. For the first time in its history, the National Guard was included in an international conflict. Rather than confined to the state, the guardsmen were invited to join the fight with the regulars. Without a doubt, the Mexican Border Campaign was a watershed for the National Guard. Their place abroad, as soldiers, could no longer be denied.

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62 Ibid.
The spring of 1917 was a turbulent time in American history. On February 3rd, the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, war with the central powers seemed unavoidable. Furthermore, Mexico remained a security concern. Although the border campaign had officially ended, the United States continued to fear raids from Mexican bandits. Therefore, a group of American soldiers remained in Texas to protect the border. The thought of sabotage, both from Mexicans and Germans had driven the United States into a frenzy of paranoia. For example, in Kentucky the National Guard was ordered to take up sentry positions around the state. The soldiers guarded railroads and bridges in an effort to prevent interference with the commercial and military channels in Kentucky. By summer, private guards had taken over these positions, thereby releasing the militia to training camps. Meanwhile, back in Washington, President Wilson was preparing to ask for a declaration of war. After months of isolation, the

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63 General Orders #4, April 23, 1917 (Military Records and Research Library, Frankfort, Kentucky).
United States finally moved from partial neutrality to full scale support of the Allied cause.

The decision for war had been a difficult move for Wilson. It is uncertain just when Wilson, in his own mind, closed the final door to peace. Since the war began, the Allied countries had been looking toward America for relief. Finally, in 1917, after three years of slaughter and no end in sight, the cry for help was greater. Although not insensitive to the Europeans’ problem, the President was unwilling to involve America in the war. Several incidents occurred before the President gave up on a peaceful solution. Although it took a combination of events to bring the United States into World War I, the Zimmerman affair was an important factor. After all, the Zimmerman telegram (more that anything else) served to rally public opinion. Since the whole affair was an attempt to undermine American security, Zimmerman had provided America with a cause.

By late March, the country began unofficially preparing for war. For example, the citizens of Louisville, Kentucky, began to establish programs to meet their state’s war needs. Women’s groups began to mobilize, calling for food production and waste elimination. The women in Louisville encouraged all Kentuckians to grow food in their backyards.

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64 Tuchman, The Zimmerman Telegram, 193.
65 Ibid., 194.
Furthermore, many women began attending and even teaching first aid classes. Elizabeth Bruce of the Red Cross taught first aid to women at Cavalry Episcopal Church and the Kentucky home school. First aid was also taught at the women's club and the YWCA. As patriotism swept the state, everyone wanted to become involved in the war effort. Even Louisville dentists, for example, declared their willingness to donate their services to soldiers. Furthermore, youth programs were established in an attempt to inspire young men to join the cause. Copying from an idea that originated in New York, Louisville established Junior Naval and Marine Scouts which were training groups for boys aged 18 to 22. The Junior Scouts were not sponsored by the federal government. Therefore, the boys were allowed to choose their own branch of service and could join without obligating themselves to join the Regular Army. Drills were held once a week and some Saturday afternoons. Eventually, junior scout leagues were launched in all major cities in the United States. Psychologically, at least, Americans seemed prepared for war.


67 Ibid.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.
Following Congress' declaration of war, public opinion turned more favorably toward the cause. As in Kentucky, a wave of patriotism swept throughout the country.  

President Wilson, however, saw the greater dangers that lay ahead. Perhaps one of the saddest moments in Wilson's administration was the day America declared war on Germany. On that April day in 1917, President Wilson, reluctantly sacrificing his policy of neutrality and undying hope for peace, finally asked Congress for a declaration of war.  

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great people into war," Wilson began, "into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance."  

Wilson's anxiety resulted from two factors: one, the horrors presently experience by the Allied countries and two, the military unpreparedness of the United States.  

When in early 1917 Germany renewed the submarine warfare campaign, the German General Staff realized this action would cause America to enter the war. The Germans, however, were confident that the United States could not mobilize in time to save the Allies. Germany gambled with her own fate. Renewing the warfare on the high seas was a dangerous game; but the odds were in Germany's favor. After

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70 George Brand Duncan, Reminiscences, 1886-1919, 1916-1919, 2 vols. (Margaret King Library, University of Kentucky).

71 Deweed, President Wilson Fights His War, 3.

72 Ibid.
all, the United States had been unprepared to fight Mexico—a small neighboring country. How could America be expected to launch an invasion across the Atlantic?

The military might of any country goes far beyond men and weaponry. Every tactical organization depends heavily on the administration of war. In this area, the Wilson administration was greatly lacking. The War Department was headed by Secretary Newton D. Baker, a confirmed pacifist and reluctant bureaucrat. Baker was assisted by two Major Generals, Hugh L. Scott and Tasker H. Bliss. In turn, these men were given a staff of less than twenty members plus a War College division of officers to begin planning America's wartime strategy.\(^\text{73}\) In comparison, Germany had gone to war with a General Staff of 650 and England with 232.\(^\text{74}\)

Besides organization, the United States also lacked military equipment. In 1917, the Air Force consisted of 55 obsolete aircraft and the Army possessed two field radio sets, 6,000,000 rifles and less than 1500 machine guns.\(^\text{75}\)

Furthermore, the military had a shortage of training aids and experience.\(^\text{76}\) For example, Army Instructor Lt. Charles L. Bolte recalled staying up all night reading a training

\(^{73}\)Coffman, *The War to End all Wars*, 23.

\(^{74}\)Ibid.

\(^{75}\)Deweerd, *President Wilson Fights His War*, 206; Coffman, *The War to End all Wars*, 37.

\(^{76}\)Coffman, *The War to End all Wars*, 57.
manual and practicing taking apart and reassembling an automatic pistol. The next morning he would teach the process, while pretending to be an expert. It was a case," Bolte remarked, "of the blind leading the blind." Perhaps the greatest American miracle of World War I was that the United States ever became prepared enough to fight. Surprisingly, the American military machine ran smoothly. Baker tackled the military problems with skill and efficiency. The greatest problem American mobilization forces faced was a lack of manpower. Realizing a tremendous number of soldiers would be needed, the draft was reinstated. In fact, as early as February, plans had been drawn up for raising and training a force of four million men. The United States had three areas from which to draw manpower: military personal already enlisted in the Armed Services, drafted individuals, and National Guardsmen. At the time America declared war on Germany there were over 80,000 National Guardsmen in federal service. Some of

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77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid., 24.
80 Ibid., 62.
the Guardsmen still remained on the Mexican Border.\textsuperscript{31}

From April until September 1917, the Kentucky National Guard was mobilized for war. On April 10th, Kentucky received permission to recruit their state force up to war strength. Five days later, parts of the Kentucky National Guard were ordered to Camp Stanley.

Camp Stanley, named after Kentucky's sitting governor Augustus Owsly Stanley, was located three miles from Lexington. Stanley was the first stop for the second and third Kentucky National Guard on a journey that would lead them to France. At Stanley, the guardsmen began their day at 5:30 in the morning and ended it 12 hours later. Their daily routine consisted of 30 minutes of exercise, followed by clean up duty and finally breakfast. At 7:15 A.M. drills began and continued for three and a half hours. Having been plowed much earlier, Camp Stanley had no level ground; therefore, the camp's ridges and furrows made it difficult for the men.\textsuperscript{82} The First Kentucky, having relieved the Second of guard duty on July 18th, remained in Louisville. This regiment trained on land located 400 miles from the

\textsuperscript{31}(Prepared) in World War I Group, Historical Division Special Staff United States Army, \textit{Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in World War I (1917 - 1919) Zone of the Interior}, 285. According to this source, the Kentucky National Guard was still guarding utilities, railroads, and bridges when war was declared. The mobilization of the National Guard was delayed until these positions could be replaced with private guards.

\textsuperscript{82}"War Strength Within a Week," \textit{The Courier Journal}, July 7, 1917.
Fairgrounds. Here, guard duty was the most important activity. Each company took turns guarding entrances, storage areas, and other government property for two hours at a time. Some rookies, unaccustomed to military equipment, had difficulty loading their rifles. Every day some soldier would accidentally discharge his rifle and send officers running toward the sound of the shots. For the most part, the officers were lenient toward the inexperienced soldiers. In between drills and guard duty, the men of the First Kentucky attended moonlight schools established by the YMCA. Here many soldiers were taught to read and write. Also, French classes were offered to both officers and enlisted men.

While the enlisted men were being trained at Camp Stanley and the Fairgrounds, officers were sent to Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana, for intensive maneuvers. Twenty Kentuckians were sent to the First Officer Reserve Corps Camp. At Fort Harrison, soldiers learned the art of trench warfare. The men were sent to dugouts and taught offensive moves. Also, the soldiers marched eight to ten

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84 Ibid.
miles a day, carrying full packs. While drills continued, Kentucky soldiers were mustered in and out of federal service at Camp Stanley and the Fairgrounds. In fact, this process continued throughout the summer of 1917. Building the regiments up to full strength was a difficult task. For example, in May the First Kentucky lost 72 of its men due to the special considerations of marriage or other dependent relatives. Full strength for the First was a total of 2,002 men. By April first, the First Kentucky possessed a little over 600 soldiers.

The summer of 1917 was a chaotic time for the Kentucky National Guard. With soldiers mustering in and mustering out, the guard lacked stability. Furthermore, Kentucky's guardsmen were spread from Indiana, to Louisville, to Lexington. Eventually, however, the three Kentucky regiments would be brought together. In fact, as early as July 14th, plans were made to assemble the entire Kentucky National Guard in one area. The date of August 5th was set for all Kentucky troops to be drafted into federal service and proceed to Camp Shelby, Mississippi. The Kentuckians were almost sent to Anniston, Alabama. Instead, the 8th Division, due to its larger size, was sent to this site -

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87 "72 Men to be Mustered Out," *The Courier Journal*, May 9, 1917.
leaving Mississippi to the Kentuckians. 88

Camp Shelby, named in honor of Kentucky's first Governor Isaac Shelby, was located 12 miles from Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Built by 4500 civilians at a cost of 3.3 million, the camp stationed 36,000 troops during World War I. 89 This number included the approximate 6,000 National Guard troops from Indiana, Kentucky, and West Virginia who formed the 38th Division. 90 The Kentucky National Guard began arriving at Camp Shelby in October, 1917. They would remain until being shipped off to France in September. However, before traveling to Mississippi, the Kentucky National Guard was reorganized into new classifications. By order of the War Department, the old First, Second, and Third Kentucky regiments were dissolved. Kentucky's "Fighting First" was renamed the 159th Infantry. The name change marked the first time in the regiment's history that it lost its identity in name. 91 Although the members of the first were saddened by the change, they soon adjusted to the new name. As one soldier replied, "An onion by any other name would smell as strong and I reckon we can

88"Hattiesburg is Guard Camp," The Courier Journal, July 14, 1917.
89Camp Shelby, Mississippi, Booklet, 2.
90Ibid., 4.
fight just as well under one name as another."  

Before moving to Shelby, the First Kentucky or 159th Infantry was assigned to guard duty at Camp Zachary Taylor, located in Louisville. Meanwhile, the Second and Third Kentucky Regiments waited at Camp Stanley. On October 1, the entire Second and two battalions of the third consolidated to form the 149th Infantry. The remainder of the Third was split up into the 137th and 138th United States Machine Gun Battalions. The members of the former Second and Third or 149th were the first Kentuckians to arrive at Camp Shelby. Before training even began, tragedy struck the regiment. The 149th, suffering from mumps, measles and meningitis were quarantined at Camp Shelby. The meningitis outbreak was particularly devastating - claiming the life of Pt. Zack McDonald. The old First Kentucky or 159th infantry reorganized a second time while still in Louisville. The first and second battalions of the regiment were assigned to the 138th Field Artillery, while the third battalion was transformed into the 113th Ammunition Train and Trench Mortar Battery. The change from

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92 Ibid.


94 "149th Regiment at Hattiesburg Quarantined," The Courier Journal, October 10, 1917.
infantry to artillery had been a difficult decision. The
day before reaching Camp Shelby, the officers of the 159th
had cast votes in favor of changing to artillery.\textsuperscript{95}
However, the men were divided on the decision. Many of the
Kentuckians wanted to remain part of the infantry. In fact,
in protest against the change the men sang the following
song in their tents:

The Infantry, the infantry with dirt behind their
ears. The infantry, the infantry who lap up all the
beers. The cavalry, the artillery, the blooming
engineers. They couldn't lick the infantry in a
hundred million years.\textsuperscript{96}

Despite the opposition, the 159th Infantry remained an
artillery battalion.

As previously stated, when the Second and Third
Kentucky (renamed the 149th Infantry and 137th and 138th
artillery) arrived at Camp Shelby, the First Kentucky or
138th Artillery and 113th Trench Mortar remained in
Louisville. Finally, on the night of October 6th, these
Kentuckians prepared to leave the state for Mississippi.
The soldiers of the 138th and 113th were native sons of
Louisville. Therefore, the city held a special fondness for
these men. The air around Louisville was filled with

\textsuperscript{95}The Military Department of Kentucky, \textit{Kentucky
Military History}, 334.

\textsuperscript{96}"Reorganization of the 159th Proceeding Rapidly," \textit{The
Courier Journal}, September 2, 1917.
sadness as the members of the former first Kentucky boarded the train for Hattiesburg. As the first section of the regiment waited for their train to pull out, a small group of friends and relatives stood by. Leaning from every window, the soldiers began singing "Home Sweet Home," to perhaps remind the well-wishers that someday they would return.\textsuperscript{97} As the train pulled out, the tearful group of spectators continued to wave handkerchiefs even after the soldiers had disappeared from sight.\textsuperscript{98} By October 10th, all three Kentucky Regiments (bearing new names) had arrived at Camp Shelby.

Camp Shelby stands today as the largest National Guard training camp in the United States. At this lonely spot in Mississippi, soldiers of both World War I and World War II trained for combat. In 1917, Camp Shelby was a tent camp. In other words, soldiers were not housed in wooden barracks, but made their homes on a concrete slab with a tent over their heads. The men slept on canvas cots and were given two blankets to fight off the cold. In the center of the tent stood a small stove, which demanded careful attention in order not to set the tent on fire.\textsuperscript{99} On the outskirts of the camp stood "Squaw Row," a housing district for officer's

\textsuperscript{97}"Boys of the First off to the South," The Courier Journal, October 7, 1917.

\textsuperscript{98}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{99}Interview with Elmer Carrell, July 18, 1991.
wives and families. The houses, in this area, generally consisted of three rooms, a bedroom, living room and kitchen with running water. "Squaw's Row" performed two major functions at Camp Shelby: First, it allowed many families to remain together despite the inevitable separation that war brings, and second, it provided the officers with much needed morale. Due to the presence of Squaw Row, many children lived at Camp Shelby.

World War II veteran Elmer Carrell recalled several fond memories of life at Shelby. Carrell's father, Major Dan Carrell was the commander of the first battalion of the 138th Field Artillery. In the late Fall, Carrell took part in officers' training at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma. Finally, in January, Major Carrell and his family arrived in Mississippi. Elmer was ten years old in 1917, and he had accompanied his father to Ft. Sill and now Camp Shelby. Children from Indiana and West Virginia were also present at the camp. Apparently, the old tensions between Southerners and Northerners prevented the Kentucky and Indiana children from acquiring peaceful relations. Instead of being content playing war, these youngsters conducted war among themselves - fighting the camp's only skirmish at the Battle of Camp Shelby. Elmer Carrell, proudly sporting a scar from a BB shot, recalled that following the "battle" the Kentuckians and Indianians made peace. In fact, Carrell remembered, "We
got to be good friends afterwards.” Carrell also recalled wearing campaign hats with red hat chords given out by Major Dan Carrell’s supply sergeant. Each military division sported different colored hat chords. The artillery’s color was red and the kindly sergeant would pass them out to the camp’s children.

While the children of Camp Shelby played, the soldiers began preparing for warfare. Some Kentuckians had already been given a taste of training. For example, at Camp Zachary Taylor officers of the 159th or former First Kentucky were given instruction in bayonet tactics. The soldiers were expected to rise at five o’clock in the morning, train for an hour independently and then pair up and go through the movements of hand to hand combat. As previously mentioned, several Kentucky officers also took training at Fort Benjamin Harrison, located in Indiana. The soldiers began their day at 5:15 A.M. and ended it in eleven and half hours at 9:30. Louisville soldier Ulric J. Bell described the Ft. Harrison training course as “hell, hash

100 Ibid.

101 Like many Kentuckians, Sergeant Hugh Miley never returned from France. The Sergeant perished with sixteen other men in a train wreck that produced the only casualties of the 138th Field Artillery.

and hump it from dawn till taps.” Carrying full packs, which weighed approximately fifty pounds, the men participated in cross country marches. Also, the men practiced marksmanship at pistol ranges. What free time these soldiers were allowed were spent washing socks, writing letters home, and polishing shoes. Furthermore, the men were entertained by vaudeville shows and boxing matches. The latter provided training as well as entertainment. By sparring with one another, the soldiers practiced hand to hand combat—learning how to move to avoid being struck. The soldiers at Benjamin Harrison also learned how to crawl across the battlefield. One journalist described the move as "a sort of horizontal toe-dance." The men were taught to lie down on the ground and advance themselves using only their elbows and toes. Many of the soldiers were professional men and had difficulty adjusting to the hardships of training. William J. Dean, a former lawyer from Louisville declared, "this crawling business certainly came down to us from the serpent in the Garden of Eden." Despite these complaints, the men at Camp Taylor

104Ibid.
105Ibid.
106Ibid.
107Ibid.
and Fort Harrison survived their training ordeal and most went on to fight in France.

For most Kentuckians at Camp Shelby, France seemed a long way from Mississippi. However, as the months passed, the Kentuckians came closer and closer to this destination. Once all of members of the Kentucky National Guard reached Shelby, they were reorganized one last time. No longer part of the guard organization, the Kentuckians were amalgamated with troops from West Virginia and Indiana into the United States 38th Division. Under the banner of the 38th, the Kentuckians began intensive training for warfare. But, for the first few months, due to the shortages of equipment, the men trained without materials or instructors. They practiced close order drill without rifles, learned about artillery from books and practiced cannoneering with logs mounted on old wagon wheels to simulate guns. Finally, by November 11, 1917 (exactly a year before the war would end), the men began training with real equipment. Beginning at 7 A.M., the Kentuckians were drilled until 11:45 then, after a short recess, would drill again from 1:00 to 4:30 in the afternoon. Eventually, French officers arrived at Shelby and instructed the men in bayonet drills. In fact, the 149th Infantry of the 38th Division (formerly the old

Second Kentucky) excelled in bayonet practice - out doing all other regiments. Also, the Kentuckians received training in gas defense and artillery firing. Although kept busy by these activities, the Kentuckians could not forget the approaching holidays. Anxious for Christmas leave, the soldiers were disappointed when told that the full force was expected to remain at Shelby. The soldiers were promised Christmas dinner, presents and a camp decorated with Christmas trees and wild growing holly and mistletoe. However, despite these consolations Christmas at Shelby could never compare with Christmas at home.

November and December of 1917 was a difficult time for Kentucky's National Guard. Winter came early to Mississippi and by November third, the ground was covered by ice and snow. For most Kentuckians, separated from their families and old regimental ties, Camp Shelby promised to be a lonely experience. Seemingly, once at Shelby even Kentucky forgot about her soldiers. Little of their activity was published in the state's major newspaper. In fact, the closer the Kentuckians came to France, the less attention they were given. On March 1, 1918, J. Stewart Bennet of the 138th Field Artillery voiced his disappointed on being neglected. "The Louisville papers," Bennet began, "very seldom publish any news of the happenings here. It seems as if the people

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of Kentucky have forgotten that they have an organization in Mississippi.\textsuperscript{110} Ironically, these Kentuckians were forgotten even more after the war. A history of Camp Shelby during World War I has never been written.

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\textsuperscript{110}"Personal Feelings of One Enlisted Man Toward the Cause," \textit{Hattiesburg American}, March 1, 1918.
CAMP LIFE AND INFLUENZA

As 1917 came to a close, America's actual involvement in World War was just beginning. General John J. Pershing was appointed commander of the American Expeditionary Force. Having arrived in Europe, the hero of the Mexican Border Campaign began preparations for greater American involvement. Fearing a loss of morale and power, Pershing was unwilling to allow American troops to amalgamate into the Allied Armies. Therefore, Pershing began to lay plans for an independent American force. Secretary of War Newton D. Baker suggested that the American Army be placed between French and British forces. Although this position would have allowed the Americans to support both Allies, Pershing rejected this idea fearing American forces would be too closely tied to the French and British. The American force was eventually positioned on the southern flank of the French Army between Pont-a’ Mousson and Thiaucourt. As the first Americans began arriving in France, General Pershing began to look toward St. Mihiel which he envisioned as one of the United States' first

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111 Deweerd, President Wilson Fights His War, 210.
112 Ibid., 211.
113 Ibid., 216.
"Black Jack" Pershing spent the first few months of 1918 arguing strategy with the British and the French. Although the General wanted American soldiers to play a decisive role in the conflict, he seemed unsure of the correct strategy. The dawn of modern warfare had resulted in making many military tactics obsolete. Pershing was torn between past doctrines and the need for new ideas. During the Mexican Border Campaign, American soldiers had practiced with new technology. For example, Pershing employed the use of machine guns and tried (howbeit unsuccessfully) to use air power. Despite this fact, he appeared strangely fascinated by the idea of open warfare with a sole reliance on infantrymen, bayonets, and rifles. Vexed by the futile strategy of trench warfare, Pershing wanted to turn the conflict into a war of movement. He believed victory hinged on driving the enemy out into the open and defeating them with marksmanship. Historians have unfairly criticized Pershing for his so called "Ambivalent Warfare." Far from a bad strategist, Pershing

\[114\] Ibid., 211.


\[116\] Ibid., 212.

\[117\] John Dos Passos, Mr. Wilson's War (Garden City, New York, 1962), 269.
seemed to be searching for the best solution from every angle. His primary objective was to seek victory with the least casualties. Pershing detested the idea of attrition and believed open warfare would bring an end to this strategy. 118

General Pershing, despite his experience, feared being bullied by the British and French commanders. The Wilson administration shared in his anxiety. On May 26, Pershing received orders from the War Department establishing his role in the war. The President ordered General Pershing to cooperate with the Allies, yet remain an independent force. 119 With this order, the United States government helped ensure Pershing's authority overseas. From the beginning, General Pershing acted with caution, determined not to be taken advantage of by the Allies. He realized both the French and the British wanted to use the Americans as shock troops in order to spare the lives of their own people. 120 Pershing, committed in his quest to help the Allies, had no intention of leading his men to slaughter. Therefore, he wanted the command of the American Army separated from the British and the French. Pershing, realizing that the Allies were skeptical about America's fighting ability, was anxious for his soldiers to prove

118 Ibid., 255.
120 Dos Passo, Mr. Wilson's War, 250.
themselves. In May, the opportunity arose. Joining the French Army, the Americans recaptured the German-held city of Cantigny. For the first time in the World War, Americans successfully took and held enemy ground. This now forgotten victory seemed to give General Pershing much needed inspiration. It also reassured the Allies.

The United States entered the war late. Once involved, the few American soldiers believed the war would end quickly. In fact, the end seemed nowhere in sight. As one American soldier wrote in 1918, "it looks like a long drawn out war. In fact, I have no hope whatever of getting home before 1920." Back in Mississippi, the men of the 38th Division anxiously awaited transportation overseas. Many men, restless at Camp Shelby, feared the war would end before they reached France. Their fears practically came true. Several months passed before any Kentuckians from the 38th Division left for war.

For the men at Camp Shelby, the new year brought no real changes. Constantly supervised by allied officers, these men continued in bayonet practice and trench

121 Ibid., 334.
122 Barrett Family Papers, World War I 1914-1918, Folder 3 (Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky).
construction. Also, perhaps in accordance with General Pershing's call for marksmanship, the men at Camp Shelby were sent to rifle ranges to practice. The range was located seven miles from the camp, and the men generally remained there for ten days. Also, in anticipation of combat, the soldiers at Camp Shelby conducted mock skirmishes. The "enemy," distinguished by white handkerchiefs around their hat, attacked friendly forces which wore handkerchiefs around their arms. These war games were played throughout the camp. After months of training, the soldiers of Camp Shelby were anxious to test their skills in France. What they lacked in expertise, they tried to make up in spirit. "Although my life is dear to me," wrote J. Stewart Bennett of the 138th Field Artillery, "I would willingly sacrifice it for my country." Like most Americans, the soldiers of the 38th Division had deep patriotic feelings about the European conflict. After all, "make the world safe for democracy" was a powerful rallying call. American soldiers were ready to die for freedom.

Slowly pieces of the 38th Division began to drift overseas. The front, hungry for replacements, looked to Camp Shelby to fill in the gaps. Early in 1918, men from overseas. The front, hungry for replacements, looked to Camp Shelby to fill in the gaps. Early in 1918, men from

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124 In order to ensure American soldiers would be prepared for the war, French and British officers were sent overseas to assist in training.

125 "Personal Feelings of One Enlisted Man Toward the Cause," The Hattiesburg American, March 1, 1918.
the 149th Infantry of the 75th Brigade were sent to France.\footnote{Harold P. O'Gara, \textit{The History of the 149th Infantry}, Booklet, Nov. 1943, 5.} A skeletonized 149th remained at Hattiesburg and was replenished by soldiers from Kentucky, Arkansas and Illinois, including members of the Kentucky National Guard.\footnote{Ibid.} Soon, all members of the state's old guard would be sent somewhere in France.

In the Spring of 1918, a natural disaster occurred at Camp Shelby which produced a lasting affect on the 38th. On April 17th, a tornado struck the camp, blowing down several buildings and wrecking a section of the soldiers' tents.\footnote{Army of the United States, \textit{Pictorial History Thirty-eight Division} (Atlanta, Georgia, 1941), 6; Thomas P. Grazulio, \textit{Significant Tornados 1880-1989}, vol. 2 of \textit{A Chronology of Events} (St. Johnsburg, Vermont), 152.} The storm caused considerable damage, estimated at $20,000. Furthermore, one Camp Shelby soldier perished at the hands of the cyclone. Tragically, the soldier was apparently struck by lightening and then buried beneath some fallen timbers.\footnote{Grazulio, \textit{Significant Tornados}, 152.} By the time the storm ended, the tornado had cut a destructive path approximately three yards wide. Awed by the tragedy Major General Robert L. Howze christened the 38th the "Cyclone Division." Members of the 38th wore the initials "CY" white on a shield of blue and red as their
division shoulder emblem.\textsuperscript{130}

For America's soldiers everywhere, 1918 was a year of triumph as well as tragedy. In late October, Pershing's Army clashed with the Germans, proving themselves a valuable fighting force. Meanwhile, back on the homefront, a sudden flu epidemic was sweeping the states. By the time the epidemic ended, some 15,000 Kentuckians were dead.\textsuperscript{131} The Spanish flu was one of the great tragedies of 1918. It struck without warning and began a systematic destruction of the younger generation. For some mysterious reason, people between the ages of twenty and forty were the predominate victims of the flu. As one historian wrote the young "were slaughtered by the legions."\textsuperscript{132} This epidemic was responsible for the deaths of many servicemen during 1918. In fact, Flu claimed the lives of more Americans then did the war.\textsuperscript{133} Approximately 83,000 Americans died as a result of battle casualties.\textsuperscript{134} By January, 1919, the flu in the United States had claimed almost 500,000 lives.\textsuperscript{135}

\textsuperscript{130} Army of the United States, Pictorial History, Thirty-eighth Division, 6.

\textsuperscript{131} Nancy Baird, "The 'Spanish Lady' in Kentucky," The Filson Club History Quarterly, 50 (April, 1976), 292.


\textsuperscript{133} "Flu in the United States More Fatal than Hun Shells in France," The Courier Journal, November 18, 1918.

\textsuperscript{134} Stallings, The Story of the Doughboys, 187.

\textsuperscript{135} Irving Werstein, Over Here and Over There: The Era of the First World War (New York, 1968), 179.
In the late Summer of 1918, influenza struck the United States. Europe and Asia were hit by the disease at approximately the same time. Its origin was unknown and there remains some disagreement as to its first appearance. Although Camp Zachary Taylor claimed the first diagnosed case, the influenza can be traced back to 1914.\textsuperscript{136} In that year, twelve people in Boston died from the disease.\textsuperscript{137} As previously stated, between 400,000 and 500,000 people lost their lives to the flu.\textsuperscript{138}

The Spanish influenza was an acute infectious disease—highly contagious and often fatal. Its symptoms included a high fever (ranging between 100 and 104 degrees), chills, body aches and a dry harsh cough that damaged the lungs. In seeking a reason for the outbreak, some Americans began circulating wild theories. For example, some people believed that infected German agents had been brought by submarines to spread the disease.\textsuperscript{139} In reality, the flu was probably brought to the United States by Americans returning from Europe.\textsuperscript{140} Kentuckians, however, seemed more concerned about stopping the disease, than discovering it causes. The great Spanish flu left a lasting impression

\textsuperscript{136} Baird, "The 'Spanish Lady','" 291.
\textsuperscript{137} Sullivan, \textit{Our Times}, 654.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{139} Baird, "'Spanish Lady'" 290.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
on the people of Kentucky. After seventy-three years, the epidemic is better remembered than the war. Perhaps, it touched more lives.

The flu produced a staggering death rate. In the United States, one quarter of all the people were sick with the influenza - out of every 1,000 sick 19 died. During this time, medical technology was too unadvanced to fight the epidemic. For example, there were no vaccines on the national level and not even the aspirin had been discovered. One Kentuckian declared that whiskey (which had been made scarce due to prohibition) served as the best medicine to fight the flu.

Despite the seriousness of the epidemic, Kentuckians appeared to handle the crisis calmly. Throughout the fall, the flu continued to claim new victims. Troop movement helped spread the disease and many army camps became affected. In September, the disease struck Camp Zachary Taylor. Even though war raged across the sea, the soldiers at Camp Taylor were in greater danger on the homefront. By the time the epidemic had run its course, Camp Taylor lost a total of 1500 men to the Spanish flu.

Camp Zachary Taylor, located near Louisville, Kentucky,

\[141\] Sullivan, Our Times, 654.
\[142\] Interview with Richard Duncan, Feb. 27, 1991.
\[144\] Ibid., 300.
was a popular training camp. In fact, the consensus among many officers and men was to stay at Taylor until being shipped overseas. Taylor had been built purposely to train soldiers for the Great War. In 1918, Camp Taylor was the home of the 84th or Lincoln Division of Kentucky volunteers. Commanded by Harry C. Hale, the 84th was the largest unit organized and trained at Camp Taylor. Many soldiers passed through Taylor. For example, the first division of the Kentucky National Guard, before becoming part of the 38th Division, had stopped at the camp on its way to Mississippi.

Many Camp Taylor boys perished from the flu. As one Kentuckian remembered, the flu was almost as bad as the war. In the Army hospitals soldiers would cough for two or three days and then die. By October fourth, Taylor lost twenty-one people to the flu. The numbers continued to rise until the death toll was incredible. "Up there at Camp Taylor," remembered Bowling Green resident Dick Duncan, "they

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145 Harry R. Groat and George T. Holmes, In and Out of Camp Zachary Taylor in Prose and Verse (Louisville, 1919), preface.


147 Interview with Frank Smith, December 20, 1990.

stacked one coffin on top of another." October was the deadliest month of the flu epidemic. Deaths in Kentucky during this month was almost four times greater than in September. During the height of the epidemic, Camp Zachary Taylor could not accommodate the dead. For example, the camp lacked ambulances to carry the dead away and enough caskets to bury them. Fifty years later, Henry Bass, who had been stationed at Camp Taylor, wrote a personal account of the great epidemic. "For days over one hundred men died every twenty-four hours at Camp Zachary Taylor, giving our camp the dubious distinction of having the highest morality rate in the nation. Strict quarantine was enforced and for weeks none of us were allowed outside the camp." This camp wide quarantine was one of the many ways Kentuckians controlled the flu epidemic at Taylor.

When the epidemic struck Camp Taylor, several groups volunteered to help the sick soldiers. For example, members of the Army YMCA took on every job from nursing to correspondence. Once the quarantine began, the "Y

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150 Baird, "'Spanish Lady,'" 300.


buildings were closed to entertainment and kept open only to sell stamps and money orders. Therefore, the YMCA workers, referred to as secretaries, volunteered their time to care for the sick.\footnote{153} The secretaries opened their hearts to the survivors offering comfort and hope. They provided the soldiers with both medical and spiritual help. Some workers went from ward to ward passing out newspapers and books and gathering letters to be mailed.\footnote{154} Furthermore, when death occurred, the YMCA offered their services to the victims' families. Also, the YMCA assisted in handling the details for the shipment of bodies back home. It should be noted that the secretaries volunteered their services knowing it was a risk to their own lives. Several of the YMCA workers were struck down by the flu - two died.

Another group that aided in the epidemic was the Red Cross Camp Service Committee. On September 28th, the camp contacted Chairwoman, Mrs. John Middleton, to aid the flu crisis. The next day thirteen women appeared at Taylor serving bread and hot coffee in the base hospital.\footnote{155}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[154] Ibid.
\end{footnotes}
the sick increased, so did the workers. The women provided
the stricken soldiers with pillows, clean sheets, and even
bed robes. They also gave medical care when the flu struck
down the hospital's nursing staff. The services these women
performed were rewarding yet heartwrenching. "It was my
privilege to have a small part in these helpful
ministrations," wrote one service worker, "passing from cot
to cot with the 'cup of cold water' to allay their burning
thirst, and enabled to bring spiritual aid and comfort as
well."\(^{156}\)

For weeks these women sat at the sides of the
sick soldiers - praying for the dying and watching in horror
as truck after truck carried away the rows of pine boxes.
"[Such] pathetic scenes," recalled a service worker, "but
sacred as long as life and memory last."\(^{157}\)

As the flu
continued to spread, the base hospital at Camp Taylor became
overflowed with patients. At one time, the hospital cared
for 13,000 people.\(^{158}\) Cots were lined up from one end of
the hall to another. When additional help was needed, the
service committee appealed to the public for aid. Both rich
and poor responded to the call. Even children joined in to
help. One poor child donated his only pillow to one of

\(^{156}\) Ibid.

\(^{157}\) Ibid.

\(^{158}\) Powell, "History of Camp Zachary Taylor", 31.
Taylor's sick. As W.L Pyles, Medical Corps Colonel replied, "Never was bloodier battle fought at the front than was waged at Camp Taylor during the first weeks of the influenza epidemic."  

The people of Louisville joined together to fight a seemingly invisible foe at Camp Taylor. Ironically, the epidemic killed many young soldiers before the war was given the opportunity. "I wouldn't mind dying," commented soldier after soldier at Camp Zachary Taylor, "if I had only gotten to the front." It was a bleak period in the history of Camp Taylor; however, the camp was not alone in its suffering. Not far away, the city of Louisville was also dealing with the epidemic.

The flu epidemic struck large cities as well as small towns. For example, the flu caused terrible losses to the growing city of Bowling Green. As one resident remembered, during the epidemic one undertaker conducted eight funerals in a single day. Large cities, however, due to the crowded populations, were the hardest hit by the flu.

Like most places, Louisville, Kentucky, was struck by the flu in October - the height of the epidemic. Surprisingly, despite the lack of knowledge of the disease,

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159 Middleton, "History of Camp Service Committee,"
160 Ibid.
161 Ibid.
Louisvillians did a fine job of combatting the malady. In late September, United States health officers and the Louisville city health authorities joined together in the fight. This committee sent out several ideas to attack the influenza. Flu officials advised Louisville citizens to avoid crowded and poorly ventilated areas. Also, people were encouraged to cover their mouths and noses when sneezing. Furthermore, the Louisville health department began enforcing an anti-spitting ordinance. A letter from the health department stated that anyone disobeying the order would be arrested and that "promiscuous spitting is especially inexcusable." By the first of October, fifty cases of possible flu were reported in Louisville. Soon, true cases began appearing and the disease began spreading more rapidly. Louisville newspapers continued to caution people to avoid crowds. For example, people were advised to refrain from church going and avoid moviehouses. Also, public schools were closed from October seventh until November tenth. By November, the flu began to diminish and many gathering bonds were lifted. However, as people became less cautious, the flu cases started rising.

The Spanish flu continued to be a menace throughout the remainder of 1918. Also, several cases of flu appeared the

163 "Join Hands in Fight on 'Flu','" The Courier Journal, September 28, 1918.
164 Baird, "The 'Spanish Lady,'" 295.
165 Ibid., 299.
next year. Although cautionary measures helped control the disease, more help was required to bring about its defeat. Eventually, nature stepped in to combat the epidemic. In November, a ferocious blizzard struck Kentucky. It was a terrible winter with snow covering the ground well into April. This blizzard helped rid Kentucky of the influenza. By the time spring arrived, the Spanish flu had disappeared.

While Kentucky's soldiers stationed at Camp Zachary Taylor were the hardest hit, three states away, Camp Shelby was untouched by Spanish flu. Although mumps and measles were common enemies, the flu never arrived. In fact, of all the training centers, Camp Shelby achieved the second highest health record. Regardless of the health factor, the 38th Division escaped the worst of the flu due to its absence. By the Summer of 1918, parts of the Division had already left for France. The 113th Ammo Train, which included parts of the first and second Kentucky National Guard, left Shelby in July. By September, these men reached Camp Mills, New York, where a few were struck down by the flu. However, most of the 113th remained untouched by the epidemic. Soon the rest of the 38th arrived in New York.


167 According to Jacqueline Powell in "History of Camp Zachary Taylor," Kentucky also experienced a terrible winter in 1917. In that year Kentucky had seventeen inches of snow. In fact, snow covered the ground until February.

168 "Camp Shelby, Mississippi," Booklet, 2.
One hundred and twenty members of the 138th Field Artillery caught flu or pneumonia after being exposed to the diseases at Camps Upton and Merritt. Upon their arrival overseas, these men were placed in Liverpool hospitals. On September 28, 1918, the first full unit of the 38th Division arrived in France. Units continued to arrive until October 25th. During the worst of the flu epidemic, the Kentucky National Guard was in France.

Despite the epidemic, the great war continued overseas. In the beginning of 1918, the scene on the western front turned in Germany's favor. During the previous November, the Russian Army had been dealt a fatal blow by its own people. The country's internal problems led to a great revolution and Russia's demise on the Eastern front. In December, the Russians agreed to a ceasefire. A peace treaty with Germany soon followed. With the eastern enemy crushed, Germany now turned all her forces toward the Western front.

For months, the Germans were confident that American troops could not mobilize in time to help the Allies. Now, with the untimely arrival of Pershing and his troops,


Germany would be faced with fresh men and equipment. Pershing forced the Germans into a race against time. In the spring, General Erich Von Ludendorf decided to gamble everything on a series of offensives across the Western front. The first assault was scheduled to be launched on March 21st. Although these offensives were some of the most successful military maneuvers of the war, they were destined to fail. Germany lacked the resources and the manpower to win. While General Pershing argued strategy with the French and British, Ludendorf began his costly operation. The Germans poised forty-seven divisions toward the Allied front and began cutting diagonal sweeps across the line.\[171\]

Suddenly, the enemy restored the war of movement before General Pershing was given the opportunity.

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When the American soldiers finally encountered the realities of war, they discovered a battlefield unlike any other in history. Trenchlife was a shocking adjustment. Kelly Gilbert, a Kentuckian in the Regular Army, recalled his experience. Serving with the 39th Division, Gilbert trained at Camp Taylor and later in Marseille, France. He remembered the drudgery of trenchwarfare. Typically, there were three trenches in a row, and the trenches zigzagged with no one allowed outside. Here, day after day, the men ate, slept, and fought. Kelly Gilbert's most vivid recollection about the trenches were the big rats that frequently jumped on him. Also, the trenches were infested by lice. Even though the Army subjected the soldiers to delousing, the pestilence remained a problem. As Gilbert recalled the delousing process did nothing more than "hatch 'em out good." Truly trenchlife was a terrible experience.

Despite their knowing of coming hardships, some

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172 Interview, Kelly Gilbert by Arthur Kelly, (Oral History Collection, Margaret King Library, University of Kentucky).

173 Ibid.
soldiers were fascinated by the idea of war. One Kentucky soldier described with pride how good the Americans looked with their full packs, gas masks and helmets. For this soldier, war had the potential for being an exciting event. "Our training has been awfully tiresome and monotonous," the Kentuckian wrote in September 1918, "and we feel that just anything will be a relief." Before long, this soldier reached the front and came face to face with the nightmare of real warfare. Night attacks, massive explosions and exploding shrapnel haunted the letters he wrote home to Bowling Green. Before even reaching the field, he was fired on by aerial machine guns and suffered through the dreaded gas attacks. "Last night was hell on earth for us," he wrote after surviving a downpour of enemy artillery shelling. "Several were killed and injured about me." Kentuckian Stephen Edwards was a marine with the 5th Regular Army under the 2nd Division. He took part in the St. Mihail Drive and the battle of Belleau Woods. It is difficult to judge which engagement was the most horrifying. For Stephen Edwards, the ordeal in the Belleau Woods perhaps made the greatest impression. Once the German Army resumed the offensive, they sought to take Paris. By June, the Germans

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174 Letter attributed to John Fenwick to Florence Schneider, September 1918 (Manuscripts, Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University).

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid.
had swept across the Marne at Chateau-Thierry on route to the French capitol. The Americans joined in the battle to stop the German drive. American marines were ordered into the enemy fortified Belleau Woods and prepared to push the Germans off the Chateau-Thierry Road. The fight lasted 20 days. On the first day of fighting, the Marines suffered 1,087 casualties, "the costliest day in Marine Corps history." Kentuckian Stephen Edwards left behind a chilling description of what he saw at Belleau Woods. "As we ran we stepped on bodies of dead Germans, rotting on the ground," Edwards recalled, "and the matter from these corpses clung to our legs for days. As I stepped off a rock, my foot landed squarely on one before I saw him, and I shall never forget the noise it made." "Pershing once said 'war is hell'" commented Frank Smith as he recalled the horrors of World War I, "there's lots of things that made it that way too."

In the Summer of 1918, the 38th Division made its first move toward France. The Division entrained separately, beginning with the 113th Ammunition Train. It was a hot day

177 Vandiver, Black Jack, 895.
178 Ibid., 896.
179 Ibid., 897.
181 Interview with Frank Smith, December 20, 1990.
as the men of the 113th boarded the train from Camp Shelby. The train would make several stops before reaching its destination Camp Mills, New York. As the 113th began to move out, the married men of Company B anxiously awaited the train's scheduled stop at Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Here, they had arranged to meet their wives - perhaps for the last time. Some wives had prepared boxes of food for their husband's long journey. One soldier, Sergeant Marion Stokes, was promised a box from one of the local school teachers. Unfortunately, the train was routed away from the station and the disappointed soldiers were forced to remain on the train. Sergeant Stokes was particularly upset about missing his food. "I believe that I could have wrought havoc and destruction, for I was as hungry as an amateur hobo, who had been unsuccessful in obtaining the much preferred eats." As the train pulled away from Hattiesburg, some of the wives began hurling rocks and waving frantically at the disappearing figures of their husbands.

For some men of Company B, the road to war was an enjoyable adventure. At each stop, the soldiers were

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183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.
greeted by cheering crowds and pretty girls. By the second week of July, Company B had made two stops in Illinois, Centralia and Chicago. "On July 12," wrote Sergeant Marion Stokes, "we arrived in Centralia, Illinois late in the eve and detrained for a few hours when all the fair dames of the town turned out to greet us, and most of the boys had from three to six maidens to entertain....when the hour came for our departure...of course the boys had to make each one think that beauty hung on her right ear, and that quite natural was out of the question." From Chicago, the men rode to Clintonville, Wisconsin, where they made camp and remained for nine days. The soldiers enjoyed their stay in Clintonville. As in the other towns, pretty young women flocked to the camps to meet the boys. Furthermore, several dances and parties were held in the soldiers' honor. When it was time to leave, the men were touched by the concern offered by the Clintonville citizens. Their departure was an emotional scene - as the townspeople turned out to bid them farewell. The soldiers boarded the train to Oskosh with Clintonville looking on - realizing that not all the 113th would return from France.

After traveling for over two months, the 113th received orders to proceed to Camp Mills, New York. Here, the unit would join with other parts of the 38th Division. Several

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185 Ibid.
186 Ibid.
pieces of the division had already left for France. For example, the 138th Field Artillery had taken a different route from Shelby—reaching Camp Upton, New York, on September 21. From there, this unit would travel to France. The 138th was scheduled to arrive at Camp Mills and unknown to its officers, had been sent to another containment.

The 138th Field Artillery was created from the first Kentucky National Guard. Commanded by William A. Colston, the advance detail of the 138th left Camp Shelby. This group included 66 officers and men who reached Camp Mills on September 14th. Four days after its arrival, the majority of the 138th entrained for the North. The trip to New York was enjoyable, as the men passed through such cities as Meridan, Mississippi, Knoxville, Tennessee and Washington, D.C. Along the way, Red Cross workers greeted the soldiers with hot coffee and much-welcomed sandwiches.187 Once reaching Camp Upton, the members of the 138th were unsure how long they would stay. The unit was part of the Third Brigade and Army headquarters had intended for the entire 63rd to remain at Shelby. However, the orders reached the camp two days after the 138th left.188 These orders were eventually rescinded and the 63rd sent to France.

The men of the 38th Division boarded ships overseas, with the realization that many of their members would never

187 Daniel Carrell to wife, September 22, 1918, Letters given to author by great-grandson William Carrell.
188 Carrell to wife, September 24, 1918.
return from combat. The voyage took almost two weeks and before the time elapsed all the passengers were seasick. Crossing the Atlantic was a dangerous venture, as enemy submarines still sought enemy ships. On October 6, the men of the 113th Ammunition Train gathered their equipment and prepared to disembark. As they moved toward the station, some of the men sagged beneath their overstuffed backpacks. "The equipment was so heavy," wrote Sergeant Marion Stokes, "that all thought that he could throw away his pack and take the stove and lighten his load." With a minimal of delay, the 113th boarded the British ship H.M.S. 

Lancashire - where they would remain for the next two weeks. Unaccustomed to the steady movement of the restless waves, the soldiers turned green with seasickness. One man from Company F did not survive the voyage. The burial at sea, by the British crew, was perhaps the most memorable occurrence of their voyage.

Back at Camp Upton, the men of the 138th Field Artillery, 38th Division, had embarked on the same day as their comrades from Camp Mills. After receiving extra equipment including tin hats, overseas caps and hob nail boots, the men boarded the 

Carmania. The ship carried a

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189 Stokes, "Co B, 113th Ammunition Train."

190 Sidney Smith, compiler, "History of the 138th Field Artillery, Remarks on Occasion of the 100th Anniversary of Its Organization," December 15, 1939, Speech by Col. George Chescher, Col. George Chescher Papers, Box 2, Compiled June 29, 1938 for publication in the National Guard History (Military History Museum, Frankfort, Kentucky).
total of approximately 2500 troops and 200 to 300 other passengers, mostly YMCA and Red Cross Workers. Many of the "Y" people were entertainers, traveling to France to boost the morale of the soldiers. For the men of the 138th Field Artillery, the entertainers were a welcome distraction to the seasickness and influenza that accompanied the trip. During the long voyage, the YMCA entertainers put on several shows for the sea worn soldiers. Eventually, the 138th would meet the 113th. Yet, for the time being, they travelled separate routes to the same destination. The Carmania sailed for two weeks without incident.

Then, suddenly, two days before landing, a wireless message reported three enemy submarines moving toward the Carmania and several other ships in the convoy. The men waited several hours in anticipation as the warning was repeated and repeated. Eventually, six British mine sweepers and five American torpedo destroyers arrived to protect the convoy. "They all played 'I-spy'," described one of the officers of the Allied ships who worked furiously to foil the danger, "and it was one of the prettiest sights one could imagine. The fast little boats worked in and out the large ships and it was truly wonderful." Five and a half hours passed then, the Germans released a torpedo toward the American vessels. Two ships were struck. The

191 Carrell to wife, October 7, 1918.

torpedo bounced off the rudder of the Adriatic and scraped the keel of the 138th's Carmania. The ship rocked heavily to the left, then received a second shock from a depth bomb loosened by a destroyer. The 138th had received its first taste of war. Although the unit was unscarred by this incident, it was a preview of future danger. Although many soldiers from the Cyclone Division saw combat, its worst disaster occurred behind the front lines.

By October 6, part of the convoy had arrived in England. Here, the units of the 38th were sent to rest camps. Eventually, both the 138th and the 113th were sent to South Hampton, England. From there, both units would travel to their long awaited destination - France. It was to be a separate voyage; the 113th reached France five days before the 138th reached South Hampton. As the men of the 113th moved closer to the battlefield, the war became more of a reality. Stationed at a British rest camp, the 113th watched the trains carry in the wounded. They also witnessed troop after troop leaving nightly for the front. For the 113th, this first hand brush with war was an eye-opening experience. After seeing the wounded, wrote Sergeant Marion Stokes, "the war was in the mind of all that it was no child's play." On the night of

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193 Ibid.
194 Stokes, "Co. B, 113th Ammunition Train."
195 Ibid.
October 26th, the 113th boarded a train for the southern part of France.

The 138th Field Artillery had arrived in France on October 22. That night, the 138th boarded a train to Malestroit. The men rode a French train, number 13, with box cars designed to accommodate eight horses or forty men. From the start, the trip was a disaster. While traveling uphill, the couplings on two cars were broken forcing the train to back downgrade to the nearest town. Three or four miles later, number 13 reached St. Main. At this small town, the broken cars were uncoupled and their passengers crowded into others. Normally, the last car on the train carried the officers; however, on this trip, it was placed in the middle instead of its usual place. The 138th's troop train and ammunition train (which was the 113th) had followed them into St. Main. These two trains waited patiently on an adjoining track, as the 138th rearranged their transportation. Even after train number 13 left St. Main, it continued to be plagued by mechanical problems. The train lacked airbrakes and had considerable engine trouble. Furthermore, the train was traveling without lights. Its sleek black body was as dark as the night itself. At about 8 o'clock, the weak engine failed, forcing the train to stop at Gale for repairs. Number 13 was dead.

on the rails.

Out of curiosity, or perhaps on his way off the train, Bugler Harold Stucker moved to the front of the car. Suddenly, Stucker was surprised by a loud voice. Someone in the darkness had hollered "Jump!" Stucker obeyed the command as the train carrying the 113th crashed into the still train. Once his feet touched the ground, the Bugler kept running until he was several yards away. This reaction is the only thing that saved him from being crushed by the debris. Stucker escaped unharmed although the men who had been beside him were horribly mangled. 197

The second train came to an abrupt stop. Members of the 113th, not realizing a wreck had occurred, wondered why the train ceased to move. Many believed the train had been attacked by a German airplane although they knew it was a long way to the front. 198 When the 113th investigated, they found their locomotive leaning on one side of the track, propped up only by the wreckage. The first two cars were smashed into pieces, and the crash telescoped the last three cars of the first train. "So horrible was the scene," described Lieutenant Colonel Robert McBryde of the 138th,

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198 Stokes, "Co. B 113th Ammunition Train."
"that we thought that certainly 200 men had been killed."199

The wreck occurred between 9:00 and 9:30 P.M. and the darkness hindered the rescue efforts. In order to obtain the necessary light, the men burned records of the regiment.200 Some of the cars had derailed and several men were pinned beneath the wreckage. Instantly men from both trains began helping the injured. Despite a wrenched knee and ankle, Private Short of Headquarters Company grabbed a jack apparatus off the front of the engine and worked for an hour before he fainted.201 Major Carrell of the 138th was thrown from his car and buried beneath part of the rubble. Despite this fact, he was the first officer of this unit to reach the rear of the train. There he saw broken cars all piled together.202

The heroism displayed that night matched any tale of bravery at the front. Rescuers raced against time as the trapped men suffered beneath the trains. The damage further increased when fire broke out in the wreckage where some of


202 Carrell to wife, October 29, 1918.
the injured were still trapped. Men furiously battled the flames. Using several hundred canteens, they dribbled water on the flames, battling the elements with "sheer willpower." To prevent new fires from being ignited, Lieutenant Larry Casterson of the 113th raked coals from the second train's engine, as the leaning locomotive threatened to topple over.

Rescuers and victims joined together in the fight for life. The courage they displayed seemed unbelievable in the face of such tragedy. Every man pinned beneath the wreckage refused to be moved ahead of anybody else. Among the trapped, lay Private Taylor of Headquarter Company. Despite a badly crushed foot, he refused to be moved fearing the debris over him would be shifted and crush his comrades. While suffering beneath the wreckage, Taylor directed the rescue of other men. Four hours later, the rescuers brought him to safety. As he lay on the stretcher, Taylor paused briefly before his rescuers, clasping their hands in
Little by little, the injured were pulled from beneath the wreckage. The dead were laid on one side of the train and the wounded on the other. For some men, the rescue efforts came too late. Walter Nagle of Brownsville, lost both legs in the tragedy. Agonizing in pain, he calmly asked for an injection of morphine. "I am in misery," Nagle told his rescuers, "[but] I will await my turn to be taken out of here." Walter Nagle was a young man dismissed from a Kentucky school when the war began. He died, as his rescuers placed him in the ambulance. In all, twenty men lost their lives - fourteen members of the 138th and six of the 113th. In addition to the dead, sixty-three were injured - thirty-nine from one unit and twenty-four from the other.

For the men of the 138th, this train wreck was their most memorable ordeal of the war. Perhaps what haunted their memories most was the singing. At Camp Upton, six entertainers had joined with the 138th. At least one of the men was part of the Army. Of these six, five men were
injured in the wreck. Private Marty Brennen - a singer from New York, lay among the trapped. His legs badly mangled, Brennen knew he would not survive. Pulled from the wreckage, Brennen was laid on a blanket beside the other wounded. His left leg was crushed beneath the knee; his right foot was missing. As the rescuers' work continued, someone called to Brennen and asked for a song. Immediately, he began singing "Smiles," a favorite song of the 138th. This unselfish gesture comforted the wounded and brought inspiration to the rescuers. Although advised by Colonel McBryde to rest, Brennen continued to sing. "This is quits for me," he told the Colonel "and I might as well help the others." He was soon joined by the other injured entertainers. Suffering from their own wounds, they created and sang a parody about the train wreck. It was Brennen's last performance. He sang for an hour, then, he died. "I have never seen men as brave in my life," wrote Major Carrell just a few days after the

212 "'First' Gives Full List of Wreck Dead," Louisville Times, Jan. 4, 1919, found in Caldwell, "Kentucky in the World War," vol. 5.

213 According to the above footnoted article, the tragedy led to the 138th adopting "Smiles" as the regimental song.


215 Carrell to wife, October 29, 1918.

tragedy occurred."217

The rescuers continued to work throughout the night. Since the wires were down, one officer walked five miles to reach help.218 Finally, at 6 O'clock A.M., a French relief train arrived at the wreck site. However, there was little more to be done. The men had struggled all night to rescue the wounded. Only the dead remained to be buried.

After spending a week at Malestroit the 138th marched to Camp Meucon. Here, the unit remained throughout the rest of the war. Although the 138th never saw combat, they experienced the horrors of war on that dark October night near Gale.

The 138th's train wreck was only one of the many tragedies that occurred during the Great War. The handful of men lost that night cannot compare with the thousands who died during the conflict. The 38th Division had entered the war late, but did not escape unscathed.

The Cyclone Division never fought as a full combat unit. Designated as a replacement division, members of the 38th were split up and sent to various units of the American Expeditionary Force. Fighting under the banners of the first, second, third, fourth, and even the famous forty-second Division, many Kentuckians took part in the drive on St. Mihiel salient. At the time of the armistice, Kentucky

217 Carrell to wife, October 29, 1918.
soldiers were advancing toward Sedan. In all, 890 Kentuckians were killed in battle during World War I. Regretfully, the individual deeds of the members of the 38th Division cannot be traced. Supplying much needed mass, these men fulfilled an important role for the United States Army. However, their individual actions have been lost. Overall, the 38th Division played an extremely minor part in World War I. However, as a National Guard conglomerate, no great performance from the 38th was expected. The Kentuckians simply did their duty - nothing more and nothing less. An inglorious end to a heartbreaking chapter in history; but, only myth makers can find glory in war.

The 38th Division arrived in France less than two months before the war ended. In fact, the armistice was signed 16 days after the 138th’s fatal train wreck. The war ended much sooner than anyone had expected. Back in Kentucky, families waited anxiously for the soldiers’ return. Since communications were slow, most Kentuckians received news of the armistice at night. Endless celebrations were held throughout the state. For example, in several towns in Kentucky, bells rang as loud speakers carried the news to the public. Unable to contain their excitement, many Kentuckians jumped on their horses - riding

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219 Military Department of Kentucky, Kentucky Military History, 337.

220 Ibid.

221 Interview with Frank Smith, December 20, 1990.
them through the cities - yelling and screaming, "the war is over!". With tears streaming from their eyes, Kentuckians thanked God that the European nightmare had ended. Meanwhile, in the country, the celebrations continued with even more fervor. In the back country so much noise was made, it seemed as if the war had relocated from France to Kentucky. Setting off dynamite and shooting guns, Kentuckians rejoiced throughout the night. Overseas, the soldiers began the long journey home as they reflected on the abrupt conclusion of the hostilities. The night before the armistice, several American divisions were positioned on the line of the Meuse, preparing to attack across the river.222

In December, members of the 38th Division began returning home. The majority of the Division sailed home on the Martha Washington, passing President Wilson's ship on its way toward France. Being a Field Artillery unit and unneeded by the Army of Occupation, the 138th was one of the first units to leave France.223 Boarding the Mongolian, these men of the old First Kentucky retraced their voyage back across the sea. Eventually, the 138th returned to Camp Taylor, the place where their training had began.

After the war ended, not all the soldiers were allowed to go home. Following the armistice, the U.S. Army created


the 3rd Army and designated it the Army of Occupation. This Army was made up of several different divisions already in force. With the ceasefire, the German Army began withdrawing across the Rhine. Soon the American force would follow their former enemies into their country.

Beginning on November 17, advance elements of the 3rd Army crossed the Armistice line and proceeded toward Germany.\textsuperscript{224} The Army marched through the Rhineland until December 12, when it halted along the west bank of the Rhine River.\textsuperscript{225} Passing through the country, the Americans observed the demoralization of the once great German Army. Some members of the Cyclone Division had joined the 3rd Army, many of these soldiers were transferred into the 26th Division, becoming part of the Army of Occupation. The commander of the 26th was fellow Kentuckian, Harry C. Hale formerly of the 84th or Lincoln Division. Of the 38th Division, the unit that remained the longest in France was the 113th Engineers. Assigned to special duty, it would be six long months before these men would be mustered out of service.\textsuperscript{226} In February, Companies A, B, and C of the 113th joined the 7th Division of the 2nd Army. The latter had been assigned to assist the Army of Occupation,

\textsuperscript{224}United States Army in the World War 1917-1919, American Occupation of Germany, vol. II, 1.

\textsuperscript{225}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{226}"A History of the Thirty-Eighth Division," File: 38th Division History (Military History Museum, Frankfort, Kentucky).
particularly with all matter of supply. During the last weeks of the war, the 113th had shipped equipment to the United States forces. Their duty was inglorious yet, important, to the maintenance of logistics. The Unit shipped ammunition, food and other necessary supplies to the soldiers. In fact, the 113th was considered one of the most efficient units in the American Expeditionary Force.

As part of the Army of Occupation, the 113th engineers performed various duties. For example, they built rifle ranges, barracks and other constructions, as well as operated power plants and pumps to assist the division. The war had caused considerable damage to the French countryside and much road repair was needed over the area. Furthermore, the unit was assigned to clean-up duty in various towns. Working in the rain and muck, the men hauled off mud and delivered rock to impassable roads. The Unit’s major responsibility was to prepare the area for coming divisions. Week after week, the 113th watched other men return home, knowing it would be summer before they departed. Although the men’s morale was weakened by this sight, the 113th was determined to make the best of their

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229 1st Battalion, 113th Engineer War Diary, Feb. 18, 1919, March 24, 1919.
situation.  

Months later, on May 17th, the 113th received orders to proceed to Lemans, France for embarkation. The Unit departed France in mid July - arriving at New York Harbor by the thirty-first. From there, the 113th traveled to Camp Merrit, New Jersey where, after being divided according to state, were sent home. By August 5th all members of the unit had been discharged - bringing an end to the 113th.  

With the exception of the 63rd Artillery Brigade, all units of the Cyclone Division were used as replacements during World War I. While members of the 149th Infantry were in the thick of the fight, the remaining units were not transferred to the front until November 10th. The 38th Division's participation in World War I was a small sacrifice as compared to the Allied troops who weathered the storm for four long years. In all 7,518 Kentucky National Guardsmen served during World War I.

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230 Stokes, "Co. B 113th Ammunition Train."
231 Ibid.
CONCLUSION

American life individually and institutionally changed dramatically in the early 1900s. For purposes of this thesis, the most important changes occurred in military and diplomatic spheres. The most significant military change involved technology and weaponry. In fact, the invention of new weapons transformed warfare into a technological nightmare. The use of machine guns and advanced artillery combined with outdated Napoleonic tactics increased the number of battlefield casualties. World War I was a war of attrition for all sides. Changes occurred in military organization as well as in military tactics. For example, with the passage of the Dink Act, the role of the National Guard was expanded. Elevated to the same level as regulars, guardsmen obtained the privilege of participating in wars on foreign soil. This law led to national guard involvement in World War I.

On the diplomatic front, American foreign policy also began to change as the United States turned from isolationism to involvement in European conflicts. Perhaps the greatest irony in this situation was America's
leadership. Woodrow Wilson led the United States during both the Mexican Border Campaign and World War I. Wilson, a born diplomat deeply rooted in the tradition of isolationism, was perhaps America's least warlike commander-in-chief. Despite this fact, Wilson and his pacifist Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, successfully mobilized the country for war. Ironically, Wilson succeeded in war, yet failed in diplomacy. In World War I, the United States emerged as the only real victor. She possessed the power to influence affairs around the world; however, Wilson disillusioned with the peace agreements pulled America back into isolationism.

In many ways America's triumph in World War I was a hollow victory. Although Germany was defeated, Wilson's dream of world democracy failed. However, in several ways, the United States benefitted from the conflict. For example, with the end of war the safety of American trade and shipping was renewed. Furthermore, America was able to test her military might in a world conflict. When American soldiers first arrived in France, their fighting ability was viewed with skepticism. However, by early May, they proved themselves valuable allies in battle.

American soldiers were not heavily involved in fighting until September 1918. Their brief commitment on the battle line prompts questions on the genuine success of the Americans. In other words, did the United States forces excel simply because the war ended so quickly? Furthermore,
was General Jack Pershing given ample time to prove himself a successful military leader? Although American soldiers performed well on the battlefield, they entered the war against a weakened Germany. Eventually, Germany was overshadowed by superior forces. The war of attrition had taken its toll. Indeed, the entrance of the United States in the war was the death blow to the enemy. With regard to Pershing, he truly was an exceptional leader. He helped transform an ill-equipped, untrained force into a successful fighting machine.

In a state-by-state comparison, Kentuckians battle performance was neither better nor worse than others. Her soldiers answered the call and did their duty. Overall, the Kentucky National Guard did as well as could be expected. In the Mexican Border Campaign, Kentucky guardsmen were successful guarding their section of the border. The guardsmen, given an assignment for which they were trained, carried out the mission with zeal. In World War I, the Kentucky National Guard, as part of the 38th Division, was assigned as replacements. And, as in the 113th Engineers, several Kentucky guardsmen were involved in supplying the troops. Overall, the Kentucky National Guard was used wisely in the war, and the members performed needed tasks within their sphere of expertise.

America, particularly members of the guard, played a minor role in the great war; Kentucky had even a smaller part. However, the soldiers returned home believing they
had struck a blow for democracy. Filled with patriotism, the soldiers of World War I kept believing in the cause until they were disillusioned by the peacemaking process. Even then, America's participation was viewed as a great American triumph - marking the country's dramatic entrance into world affairs.
Appendix A

WINDSOR CASTLE.

Soldiers of the United States, the people of the British Isles welcome you on your way to take your stand beside the armies of many nations now fighting in the Old World the great battle for human freedom. The Allies will gain new heart and spirit in your company. I wish that I could shake the hand of each one of you and bid you Godspeed on your mission.

George V.

April 1918.

Letter from King George V of Great Britain to American soldiers. Obtained from William Carrell II.
The Center of Military History, United States Army, Order of Battle of the United States in The World War, Zone of the Interior: Territorial Departments, Tactical Divisions, Organized in 1918 Posts, Camps, Stations, Volume 3, Part 2 (Washington D.C., 1939)
The most important sources for this study were found at the Military Records and Research Library, Frankfort, Kentucky. This library houses records of the Kentucky National Guard from the Colonial period to present day. Their files contain fact sheets, memoirs, newspaper clippings and, other important documents. One of the most important sources were twenty volumes of unpublished records entitled, "Kentucky in the World War 1917-1919." This work contained several helpful newspaper clippings and memoirs. Although the information was disorganized and poorly cited, these "scrapbooks" were invaluable, providing material on the Spanish influenza and fatal train wreck. Several file cabinets also held important information. A cabinet entitled, "National Guard and Militia, Old War Rosters by Conflict," contained a helpful memoir by Sergeant Marion M. Stokes of the 113th Ammunition Train. More popular than scholarly, Stokes' account provided entertaining quotes and anecdotes, as well as serious information about the war. The Military Library contained several loose papers that were also helpful. A loose article entitled "Describes How Lieut B. Craig Met His Death" (File Cabinet: Unit History, State Headquarters Thru 35th Infantry Division) provided a detailed account of the 138th's fatal train wreck. Two
other loose papers included helpful information on the organization of the National Guard: an article entitled, "Kentucky Militia Formed Over 200 Years Ago Becomes Modern Day National Guard," and a paper entitled, "149th Infantry Regiment (Second Kentucky)." A poem, from the National Guard Association of the United States, entitled "I Am The Guard" provided inspiration for the title of this thesis.

The Military Library contained two helpful fact sheets on the Mexican Border Campaign. Both were found in the file cabinet, "National Guard and Militia, Old War Rosters by Conflict." Fact sheet, "Mexican Border War, 1916 and World War I, 1917 2d, 3d Regiments Kentucky Infantry" included muster rolls for both conflicts. The second sheet, entitled "1916 - 1918 Mexican Border Incident and World War I" provided more detailed information. It included a brief chronological report on the important activities of the Kentucky guard during this period. These straightforward sources listed dates and places of mobilization, as well as statistics. Also helpful for background information on Camp Taylor was a small booklet entitled Souvenir of Camp Zachary Taylor, Kentucky. Several general orders from the Adjutant General's office were also consulted.

The Military History Museum, Frankfort, Kentucky, contained two important files for this study. Most helpful were the Colonel George Chescheir Papers, Boxes 2 and 3. Included in this collection was a speech that provided
information on training and the fatal train wreck. Also helpful was a sheet entitled, "A History of the Thirty-eighth Division," (File Cabinet: 38th Division History). It provided a brief overview of the Cyclone Division.

Several newspapers provided information on the Kentucky National Guard's activities. Often, they were disappointing. Overall, the Louisville Courier Journal was a sketchy source. In the 1916 editions very little information was included on the guard's activities on the Mexican Border. The 1917 editions provided some helpful information on training, particularly activities at Camp Zachary Taylor. However, after the Kentucky National Guard left for Camp Shelby, they virtually disappeared from the Courier Journal. Although the 1918 editions included only scanty accounts of the guard, they provided helpful information on the Spanish Influenza. Also, the 1919 editions included some needed statistics.

The surviving 1918 editions of the Hattiesburg American provided a few accounts of the Kentucky National Guard at Camp Shelby. Overall, the paper was disappointing. The early January, 1919, editions of the Louisville Times provided helpful information on the fatal train wreck. Also, the December 6, 1917, edition of the Crittenden Press provided background information on the 84th or Lincoln Division.

Several letters and interviews provided invaluable
information. Most important were the Daniel Carrell letters donated to the author by Carrell’s great-grandson, William. These letters provided a detailed, first hand account of the fatal train wreck. Also, they included a description of the 138th’s voyage overseas. The Carrell letters were the most important sources for chapter four. A copy of the letters is currently housed at the Military Records and Research Library.

Perhaps the most valuable interview was conducted with Elmer Carrell. He provided information on life at Camp Shelby. Two interviews, conducted by Colonel Arthur Kelly (Oral History Collection, The University of Kentucky) were also used. They provided good information on trench life. World War I veterans Virgil Carrithers and Roy Sparks provided scanty information on their war experiences. Meanwhile, civilians Dolcia Layman and Richard “Dick” Duncan described the homefront, including Kentuckians’ reactions to the war and accounts of the Spanish Influenza. Also helpful were the author’s grandparents, Lorene Smith and the late Frank Smith.

Several books were used for background information on this thesis. The most important work was the Military Department of Kentucky, Military History of Kentucky (Frankfort, 1939). This book provides an adequate overview on the Kentucky National Guard. It includes a good description of the reorganization of the Kentucky guard and
some invaluable statistics. Two disappointing works were Army of the United States, Pictorial History, Thirty-Eighth Division (Atlanta, 1941) and Harold P. O'Gara, The History of the 149th Infantry (Booklet). Both works were brief. The first book dealt mostly with World War II; however, it did include a few lines on the cyclone that struck Camp Shelby. Thomas P. Grazulio, Significant Tornadoes 1880-1989, volume two of A Chronology of Events (St. Johnsburg, Vermont, 1990) provided the only real information on the Camp Shelby cyclone. The book contained a straightforward account of the storm's effects. Jim Dan Hill, The Minute Men In Peace and War, A History of the National Guard (Harrisburg, Penn., 1964) provided good information on the Dick Act and the early national guard. Two other books on the early guard were also consulted: Combat Studies Institute, Citizen Soldiers: A History of the Army National Guard and Edward Coffman, The Old Army, A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1794-1898 (New York, 1986).

For the Mexican Border Campaign, two major books were used. Herbert Molly Mason Jr., The Great Pursuit (New York, 1970) contained a detailed description of the Punitive Expedition. Also helpful was Frank E. Vandiver, Black Jack, The life and Times of John J. Pershing, 2 volumes (College Station and London, 1977). This work provided an excellent study of the Mexican Campaign, as well as the Great War. Also, it included a beautiful character sketch on General
Pershing. Black Jack was an excellent source. Additional information on Pershing was obtained from James W. Rainy, "Ambivalent Warfare: The Tactical Doctrine of the AEF in World War I," The Parameters of War: Military History From the United States Army War College (1987), which described Pershing's strategic war plans.

Several books were consulted on the diplomatic aspects of the war. Four biographies on President Woodrow Wilson were used: Arthur S. Link, Wilson, The Struggle For Neutrality 1914-1915 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1960), William Dunseath Eaton and Harry C. Read, Woodrow Wilson, His Life and Work (N.P., 1919), John Dos Passos, Mr. Wilson's War (Garden City, New York, 1962) and, Harvey A. Deweerd, President Wilson Fights His War: World War I and the American Intervention (New York and London, 1918). Also, Barbara Tuchman, The Zimmerman Telegram (United States, 1955) provided a vivid description of German/Mexican intrigues against the United States.

Concerning America's overall participation in World War I, three major sources were used. Edward M. Coffman, The War to End All Wars, The American Experience in World War I (New York, 1968) provided excellent information on training activities. Laurence Stallings and M.S. Wyeth Jr., The Doughboys, The Study of the AEF 1917-1918 (New York, 1963) contained many invaluable statistics. The Historical Division, Department of the Army, American Occupation of

Additional sources were collected from four libraries in Kentucky. The George Brand Duncan Papers, 1861-1850, 1886-1919, 1916-1919 (Margaret King Library, University of Kentucky) provided some scanty information on the war. Minute accounts of Camp Zachary Taylor were taken from Camp Zachary Taylor Papers 1921 (Filson Club, Manuscript Department, Louisville, Kentucky) and, Harry R. Groat and George T. Holmes, *In and Out of Camp Zachary Taylor, Life at Camp in Prose and Verse* (Louisville, 1919, The Filson Club Library). A helpful first hand account of the world war by Henry A. Bass was found in *File: World Wars I and II, Records, Kentucky* (Filson Club Library). Three helpful
articles were discovered at the Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky. Most valuable was Nancy D. Baird, "The 'Spanish Lady' in Kentucky 1918-1919," The Filson Club Quarterly 50 (April, 1976), 290-301. This article included a detailed description of the deadly epidemic. Richard A. Edwards, "W W I Experiences of Stephen L. Edwards," The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society 67 (July 1, 1969), 211-220 provided a chilling account of the battlefield. Also, Jean Howerton Coady, "An Army Sprang Up at Camp Taylor" File: WW I Camp Zachary Taylor (Kentucky Historical Society Library) included some information on training. The Kentucky Library, Western Kentucky University, contained three important manuscripts. Most valuable was Jacqueline E. Powell, "A History of Camp Zachary Taylor," March, 1966, Vertical File: "Camp Z. Taylor (Bluegrass - Charcoal Making). Also helpful was the Barret Family Papers 1877-1926. folder 3, under "WW I 1914-1918" and WW I 1914-1918, Letters (Department of Library, Special Collections, Manuscripts, Western Kentucky University, Bowling Green, Kentucky).

Finally, four additional sources were used in this thesis. "Camp Shelby, Mississippi," Booklet (Camp Shelby Museum, Hattiesburg, Mississippi) provided a brief sketch of the history of Shelby. Also helpful was "War Diary, 1st BN, 113th Engineers, 38th Division" (Raymond Craven Library, Western Kentucky University). This work provided scanty
information on the occupation forces. Overall, the diary was disappointing. The Center for Military History, Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War, volume 3, part 2, Zone of the Interior: Territorial Departments Tactical Division Organized in 1918, Posts, Camps, Stations, (Washington, 1988) provided a good map of the Mexican border. Two maps of wartime France were acquired from The Department of Military Art and Engineering, The United States Military Academy, West Point Atlas of American Wars 1900-1953, volume II (West Point, New York, 1959).

The Augustus Owsley Stanley Papers, 1867-1958, 1844-1958, 1902-1958 (Margaret King Library, The University of Kentucky) were also consulted. Surprisingly, the information was not helpful.
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