

NDQ
REPRINTS



**The University of
North Dakota and the
Great War**

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THE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH
DAKOTA
AND
THE GREAT WAR



The Digital Press @
The University of North Dakota





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SERIES INTRODUCTION

The goal of this series is to recover and republish pieces of THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA (and NORTH DAKOTA QUARTERLY). The selection of Doves Type for the first volume in the series intentionally evokes the rediscovery of things lost as well as the traditional craft of printing and publishing at the core of both higher education and the founding mission of NORTH DAKOTA QUARTERLY.

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ABOUT THE TYPE

THIS reprint from THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA (later NORTH DAKOTA QUARTERLY) is set in a modern reconstruction of the famed Doves Type font. T.J. Cobden-Sanderson commissioned the type from engraver Emery Walker in 1900 for use by The Dove Press which the two men ran as a partnership. Cobden-Sanderson was a friend of William Morris and active in the Arts and Crafts movement. The font reflects William Morris's fondness for the 15th-century types of Nicolas Jenson and preserves some of the premodern elegance absent in popular fonts of the day.

When Cobden-Sanderson and Walker dissolved their partnership between 1909 and 1913, Walker systematically deposited the matrices in the Thames river a short distance from their printing office. Over four months in 1916 and 1917, Walker discarded the entire type set. In 2015, however, Robert Green was able to recover 150 pieces of the type in the Thames river and reconstruct the font.

Today, the reconstructed font remains a bit incomplete and unconventional without italics or bolds and with a quirky, half-rendered question mark (?). At the same time, these irregularities preserve some of the charm of its history and humanity in an era overshadowed by the most inhumane of wars.

INTRODUCTION

The University of North Dakota felt the Great War in distinctive ways. Members of the UND community fought (and died) in Europe, worked in the domestic war effort, challenged the wisdom of the war, and reflected on a more peaceful future. The nine articles reprinted in this volume capture the range of attitudes, experiences, and engagements with the First World War on campus and beyond.

The articles by UND faculty members O.G. Libby, Hugh Willis, George R. Davies, and Harley E. French document both attitudes and the response to the war on campus. Libby, a professor of history, and Willis, a professor of law, in particular, expressed purposefully their attitudes toward the war and their patriotism in the time of conflict. Both held progressive political views and clashed with the university administration, and the politically conservative university president Thomas Kane in particular, on the conduct of war-related activities on campus. George R. Davies, who earned the first Ph.D. awarded by UND under Libby and his progressive colleague in sociology, professor John Gillette, demonstrates his sympathy with progressive politics in his contribution. By the 1920s, the conflict between the progressive views of these faculty members, which are readily apparent in their contributions to this volume, and the more conservative views on campus and across the state, led to an open rift on campus and calls for Libby's removal. In contrast to Libby and Willis, Harvey French, the dean of the medical school, sided with Thomas Kane in suggesting that the *QUARTERLY* avoided overt political entanglements. French guided the medical school at UND for over 35 years and established himself as the father of medical education in the state. Whatever tensions existed between these men and their political parties,

the articles in this volume makes clear that these men contributed significantly to the war effort on campus.

The articles by William Greenleaf, Hazel Nielson, and Wesley Johnson provide firsthand experiences of the war. Hazel Nielson was the daughter of Scottish immigrants from Valley City and the younger sister of Minnie Neilson, who served as Superintendent of Schools for North Dakota running on the NPL ticket. Wesley Johnson's account of his experiences in the Great War is perhaps the best known description from a native of North Dakota. As a 17-year-old sophomore at UND, he saw considerable action during the war and his vivid record foreshadows his career as the publisher for various newspapers throughout the state. William Greenleaf served as the secretary for the university's Alumni Association, and describes in sometimes coarse language the experiences of a member of the university community who did not get to Europe. Instead, he provides a rich depiction of life in various military facilities in the U.S. and does not shy from criticizing both military life and his own attitudes toward his fellow soldiers.

The articles reprinted in this volume present an important source of historical material for the history of the University of North Dakota and the state. At the same time, these articles demonstrate how far-flung conflicts can have a direct impact on our community, and also remind us of local costs and opportunities of our global citizenship.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH DAKOTA
AND
THE GREAT WAR

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE

O.G. Libby

University of North Dakota

Originally published in NDQ

Volume 6, Number 2 (January 1916), 93-103.

The pressure of the great war is felt in this country in many ways, some of them beneficial and others sinister. A few notables among our well wishers have taken this opportunity to tell us that we must imitate the great powers of Europe and prepare for war in time of peace, that our present policy of war unpreparedness is wrong in principle and dangerous in practise.

It has seemed appropriate at this time to consider calmly and dispassionately the historic grounds upon which our peace policy may be said to rest.

Under our present constitution we have so far fought but a single national war, the conflict with England in 1812. It is not necessary now to justify that war. Westward expansion had been halted by the dubious Indian policy of the British fur traders on the Great Lakes. Our profitable neutral trade was being interrupted at every point and the profits of this trade were set in opposition to considerations of national honor and the flag. At considerable risk and at great sacrifice, we were able to bring the war to a successful close. Since that time we have never had to adopt a permanent war policy toward any other great nation, nor have we felt for any considerable time a distinct war pressure from any source, European or American. What have we gained by this long respite from war? It is not easy to state results of this nature, complicated as they are by a multiplicity of factors, in which peace plays a role

of constantly varying importance. But by comparison with the European nations who have been for the past century subject to all the shocks and tremors of impending war, we may form some estimate of the negative and positive gains we have enjoyed by our prolonged immunity from war.

The most obvious of these advantages is to be seen in our industrial advance in which the two prime factors of labor and capital seem to have always been present with a timeliness that has been little short of marvelous. Labor has been at our disposal in a two-fold way. The young men of the nation, the brain as well as the [94] brawn, have all been spared to us to swell our industrial fighting line that holds the front rank place in our seaboard commerce, in our railroad systems, and in our agricultural and factory output. These industrial armies have been reinforced constantly by the foreign immigrant, who has been reared and educated at no expense to us but who represents a most efficient addition to our producers of wealth. Not the least of the reasons for the tremendous tide of immigration that has been setting toward our shores is the heavy burden of conscription and compulsory army service that weighs down every wealth producer there. What our immunity from this blood tax has been worth to us in labor values, it is, of course, impossible to estimate. At the low valuation fixed by a recent judicial decision, (\$5000), we have been able to attract to our shores labor values amounting to billions, to say nothing of what has been saved in like values for our native population.

In the second industrial factor of capital we have been equally fortunate. The loss of capital in war preparation is not merely what is burnt or wasted but also the inevitable losses of still greater volume in the form of out-of-date armament that swells to ever increasing proportion as newer and more efficient equipment comes into vogue. Fleets that have never fired a war volley, batteries that have hardly burnt powder are by a stroke of the pen relegated to the scrap pile, to be replaced by others and still others in a never ending series. This costly imitation of another's dream of preparedness is one of the ghastly ironies of the boasted high grade efficiency

of 19th century European civilization. For our own part, tho we have had the handicap of a small capital and high interest rate, yet at least we can say that we have not had periodically to throw any of our substantial investments into the junk heap. We have opened new resources every year, we have leagued with nature to make good our deficiencies and our returns have grown in volume with each new enterprise. Our constant demand for capital has brought abundant response from war-ridden Europe. Our national peace program has come to be looked upon as a safe guarantee for investment and there has been no lack of capital for all undertakings. The burden of war armament in Europe has driven across the water every year an increasing volume of that capital which is seeking a more profitable investment than is possible at home. In one other respect we have been fortunate in the investment of our capital, namely, in its political aspect. The inevitable development of corporate control of wealth has come to be a menace to our civilization and we are seeking to solve the problem, wisely and conservatively. Good [95] government, civic responsibility, social reform, are to-day all menaced by corporate greed and organized selfishness. Fortunately we have not to face the added peril of capital organized solely to initiate and prolong war or to defend and uphold the long agony of war preparedness. No attacks upon our constitution under guise of a national peril have yet been possible. Pseudo-patriotism has never yet lent its aid to corporate exploitation of the nation's wealth. Neither the Standard Oil Company nor any of its contemporaries has yet found an ally comparable to the Krupp juggernaut of the European industrial world. No lobby pledged to war or to war preparation in time of peace has yet scourged our Federal Capitol or corrupted our National Legislature. The shield of the national honor has never yet intervened to protect organized wealth from just public censure and adequate punishment.

The social loss to a nation by a war policy such as the European powers have been subjected to, can best be seen in the military caste which there comes to be an important, if not a predominant,

element in the life of the state. Civil and political equality cease to be realities in the presence of an all pervading militarism. In this caste patriotism is held to be incarnate; if others are patriotic it is only by reflecting, so to speak, the effulgence of true patriotism inherent in the lives and acts of the military. An obsession of this nature can but undermine true citizenship and in the end leaves the state without defenders, face to face with those who wish to exploit her wealth and to make useless sacrifice of the life blood of her people. The low standard of fundamental morality inherent in the military viewpoint was never better exemplified than in that ocean catastrophe which less than a year ago shocked the whole civilized world. The sinking of the *Lusitania* is a perfect demonstration in every sickening detail of the complete working out of the principles upon which a military civilization is based. It represents the total collapse of all that man has attained in his painful evolution out of and away from the abysmal beast.

The place of the church in a modern community is already sufficiently precarious, in view of its dependence upon predatory wealth and its subordination to the organized selfishness of its principal supporters. The poor, the weak, the oppressed can no longer look up to the church for succor or for guidance as formerly. A state of war or a policy of preparedness for war in this country would place upon the church an unbearable handicap, which would still farther cripple her already weakened resources. The church can hold logically but one attitude toward war, — that of abhorrence [96] and steady opposition. That this attitude has not actually been assumed in the past and will never be reached independently seems to be axiomatic. Those, therefore, who believe in maintaining the church as a factor in modern society must deplore the entrance of militarism into our national life.

Still more serious is the dilemma in which the public school and the university find themselves in a military state. It is one of the first duties of a military caste to prepare educational courses and to fix standards as well as to establish social observances and ideals. But the chief function of a state university is the creation

of leaders in every walk of life. Any interference with the normal operation of this function perverts university life and thwarts the whole purpose of public education. The state supported university has been and is still the nursery of free thought and the laboratory for the unhampered study of all problems. Universities have created new openings for youthful enthusiasm and self sacrifice, turned the minds of the young continually toward the larger and more generous tasks of peace and they stand, to-day, perhaps the most effective agency for keeping our nation from militarism and devoted to the serious task of maintaining our progressive democracy. As war agencies, universities would be mere instruments in the hands of a military caste for enslaving the masses and blinding their eyes to the hopeless costs of war. Leaders they must ever be, but as blind leaders of the blind they would present a melancholy spectacle of perverted power.

But this is not merely a theoretical question to be worked out as a problem for the psychologist and political theorist. Our history bears evidence in every chapter that we have been fortunate in not having to carry the heavy load that weighs down the nations of Europe. The Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793 is the first faint foreshadowing of that policy under which we have lived so long and so happily. If the minority of American people who desired war with England at this time had been able to force the majority to their way of thinking, we would have been dragged into a war that would in all probability have lasted till Waterloo. This would have given Hamilton, with Washington's support, the leading role in our government. Hamilton had no faith in our democracy and would undoubtedly have been glad to utilize this war to centralize the government and thus render it more efficient for war purposes. Thomas Jefferson was, at this time, coming prominently to the front as a constructive statesman, but with the Hamiltonian war policy firmly entrenched in the public mind, he would have failed to win [97] recognition with his unwelcome theories of peace. Yet, without Jefferson, we should very likely have had to forego the Louisiana Purchase, his new theory of American Democracy,

and the maintenance of foreign immigration and naturalization of foreigners as essential parts of our future policy of westward expansion. To have Jefferson outdistanced in this mad race into war meant a still greater calamity. It meant that the nation would accept the leadership of his great rival, the brilliant but unprincipled Hamilton and this would have altered the whole direction of our national growth at the time when our habits and tendencies were being fixt. At this critical time we were not merely hostile to England but this hostility extended also to Spain on account of her interference with the free navigation of the Mississippi River. The policy of settling territorial disputes by war once being established, and lacking Jefferson's restraining hand, we would very likely have fought Spain for both Florida and Louisiana, if not for Mexico. Nor must it be forgotten that a war with England in 1795 meant the probability of a ten years' war instead of the three years we actually experienced.

Furthermore, after ten years of war under Hamilton and his ilk, the reasons for permanent war preparedness would be even stronger than in 1795. In the Red River Valley, England's territory extended like a wedge into our valuable northern Mississippi Valley. Our boundary was in dispute. Both England and United States claimed the Columbia Valley and Spain held the coast to the south. If manifest destiny pointed the way to the Pacific, it was equally clear that the only way to reach it was by the sword. Preparedness for war would, in 1815, demand a protected frontier, especially in the north. We were vulnerable along our entire lake front from Ontario to Superior, while an unwatched line ran thru an empty prairie, over which at any point an English Canadian army might enter to burn, plunder, and destroy. To prepare for the inevitable, we must seize the Red River Valley, fortify the boundary line to the Rockies, build lake gun boats and fortify all the Great Lake ports in order to anticipate England and be ready to strike before she was ready. In this way and in this way alone, could we get fifty-four forty and the Columbia Valley.

Such might have been the course of our history if we had followed the accepted policy of Europe in dealing with international disputes. It suggests what we gained by Washington's eight years of peace, firmly held against frantic Jacobin denunciation of his policy and the unpopularity of Jay's treaty. It is plain, also, that the twenty-four years of Jeffersonian peace regime, continued on four [98] years more by John Quincy Adams, meant a permanent unpreparedness for war as a national policy. It meant, also, that England would likewise adopt the same policy for our entire international boundary line, that she would cede us the Red River Valley in 1818 without a shot being fired and would divide the Columbia country with us without a penny spent for powder or wasted on armament. If this peace achievement of Jefferson and his successors were capitalized, how many billions were saved to the nation in fortifications and in military equipment, how many thousand precious lives were spared! Who would undertake to purchase now in the open market the territory we acquired by being unprepared to fight, the richest half of North Dakota, the mineral lands of Minnesota, and her half of the Red River Valley, the state of Washington and a large part of Oregon. We have heard about making war pay for itself, in this case, at least, a peace policy paid for itself abundantly, good measure, prest down and running over.

But the Jeffersonian peace regime had yet another triumph to record in 1823, in the Monroe Doctrine. England was by this time ready to offer us an alliance to protect her commercial interests in South America. The Holy Alliance had announced a policy which would bring her armies and navies to America to restore the old regime of Spain. In offering the new republic her friendly offices, England undoubtedly expected us to accept as the natural solution of a delicate situation. Moreover, without the peace policy of Jefferson and the neutrality policy of Washington, we would undoubtedly have accepted England's offer of a defensive and offensive alliance, as the easy and honorable way out of our difficulties. We would thereafter have been plunged into all the

intricacies of European politics and we would perforce have had to accept the European theory of preparedness for war with all its consequences and its implications. We passed this critical point in our history by the announcement of the Monroe Doctrine and by refusing at the same time to begin any investment in war armament. It was magnificent and it was not war.

We have sometimes forgotten that Andrew Jackson was perhaps our most military president. His reputation had been made at the battle of New Orleans and his rough and ready, tho un-diplomatic, handling of the situation in Florida had not lost him anything in the general esteem. His was the military outlook and he was wont to issue his orders like military commands, and woe to the men or institution that dared to cross him. Well for us was it that our policy of peace and war unpreparedness had been firmly [99] rooted in the popular consciousness for the stern old warrior seemed frequently to be, in the eyes of the impartial onlooker, "just spoiling for a fight." There were no armies to command, no fleets to muster, no frontier forts to strengthen or to defend. But Jackson was at no loss to find battle fields, they came to him readily enough. In 1825 we find him beginning his party, the party he created by stating clearly and positively a new issue upon which the American people could divide. His opponents, Adams and Clay, underrated his fighting spirit and his staying qualities, as they did, also, the unheard of enthusiasm with which his party program was adopted all over the country. Nevertheless, we may consider ourselves fortunate that President Jackson fought not against Europe but against the United States Bank and destroyed it and that he dealt a staggering blow at southern nullification and disunion from which it did not recover for a generation. These were conflicts for which he was thoroughly equipped and in the conduct of which he found congenial occupation. Moreover, the country called for change and progress. The new-west, in the van of the movement, looked to him for leadership and they were not disappointed. The readjustment of national responsibility for the advance ground taken in Jackson's administrations had been

shifted from the East to the great Middle West. What we, as a nation, were to be hereafter, what our national ideals and what our constitutional principles, had been decided before Jackson's masterful hand was laid upon the helm of state. He would have been a great general in a national war and he would have carried us thru triumphantly, at whatever cost. He might very likely have fastened the fetters of war preparation upon us permanently in the course of his successful career as a commander-in-chief. As it was, there was no place for him except in the field of peace and here he labored intensely during those critical years when he was master of the nation's destiny.

Had we been committed to a military policy at the time of our late Civil War, the outcome of that great struggle must have been decidedly different. We have all heard how the members of Buchanan's cabinet prepared for the coming struggle between the North and South by transferring guns and ammunition to southern ports and by scattering the ships of our fleet far and wide. Had we really inaugurated a policy of war preparation, the south would have been able to utilize our large reserves of armament to prolong the already costly war indefinitely. Her great weakness lay in lack of arms and ammunition and in her inability to manufacture them. A war policy would have given them abundant excuse to prepare as elaborately [100] for inevitable war as has Germany to-day. After the Mexican war in 1848 we know now that many of the regiments and companies in the south who served in that war did not disband but continued to drill and arm for the next war. What would have been the consequences if these fiery advocates of the new war had for the next twelve years been placed in charge of the governmental machinery of war preparation. The south would have been one armed camp and the issue of slavery would have been swallowed up in the enthusiasm for a vindication under arms of the rights of the states. Thus would the terrible struggle have been prolonged many years and it is not entirely out of the range of possibilities that it would have meant complete disruption of our Union. We must consider, also, in this connection what war

tension would have meant along our Canadian border during our Civil War. With the Indians responsible for the Minnesota massacre escaping into Canada, with England and France on the brink of recognizing the Southern Confederacy, it is difficult to see how an armed conflict could have been avoided with the people to the north of us and with England herself. Russia, on the other hand, had just passed thru the Crimean war with France and England, and would gladly have aided us against either of these states. Thus the length of our Civil War and its heavy costs would have been very greatly increased by all these contingencies, which would have followed inevitably a previous policy of war preparedness. Our remarkable recovery from the effects of the Civil War was in no small degree the result of previous freedom from the blood tax of other wars and the burden of maintaining an army and navy on a war footing. Our great national achievements in the development of manufacturing, in transportation, in the occupation of new territories and in the conservation of our resources are striking proof of our unimpaired vigor and of our forethought in avoiding the limitless waste of war.

Historically, therefore, it seems to be demonstrable that a policy of peace and permanent unpreparedness for war has been of untold benefit to us as a nation and that we have not yet been in any peril by reason of our persistence in this line of action. We may properly at this time raise the question whether this policy which has worked so well in the past will any longer serve as a safe national policy for the twentieth century. There have been protests made here and there in the past against our peace program but recently, more especially since the outbreak of the Great War, a very considerable increase in volume of these protests has been observed. These voices of dissent have swelled into a very respectable, if warlike, chorus [101] whose burden and message for us is war preparation, army and navy increase, purchase or manufacture of war material. Here is Usher's PAN AMERICANISM, forecasting with the absolute certainty of a new-made prophet, the war which we are to wage with the victor in the present conflict. Hudson Maxim, ordinance

expert and inventor, presents his interested view of the situation in a book he calls felicitously enough, *DEFENCELESS AMERICA*, with a moral that is as obvious as garlic. Another author obligingly describes in detail for our instruction and profit modern methods in warfare, tactics, armament, and the mechanics and engineering of war, and still another lecturer in military history at the War College, Washington, D. C., has put in a book entitled *ARMS AND THE RACE*, the lessons of Belgium and Switzerland brought down to date and spelling for us a reversal of our peace policy and demonstrating the absolute necessity of war preparation. These few titles are but the chance gleanings from a single number of a current magazine. A war bibliography up to date on our past history and our future policy would fill pages of titles both of books and of magazine articles. It is an outpouring of intellect, emotion, insular prejudice, jingoism and yellow journalism rarely matched in the history of literature. We are the one striking exception among the great powers not committed to a definite war program. We offer, therefore, a shining target for every champion of militarism and every unbalanced alarmist on this side of the water. Our writers and journalists are always eager to discover the latest popular demand and to fill it as quickly as possible. They have even been known to force the market a little to stimulate the taste of the reading public up to an appreciation of the latest work on the newest sensation. The present titanic conflict, with all its attendant horrors, is being exploited in the interests of those who stand committed to a war policy for our nation. Very little that is being produced on the subject can possibly have permanent value but it is excellent campaign material. Will these pro-military arguments succeed in impressing the American people with the need of a radical change of policy? Will the war capitalist, the hysterical jingoist, the hired scribbler, singly or collectively, force us to a change of front? Or rather, will not this great war leave us still as we are, with only the addition of a fully adequate *POLICE FORCE* for law and order, but without the curse of war preparedness saddled upon us?

We have not time to stop in our national forward movement in order to imitate the European states. Imitation is after all one of the lower phases of intellectual activity,—we share it with the monkeys. We are fairly launched on a career of our own, our [102] history is as unique as is our present opportunity. We must harvest, and we must sow anew. Industrially we have much to do, our industries are established on too wasteful a basis, our transportation system compels us to barter for a minimum of speed a maximum of power, and those who have been successful in mere business administration have insensibly come to assume a dangerous preponderance in our political and social system. We have inaugurated an era of reform that will take our best to develop. Our diplomacy is no longer provincial and insular as it was but a generation ago. We are vitally interested in the near east and in the far east, our Panama Canal has altered the currents of a world's trade. We are a Pacific power as well as an Atlantic power, and our interests reach from the Behring Sea to the Caribbean. We are responsible in no small measure for the future policy of an entire hemisphere. What we do, Canada and Mexico are perforce obliged to copy or to emulate. South America looks to us for guidance, or at least for suggestion. Should we swerve from our established peace-policy, the whole Western world would be shaken. We could menace by war preparation our weaker neighbors as Germany has Belgium and Holland, or as Russia has the Scandinavian countries, and the same results would follow. Every state, large and small, would begin to arm in proportion to her population and resources, or, what is more likely, out of all proportion to them. No representation, however earnest, could possibly allay the fears of the weak American states in the face of war preparation on the part of a few strong neighbors. The greatest calamity that could afflict this hemisphere would be a Congress and a President in our country thoroughly committed to war preparedness of the German or French type. It would be to open a veritable Pandora's box of international woes, and not even hope would be left to us. We are told that war preparation is an asset but we must

not forget that so also is a peace policy, and for us on this continent it has been undoubtedly our greatest national asset. That we need a well conceived and carefully developed peace regime for the further working out of our destiny as the leading American power is merely a truism. The great English speaking nation to the north of us, our working partner in the future years of progress, cannot afford any more than can we to adopt a permanent war policy as a blood tax on all the years to come. Together we are strong enough to carry thru any policy that may seem best for America's future interests. That the discredited old world plan of war armament as a peace guarantee will not be adopted as a working policy of American twentieth century progress, is, I believe, fairly well [103] assured. Our peace momentum is pretty certain to carry us by this present danger point, and once past this crisis there seems hardly any likelihood of a speedy recurrence of a similar peril. We believe that the English speaking peace lovers on this side the water will carry their point triumphantly) and settle the question for our generation at least. For the future, the danger of war appears likely to diminish in geometrical ratio as the years go on, and once the nations of the world can all thoroughly awaken from the artificially induced nightmare of war necessity and military hero worship, the poor and the oppressed, as well as the rich and the mighty, may really begin to live in a world laid down on peace lines.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE GREAT WAR

O.G. Libby

University of North Dakota

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At the opening of the present conflict there were few who would have agreed with General Kitchener that the world was facing a three years' war. Economists, statisticians, and financiers conclusively proved to their own satisfaction from their tables of production and distribution and their computations as to the available wealth of the world that six months was the extreme limit of the war. Beyond that time they held that it was absolutely impossible for the war to be waged. Reason, self-interest, financial prudence, and all the deductions from statistics clearly forbade a longer war.

This attitude of European thinkers reminds one of a parallel case in the struggles flowing from the French Revolution. The statesmen and diplomats of Europe were completely at fault in their view of the probable outcome. When France declared war upon Austria and precipitated that long European conflict of one hundred years ago, the premises and conclusions of these leaders were quite as convincing as those we listened to a short time since. Unfortunately for these facile prophecies regarding this earlier war, two prime factors entered into the problem that in conjunction tended irresistibly to lengthen the struggle and to make it the most costly war that had so far been waged in modern times. These two factors were the political revolution in France, along with its accompaniments of economic and social upheaval, and the

appearance of Napoleon with his genius for organization and his medieval conception of the place of a ruler in the life of a national state.

In this greatest of the world's modern wars the analysis of the political and social background will reveal, in quite a similar fashion, the presence of powerful and far-reaching forces that from the beginning have been steadily at work extending the area of the war and multiplying and intensifying its destructive effects. The complete discussion of these underlying causes of the prolongation of the war must necessarily be postponed until after the evidence is all assembled and the details of the struggle have retired somewhat from the foreground. It is possible, however, to present some of the more obvious phases of the question and to indicate as far as possible why the course of the conflict has so far outrun the forecast of everyday prudence and has apparently gone counter to all the ordinary conventions of diplomacy and the counsels of statesmanship. [25]

It is no longer necessary to enter into a formal argument to show that Germany was the aggressor in the present war and that for a long time she had been fully prepared and awaited only a favorable moment to strike. From the evidence now at hand we can be certain that the campaign of frightfulness in Belgium, France, and Poland, the unspeakable Turkish atrocities in Armenia, the bombing of unprotected towns and hospitals, the dropping of poisoned candy from aeroplanes, to say nothing of the ghastly features of under-sea warfare, that all these methods of winning the war were worked out in advance by her military and naval experts as carefully and coolly as a laboratory expert prepares his material for a series of experiments. Recent revelations have shown, also, how her diplomats, cooperating with the chancellor, spread a net of spies over every land, and, using the governmental courtesies accorded to their representatives, plotted against the very governments to which they were accredited. Pledges, treaties, and agreements became waste paper in the hands of the Kaiser and his satellites. And when this universal campaign of treachery just

fell short of that success which was to be its ultimate justification, the world stood aghast at the revelation of what had been meant by these magic words, "KULTUR," "DER TAG," and "DEUTSCHLAND UBER ALLES." For those who had known only the university life of Germany and had spent years in the scholarly atmosphere of Berlin, Leipsic, or Göttingen, this display of calculated savagery on such a scale seemed unthinkable. To those who had visited the charming old castles on the Rhine and had admired and loved the classic Germany of music and drama, the ruthless Germany that had burned Louvain and ravaged the countryside of peaceful Belgium was a veritable nightmare.

In considering the background for so remarkable a phenomenon as the present war it is necessary to bear in mind that outside of a small clique in Germany no one anywhere in the world wanted or anticipated such a war as we are at present fighting. Moreover, the most singular feature of the whole affair is that the ruling class in Germany has seemed to be willing to risk inevitable extinction in case of failure. From this angle the whole conflict has the appearance of being the last throw of a desperate gambler. Yet no one has appeared to be aware of any political or diplomatic crisis in the Kaiser's domain that would justify his consent to a plan, which has brought upon his people the greatest of calamities, and has made German KULTUR a term of almost universal scorn and detestation thruout the civilized world. The first difficulty to be encountered, therefore, in ascertaining the historical causes for the course pursued [26] by the German government is the apparent lack of adequate reason for a declaration of war.

Since the establishment of the German state in 1871, one looks in vain for that well-ordered line of policy that should enable the German people to take their part in the European world with the least amount of friction and offer the fullest opportunity for national evolution along normal lines. The growth of Germany, on the contrary, has been artificial, unbalanced, and materialistic, and has displayed an astonishing lack of originality, especially in the field of politics. In every form of activity German development

shows only too plainly the Hohenzollern forcing process that has been applied, now here and now there, always with success and never failing to produce the same stereotyped result. A brief survey of Germany's historic past will serve to show a few of the salient features of her actual development.

The German people emerged from the Middle Ages without having achieved that political unity under a single ruler which was to give France, England, and Spain the advantage over the loosely confederated states of the Holy Roman Empire. The growth of Austria and the extension of her authority did not cure these divisions. Austria's development during the entire period from the Renaissance to the present day has been imperial rather than national, and whatever power she has held has been at the expense of some people whose national life she has hindered or destroyed. In the Austrian empire are included parts of the perished state of Poland, subjected Bohemia, and fragments of Rumania, as well as of several Czech states. Modern history has been the story of the rise of national states to power, a political evolution greatly accelerated by the results of the French Revolution. In the midst of this birth and growth of national states, Austria has remained a political anachronism, unable to take part in the course of events and becoming more and more opposed to the trend of those dynamic forces that were transforming European political life. After the revolution of 1848 Austria lost her leadership and by her crooked diplomacy during the course of the Crimean war she forfeited the friendship of Russia, whose ally she had been since the days of Frederick the Great. The subsequent rise of Italy to unity and independence under Cavour and Austria's defeat at the hands of the new Prussian state drove Austria more and more to expand down the Danube Valley toward Turkey. This inevitable territorial expansion of Austria brought her into speedy clash with Russia whose ambition for an open port made Constantinople the national goal. The subsequent rise of the small Balkan states to [27] virtual independence and Russia's championship of their rights against the threats of Austria and Turkey sufficiently explains

this last phase of the Balkan situation up to the recent entrance of Germany into the affairs of the near East.

The progress of the German people to political self conscious has never been aided in the slightest degree by Austria's dominant position previous to 1848. It lay, rather, in the leadership which Prussia was able to attain after Austria's blunders during the Crimean war. Up to the adjournment of the National Assembly of 1850 the Germans outside of Austria had been moving steadily toward unity and self government. In this evolution they were following in the wake of the other European states that had already achieved nationality. England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Scandinavian States, France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, had all succeeded in bringing their own people together and in freeing them from imperial or non-national control. This nationalizing movement among the people of Europe had been opposed at various times by the imperial ambitions of certain Spanish and French rulers such as Charles V, Louis XIV, and Napoleon. The irresistible tendency toward nation forming was not to be checked by any counter influence however well led. It was the force of national aspiration that broke down even Napoleon's empire and freed Europe from the curse of his irresponsible tyranny. The rise of Prussia is in full harmony with the modern tendencies in the direction of national unity. The work of the greatest of her kings, Frederick II, is a fair type of the nationalizing process going on among the Germans. This ruler was more successful than his predecessors but he was at all times thoroly national and anti-imperial. The long contest with Austria culminating in the Seven Years' War was of his own choosing. He first seized Silesia in order to get strength to oppose Austria, his imperial opponent. He next broke with France and allied with England in order to escape the inevitable transfer of German land to satisfy the French desire for Rhine territory. In the partition of Poland he allowed the bulk of the territory to go to Russia and Austria in order to avoid further addition of non-national people to his Germanic state. The initial impulse he gave to German unity and patriotism was not wholly

lost even in the days of Napoleon's greatest triumph. The rise of Prussia to a high place in Germany was the result of the revival of the national ideals that had been the strength of their people during the dark days of the Seven Years War.

The German people lost their greatest opportunity in history when their National Assembly of 1850 was dissolved without bringing [28] to them that unity and self government toward which they had been definitely moving since 1815. The period of 1848-50 was extremely favorable for the attainment of their goal. Austria was in the throes of revolt, Hungary had demanded self government, her Slavic dependencies were pressing for similar concessions, and Italy was in open rebellion with fair chance of winning her independence. The state of Prussia, helplessly adrift, was awaiting Austria's guidance in this period of confusion. All Europe was alive with the new spirit of patriotism and democracy and there was no power able or willing to oppose the fulfillment of the long cherished German ideal of national unity and self government. Why this fair promise failed of fruition has never been satisfactorily explained.

Months were wasted by the National Assembly in discussing the philosophical basis upon which the new German state was to rest. The speedy collapse of the Italian and Hungarian revolt, and the aid of the Russian army at a critical moment gave the forces of reaction an unlooked for opportunity to strike down the new movement. The inherent difficulty of constructing a strong central movement to replace the traditional division and weakness of the old German Confederation added to the peril of the situation. The moment finally went by without the friends of the new movement being able to accomplish anything. It then fell to the leaders of new and stronger Prussia to seize upon the forces of German patriotism and national aspiration and divert them toward a wholly different goal. The Germany of today begins at this point and it is not at all difficult to perceive the divergence between the state we are fighting today and the state the idealists of 1850 planned to found in harmony with the dreams of a generation past. The Prussian

leaders of blood and iron made short work of the dreamers. Those who escaped to America were the fortunate ones and the new movement passed away in the bloody martyrdom of its promoters.

The transformation of an idealistic Germany into the militaristic state of Bismarck and William II is a process not unlike that suffered by France a hundred years ago. At that time Napoleon ruthlessly utilized the dynamic forces of the French Revolution to serve the purposes of despotic imperialism. The transient success of the French arms under Napoleon's direction is very similar to the recent victories won by the brutal Prussian machine. The successive steps of Napoleon's career are fairly familiar to students of history. Similarly, it is not difficult to trace the evolution of Prussianism thruout Germany, its gradual invasion of every field of thought and its growing control over every phase of the production and distribution [29] of wealth. The conspicuous achievements of her statesmen and diplomats are now commonplaces in European history. By means of the Zollverein Prussia bound together the states of the loose German Confederation and was able to modernize the archaic machinery of their political and industrial systems. By this device Austria was outdistanced in the race and Prussia was able to utilize for her own development the increased strength and wealth that accrued to all of Germany from this new experiment in taxation. The rising national spirit of the Prussian people at first stood in the way of the schemes for an increased army but Bismarck backed the king in setting aside his own constitution and going on with his program of militarism. The victory over Austria in 1866 aroused such enthusiasm that Bismarck's unconstitutional acts were condoned and his future policy received warm support from every part of the nation. The union of all the German states was cleverly accomplished by bringing it in upon the wave of national rejoicing at their victory over France. Prussia was adroitly made to appear as the national protector of German soil from French invasion and in the enthusiasm of the moment, democracy and self government were forgotten. The ancient German ideal of political unity had apparently been achieved and without reckoning

with the price, Prussian domination was accepted universally. The seizure of Alsace and Lorraine embittered France and made the predominance of the Prussian government necessary for the safety of the Rhine country, which might be presumed to lie open to the attacks of this exasperated people. The crafty diplomacy of Bismarck not only brought on the clash with France but the consequences of this conflict were made to extend beyond the terms of peace as a hidden menace to dragoon the South German states into yielding passively to the future aggressions of victorious Prussia.

But political supremacy was only the entering wedge of the Machiavellian plan of this Junker statesman and adviser of the Prussian king. Germany was honey-combed with socialism and the factions representing the various theories would eventually unite to overthrow the future plans for an imperial Germany. Bismarck inaugurated the plan of anticipating the socialistic platform by such legislation as left the party without a program. This policy was made much easier by the nature of the socialist demands. Most of them had to do with the mere material welfare of the laboring classes and, since all reforms that satisfied these demands rendered the workmen and the army more efficient physically and at the same time provided for their dependents, there soon remained in the [30] Socialist program a mere negligible residuum of pure idealism which could be safely ignored. With the new socialists fully committed to the support of the autocracy, the leaders next proceeded to enlist the support of the middle classes. This was not difficult since the increase in the efficiency of the workmen ran parallel with the governmental policy of promoting manufactures by educating the artisans in trade and art schools and by a series of bounties and tariffs to increase profits. Commerce was stimulated by the establishment of colonies and by financial aid in a dozen effective ways so as to give the German flag every advantage over all competitors. With all this material prosperity there still remained the idealistic German who would never be permanently satisfied with mere wealth or material comfort. This extremely numerous class would, if dissatisfied, act as a perpetual

ferment of unquiet, dangerous to the state and full of menace to the Prussian autocracy. The Prussian government, thereupon, took into partnership the entire educational system and developed a complete scheme of instruction designed to buttress the institutions of the state and the imperial theory upon which the whole structure rests. Particularly in the German universities did the state use the leaders of thought there to defend the government and to promote the efficiency of all departments of the state. Every scholar of note was given a permanent place upon the payrolls of the state or was made the beneficiary of some fund or appropriation by means of which his particular field of research was advanced and made fruitful. This freedom of thought was more apparent than real but it offered to the specialist in philosophy, in science, and in the fine arts an infinitely varied field for the expression of his intellectual power. No shrewder investment could have been made by any government. When the time came for the fateful decision of a world war, Germany stood prepared at all points, superior in armament, in special devices on land and sea, terribly efficient to strike deadly blows at every opponent and with a corps of trained men ready to defend Germany's course by arguments drawn from law, history, diplomacy, and philosophy and by appeals to religious creeds and dogmas. The university world in Germany stood ready to support to the uttermost that government which was at the same time its creator and its munificent patron and the source of its opportunities in the field of learning. But the Prussian autocrats went still further in this preparation for war. A conflict for world dominion entails great sacrifices and involves unforeseen risks. As long as the German people were satisfied by the intellectual and material gains the Prussian regime had brought them there would be no complaint of the loss of political liberty, which [31] was the price they had paid. A long and costly war might alienate the masses and cause the middle classes to question the absolutism that had dictated the entire domestic and foreign policy. It became necessary, therefore, to devise a philosophy upon which to rest the Prussian military autocracy and thus anticipate the doubts and

queries that have been just recently penetrating the docile German mind and causing the Kaiser's advisers more trouble than all the armies of the allies. This philosophy is excellently expressed in the conclusions of Nietzsche, plus the flamboyant pronouncements of the Kaiser. With the latter we are fairly familiar but the philosophical ideas of Nietzsche are not so well known. He lays down the basis upon which the Prussian government has built up its power as follows:

A good and healthy aristocracy must acquiesce, with a good conscience, in the sacrifice of a legion of individuals, who, for its benefit, must be reduced to slaves and tools. The masses have no right to exist on their own account; their sole excuse for living lies in their usefulness as a sort of superstructure or scaffolding, upon which a more select race of beings may be elevated.¹

The extraordinary success that has followed the efforts of the Prussian aristocracy to make Germany efficient in the fields of industrial and intellectual effort has convinced the masses that they belong to a chosen people and are the select race of Nietzsche's philosophy. The modern representative and apostle of the Nietzschean school is Bernhardt and he has expounded his own application of his master's ideas in his book, *GERMANY AND THE NEXT WAR*. According to Bernhardt war is the natural and logical means by which the German nation can and will assert its superiority over all other nations. He says:

War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization.²

No power exists which can judge between states, and make its judgment prevail. Nothing, in fact, is left but war to secure to the true elements of progress the ascendancy over the spirits of corruption and decay.³

Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. War gives a biologically just decision, since its decisions rest on the very nature of things.⁴ [32]

The knowledge, therefore, that war depends on biological laws leads to the conclusion that every attempt to exclude it from international relations must be demonstrably untenable. But it is not only a biological law, but a moral obligation, and, as such, an indispensable factor of civilization.⁵

War, in opposition to peace, does more to arouse national life and to expand national power than any other means known to history.⁶

Our people must learn to see that the maintenance of peace never can or may be the goal of a policy. . . . The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessing of war as an indispensable and stimulating law of development must be repeatedly emphasized.⁷

But the end-all and be-all of a state is power.⁸

Our country, by employing its military power, has attained a degree of culture which it never could have reached by the methods of peaceful development.⁹

Here lies the real menace of Germany to modern civilization. The danger is to be found not so much in her rich and populous territories, her millions of trained soldiers, her powerful navy, in her stores of munitions of war, nor in her brutal and remorseless autocracy;

these are merely the material manifestations of her power. But the sinister philosophy that underlies the glorification of mere force will survive the loss of men and property and remain to animate to the most desperate resistance a people who have once fully accepted its subtle and plausible appeals to their national egotism. The educational process which has been so elaborately developed thruout Germany during the past century receives its culminating touch in Nietzsche's philosophy. While the masses but dimly see its significance, the leaders of thought and action have accepted without reservation all the horrid accompaniments of its practical application. More than this they look with condescending toleration upon their former friends and associates of other lands who express detestation and horror at the ruin that has followed in the wake of a German-made war. Nor has Christianity been effective in mollifying the calculated savagery which has been the invariable accompaniment of their military operations. Nietzsche has disposed of the claims of the Christian dispensation with a brutal directness worthy of the best traditions of German ruthlessness. He says of Christianity:

It has waged a deadly war against the highest type of man. It has [33] put a ban on all his fundamental instincts. It has distilled evil out of these instincts. It makes the strong and efficient man its typical outcast man. It has taken the part of the weak and the low; it has made an ideal out of its antagonism to the very instincts which tend to preserve life and well-being. . . It has taught men to guard their highest impulses as sinful – as temptations.¹⁰

To charge the leaders of the present war with practical atheism is not new or original. It is the logical outcome of the ideas of the same philosopher who has furnished the groundwork upon which has been reared the structure of Hohenzollern militarism.

The average German is not an atheist and the unspeakable atrocities in which he has taken part are foreign to his instincts.

He is a mere passive instrument in the hands of his masters and this political slavery in which he lives is also a logical outcome of his past. Since earliest times the Germans have been denied the opportunity for the development of that self-government which has been an inseparable part of the English and Dutch national tradition. Other nations have followed the example of England until Germany stands alone as the only important European state in which political liberty has not been attained. It is to this condition of affairs that Bernhardt refers when he says:

No people is so little qualified as the German to direct its own destinies, whether in a parliamentary or republican constitution; to no people is the customary liberal pattern inappropriate as to us. A glance at the Reichstag will show how completely this conviction, which is forced on us by a study of German history, holds good today.¹¹

Here is a German's explanation of that remarkable docility of his own people. It is Nietzsche's SUPERMAN in the guise of the Hohenzollern and his creatures, who is in the saddle and it is sufficient for the humble citizen to know only that it is VERBOTEN. This is the political background for the acquiescence of the German masses in a program of conquest and oppression that has sounded the depths of human vileness.

It needs only a brief mention of Germany's allies, Bulgaria and Turkey, to make clear why they were found on the side of such an ally. The latter state was pushed to the wall by the territorial ambitions of Russia and the national aspirations of the Balkan states. What Germany offered her by treaty stipulation is of little consequence since it is clear from what we know of German honor that her cynical statesmen would make short work of this particular scrap of paper. Bulgaria has a grievance against the other Balkan states after her betrayal in 1911. In spite of this, however, if the [34] nation had been fairly consulted the popular vote would have been cast overwhelmingly against so unnatural an alliance.

Historically the German state is the youngest of the European powers. She still shows all the faults of inexperience but most of all are her people lacking in national standards. Again, Germany shows her youth in glorifying war as the basis of her future progress. The European states have long ago learned better than this by hard experience running back thru the centuries. The German people have so recently come of age that they have not had time to learn enough of statecraft to avoid catastrophe. It is only the burnt child that dreads the fire and Germany up to 1914 had never even singed her fingers. Above all is the Hohenzollern dynasty lacking in the perspective that comes from generations of responsible rule over a modern state. These youthful rulers and their inexperienced advisers have shown in their entire policy, domestic and foreign, the rawness and folly of extreme youth. What explanation so fits the present situation and accounts for the all but insane cruelty and treachery of which Germany has been guilty during the present war? The ready acceptance, by Germany's leaders, of the Nietzschean philosophy, with all its cheap and tawdry inanities and its bombastic exaltation of the SUPERMAN, corresponds to that callow stage of mentality when the melodramatic makes its strongest appeal. Then, too, the German people, especially the upper classes, have taken themselves altogether too seriously. They have proclaimed in season and out of season the completeness of their business success and the high quality of their intellectual achievements. They have, moreover, made it a point to cry down the more permanent tho less showy cultural results of other peoples. The easy acquiescence of the public, especially of the Americans, in this program of German self glorification would have turned the heads of more experienced nations. The whole effect has been to swell national egotism to such proportions as to make it impossible for them to arrive at an unprejudiced judgment on any question involving the somewhat exaggerated ideas of their own importance. This Germany, having been the petted and spoiled child of both Europe and America, is giving an excellent demonstration, both comic and tragic, of the completeness of her failure to understand her moral

deficiencies. The unhappy partnership of Austria and Germany has wrought ruin for both states. The former is politically and dynastically decrepit and has the callous indifference of old age, while the latter is cruel and treacherous merely from inexperience. Their joint contribution to the international situation appears a mere uncouth riot of undisciplined passion, comparable only to those mad revels of that bestial crew in Milton's *Comus*.

NOTES

¹ Mencken, *THE PHILOSOPHY OF FREDERICH NIETZSCHE*. Boston, 1908, p. 101.

² Bernhardt, *GERMANY AND THE NEXT WAR*. N. Y., 1914, p. 18.

³ *Ib.* p. 21.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 23.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 24.

⁶ *Ib.* p. 27.

⁷ *Ib.* p. 37.

⁸ *Ib.* p. 45.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 119.

¹⁰ Mencken, p. 133.

¹¹ Bernhardt, p. 113.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE WAR

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In common with other social institutions, the universities of America find themselves called upon to assume new responsibilities as a result of the present war. That their responsibilities are heavy may be easily deduced from the fact that modern warfare is to so great an extent dependent upon technical science. The fighting line and its industrial and political supports are founded upon applied physics and chemistry, and scientific business and civic administration. For each of these fields the universities are furnishing young men trained for their specific tasks, and from their faculties are sending out specialists who are rendering invaluable service. These activities together with the hearty response of the student body to the call to arms for the defense of democracy constitute in general the contribution that the universities are making.

Probably the most comprehensive view of the program that universities are following may be obtained from the statement issued by the educational conference held in Washington, May fifth, under the auspices of the Committee of Science, Engineering, and Education of the Advisory Commission of the Council of Defense. The preamble and statement are as follows:

In the supreme crisis that confronts the Nation the colleges and universities of America have the single minded thought

and desire to summon to the country's service every resource at their command, to offer to the Nation their full strength without reservation, and to consecrate their every power to the high task of securing for all mankind those ideas and ideals that gave them birth and out of which they have grown their most precious traditions.

In order that such service may be most intelligently developed and applied, the following declaration of principles is respectfully suggested.

It is our judgment that the colleges and universities should so organize their work that in all directions they may be of the greatest possible usefulness to the country in its present crisis.

We therefore believe, first, that all young men below the age of liability to the selective draft, who can avail themselves of the opportunities offered by our colleges, should be urged to do so in order that they may be able to [45] render the most effective service, both during the full period of the war and in the trying times that will follow its close.

We believe, second, that all colleges and universities should so modify their calendars and curricula as will most fully subserve the present needs of the Nation and utilize most profitably the time of the students and the institutional plant, force, and equipment. With this end in view, we suggest that, as an emergency measure, the colleges consider the advisability of dividing the college year into four quarters of approximately twelve weeks each, and that, where necessary, courses be repeated at least once a year so that the college course may be best adapted to the needs of food production.

We believe, third, that in view of the supreme importance of applied science in the present war, students pursuing technical courses, such as medicine, agriculture, and engineering, are rendering, or are to render, thru the continuance of their training, services more valuable and efficient than if they were to enroll in military or naval service at once.

We believe, fourth, that the government should provide or encourage military training for all young men in college by retired officers of the Army and National Guard or by other persons competent to give military instruction, and that the colleges should include as a part of their course of study, teaching in military science, in accordance with the provisions of the national defense act of June, 1916.

We believe, fifth, that the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior and the States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture, with the cooperation of the committee on science, engineering, and education of the advisory commission of the Council of National Defense, should be the medium of communication between the Federal departments and the higher educational institutions of the country.

Finally we believe that an educational responsibility rests on the institutions of higher learning to disseminate correct information concerning the issues involved in the war and to interpret its meaning.

The contribution that the universities are able to make to military and commercial efficiency, and in general to the cause of [46] democracy, is being more fully appreciated as a result of the present crisis in international affairs. This appreciation is well set forth in a bulletin issued July thirtieth, 1917, by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, entitled *THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY*. The concluding paragraph reads as follows:

It matters not to the State University whether the boy and girl students hail from the town or country, since it has but one central purpose regarding them, and that is to send them forth, trained, intelligent citizens to serve the state whose servant it is. This it does without money and without price. It is already an axiom that the existence of democracy depends upon the intelligence of its citizens, but it is not so readily apparent to

the belated perception of much of the business world that intelligence and education are the greatest of commercial assets. For they carry with them initiative in action, energy, and perception in the development of resources, the ways of free spending, the genius of invention and efficiency, and in truth all the essentials of advancement and progress. An education which means these things needs to go farther than mere rudiments and must give opportunity to the many. So it is that in these essentials the State University is the last word in democratic education.

In this statement there is suggested the effect which the present transition period is likely to have upon the university. To appreciate this effect, it is necessary to see higher education in the perspective of history, but briefly stated it may be said that society is apparently passing into a scientific stage, not only in relation to the material arts, but in relation to the art of society itself. As a consequence the university is coming to occupy a central place in civilization. It is the chief agency of society for gathering, generalizing, and circulating knowledge. In so far as it is able to discover and formulate truth in the various fields of human endeavor it becomes the ruling force, not in any arbitrary way, but thru the persuasive power of intelligence. Educating the leaders of civilization, it is in a position to put its knowledge into effect thru the success of the men and women it has trained. Thru the university, democracy may hope to reach a permanent status by the development of expert leadership infused with its humane and universal ideals.

That such an important function is normal for the university, is apparent from the very nature of society. Civilization in all its elements that are above the merely animal plane is entirely dependent [47] upon the accumulation and advancement of knowledge. It is, in fact, a spiritual reality in the real sense of the term; that is, it consists of ideas and ideals that are transmitted thru the induction of mental contact, and for which only the bare capacity is inherited in the biological sense. The essence of human nature is that it has advanced with the development of mind into a life in which all

individuals and all generations are bound together by a continuous stream of culture, as expressed in science, literature, art, and institutional life. To keep this stream moving forward into the infinite of experience and power, is the prime duty of man. To enjoy the benefits of the achievements of the past, and to feel the joy of sacrifice in achieving investments for the future, is his reward.

Thus the real capital of society is its culture, and culture in all its phases is the subject matter of a university curriculum. This is the true wealth, which, like the loaves and fishes, increases with the giving. Nor is such a concept of capital a mere figure of speech, but is a reality that must eventually be acted upon in the market place if the ideal of equal opportunity, which is the heritage of democracy, is to be preserved. Capital as commonly understood in terms of money is the control over labor which is inherent in the possession of the permanent properties of society. Since industrial organization necessitates a somewhat strict control, this power of capital to control labor is justifiable, and has justified itself in practise. The immaterial capital of society, then, is its culture; the material capital is the land and the permanent properties built upon it. As an institution, wealth is the owner directing labor. This is the fundamental institution of industrialism, and is commonly known as the institution of private property. Without such leadership and authority in industrial matters, society becomes inefficient or anarchic.

As a result of the great cultural advances of society in modern times, there has developed what is called capital in a limited and technical sense; that is, the machinery and other equipment that comes into being as a result of industrial knowledge. Men follow the easiest method of production. It is cheaper to make machines to make goods than it is to make goods by the more direct methods of former times. Hence there result the stores of wealth which are used to make wealth. These stores of wealth are simply the result of directing labor into the channels of machine production. They are not the creation of the owner any more than the land is. The owner in performing his true function of master of industry,

is merely the principal workman. Capital, then, in the material sense [48] of stocks of goods and machinery is simply the outward embodiment of the ideas of applied science finding expression thru labor.

But the primary institution of private property, maintained for the sake of giving guidance to labor, is subject to grave abuses. In fact the whole historic process has been an attempt, mostly a vain one, to solve the difficulty involved. Ever since the beginning of economic processes on a scale larger than primitive communism – that is, ever since the beginning of nation – owning classes have usurped to themselves the prerogative over labor, and have gradually become hereditary privileged classes. They have used their position of authority to increase their natural rent, consisting of the wages of management, by whatever addition they could gain thru the dependence of labor, and have consumed as interest a considerable share of the increment of growth. The danger of this usurpation is not so much in the waste of wealth and efficiency that it entails, as in the false position in which the owning classes come to be placed. Exempt from the natural obligation to produce their own living, they struggle to increase their dominion and privileges, and thus develop into those scourges that the world is seeing illustrated in the ambitions and methods of the German rulers. Before men realize it, the wealth of the owner centralizes into empire, and empire naturally strives for world power. Thus come poverty, despotism, and war with all the attendant abnormalities that crowd the pages of history down to and including the present.

The meaning of the university for future civilization, and the function which it is likely to fulfill as a result of present demands, is that it affords for the first time an opportunity for society to become scientific. So long as higher education is kept sacredly apart from the rivalry of economic groups and the influence of privilege, it is able to attain the freedom of scientific thought which is practically impossible in the conflict of the marketplace. Today the universities are developing the social sciences to a place where they will be fitting correlatives of the physical sciences. For it must be confessed

that beyond the immensely valuable intuitions of literature, and particularly of Christianity, there has not yet matured any body of social knowledge that is entitled to the name of science. Our traditional theories of law and economics are so permeated with the point of view of the owning classes that, so far as generalizations are concerned, they are more in the nature of apologetics than of that cold light which the pure intellect sheds. The task of the future, the supreme task necessary to stabilize democracy, is the development and inculcation of a real social science.

Under the strenuous conditions that will follow the war, there [49] will be no place for that naïveté in social matters which has characterized American life in the past. The war has probably already brought America that prize of world struggle, the ascendancy of its wealth. New York, instead of London, will probably henceforth be the world's banking center. Under our new banking laws, making inflation even easier than formerly, hundreds of millions of capital will be raised for the conquest of foreign markets, and the purchase of foreign investment properties. The cost of this expansion will be shared by the consuming public thru high price levels and the relatively low wage levels that necessarily result from bank inflation. The whole industrial energies of the nation will be flung as an organized mass into the struggle for world financial power. With our immense natural resources and our undoubted industrial and military efficiency, we shall surpass rival nations in the race. The tribute of the world will begin to flow to our leisure classes in the form of permanent dividends. How shall we use this world power? There can be but one answer. We must use it to achieve a scientific democracy of equal opportunity in which not only our own people, but the people of the nations that become tributary to our financial empire, may share thru wise legislation. We must bring to an end the ancient rule of hereditary wealth.

Germany has most conspicuously used the university in relation to business advancement, to the welfare of her people, and unfortunately in connection with her nefarious schemes of world imperialism. The democratic nations must also use the university

in order to achieve a thoroughgoing democracy, bereft of the last trace of privileged classes, and resting alone upon the mutual services of its citizens. Democracy now is fighting for existence against the ugly image of privilege as embodied in German autocracy. It is on the defensive. But when government by the people becomes scientific it will forever be on the offensive against injustice, and will crush tyranny both within and without its borders, before the grim harvest of tyranny has a chance to develop. For a scientific democracy will be strong with all the strength of insight and freedom. Justice is to society what the principles of mechanics are to the engineer. A society built upon organized equality of opportunity will be as much stronger and as much more durable than imperialism as a modern mansion is stronger and more durable than a log house. And just as the principles of mechanics are universal, so will real democracy, when it is achieved, become universal.

The fact that the nation has chosen as its president in this hour of crisis a conspicuous scholar and university leader is an earnest of the place that higher education will occupy in the future.

MEDICAL STUDENTS AND THE DRAFT

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By an order of President Wilson, August 29, 1917, interns and second, third, and fourth-year medical students may join the Enlisted Reserve Corps and be discharged from service in the National Army. The ruling is based upon the National Defense Act of 1915, which also created the Medical Officers Reserve Corps. While they may be called in emergency, it is planned to permit interns to have one year in which to finish their hospital training, and to allow medical students to go on with their studies. Reports will be required from time to time, and when it appears that any intern or student is not carrying his work satisfactorily he will be called into service promptly.

Last spring men in these groups were advised by the Council of National Defense not to enlist, but to go on with their work, because it was realized that their trained services would be much more important than anything they could do at present as soldiers, or as orderlies or other minor assistants on any hospital or sanitary organization. The National Service Act made no provision for them, however. For a time in the summer it appeared that they would be drafted along with all others of suitable age. The Provost-Marshal argued, among other things, that the numbers involved would be inconsiderable. A study conducted by the Council on Education of the American Medical Association brought to light data as follows: of the 10,385 medical students after the class

of 1917 had graduated last spring 85.9% would be subject to the draft; 28.4% were in the first call; 19.7% more would be in the second call; and over 50% would be in these and later calls. Figures prepared by the senior class of Columbia University gave 60% of the men who should graduate in medicine next spring as involved in the first two calls. In the absence of definite figures of this kind, a little consideration of the question should indicate that the operation of the draft would fall unusually heavy upon these groups; they are nearly all between twenty-one and thirty-one; they have as a rule no dependents; a fraction of one per cent are aliens; they are necessarily of fairly good health; they do not come under the exempted employments, the ministry and government service. If it were wise to draft interns and medical students with the fighting forces these groups could [68] furnish an army of 10,000 highly desirable men; probably no other class could furnish so large a proportion of desirable recruits.

It is not a question of attempting to favor the men of these groups, however, or of taking them out of service. The facts are, that with improvements in medical education and higher requirements, medicine was already rapidly ceasing to be an overcrowded profession. Parenthetically let it be remembered that higher requirements have been established not to secure a closed shop, but to improve the quality of the personnel of the profession, and to secure better service for society. The annual number of medical graduates is about 3,500, in 1917 it was 3,379; the number of doctors dying each year is about 3,000. With war conditions the situation promises to be greatly complicated at best. Enlistments of young medical men have made hospitals short of interns all over the country; teaching and public health laboratory staffs are also short of help. An army of 1,000,000 men will require a medical and sanitary service of 20,000 doctors. A larger or a smaller army will have needs in proportion. About 13,000 medical men have enlisted and been accepted at present. When it is realized that there are only ninety or one hundred thousand doctors in the country, and that quality is even more important than quantity it can be understood

that a crisis is upon us in both military and civil relations. Were the supply of properly trained medical men to be considerably reduced by impressing students into the fighting forces the situation would be serious indeed in a short time.

Other countries have made the mistake that the order of the President is designed to prevent in the United States. Medical students were permitted to enlist or were drafted into service until their numbers were reduced to one-third or less. Later the policy in England at least has been to recall students to the schools. Civilian populations in England now have one doctor to 8,000. Havre, France, with a population of 135,000 has only eighteen physicians. Conditions are probably quite as bad in Germany; they are much worse in Russia, Austria, and Serbia. The first call of the Allied Commissions to the United States last spring was for doctors. According to Dr. Pritchett the French Mission said with tears in their eyes that for ten or twelve years to come the United States must supply France with medical men. Medical schools are in a very true sense munition factories. It takes a few months to make a soldier, it takes seven years above high school graduation to make a doctor. It would seem to be a short sighted policy indeed to sacrifice [69] the potential ability that exists in the young man who is three or more years along in his course.

With us at the University of North Dakota the ruling applies to men who have finished the work of the junior year of the Combination Arts-Medical Course. It does not affect premedical students or those who may enroll in the first year of medical work this fall. It would seem that the order might well have extended to those who in good faith announced their intention to study medicine one or two years ago. Many of these are under draft age, however; and in the interest of simplicity of administration, and to close the door to possible slackers who might be able to satisfy medical entrance requirements, we must cheerfully accept the ruling as it is.

WAR EXPERIENCES OF A UNIVERSITY STUDENT AS A DOUGHBOY

Wesley R. Johnson

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In a chronological account of this kind that covers a period of twenty months, only little more than mere mention can be given to each occurrence. Incidents will be slighted; pictures and descriptions will be bare and incomplete; explanations will be brief and pointed; nevertheless, the occurrences will be presented in as correct and honest a manner as the memory will permit. Everything said will not be infallible, by any means; at any rate, the story will be true to the viewpoint of the infantryman. Some events have been forgotten; others have been dimmed by the frequent following disasters, or by our desire to forget; certain other occurrences, however, have made such vivid impressions that they will never be forgotten. Not much will be mentioned of the monotonous drills and maneuvers; nor the long merciless hikes with little food and poor living conditions – these things are a self evident and oftentimes a necessary and unavoidable condition incident to warfare.

SUMMARY OF MOVEMENTS UNTIL THE BREAKUP OF COMPANY M

The beginning of my military career was on the seventeenth of August, 1917, when I became a member of the well-known Company M, First North Dakota Infantry. During the stay of our unit in Grand Forks, preparatory to leaving for camp, we had a few guards, a few inspections, light drill during which poker occu-

pied a good part, and a few maneuvers – enough to make us believe the military life was one of health and one of benefit. Finally, after several false rumors, our true orders to entrain came. With a certain expectancy we packed our squad boxes and waited anxiously for the time to march to the train. When the time arrived we were surprised to see so many people at our departure. We took our leave amid some [94] confusion and considerable sadness; nevertheless, we held our spirits high in expectation of what was ahead.

After five days' travel by train, we arrived in Camp Greene, North Carolina, not far from Charlotte. Here our drills were harder and longer. We soon learned the nature of K. P. and guard. During our stay at this camp epidemics of one kind or another broke out and, at times, caused many squads to be quarantined or put into the hospitals. After a three weeks' stay at the main camp, we made a two weeks' trip to the rifle range, where we spent altogether about two hours of target practise. The surroundings of this rifle range, outside of the dampness, were very agreeable, and many of us made excursions into the woods for fruit or nuts. Upon return to our regular camp we drilled with a little more intensity, until one day we were ordered to entrain, for what place we were not told.

Our destination, we learned, was Camp Mills, near New York, which we reached on an icy morning in November. We erected tents and made ourselves as comfortable as possible until stoves should arrive. During our stay we drilled spasmodically, partly because of the weather, and partly because equipment for overseas was being issued. At this camp, also, epidemics broke out, and caused many men to be put into hospitals. One incident, especially, stands out by which we characterized the condition of this camp. It was one cool morning, after an all night's rain, that we awoke to find a foot of water over all our section of the camp. That meant that all our clothes were soaked or had floated away. Our Thanksgiving dinner in Brooklyn, however, stands out in bright contrast.

From Camp Mills, we went by ferry and train to Camp Merritt, near Tenefy, New Jersey. Here we were given the rest of our overseas equipment, and in three or four days were ready for departure. Before leaving, unfortunately, a few more of our men were left in the hospital.

On the fifteenth of December, 1917, we boarded the *Leviathan* at Hoboken, New Jersey, and left early the next morning for an unknown port. No events of importance occurred on the ship, altho rumors of submarines were common and a few shots were fired, supposedly in target practise. We spent most of our time eating, sleeping, and playing games.

On Christmas morning we arrived in the dismal port of Liverpool, a real Christmas present to the Allies. In the evening we took a train for Winchester, and from the train marched several miles to Camp Winalls Down. Here we waited and waited for three weeks, doing almost nothing. On account of the cold, drilling was at times [95] almost impossible. The main preventatives, however, were the epidemics of measles, small pox, and scarlet fever. No one was allowed to leave his barrack. The medical attention was not very good at this time. When we were finally obliged to move, forty men quarantined for scarlet fever were left behind. During the early part of our stay at Camp Winalls Down several of us had the opportunity of visiting the old cathedral and the seat of an earlier English government at Winchester.

On a day in the middle of January we were taken by train to Southampton and that same night crossed the channel in a cattle-boat. Over one-half of the men were seasick, and were dismissing their meals on every side below deck. There was not a light on the ship. Pans and pails were constantly falling off the walls and rolling back and forth as the ship rocked and pitched. Nobody could see what was happening. It was a night more like a nightmare than a reality. A wave that would suddenly hit the bow at a certain angle almost made us believe that a torpedo had struck the ship a glancing blow. The boat road like a barrel on the water.

In the morning we landed at le Havre without any mishap. From the ship we were taken to a camp out on a marsh. Twelve men were assigned to each conical tent, in which there was really room for only six. We lived fairly uncomfortably there for about two weeks. During these two weeks it rained every day; in fact, we never saw the sun while at this camp. When we left, forty more men, quarantined for mumps, were left behind. By this time, not a large percentage remained out of the original two hundred fifty.

From Havre we rode for three days on train to a place by the name of LeCourtine. We took up our abode near this place in large stone barracks, formerly occupied by the Russian detachment sent to France, with altogether about a hundred men in our company. It was here that the so-called tragedy of the breaking up of the remnant of the company occurred. It was just before we left this place that one of our officers told us that if we believed any of the delightful fancies of justice and equality and democracy, we should get them out of our system, because over here they did not exist. Seventy-nine of the men of the company were by order from general headquarters (G. H. Q.) picked out to go to the first division. We, of the seventy-nine, packed up our equipment, slung it, and started down the stairs for assembly. On our way down we were surprised to find our friends and our officers who were to be left behind, in such an uncanny sadness that we were puzzled and annoyed. We took our [96] leave as best we could, and boarded the box-cars waiting for us on a siding.

ON A TOUL SECTOR

FINAL TRAINING AT GIVRAVAL

After a two days' ride with cramped limbs we detrained at a place called Menaucourt, not far from Bar-le-du. The men of our former company were marched to second batallion headquarters, Twenty-sixth Infantry, and divided into four sections, each section to a different company. Twenty-nine of us were transferred to Compa-

ny F. These men of North Dakota constituted the first replacement to the First Division. In our new position we adjusted ourselves as soon as possible; and, within a week, were drilling in all the maneuvers of the company. We practised all day in maneuvers and exercises, and, oftentimes, we trained a great deal at night. Every movement or formation possible was taught us and drilled into us; every art of trench warfare was demonstrated to us and practised by us. Aside from the monotony of drill, inspections, guards, etc., there is one incident in this billeted area which is worthy of mention. It was an accident. One man in the company in front of ours was obliged to carry a heavier sack of hand and rifle grenades than his fellows, and was not allowed to set them down or fall out before he reached the top of the hill, on which we were to maneuver. When he arrived at the top, exhausted, he dropt the sack. A second later we saw a bright flash and a cloud of white smoke, and then a heavy detonation. Immediately after the explosion men ran in confusion back and forth, shouting and moaning in a gruesome manner. Several men of his platoon were killed, and all the rest in the unit wounded except four. The maneuver was postponed. It was the first time we had seen the agencies of warfare at work.

AT THE FRONT

After a month or more of drill as part of a reserve brigade at Givrauv, we were taken in trucks on the second of March to the trenches. It began to snow early in the morning and it kept up until just before we unloaded late in the afternoon. We got off the truck in the woods on account of observation balloons and aeroplanes, and waited for nightfall. After dark we slung our packs and marched to Raulecourt to billets. Here we heard barrage lire for the first time other than the dull rumbling we had heard from Verdun in the training camp at a distance of ninety kilometers.

Two days later we moved up before daylight to the front lines [97] thru fog and snow and mud by road and communication trenches. It was for a time at least, a dismal, cold, and monoto-

nous life in the trenches and in the dugouts. In four days, when the snow had disappeared, conditions improved, altho mud knee-deep persisted in the trenches. We were on a quiet sector; and aside from a few stray shells, or barrages that were not directed on us, living was tolerable enough. Many excursions out into No-Man's-Land were conducted. Patrol work was most common. In all the trips made only one man was killed.

After eight days in the front line, we dropt back to Cornieville, living again in billets, the less dignified term being barns. From this place we went each day ten kilometers to work stretching barbed wire back of and thru a woods, returning ten kilometers again in the evening to our billets. Sickness was quite common at this place. At one time one hundred twenty of the company went on sick call. Replacements were here added to the company for the third time.

We then went to the second line at Bouconville. From this place we went every night to stretch barbed wire, to dig trenches, or to engage in maneuvers. By some series of agreements shelling and countershelling of towns in this sector was ruled out. As a result, quietness prevailed.

DEFENSIVE ACTION AND TRENCH WARFARE NEAR CANTIGNY

GOING TOWARD CANTIGNY

At the end of nearly a month on the Toul sector we 'were taken out and put on a ten-mile truck train that took us to a barrack camp near Toul. After a couple days, we were loaded into box-cars and started off in a southerly direction, whither we expected to go to a rest camp for good clothes and amusement, and to wear off the effect of the weathering we had endured. We passed thru Paris, but then the train took us north again for a few miles and sidetracked us on the outskirts. Then commenced a series of long, tedious hikes with full packs over a semi-hilly country. We were on our way thus for nearly a month, drilling at every stop of more than a day.

Toward the end of the month, artillery fire became prominent, and airplanes commenced activity.

WORK DETAILS UNDER ARTILLERY FIRE

We arrived finally at the town of Mory, not far from Montdidier and Cantigny and took up billets. This sector, already taken over by the first brigade of our division, had before been occupied by English troops who, in their hasty retreat, left everything in the hands [98] of the Germans. This sector was one of extreme artillery fire. From this town of Mory, we went out every day toward the front to cut brush, to dig trenches, and to help build and widen the roads. When we first saw our officers fall flat at the scream of a shell coming toward us, we laughed and thought it great fun; but, of course, we soon forgot that.

One evening, as we were going to the front to take up our position in the third line, and were just outside of Meunil, the German artillery began to pound the road we were on with six-inch shells. Their observation had undoubtedly, even by the twilight, discovered traffic on the white road. When the shells began to drop like enormous empty earthen jars, the French artillery wagons were so much speeded up that it seemed as if a panic would ensue. Many of the soldiers took refuge from the flying pieces in the ditches and others in the fields. The columns were broken, but because the shelling stopt suddenly, all was again straightened. We soon passed the line of the spiteful seventy-five's and entered dugouts on the side of a road without further trouble. From this time on, one shelling followed another until we soon lost count of the number and the circumstances. The first night that we went for "chow" and our daily issue of one quart of water, we were heavily shelled. Much of the food was lost or spilled. We had to lie down in the open for protection. One of our dugouts we found on our return caved in. And barely had we reached our position and begun to serve the food than we were shelled again. Three more times our squad went for food from that place and were shelled each time. Then there

were the work details every night out in No-Man's-Land. Going to and from work in the dark, we were almost sure to be shelled going one way. We had to avoid the roads; but, even then, we were not secure. The Germans had very bright, long-burning star-shells and, by these, could observe any movement. One time a searchlight dropt its rays right across our path while we were in movement. In less than half a minute a barrage was poured on us. We sought shelter in shell holes, cut-outs, behind stumps, or by lying down in the open. The work of digging trenches in No-Man's-Land was also quite a strain. Every morning and evening we stood-to in the third-line trenches. We held this position fourteen days.

JUST IN FRONT OF THE SEVENTY-FIVE'S

From this position in the third line, we were transferred to a position in a dense woods. Here, at first, we spent a great deal of time carrying elephant iron and digging deep dugouts for the officers, [99] being several times on duty for twenty-four hours at a time. Many times we were worried by shrapnel and huge high explosive fragments crashing thru the trees – pieces of steel which resembled machinery in size and mechanism. It was in this woods, also, that we experienced our first gas attack. At three o'clock one morning we were awakened and told to be on the alert for gas. Already we could hear the gas shells dropping like the pop or crack of a rifle to our rear. In a few minutes whiffs of gas drifted to us, and, suddenly, as if in a wave, it became almost overpowering. We put on our masks without daring to risk another breath. If it were pitch dark before in these dense woods, it became doubly so with the gas masks. It was as cloudy as it could be and there was no evidence of a moon. We started off as by instinct for the road out in the open. In crossing a narrow bridge before reaching the road, many men fell down into the ditch, because they could not see where they were going. When we arrived finally out on the white road, outside the woods, we were led to the right flank at a snail's pace, when the gas shells were raining on the road and crashing in

the trees. By following the road, we again entered the woods and, after considerable time, found a spot where shell fire was not so terrific. We wore the gas masks continuously for three hours, altho we had thought before that our heads would break with pain after wearing them one hour. During the gas attack, shrapnel and high explosive shells also played an important part. We remained in this position for two weeks.

IN THE FRONT LINE OPPOSITE MONTDIDIER

At the end of this time we were led at night by a guide on a circuitous route under spasmodic artillery fire to front-line positions in another woods. The first two or three days all was quiet in our sector, in spite of the fact that we had been placed here to cut off the inevitable counter-attacks after the battle of Cantigny. The Germans had no idea where we were. But peace did not usually last long on a sector of this kind. In the first place, a German patrol came upon our sector late one night. To be sure, everyone, without thinking, began to fire at a terrific rate, the automatics adding to the din. Some experimented with hand grenades, and others with rifle grenades. The queer part of it was that no one of our company had seen anything, because the patrol had run into trouble a few yards to our right. A day or so after this event we experienced something which was not only disagreeable but almost demoralizing. We were shelled by our own artillery. The shells dropt with accuracy in methodical "one, two, three, four...; one, two, three, four... [100] crashes. We crouched low in the shallow trenches to avoid catching the shells, and to miss the hot buzzing steel fragments flying about in the air, or we sought shelter outside the trenches. In speaking later to one of the artillerymen about the shelling, he told me that the battery knew that they were firing into our trenches, but that they had to follow orders from their superiors. A day after this event, we were again shelled by our own artillery. We dared not send up rockets to indicate that the barrage was falling short, because that might call for a German barrage.

After eight days in this position we were taken out and placed in another front-line position in the open.

EIGHT NIGHTS IN NO-MAN'S-LAND

This new front line position was worse than the other. Every night that we went for "chow" or water, the German artillery would open up with a roll and drop the so-called "G.I. buckets" of high explosive and gas with great accuracy, especially in one deep ravine, thru which we had to pass. Many casualties occurred in that place. The rations were by trail three miles to the rear. Sometimes, when we returned, we found that some of our cubby holes had been caved in by barrages on the line of trenches. Our main worry, however, was the detail work every night in No-Man's-Land. If the Germans were not using their artillery or their machine guns, they were sending up star-shells that would burn for many minutes, during which time we dared not move. The star-shells were so numerous and so brilliant at times that the work of digging trenches or stretching barbed wire progreed slowly or not at all. Movement back to the front line each morning on this account was almost impossible. Several times, also, barrages were laid down on our shallow trenches near the German lines. Oftentimes the shells landed right on the parapet or just behind the trench, covering us with dirt and jarring every bone in our bodies. One night, especially, Fritz dropt an unusually large number of shells together with gas. We lay in the bottom of the trench with gas masks on for three hours and a half. We had been given up for lost or as sacrificed, and preparations at the rear were made for holding off a strong attack. Fortunately, our artillery had replied with a terrific volume and had cut off any plans the Germans may have had. Toward morning, we moved back to the front line under intermittent fire with our gas masks on. At the end of the allotted eight days, we were quite well exhausted, in spite of the fact that the casualties had not been heavy. [101]

DROPPING BACK

Our next position was in the second line in a woods, alongside the machine guns. In this place we were constantly tormented with shrapnel and flying iron, but by keeping low we fared well, except when the fire at times became extreme.

From the second line we were taken back to the town of Mehnil. At this place we were well fed, were not much drilled, and were given good clothes. In spite of the fact that we were still in danger of shell fire and bombing we enjoyed ourselves as well as one could expect in the army.

After a couple weeks in town, we were again taken up to trenches in a heavily wooded area. By keeping well covered in the daytime, we were troubled very little with artillery, but we endured some bombing. During this period many raids were proposed and carried out. Toward the last, a large scale operation for our battalion to clear out a well-defended woods was prepared, but dropt at the last minute on arrival of relief by the French, on July 10th.

THE BATTLE OF SOISSON

THE MYSTERIOUS MOVEMENTS

Upon relief we hiked quite steadily for three or four days, and then were carried in trucks for thirty-six hours to a small town not far from Senlis. Immediately upon arrival, we were set to work preparing for inspections and intensive drills. In the evening of the next day, trucks arrived at the village and we were again taken thru an unknown country. In the afternoon of the next day we were cheered by the French people as we passed thru every town, but we did not understand them. During the night we passed thru deserted villages and cities, keeping to the southeast. The chilliness of the night and the weird surroundings put us in a humor to believe that something was wrong. The latter part of the night we slept in spite of cramps, jars, and sudden stops. In the morning, after crossing a

railroad, we were unloaded and concentrated in the heaviest and largest forest I have ever seen. Still, we had no idea what it all meant. We did, however, begin to see light, when we were ordered to make up light packs and to leave most of our equipment and blankets in squad rolls. At nightfall, we were given our first meal of the day and a lunch of two sandwiches for the following day. After the meal we began marching, marching all night thru woods and ravines, under high bridges, on winding roads and trails, uphill and downhill, thru brush and swamp. During this time, bombing planes [102] of the Germans were almost constantly hovering over us, hoping to catch some movement and then to release a bomb. Two times that night a series of bombs screamed down toward us, but each time we lay flat and motionless for a long period, until the planes passed away. Our camping place of the day was heavily bombed shortly after our departure. During the night tanks began lumbering along. Toward morning we came to a semi-open space within the line of balloons, but because enemy observation was quite possible, we reentered the woods to our right and bivouaced.

CONFUSION

At nightfall of the seventeenth of July we again began our march to the front, having had nothing to eat that day but the two sandwiches. At first all went well, but, to be sure, it could not be for long. First, the tanks came along, pushing us out to the ditch. Then it began to rain, and rare tho it is, it lightened and thundered. It finally became so dark that it was impossible to see the person ahead, except when the lightning flashed. For a time we left the road, and moved over theoretical paths thru the mud. Once more we came upon the road, but it was not so quiet as before. There were columns and columns of men, each company in single or double file; there were tanks; there were carts and wagons and trucks and wrecked traffic – all almost a complete and hopeless tangle. All was confusion; it was a frightful mixup. The tanks were attracting artillery fire; the columns of men of our company

were being broken and oftentimes lost; big holes made by large caliber cannons or bombs were scattered over our paths or our roads; stone buildings had been strewn as debris everywhere so as to confuse and jumble and break the columns. Artillery fire, also, coming suddenly upon us would disperse some and hold back the others. We passed over hills, thru deep gullies, over ruined roadways, thru desolate and torn-up towns, into woods for kilometers at a time, where the darkness already of a pitchy texture, became intense. We followed each other by sound or by touch. How we arrived at our destination in time I do not know; even at that we had only ten minutes to spare.

THE FIRST DAY AT SOISSONS

At about four thirty on the morning of the eighteenth, shortly after we had been placed in position, the German artillery dropt a barrage on our trench in No-Man's-Land. It did not take us more than a minute before we knew that things were going pretty badly for us. We were crowding the bottoms of the trenches. The return [103] of the barrages was again having its effect. Suddenly, after three minutes, we perceived an all-illuminating flash to our rear, and then a tremendous thunder. Like magic, within thirty seconds, almost every German gun was silent, and we were relieved from our embarrassing position. Within two minutes we were going over the top for the first time in the first line of the first wave. We had scarcely gone fifty yards in the fog before we came to a trench cramful of Germans. They had intended to attack us, for they had already been on the offensive for three days, but we had beat them to it. All of them came out of the trench unarmed with hands up, and were driven back to our rear in long columns as prisoners of war. After a time we came under light machine gun fire, which could not last long, considering the moral effect of seemingly endless lines extending to either flank, and tens of lines, one behind the other, not to mention the columns behind them. Trench upon trench we passed thereafter, most of them full of men

whom we took as prisoners. Everywhere ahead of us we could see Germans running and falling at the scream of a shell. It was in a way comical. The Prussian Guard shock troops had been demoralized; they had been surprised. All morning long our barrage rolled on with such an awful din that it was like silence, for other sound did not exist. We met no resistance whatever from the infantry. Our airplanes flew above us like swarms of birds or gnats. We felt quite secure, until we came into direct fire from a few stray cannons. We could almost see the German artillery on a hill before us; we would hear the report of a gun, and a crash in front of us, as a shell exploded, simultaneously. We lay down in a wheatfield and when the violence had diminished, we slept between the crashes. Early in the afternoon we took up a position on a parallel with the captured German seventy-seven millimeter guns. Our battalion had then been dropt back to the support.

During the afternoon we procured water from a deep ravine below us, and looked into the German artillery dugouts. We found some questionable black bread and later, a little can of butter. We did not hesitate long, however, because we were ravenous. Later on, we set up a captured German machine gun in a seventy-seven millimeter gun pit, and some of the men fired at the enemy airplanes, which now and then swarmed over our lines. The activity of our airplanes was declining. At night, as a result of our actions in the daytime, a German bombing plane came over, and put our hearts in our throats, while it distributed bombs to terrorize those of us who were at the machine gun. [104]

THE DAY OF KILLING AT SOISSON

We were awakened at about six o'clock in the morning by a barrage in front of our position. Our artillery replied, but in a weaker and jerkier manner than the day before. In a few more minutes we went over the top; we cut thru the barrage and suffered not more than ten casualties. Before long, however, we came under withering machine gun fire from guns in a wheatfield ahead. Men fell

right and left as they were wounded or killed by the bullets. The two lines in front of us, which had before been four lines, hesitated, melted away, and disappeared; and, again, as on the first day, we became a part of the first line. The bullets, seemingly, came faster and faster; sometimes we hesitated and almost stopt, but for some reason we kept on. The machine guns were making terrible gaps; the clicking seemed fiercer. The two lines of our platoon merged and kept on, until, within thirty yards of the machine gun nest, the gunners jumped out of their pits with hands up. Perhaps half of the men of our platoon reached this position. After disposing of these machine gunners, we soon found as we advanced that there were many other guns tearing gaps in our lines. When we had gone fifty yards more the clicking became intense, and the “whish” and sing of the bullets as they rained around us and among us became deadlier. By common agreement, we all dropt into some machine gun pits on the Paris-Soissons road. Here for the most part we kept our heads down. Nevertheless, the sergeant next to me on the right, and the corporal who took his place, were killed instantly, when they put their heads above the pit; and a man on my left died in a couple hours from four wounds received while attempting to use his automatic. Bullets crashed everywhere above us in the line of trees along the road; oftentimes they would come on a level with the top of the pits. After a couple such examples of instant death, we kept our heads down, altho we expected a counter attack as soon as the German artillery could find our range.

We remained in this position all morning and part of the afternoon, thinking that the attack had failed completely, and waiting anxious hours that seemed centuries for the deadly counter-attacks that never came. Our barrage had quickly rolled out of sight and ceased. Over came the German airplanes in swarms – in droves. Our airplanes were nowhere to be seen. Some came as low as a hundred feet, touching the treetops to take a look at us; others fired tracer bullets at us; some directed “G.I. cans” from the artillery upon us. Altogether it was a miserable day. We ate a little hardtack [105] and corned beef from our scanty reserve rations, expecting

that it was our last meal on this earth. Finally, the few of us who were left out of the platoon of our company were attached to the Twenty-eighth Infantry, because there was a gap of two hundred yards to our left.

Late in the afternoon our artillery opened up rather unsteadily upon the German positions. In a couple more minutes a major gave us the order to go over the top. When first going over, that inevitable clicking commenced again, but this time it was intermittent and irregular, and it appeared to be taking no victims. After we had been going ten minutes in a thin-line formation; we came upon a nest of eight machine guns. The gunners had evidently been under our artillery preparation until we came close to them, so that the resistance was poor. There were so many Germans coming out of holes everywhere that we could not undertake to kill them all. From this place we kept on until we came to a heavy thicket. Again the clicking of machine guns became terrific, so as almost to crack the eardrums. When we found, tho, that our lines were intact and that there was no singing of bullets, we concluded that the fire was not directed on us. Just within the woods was a steep-sided valley. By jumping down and sliding down as well as possible and by holding to what vegetation we could, we came to the bottom and soon again emerged into the open. As soon as we came into the clearing a murderous fire was turned on us. The men, again, fell on either side rapidly. It soon became necessary that the two lines merge into one, because gaps of twelve and fifteen paces between men were numerous. The cause of our casualties was flank fire from the hill above us on the right. But the machine-gun bullets tore up and down the newly formed straight line, ripping it virtually to shreds. There was no line to connect with ours on the right or left, and there was no line behind us. We came to a stone wall, and sought shelter dose to it, but the fire continued to claim many victims. A corporal of the same company as myself and I crawled thru a hole in the wall made previously by a heavy artillery shell and again sought shelter close to the wall in the bushes. Altho we were side by side, and I on the side of the machine gun,

the bullets passed me and wounded him two or three times. He died in a few hours. It was an awful place. There were men strewn all over the field and inside the fence; and the machine gun kept hammering away to claim a few stray men as victims. The line we had maintained without leadership up to this time passed out of existence. So far as I can remember, I was the only man not killed or wounded. Many of the wounded men were wanting help and water. When the machine gun ceased firing, I would creep or make a dash thru [106] the low bushes for a deep shell hole, in which there was abundance of water, to fill a canteen or two. After that, I opened up the first-aid packets and bound up a good many wounds, keeping low for a half hour until the machine gun was pulled out. This activity kept me busy for several hours. In about an hour after we had arrived at this place, another line came up from behind and took up a position one hundred yards ahead on a hill. When darkness came I lay down on my shelter half, in which I later found nine holes, and slept intermittently, getting water for someone when called, or awakened by the jar and rattle of a heavy shell in the valley. No medical attention arrived.

THREE DAYS IN A MACHINE-GUN COMPANY

Toward morning, I took one of the men who could walk with assistance back to the Paris road. After finding a friend, I again started for the front to see if I could find anyone of my company in the jumbled up formations. Not knowing where they could be, my friend and I joined a machine-gun company. The first day we spent under constant nerve-racking fire from trench mortars, which were directed by an enemy observation balloon on our left flank. The following day we advanced a short distance again, but six-inch shells fell regularly on or near our positions all day long, making life wretched. When we went for food or water, the artillery would open up on us with shrapnel. The fifth day on this front there were almost no movements; we camouflaged our positions and permitted no traffic. As a result, aside from shrapnel ahead and

anxiety for a counter-attack we passed the day well. At night we were relieved by Scotchmen.

THE INVENTORY OF MEN

We marched back thru the stench of hundreds or thousands of decaying human bodies and assembled on the Paris-Soissons road company by company. We marched back into a dense forest and camped amid the rain and mud. There we found that our Company F of the Twenty-sixth Infantry had thirty-five men left out of two hundred thirty who had gone into battle; there was one officer left in the battalion; our captain, our major, and our colonel had been killed. It seemed to us as if, except for a few stray men, the regiment were extinct.

ON A SECTOR NEAR POINT A MOUSSON

On the evening of the twenty-fourth we were taken back in trucks to a small town back of the lines. We had been there only a [107] few days when we were ordered to pack up what little we had, for our blanket rolls had been rifled during the drive. After a hike of thirty kilometers we were loaded on a train of box-cars and taken via Paris to near Toul. Once more we hiked for several days to relieve Moroccan troops on a sector near Pont a Mousson. This quiet sector we held between two and three weeks, having little to worry about other than anti-aircraft "duds," – and bombing planes that did us no harm.

THE ST. MIHIEL DRIVE

IN TRAINING

When relieved we were taken by trucks back to a small town by the name of le St. Remy, where we received replacement after replacement until we soon had 260 men. Here we trained and trained,

mostly for the benefit of the new men. I was here given charge of a squad of men. The company went every day on maneuvers over fields and thru thorny and seemingly impenetrable woods; we were trained to ford streams; we were shown how to attack machine guns by rushes, etc. We knew almost at the start what it all meant.

OUR HIKES TO THE FRONT

One night we commenced hiking amid the rain on dismal roads, bivouacking in the daytime in woods. We were constantly being issued ammunition, flares, and grenades. Night after night, twelve hours or thereabouts at a time, we would plunge along with full pack over queer roads, thru woods, over hills, into deserted towns, sleeping but little in the daytime. There was everywhere evidence of the approaching events. The roads were becoming choked with trucks, with tanks, with men, men, men. The nights were dark, because it rained continually. At times, it was so dark that we could only go ahead in the mud and rain thru a woods by talking to each other or by holding the end of each other's gun. During the ten minute rests each hour we would sit down on our helmets in the slimy roads and sleep. Night after night, night after night, we kept up the tiresome process, apparently gaining little distance. Toward the last, the trucks became thicker, the tanks more numerous, the wagon trains more prominent. Much traffic had been thrown into the ditches on account of the constant rains. The columns began to be mixt and cut off by the traffic, and oftentimes hopelessly jumbled. Finally, one night we came to a camping place in a woods that was really a jungle because of its density. There must have been several hundred thousand troops in this woods thru which we had been marching all night [108] and still were far from the margin. Had the enemy known it, he could perhaps have leveled the woods in a couple days by artillery fire. In this forest we remained in pup tents for two weeks amid a constant downpour of rain. The days and nights passed tediously because of the constant

details, the eternal checking up of equipment of the squads, the lack of good food, and the unhealthful weather. There was every kind of equipment available except raincoats.

THE NIGHT BEFORE ACTION

On the night of the eleventh of September we began hiking again. It was raining as per schedule. At first all went well as we traveled a narrow gauge railroad track and later, a deserted road. After that we cut across fields, thru barbed wire fences, thru woods, deserted towns, and towns crowded with traffic, into trenches and out of them. We passed thru Beaumont and Seichprey. At Beaumont our company was for about the tenth time crowded off the road, but this time split and scattered by the traffic. After a long wait, then double-timing, then standing still, we proceeded over an intermittently shelled road in plain view of the Germans had it not been for the rain. The enemy was sending up bright star-shells one after another as tho he wished to detect some movement. When we arrived at Seichprey we entered a dark building which we mistook for a billet, and then stepped into a communication trench. Altho we followed as best we could, we would, nevertheless, many times step off a duckboard and go knee-deep into the mud, carefully pull out the leg and go on again. But the pace at length became too great for those behind. The squad behind mine could not keep up and wandered into a side trench and was lost. Unknowingly, the guide at the head kept up the race. We kept on in the trench until it passed out into a ravine. Just barely had we stepped out into this open space than the German artillery opened up on us with shrapnel. Most of us left trying to cross a plank in a hurry, fell fortunately into a ditch, where we remained until the shelling was over. We then proceeded at a terrific pace for three hundred yards, until it was discovered that almost the entire company had been left behind somewhere in the communication trench. Two hours or more we stood out in the rain while we waited for the rest of the company to be collected. When, finally, most of the men had been

found, we proceeded. We entered another communication trench, which had no duckboards. The water was everywhere at least knee-deep, and at places it came up to our thighs. After nearly an hour we crawled up on the sticky parapet, and went forward thru barbed wire entanglements, cutting [109] our way as we went. But soon it was discovered that we were not in the right position. We wandered around here and there a bit, and then went back thru the same muddy trench and up another. The trenches were not only wet and muddy, but were crossed and recrossed by barbed wire entanglements above to cut our faces and wires of all sorts below to catch our feet to trip us. When we felt as near exhausted as we thought we could be, we emerged once more from the trench and advanced a few hundred feet out into the open on a grassy area, fell out, and slept for a half hour in spite of the drizzle and terrific cannonading.

THE DRIVE BEGINS

At the end of the half-hour sleep, we shifted our position slightly, and began our advance over the top in a heavy fog. Almost immediately we came under fire from one-pounders, which disconcerted us somewhat, altho they did us no harm. Barely had we passed the area of their shelling; when we were fired upon by the seventy-seven's. Their fire, however, was irregular and, to a large extent, guesswork. Chance tho it was, one shell fell in one of our columns and eight men were laid out of the fight. We then passed for a few minutes into direct fire of their artillery. For the space of two hours thereafter we passed over trenches, shell craters, thru entanglements, according to schedule. We forded two streams, one of them three and a half feet deep. After fording the last stream we came under an intermittent machine-gun fire, which tore up some of the equipment while we lay on the ground. For a few hours again all was quiet. Our company again took up the advance as front wave, while the artillery shot a twelve-inch shell barrage ahead of us. The only other event in the afternoon of importance was fire

from a church steeple fortified with machine guns. After a dozen hesitations, as usual, we dug in behind a woods. It was on an icy evening, and we had no shelter except our holes.

ADVANCING DURING THE NIGHT

Barely had I arranged the guard for the squad, and lain down in the newly dug trench than we received orders to go over the top again. Tired tho we were, we determined to go as far as we could. We formed in long columns for entering the woods before us. At first we had a moon to go by, as we wandered back and forth thru the heavy growth of trees and brush and thorns. When the moon set, however, seemingly every vestige of light disappeared, and we stumbled along, cutting ourselves on the thorns, hitting our heads on low branches, stumbling in the dense underbrush, wondering where [110] the man in front could be. At every stop of a minute or over we would stoop on our guns and sleep, until we felt a falling sensation; we would stumble on again, if the man ahead had moved. One man ahead of us, who fell asleep thus, did not awake, and the column of our company was broken; we did not reach our objective that night, but lay down and slept, tho shivering, till morning.

In the morning we kept up our advance thru the woods for three hours before we came into the open. The stops were numerous, and we slept at every halt. Everywhere there was evidence of a hasty retreat by the Germans. Early in the afternoon we arrived in position near Hattenchattel, having covered almost two-thirds of the distance across the St. Mihiel salient.

POISON

In the evening our "chow-carts" came up to our positions for the first time and served us a fairly heavy meal. One of the articles of food issued was some gravy with a peculiar taste. Many of us hesitated to eat it, but most of the men, because they were very

hungry, ate it without taking note that it had an off-taste. After dark we were taken back to the margin of the large woods, from which we had in the morning emerged. We were settled quite well; and, because of German overcoats we had appropriated, were quite comfortable. About midnight, when I awoke, I heard a great deal of noise. It sounded as if the whole company were seasick. As soon as the captain ascertained what was happening, the part of the company that could walk was led out of the woods, while the others were carried, to a former German field hospital. About one-half of the company went immediately on sick report for ptomaine poisoning. Later, a number corresponding to one-fourth of the company's strength was transferred back to base hospitals. For two days the remainder of us stayed in the field hospital to recuperate.

NINE-INCH SHELLS AND RAPID MOVEMENT

The next night we were there Fritz sent over some compliments – nine-inch howitzer shells. The shells were apparently not aimed at us but, because of their size, no one seemed to realize that. The first shell came down like the moan, then shriek of an aeroplane bomb. Almost everyone left all he had and made for the open doors without hesitation – a most foolish thing to do, had it been an airplane bomb, for it was a moonlight night. Everyone seemed to forget that he was sick or at least indisposed. We were led to a place off to the left, where we who had organized dug in for the period of the shelling. We were sleeping in the field station at night when the [111] nine-inch shells began falling for the second time. At the count of one, when the first shell struck, everyone sat up and rubbed his eyes; when the second one landed a half minute later, everyone had on his equipment; at the count of three, everyone was at the door; at the fourth jar, everyone was running or at least double-timing for the positions to the left. The third and last visitation of heavy shells, tho productive of rapid movement, was not so alarming.

From the German field hospital we were marched almost at a double-time for three hours to some artillery billets, formerly occupied by the enemy. At this place for over a week we marked time on the paths of the woods, ate, and slept. Many times we sought shelter in protective trenches because of enemy bombing planes.

THE ARGONNE DRIVE

PREPARATIONS FOR ANOTHER CAMPAIGN

After the period of a week we were marched for five nights to the left flank over camouflaged roads, by ammunition dumps, thru shell-torn towns and woods. During spare hours at night we practised maneuvers in tangled and thorny woods. On the fifth night we were loaded on trucks. After several hours of traveling we discovered that instead of artillery fire diminishing, it was becoming louder. That meant that we did not go to the rear. We rode on the trucks for twenty-four hours. At the end of that time we unloaded and hiked many kilometers to a woods. As a division we took over the position of reserve. Night after night, for almost two weeks thereafter, we hiked from evening to early morning. During the day our time was constantly occupied by checking up equipment, by marking time on the paths of the woods, or by responding to the numberless call-to-arms. It was a dreary region thru which we passed on our wearisome hikes. Every town and city was as forlorn and deserted and ghost-like as a graveyard. The woods were overgrown with thorns or at times shattered. At length, when we came alongside the eight-inch guns, our division became a unit in the support. To arrive to position of support we had to hike several extra hours on the last few nights. This meant that we did not often reach our bivouac position until an hour after daylight. Oftentimes we were on the road for twelve and fourteen hours frequently, we were hindered by traffic; and at other times, orders were confused. Our supplies, especially the rations, came seldom and in small quantities.

WHAT IT LOOKED LIKE NEAR THE FRONT

Toward morning, when we reached the line of eight-inch guns, we began searching for a camping place. We hiked after that for [112] two hours thru mud and barbed wire entanglements and brambles to a lonely broken-down woods. Here we rolled up in our blankets and shelter halves, and slept. At the end of two hours we were awakened by a downpour of rain. We soon found that we had been sleeping in pools of water which we had warmed by our bodies. A few minutes later we were ordered to roll up our wet equipment. After performing this, we built fires for the first time on this drive to keep off the chill; we took chances on the lack of enemy observation. We sat or lay by the fires during the slow drizzle for an hour, dozing now and then or awakening when the fire became low. Following this we put out the fires and began marching across the open fields. It was daytime; we were evidently throwing caution to the winds. At the end of an hour, we found our rolling kitchens behind a screen of camouflage. We were issued a fair meal. Afterwards, we continued our hike during the day over country, the like of which we had never before seen. There were cannons and cannons stuck in the muddy and slimy roads; there were tanks trying to climb slippery hills or to ford streams; there were shell-torn area which presented in appearance nothing but a series of omelets or pits; there were trenches ten feet deep ruined by shell-fire; there were entanglements hundreds of yards in depth; there were slimy roads a hundred feet wide made by troops in their march to the front; there were a few bricks left in places where towns had previously flourished; there were piles of several hundred dead Americans; there were, a little further on, a couple dozen dead Germans – all this was enough to make us believe again that we had very little chance of coming out alive. All day long we traveled over a territory like that described.

At nightfall, we stopt temporarily on a hill to practise formations we would probably make use of in the coming battle. After that, those of us who could by some trick procure water, did so. It seemed that only the tall men, who could with their long arms thrust their canteens higher to the men issuing water from a couple of scattered water wagons, could procure water for the men of their squads. I was fortunate in being so constituted.

A short time after dark we again commenced our travels to the front in double file. At first our road led by an area shelled by artillery. The shells, tho, were four duds out of five; and, consequently, were quite ineffective. Later on, we were troubled with traffic. We climbed many a dismal hill, and descended into as many a foggy and dreary valley. We slept at every halt. A couple of hours after [113] midnight we passed several cannons mired in the mud, as we were descending into an exceptionally deep valley. Artillery fire was being directed on an area near by, but we were at first rather too sleepy to notice much about it. We then passed thru a white-walled deserted and half-wrecked town; and, as we continued, the artillery fire became more prominent. As we marched deeper into the valley, it became darker and darker until we could see almost nothing by the time we had reached the outskirts of the town. We now heard the shells distinctly, coming over with moans and screams, crashing to earth with a tremendous jar, or landing with a pop or crack like that of a rifle. It was evidently high explosives mixt with gas, but apparently the shells were not directed on us. But suddenly, as if a wave of something struck us, we realized that the gas had drifted upon us. The smell was like that of a wash day, combined with a sickening weed and poppy odor. The gas was evidently chlorine. We put on our masks hurriedly, almost believing it too late. If it were dark before, it became impenetrable with the masks. Each man grabbed the person ahead of him, and double-timed up the hill in front. Several companies were mixt;

many men were lost for a time; many more fell into ditches; others could not find the bridge.

The remainder of the night we marched and stopt – marched and stopt – marched again. We would double-time a couple of hundred yards, lie down and sleep fifteen minutes, get up and doubletime again. So it was the entire time. Traffic was evidently too dense up front. Many times we came into gas areas in our journeys up and down the hills, but unless the gas was strong we were allowed to sleep. Toward morning we arrived near a position, but the officers of the battalion disputed whether to allow the men to dig in in one place or a few feet further on. It turned out that we were not fully entrenched until an hour after sunrise. Shortly after, German airplanes came over in large numbers to look over the situation. German sausages were performing a similar mission. A little grass strewn over our newly thrown-up dirt did much to camouflage our position. In fact, during the time we were there, by keeping in our holes in the daytime, we suffered only occasionally from artillery fire. Our only real worry while in these trenches was to keep low when the artillery shelled the road one hundred yards ahead with shrapnel. Every night, tho, we went on ration details, thru areas many times shelled with heavy high-explosive and gas shells. We were always glad to get back to our holes with our heavy loads. Five days we remained in this position, because our artillery could not get up thru the mud. [114]

OVER THE TOP

About two o'clock one morning, twelve batteries of our heavy artillery opened up to shell the German rear. The German artillery replied with as great a volume, mostly in gas shells. At half-past four the remainder of our artillery opened up with barrages of gas, smoke, high-explosive, shrapnel, liquid fire, etc.; but the enemy seemed to do equally well. In fifteen minutes our battalion went over the top as support battalion in long columns, separated from each other by long intervals. It was still very dark, and exceedingly

foggy; we followed each other by white panels, which were struck on the back of every pack. Almost immediately we came under heavy artillery fire. Several times during the first hour, shells fell in groups of our company, taking away each time six to eight men. On many occasions jagged iron fragments, from as far as three hundred yards, flew thru the air to take each time a victim from our columns. Almost continuously for two hours we had to have the nose-clips and mouth-pieces of our gas masks in position on our faces because of the gas, high-explosive fumes, and smoke shot by our own artillery, not to mention the retaliation of the Germans upon us.

The battalion in front of us was stopt; and, of course, we stopt also. The German artillery continued to pound our positions with shells, and their machine guns, with singing bullets. About a dozen tanks loomed out of the fog from behind us and started over for the German lines. They reached the top of the slight slope a hundred yards in front of us, and were blown up by anti-tank gun fire of the enemy – not a tank survived. Several times during the day other light tanks came up to suffer the same fate. The battalion before us tried to take the stronghold, which was a fortified rectangular woods, by a front-on attack, but were mercilessly mowed down by machine gun fire until in the afternoon only a remnant of worn-out men remained.

Then came our turn to become a part of the assault battalion. Our captain requested permission to attack in a different manner from the flank. When this was secured, we were ordered to make a dash over a level open area to a hollow. Before Fritz could realize what was coming off we had made the dash across the open, and the fusillade of singing and squeaking bullets did not follow until we were safely located in the hollow. We waited here twenty minutes, until we thought the machine gunners had forgotten. The next dash took us over another open area down to the edge of an almost vertically-walled valley. We marched along the edge of this around the hill [115] out of sight, and descended into another valley. This second valley we crossed under artillery fire, suffer-

ing several casualties. When we reached the opposite side, we hid ourselves in the bushes against the steep bank until opportunity could be offered to complete the maneuver. The artillery fire of the Germans was evidently retaliatory to our barraging of the rectangular woods, and was intended to cut off our attack. As soon as the firing diminished, we came from our hiding and marched in no formation whatever to the left, keeping under cover of the valley and the shrubbery. The captain in plain words told us that we had to take the stronghold at all costs. Keeping just as low as we could, we crawled one by one thru a gap in a thick line of trees up a five-foot embankment and took up a thin-line formation flat on the ground. At a signal from the captain we charged up the hill toward a corner of the woods as fast as we could with our heavy packs. The barrage which had preceded and the suddenness of our attack caused the most of the Germans to take flight. By taking the first two machine guns on the corner, the rest was easy. Our company crossed the woods and flanked twenty machine guns. The companies behind us flanked twenty other guns on the side where we had made the assault. Nevertheless, everything did not go well. The men, of the new replacements especially, had the idea that the woods was choked with Germans; they began firing their rifles at the least noise. The same was true of the companies behind us. As a natural result, we lost at least a dozen men. To shout at the men who were shooting made it all the worse. When we had finally accomplished our job, we emerged again from the woods, and continued the advance. No sooner had we begun than we heard that infernal clicking. We dropt flat on the ground, and lay there for thirty minutes – until darkness came over us. The machine guns quit firing, and we dropt back thirty yards to dig in.

GAS CASUALTIES

In the morning, altho well rested, we did not advance; we were leap-frogged by the third battalion. We remained in this position for five days. We camouflaged ourselves quite well, and did not

have artillery fire directed on us, in spite of the fact that German planes came over in large numbers at low heights to look over the prospects, while our planes were nowhere to be seen. But situated as we were, we were not immune. A large area to the left flank was shelled alternately with mustard ps and high explosive; unfortunately, the wind came almost constantly from the left, bearing much gas with it. Consequently, a good many gas cases resulted. [116] One platoon lost all except one man from gas; the others suffered losses varying from one-third to two-thirds. One platoon was reduced to twenty-three men from gas and previous misfortunes, before I was given charge of it as acting platoon sergeant; and, before we advanced again, only thirteen men remained. Night and day we were on guard against the mustard gas, but masks were no protection against it. The damp and rainy weather aided the gas in furthering the casualties. It was here that I had a slight touch of the mustard gas. Many nights I had charge of large details going to the battalions in front; and, as sergeant of the guard, I had to make several visits to see that the guards were awake. Exhausted tho the men often were, I never found a man asleep, for I always made considerable noise.

OVER THE TOP AGAIN

Early one frosty, foggy morning we rolled up our half-frozen equipment, and began our march to the front. Altho we came under some artillery fire ourselves, we saw much evidence of previous destructiveness from the mangled bodies by the road. Aside from anxiety, we reached our proposed jump-off position in a narrow woods without trouble at seven thirty o'clock. It was far past daybreak, but the fog remained heavy. At about eight twenty, our barrage opened up, but a German barrage opened up also as retaliation upon the woods we were in. The crashes in the trees became terrific and deafening, as barraging in a woods always becomes. At every crash a huge tree would come tumbling down almost upon us. We moved back, but the barrage and line of falling trees

followed us. It soon became evident that we would before long, be crowded back to the other edge. That meant that we had to cut thru the artillery fire. We accomplisht that with good fortune, and emerged in attack formation as front wave. We continued our advance in the valley beneath with slight opposition, and climbed out of the high, steep-sided depression. On the level tract above the valley was a forest. After an advance of twenty minutes we took up the position of first objective, and waited for the time of our next advance. In the meantime, the German trench mortars came into action, felling the trees, wounding and killing several of our men with flying iron, and putting everyone in anxiety. Although we shifted our position many times, it did no good.

THIRTEEN MEN

In a couple of hours we continued our advance under constant shelling, going several hours thru the forest, digging in finally on a [117] hillside. Scarcely, however, had we dug in than we were ordered to go forward once more. This time we advanced in a semi-forested region, keeping as low as we could alongside the bushes. Careful tho we were, we were detected by machine gun "suicide gangs" on our left flank and rear and subjected to a withering fire. Notwithstanding that we advanced by rushes, small groups at a time, the men fell on our right and left, front and behind, rapidly. It seemed almost as if no one could survive. Our captain led us in the rushes, that took us around the side of a hill which capt the one we were on, to safety from fire and to position on the other side. There were only thirteen of us of the company to reach this position.

PATROLLING

In the morning, when there were still only the thirteen in the company we were ordered to go over the top again. Fortunately, within a few minutes, thirty men came from the rear to our assistance. All that day we went forward, doing patrol work, looking

for the enemy. But we had accomplisht our purpose before this; we had driven the enemy to the level lowlands; and he was at that time retreating as fast as possible to other strong positions far off. At night we dug in, but were constantly bothered with German snipers still in the woods. Next day we changed our position; and, late that night, were relieved. There were altogether forty-five men left out of the company of two hundred and fifty, when we had gone in.

MARCHED AT THE POINT OF THE BAYONET

After relief we were well exhausted; but still we were compelled to march day after day. Many days we covered twenty miles with our packs in our march to the rear for rest. Much equipment was left by the roadside. Guards with fixt bayonets were stationed along the column to keep the men from falling out, exhausted and weak tho they might be from service at the front, poor food, and little, and bad water. Men stuck it out when their faces exprest a groan all day long. We were indignant that bayonets were ordered but were helpless before military tyranny.

THE ARGONNE-MEUSE CAMPAIGN

GLOOMY DAYS

When nearly two weeks of hiking were completed, we arrived at the town of Resson, near Bar-le-du, where we received a month's pay and a couple of days' rest. When we had been there four days, orders came in to prepare for offensive action within seven days. Within a few hours replacements began to come. Tired tho we were, [118] and suffering, almost collapsing, from the effects of poor food and water, we were obliged to train the new men all day long in drills and maneuvers. Everyone, from colonel down, was in the utmost gloom. The few of us who had come back saw no prospect

for the future. We did not believe that we had any more chances of coming back. We doubted everything.

THE DRIVE BEGINS

In a week and a half our orders for departure came. This was about November first. At the next town we were given trucks and taken toward the front. After being unloaded we were given, as a division, the position of reserve. Again, as before, the ceaseless and merciless hiking began. We not only hiked in following up, but we moved to the left flank and also forward to overtake and relieve a division in the support. But we could not, as shock troops, remain long in the rear. We again marched extra hours each night to the flank and forward to take up the position of shock division and combat battalion.

One night, after a restless day, we marched toward our position under spasmodic shelling over muddy roads. At every rest of a few minutes we slept. Two hours before daylight we arrived almost in position, and slept an hour in spite of the rain. After shifting our position, then back and forth, we went over the top at six o'clock in the morning without a protective artillery barrage. Our captain told us he believed it would be a second Soissons, but that we should make the best of it. Fortunately, however, such was not the case. We met no resistance in our sector. Intended machine gun nests, tho camouflaged, had been deserted. We advanced until early in the afternoon, when we dug in not far from a canal and a road. Within an hour, German artillery from across the Meuse came into action and permitted us no sleep that day. In the evening, we were assembled and marched two hours to our rolling kitchen, where we received a good meal. We were ready to pitch pup tents after that, but the Major sorrowfully told us that we had a hike of thirty-five kilometers that night to cut off the Germans near Sedan, and that he meant to get there if he were the only one. He told us to discard the full packs we had been carrying, and to take only the bare necessities for warfare. We began hiking, but it was

not long before men, falling asleep beside the roadside, became like so many stones, did not awaken or could not be awakened, and were left behind. We hiked all night sleeping heavily at every rest, sleeping in fact as we marched until we became dizzily aware that we were losing our balance; we would [119] then make a desperate effort to keep awake, but the call for sleep dimmed the determination so that the effort lasted but a minute before another effort had to be made. The congestion of traffic because of blown-up bridge caused us much inconvenience, for it made many halts and much double-timing necessary. We marched by spasms on the road till ten o'clock the next morning. We had covered forty kilometers, because of a circuitous route made by ruined bridges. After that we would march slowly an hour and sleep a half hour. By evening, when we at last took up our position on the reverse side of a hill, we had covered eight to ten more kilometers. We had lived that day on cabbages we could get from the fields. No sooner, however, had we reached our position than we were ordered to move again, hiking back six kilometers to a French town. We were crowded into barns, which gave evidence that pigs had been tramping around, and slept fourteen hours without a let-up. We had been relieved by the French, who had wished to enter Sedan, altho we knew nothing of it. We had no hopes of being relieved.

THE ARMISTICE

The next day, November tenth, we started on our hikes to the rear. On the eleventh we heard that an armistice had been signed, but we did not believe it; it sounded non-sensical; and should it have been signed, we could not understand how it would affect us. Nevertheless, we built fires in the woods that night to keep warm, and were not bothered with bombing planes, although fires by thousands were visible up and down the valley occupied by the division. Thereafter, we built fires in the woods every night, until in December we were given blankets and billets. Some day people, who visit the northern woods of France, where we built fires, will

exclaim at the supposed barbarism of the Germans. A couple of weeks after the armistice, we realized full well that the German people should have been absolutely crushed, so as to have obliterated their hair-brained insolence. Nevertheless, we were glad it was signed, because we knew we had reached our limit, and that a collapse was near.

IN THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION

When we had hiked several days to the rear, we were recalled and started in the opposite direction. We were given long hikes to begin with. The only reason we could decipher was to apply Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest. Two or three dozen men of our company fell out; they were taken to the rear and never returned. Most of us hung on because we expected something better on ahead. From France we passed into Lorraine; from Lorraine into [120] Luxemburg; from Luxemburg, into Germany. Many men hiked all day long with shoes almost non-existent; men hobbled along with broken arches; other limped with expressions of pain written in their faces before they had commenced the hike in the morning. We marched at attention thru every farming town to conceal that we were walking skeletons. We lived on the cabbage and turnip fields of Luxemburg. Our trip took us down the Moselle to near Zell; across the highland to Boppard; thence to Coblenz; then to Montabaur; and afterwards, to our station at Nentershausen. Three weeks after arrival in our occupational position in Germany, we received at the least, four months' pay; several, pay for twelve months. Shortly after arrival, target practice, squad and company drill, maneuvers, and bayonet exercises were resuscitated and administered. Each day passed monotonously the same as the next or the one before. Conditions of living thereafter improved constantly. The military system came again into great prominence. To us as doughboys it seemed a system based on Prussian military principles.

THE LAST

One day early in March I was called into the orderly room and asked if I wanted an army discharge. Surprised tho I was, feeling as if I were sinking thru the floor or sleeping, I admitted that I would take one, because such things were not very plentiful in the First Division. Within two days I had the order to be deported to the States. In two hours after I saw the order, everyone in the company was asking me how I managed it, and what I was going to do when I got back. I certainly was glad to go home, even tho leaving my bed in Germany, but I felt sorry for all the men I was leaving behind, who had been in active service for so many months, and who had still much to endure in the Army of Occupation.

In two days or three I was at St. Aignan, France, but I stayed there two weeks before I became a part of an organized company of G. H. Q. casuals. At Brest, we of Casual Company 2937 spent another two weeks at one pretense or another; and still another two weeks were spent on the U.S. S. "Seattle," before we saw the Statue of Liberty on Easter Sunday. For us it was a true Easter; it was a liberation; it was a return to a civilized life. Five days later we were discharged at Camp Mills. In sixty hours I was at home.

AN ALUMNUS OF THE UNIVERSITY WHO DID NOT GET ACROSS

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By way of paraphrase, "Twere better to have sat and fought than never to have fought at all." In the minds of many red-blooded people, the failure to "get across" in the Great War is humiliating. Disappointing it undoubtedly was. Yet with a courage inspired by the editor's invitation, humiliation and chagrin must be put in the background and even a "pen-pusher" from the "battle of Camp Dodge" must lend his word to the voluminous history of the war, a history we all help to write a word at a time. Perhaps the "pen-pusher" can bury a personal sense of dissatisfaction in the thought that even in the writing of the war's history there is a small contribution to be made to the battle front that crushed Prussianism in its German form and that still faces Prussianism in a thousand other forms.

Overcome by this opportunity to write an autobiography, I hasten to announce myself as the caste of characters in the drama herein set forth. Perhaps it would be truer for me to say that I am the stage on which the players work; or may I announce myself as now the players, now the stage? A mystery this may appear. Yet, if the prolog fails to explain it, we trust the epilog will make it clear. It would be well also to state the fact that no high heroics appear in this bit of narrative, no guns, no airplanes, no torpedoes, no

rescues, no death traps, no charge upon the position of the German emperor. Without headlines, without foot-notes, I set down a brief story as it comes to me, fully conscious that it will be subject to change as the years go by.

On my arrival in camp at a time when I was recovering from a serious illness, I was considerably deprest for the time being by the Goddess of Liberty who appeared, must I confess it, in a garb that was somewhat dishabille. I had been brought up to think well of democracy, and my first impression of the army was most irritating [122] to my sensibilities as it brought me a strange picture of the material democracy has to build on. The irritation was no doubt primarily due to ill health at that time. But as the impression will stay with me for life, and as this must of necessity be a true story, I admit the irritation. I leapt at once into a rather intimate association with Thomas and Richard and Harold, which was by no means regretted. I was even glad to be thrown headlong into a human maelstrom which was gradually subduing itself into a military cosmos with a great reason for being. But I soon discovered that besides Tom and Dick and Harry, there were Ole and Ned and Percy, too, all intimate partners of mine. I breakfasted with college men. I luncht with ex-convicts. I suppt with the "wild man from Borneo." I killed flies in the dining room with gentlemen. I washed floors with lawyers. I marched with one-legged men, who, like myself, were in Limited Service, and who, like the rest of the Limited Service men, lookt out upon an unending military career of "innocuous desuetude" to use Cleveland's famous phrase. I loaned money to gentlemen who were quite accustomed to borrowing money, and I loaned but once. I was quite prepared to be "bossed" and at times walkt upon for my edification. This, I knew had its moral value, if I would but find it. I was, however, for a long time unable to detect any moral value in the inane, profane, incomparable conversation that made day lurid and night hideous those first few weeks in the army. Nor was I able to detect a value in the method of men in argument who settled the problems of the universe wholly on the basis of prejudice and ignorance. I had

not been prepared for such an extensive display of the weaknesses of the human mind as paraded itself with pride during those early days of service. I came near, far nearer than I ever came before, and I hope nearer than I will ever come again to the view that after all democracy is a hopeless proposition. I marveled in those days that we had survived as a nation and a race. The great object of the war, the reason for our being in the army, the great spirit of the game were almost lost in the miracle of human errors that confronted a soldier wherever he went.

Yet, the spirit of the game was not quite lost. With the return to health came the discovery of friends. With that discovery came another, that there were all kinds of good fellows with a rough exterior who had the diamond quality underneath. Thru that discovery came back a little of the faith in democracy I had had before. Then came the renewed realization that we were fighting autocracy and Prussianism, fighting it wherever it was found in America, in [123] Europe, in our own minds. We were out to "kick the Kaiser," too, incidentally. The war, the army, the day's work itself, took on a new color in the light of the new realization. Whatever we were good for, was America's to use as she saw fit. The game was on again and spirits ran a little higher.

I had been in the army about three week. One afternoon I was called to the Orderly Room and told to "ditch" the straw from my tick, pack my "junk" and get ready to move. I tried to learn where I was going, whether to Siberia or to Constantinople, but the sergeant kept a silence about the matter which seemed to me to be almost as ungrammatical as his customary utterance. I was placed in charge of a corporal who had a good heart, a well-meaning head, and perhaps the homeliest face it has been my sorrow to gaze upon. I like him now, tho, for he helpt me to carry part of my luggage. We started out, I knew not where. I soon saw that he didn't know either. I began to suspect that the sergeant had kept a discreet silence because he didn't know. I shall never learn I suppose whether anyone knew. I ventured the remark to my corporal commander that "we didn't know where we were going

but we were on our way." He replied with a show of spirit I had never suspected, that I would find out soon enough where I was going. I immediately assumed that I was to be jailed for military crime, but marveled that the guard-house was so remote from all points in the camp. After considerable meandering we went to one place, which I was told was my destination. But nobody wanted us there. Nobody had ever heard of us and I am sure by the tone of the remarks made, that nobody was at all eager to hear of us. So my corporal commander paused thoughtfully to read his written instructions again, (he found that he had my destination address on a sort of bill of lading) and we started out once more across the camp. We went to a place that I think we had passed several times and this was to be our destination; it proved to be only temporary, however, as nobody there had any work for us. I began to suspect that my corporal intended to escape and to take me with him and simply couldn't find the way out of camp. Finally, I ventured the suggestion that a lieutenant down at the Trade Test had talked to me once about trade test work. It occurred to me, I said, that I might have a "call" to that line of work. The commander thought not, but he had a kind heart and he called at the Trade Test office. I was at home. I was duly installed in a barracks where I spent the night. I was told in the morning to get out and lose no time about it as I was in the wrong place. I was again installed in a barracks. One Norwegian and one [124] Irishman shook hands with me and said they were glad to see me. I cannot just remember whether I kissed them like a Frenchman or not. This I do know; Home rule for Ireland was certain from that moment on, and the League of Nations was sure of success, at least in my limited world.

The work of the Trade Test section of the Camp Personnel Detachment included the task of securing information relative to the skill and ability of men in the various trades. Oral tests, picture tests, performance tests were carried on. These examinations, ineffective in some respects, did, on the whole, determine quite accurately the measure of a man's fitness for various lines of work. Part of the time I served as an oral tester, part of the time as a perfor-

mance tester. Quite ignorant myself of the mechanical contrivances involved in the tests and quite innocent of all knowledge of carpentering, auto repair work, etc., I was yet able to do the trade testing work thru the detailed directions furnished by the government. There was nothing complicated about the work. Indeed, so much a matter of routine did it become that it was difficult to feel satisfied with any accomplishment in that field. Difficult, too, was it to feel that we were soldiers. There was always talk of adding another star to our service flag whenever one of our men was transferred to a unit of the "real army." When our brothers were starting out on the "Long, Long Trail" that led to France, it was hard to think that we were serving Uncle Sam. When we listened to the truck-loads of soldiers whirling by to the station singing the words of the popular song, there were moments of sober thought, sober because our lot was the lot of the stay-at-home, sober too, because we knew that for many of our acquaintances in the trucks the trail was indeed to be long, far longer than the trail to France.

The trade test work was developing rapidly and the army machinery was in rapid motion when the great attack of the influenza epidemic arrived. There is no need to dwell on the scenes of that fearful period. We all put on our masks for protection from the "flu." Of course we took them off when we ate and on some other occasions when we were thrown together. But theoretically we were masked, and surely the germs, if they had a sense of humor (there were many indications they did have) must have smiled. We looked very safe. Of course pure air was out of the question and it was a bit difficult to breathe. But we were confident that at least the biggest of the germs must have hard work to wriggle thru the "mosquito netting" we wore on our faces. Some of the medical men wore masks nearly all the time. Others wore them when the Major was [125] around. Some of the best masked men became the sickest. Some who defied the germs grew fat. The military community was of course too terrified and too grieved to smile. But a real wide-awake, up-to-date germ must have giggled. Let me not imply, however, that the medical profession, the nurses, and every

man on duty did not do a wonderful piece of work. Taking everything into account, the service rendered was of the best possible. Men were dying by dozens and by hundreds. Ambulances were racing thru the streets. Stretchers were to be seen on every hand. The morgue was crowded to the limit. The hospital could not take care of all the sick. Panic was in the air. If men ever needed their brothers' help, they needed it then. That help was given. Thanks to the nurses and to the medical profession a glorious record of human service and self-sacrifice was made. When the panic and the pestilence had passed and the quarantine was raised, there were many soldiers gone, many an acquaintance had disappeared from his usual place, but the pall had lifted and the life of the soldier was normal once more.

It was during the last days of the epidemic that there was talk of peace. Extra editions of the Des Moines papers came out every few hours. My own barracks was near the colored quarters. Darkies were shrieking periodically: "The war is over;" "the war is on again;" "Let's go home;" "Let's stay here." One man packed his trunk three times to leave for sunny Tennessee. Poor "nigger," I hope he's back home by this time. When peace did come, he found that demobilization involved a longer wait at the ticket office than he had anticipated.

The soldier's inherited right to "kick" and to complain was never quite forgotten at Camp Dodge even in its palmiest days, but after the armistice was signed that right developed into a veritable Magna Charta. "We want to go home," was the universal cry. But we didn't go home. We stayed "put," many of us doing little work in many instances, but nevertheless "put." "Show me another war, boys, and I takes a baby carriage full of exemption claims and starts on foot for Cape Horn," said one Irishman, as loyal a soldier as could be found. Day in and day out was the incessant question, "When are we going home?" Some answered the men: "Two years." Some said: "Three months." The mesmerism of defeated longings and the dread of continued discipline sometimes seemed to create a pall as heavy as the "flu" had brought.

Every now and then some lucky chap was toucht on the shoulder and told that he might go home, might be free, that he was just a plain ordinary every day civilian again, that he might go and lose himself in the crowd once more. A smile so broad, so genuine, lighted up the face of every "lucky" [126] chap, that it seemed to be an everlasting answer to the man who feared that America might fall prey to the false god of militarism. With those men casting votes, America would never become a nation of soldiers without a worthy cause for battle.

No word about military experiences in the camps of this country would be at all adequate without a mention of the good time that soldiers had in the adjoining cities and in the camps under the guiding hand of the various welfare agencies. Such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Lutheran Brotherhood, the Christian Science Welfare committee, the Jewish Welfare Board all added greatly to the pleasures and the comforts of the men and made less disagreeable those phases of army life which in the nature of things must necessarily be unpleasant. There was no need for any man to mope or mourn over his lot. Red-blooded activity which always drives away "the blues" was always possible even for those who knew they were never to get across the sea. Parties, dinners, and all the round of social pleasures were provided for the men who would accept these opportunities.

Curbing the desire to recount other incidents, many more of which would be necessary to give any connected story of camp life, and remembering the fact that any recitation of incidents in the United States must appear unimportant in the light of narratives of overseas service, we come in conclusion to the question: "What, after all, was the experience in toto, what did it do for us, what does it now mean to us?" No doubt it is too soon to answer this question properly. Yet some answer has probably been attempted by every man who wore the uniform.

In trying to summarize the effect of the entire experience in a word, one might recall the impression, described before, of a great giant, asleep for many years, waking into sudden action.

With joints stiff, muscles out of control, the giant gradually, thru inefficiency after inefficiency, gained control of himself and finally stood or was ready to stand at the fulfillment of his purpose. Unfortunate it is that the individual soldier in the ranks must be so often conscious of the stepping stones, the inefficiencies which hurt, that he loses sight of the goal, becomes more or less lost in a maze of incomprehensible regulations and red tape which speak to him eloquently of only one thing, the fact that he is no longer free. Yet, is the impression of the giant the fundamental one? Is that the lasting picture? To my notion, the thought of America, the composite of the world's best ideals, the promise of the world's future, forces itself into the consciousness of the soldier, yes, forces itself there in spite of the [127] apparent harshness and personal domination that seem to mark much of the disciplinary experience. Greater than the seeming which marks the outward experience of the soldier, yes, so great that the seeming cannot cover it up, is the real experience of the soldier who in spite of himself and his environment feels he is something of an instrument, however inadequate, in the furtherance of the best he knows. Speaking for one lone soldier in a very large army, I can say that that soldier went thru his commonplace experience in the war, now and then too conscious of the forces that were playing on him and on his fellows, and now and then recognizing his own right to act and to serve, a right far above the power of military control to deny. Speaking still for one lone soldier, one great result of the military experience is the consciousness of tendencies in the American mind that it will be well to watch and to recognize if we hope for the future that Destiny has promised us. Eager always that the war be fought to a successful conclusion no matter how long it should take, this soldier finds himself more positively American than ever before. One of the greatest, perhaps the outstanding, result of the whole military experience is the firm, and I hope the unshakeable, faith that while we dream dreams of human brotherhood and plan for a federation of the world, our greatest gift, our greatest opportunity, our greatest duty to the world is found in the task that will hold

America, as one great individual nation, true to her goal. When all the unpleasant experiences of army life shall have passed from memory, when the pleasures shall have been forgotten, when the mental struggles shall no longer find a place in thought, there will come to mind because of the military experience a more genuine pride, a greater faith, more hope, more charity and, perhaps above all, more sense of responsibility in the utterance of the words, "I am an American."

EXPERIENCES OF A UNIVERSITY WOMAN “OVER THERE”

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A year ago at this time we were wondering when the great war would cease. Then the people everywhere in this grand United States of America were doing their utmost to put more vim into the drives and war organizations in order that “our boys” might come home. While the boys “Over There,” what of them? The mere mention of the Argonne or St. Mihiel instantly produces the picture of the undaunted doughboy as he plunged forward never stopping until the eleventh hour of the eleventh day. But after the armistice, what? Only one word could satisfy our boys in khaki “America.” That meant “HOME.” They wanted to get back to the “Land of Cotton,” or “Out Where the West Begins.” Not only were our doughboys anxious to get home, but many men engaged in welfare work felt obliged to return to their work in the United States. Consequently the women appeared in the places they vacated.

The story of the work of the women during the war has been told by the “boys,” by the Red Cross and other magazines. They have told of how the nurses worked day and night to alleviate the suffering, using every effort to keep up the courage of the boys. One of our own North Dakota nurses took entire charge of two wards, serving fifty men in each. They have told of how the dietitians supplied the very best food possible in these hospitals, and of how the workers in the canteens of the Red Cross, Y.M.C.A, and K. of

C. were serving hot chocolate to the boys in the advanced sections, were serving the wounded in the hospitals, or were supplying entertainment for the men in the S.O.S., and as near the front line as transportation could be secured. The work of the Salvation Army lassies making doughnuts for the throngs of passing soldiers is too vivid a picture ever to be forgotten. Then the women of the Y.W.C.A. must not be overlookt, for tho this organization did not work directly with the soldier, the part played by them in the war zone was an important factor. The Y.W.C A. workt either with the French women workers, furnishing them with comforts in the foyers and establishing recreational centers for the French factory girls who [129] knew nothing of play and country recreation, or they served the American women connected with the work for the Army. Any of us who have been "overseas" appreciates the work of the Y.W.C.A, managing hotels in Paris strictly on an American system for American girls and providing hostess houses in the devastated areas or port towns. Theirs is a story of an organization composed entirely of women serving women, while the other welfare organizations were made up of men and women workers.

When the armistice came, indeed double the number of women was needed to take care of the huts for our army. During the last days of the fighting there had been thousands of our men who had advanced so rapidly that they rarely had met with a representative of the welfare organizations, regardless of the great efforts made by these groups. Fighting ceast and the reaction came. Now the American boy needed amusement. He had finisht the big part of his task, so America "tout de suite" for him. To keep the boys still smiling till they sailed for home was the situation. Various plans were made by the army and the National War Work Council to meet the 'problems during the period of demobilization. Two plans arose in which the women could do their bit, first to extend the leave areas, and second to allow our men to attend the British and French Universities, which had opened their doors to our A.E.F. It was my privilege to watch the workings and be a part of both of these activities.

Miss Delia Linwell of Northwood, North Dakota, a former University of North Dakota student, and I were chosen to represent North Dakota in the General Federation of Women's Clubs Overseas unit. The General Federation organized a War Victory Commission, choosing two girls from each state for their unit, which was financed by donations from the clubs of every state. The original plan of the Commission was to open Furlough Houses, but General Pershing ordered that all the work in the recreation centers in France should be conducted under the management of the Y.M.C.A. This Federation unit was to work with soldiers, and accordingly came under the direction of the Y.M.C.A.

Before going overseas the Y.M.C.A. conducted a Conference for their workers in New York at Barnard College. It was a strenuous week, for no one knew until the last hour of the conference whether she had been accepted. This meant watch your step continually. There were French classes, gymnasium training, singing, and lectures by returned soldiers from the American, British, French, and Italian armies, and talks by prominent women workers from [130] "overseas." as Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt Jr., who served our boys for seventeen months and started the first leave area, and Mrs. Burnett-Smith, an experienced war worker of London. One of the chief benefits of this Conference was the friendship formed with the girls in attendance. We sang:

We have joined from almost every corner
Of this great big, grand old U.S.A.,
And we're now one happy, snappy unit
Of Uncle Sammy's Y.M.C.A!

This typified the spirit of our meetings. We were able many times "overseas" to tell a chap from Texas or Idaho, "at our Conference I knew Miss ---- from your state." A happy meeting was always the result.

When the anxiety of the Conference was over and the calm approached, joy beyond words, for Miss Linwell and I, with fifty-

four “Y” girls, sailed the following day for “over there.” Tho we came from this inland state of the “Dakotas,” the terror of the sea had no fears for us. After a most enjoyable voyage of nine days we landed at Liverpool, where we met eighty “Y” girls who had reacht there the previous day. We had been told our party would leave directly for London, and thence across the Channel to France, but due to lack of hotel accommodations in London, which was crowded with men on leaves, our group remained in Liverpool, awaiting sailing for Brest.

During this period we had an opportunity to see Liverpool and historic Chester, with its Roman walls, gates, and magnificent cathedrals. In Lincoln Lodge, the American “Y” of Liverpool, we met many Americans clad in the Canadian uniform, having fought with that contingent since the beginning of the war. Some had just arrived from France and the battle fronts, and we were the first American women they had seen for five years. They wanted to talk of nothing but America first and last.

When our party left for Brest, thirty of the girls, victims of the “flu,” were left behind in the American Army hospital at Knotty Ash Camp, four miles from Liverpool. I was one of the thirty. Never before did the Stars and Stripes look so good to us as when they hung from the beam in the hospital ward. We were thankful we were among our own nurses and doctors. They were the best ever. Upon release from the hospital, London was our next “objective.” Reporting there, our “flu” party was again divided and sent to various parts of southern England for a recuperating period.

Torquay, in sunny Devonshire, was my lot, in company with a [131] young lady from Texas. Never in the history of this picturesque and interesting city had appeared American girls in uniform. We called ourselves the original “Y” pilgrims of Torquay. We thought for once in our lives we were either the center of attraction, or were monstrous curiosities. People gazed at us, and then gazed some more. They attached us to every organization and nation possible. One day we heard a clerk ask a “shop” keeper, “Do they speak English?”

Torquay, the famous watering place of southern England, is a beautiful city, like Rome, situated on seven hills, which rise from Tor Bay, one of the numerous bays of the English Channel. The view of the blue and green waters of the Channel, the red cliffs, and the hills 'covered with flowers, ivy hedges, trees, and row upon row of English homes is beyond my description. Is it any wonder that Elizabeth Browning found inspiration for her well known letters, as did Charles Kingsley for *WESTWARD HO* and *HYPATIA*, in this beautiful land of Devon? Besides being renowned for its beauty Torquay claims distinction from an historical standpoint. The battle of the Spanish Armada was fought along its shores. Devonshire was the home of Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, the Gilberts, and Davis, the well known explorers in our early history. Like all Americans "overseas" we saw as much of this historic country as possible, visiting Compton Castle, where, as legend relates, Sir Walter Raleigh smoked his first pipeful of tobacco, and also spending some time in Plymouth. Here we had to place our feet upon the stone marking the spot from which our Pilgrim fathers set sail. After giving thanks to the Pilgrims for sailing the ocean blue and recalling all Thanksgiving dinners with delight, we had the privilege of seeing the *War Spite*, the pride of the English Navy, sail out of the harbor. Great were the cheers for the *War Spite* was the hero in the Battle of Jutland, when the entire German fleet opened fire upon her. Plymouth also had other attractions for us, as it was a naval base for five hundred American "gobs." It was America, first, last, and always with us. But even so, we found the English very cordial and their country most beautiful, with the narrow Devonshire lanes and its small plots of earth surrounded by green hedges. We were loathe to leave this sunny spot, but after drinking in its beauty, absorbing its history, and imbibing its literature, we were called back to London.

A certain amount of red tape is always required when moving from one country to another in the time of armies, hence during our delay we just had to continue our lessons in English history and literature. The Parliament buildings, Westminster Abbey, the

Old [132] Curiosity Shop, Cheshire Cheese, the homes of Samuel Johnson and Oliver Goldsmith, and the Tower of London, all called forth many recollections of the time spent in the English and History class rooms of "Old Main" with Dean Squires and Dr. Libby.

Bidding farewell to "Merrie England" at Southampton we boarded the boat for LeHavre, our first glimpse of France. Boarding one of the French trains, fortunately not "8 Chevaux and 40 Hommes," we journeyed on to "Gay Paree," glad indeed to reach our next "objective." The "Battle of Paris" at this time was not of long duration, for my order was to proceed to Bordeaux. From there the Regional Directrice assigned me to Toulouse.

Toulouse, a city of 300,000, is situated in southern France, between Bordeaux and the Mediterranean Sea. A splendid university is located there, at which 1500 of our officers and enlisted men were enrolled. It was my pleasure to work in the canteen which served these men. They had come from almost all divisions of the A. E. F., from the Army of Occupation, Advanced Section, S.O.S., Marines, Ordnance, clerical work, and everything, and now were doing specialized work in the ten faculties of the University. It was an American Army College in a French atmosphere. Soon many organizations arose, consisting of college, state, divisional and fraternal circles. Then appeared a college paper, QU'EST-CE QUE C'EST, the first A.E.F. student publication, an English paper but printed by French compositors. "Some task," as the editor can testify. The editorial staff, composed of men from the Philadelphia Ledger, Cleveland Plaindealer, and Harpers, were not to be daunted by such petty troubles, and put out a weekly publication which would do credit to any college. Its ability was demonstrated in the editorials. Its popularity was shown by a circulation list of 23,000. Its success was attained when 14,000 francs were cleared over expenses. This amount started the American Library for the University of Toulouse. Athletics was another activity in which this A.E.F. University gained distinction. Championship teams in basketball and baseball were developed. Track and tennis were

also popular. Still another activity appeared in a Franco-American club, organized to secure Franco-American co-operation and a knowledge of the French language and people. Club rooms were maintained, where the inhabitants of Toulouse were received and exchanged ideas with the American students.

The canteen at Toulouse served as a touch of American life for these students in a foreign land. Five American girls and three American men were there to serve these splendid men, who had [133] sacrificed all for us. Coffee, chocolate, lemonade, ice tea, sometimes doughnuts and ice cream, but always sandwiches, had to be on hand. Sandwiches, "beaucoup" of them, over a thousand, were made daily. Then "good old American picnics" up the river were frequently enjoyed by the "boys." Movies and theatrical troops furnished amusement in the evenings. Dancing in the canteen and the club rooms was always a source of joy to the men. The passing thru Toulouse of any American girls on leave to Nice or Biarritz was a signal for a dance. For, why not? Didn't we have one of the best orchestras, "Whizz Jazz Bangers" that could be found? "I'll say we did!"

During the later part of the University session I was in the canteen library, checking in and out the books of the A.L.A. The good done by this branch of the "Overseas Units" was immeasurable. The library was constantly filled with the boys reading the ever popular Saturday Evening Post and books on banking, business, and accounting. The latter outlast the demand of any other type of book. Perhaps the boys are believers in preparedness.

An opportunity was afforded the boys for making week-end trips, sometimes accompanying the baseball teams, or visiting some of the beauty spots of southern France, Luchon, Pau, Lourdes, Carcassonne, and Biarritz, the renowned leave areas of this section. These are only a few of the twenty-six leave areas scattered from St. Malo to Biarritz, from Nice to the Rhine. Between six hundred and seven hundred girls were stationed in these scattered leave areas, ready to entertain the boys, talk with them, walk with them, shop with them, sing with them, and dance with them.

Every week from three thousand to six thousand men of the A. E. F. went into each leave area to enjoy that well earned rest. Were the girls glad to see them, and were they glad to see the American girls? If people could ever hear them say, "You're the first American girl I have talked to for seventeen months," or "you're the first American girl I have danced with for a year," then understanding would be theirs. We forgot we were individuals, but remembered only that we were American girls there to do "our bit." You might find us picnicing with the boys in the leave areas, serving chocolate or making sandwiches in the canteen, supplying doughnuts to the troops entraining, entertaining the boys in a play or vaudeville, driving a rolling canteen, giving out chocolate and doughnuts to the men in the camps, and, oh yes, dancing in between times. We all did that. Sometimes there would be fifteen girls as partners for six thousand men. What a scramble for partners when the whistle blew. One unit of eighteen girls, called the Flying Squadron, went from camp to camp dancing [134] in the afternoon and evening with the boys, who rarely saw an American girl.

When my work in Toulouse was completed I was reassigned in Paris to the Bureau of Historical Research of the "Y." It was my work to collect, arrange, and compile data of work carried on by the "Y" in the regions of Bordeaux and La Rochelle. This necessitated some time being spent in and around Bordeaux. When the offices of the day were closed it often meant a dance in the evening, either in the city of Bordeaux, or at one of the numerous camps in the area. Bordeaux, the second largest city in France, was the center of a large area, and the "Mecca" for all Americans in this district. Here again as in many visits to the devastated regions, I had an opportunity to see the wonderful accomplishments of our army. We were all proud to be Americans, and to have the privilege of working with our wonderful A.E.F., the best ever in our estimation. Regardless where our men had been placed they "put over" their "job" in the quickest and best manner. We were thrilled with pride again and again when we saw the feats that they had accomplished and heard of their valor. They never told you themselves, for

they are too modest for that. But after hearing of their experiences and seeing the devastated region, we all say with the deepest of feeling "Hats off to the boys of the A.E.F."

Replying to the ever-present question, "Where are you from in U. S. A.?", I was always glad to say, "from the West." I met many Western men who replied, "You're the first girl from the West we've seen." I was glad to say I was from North Dakota, for continually I was meeting men who had worked with or under our Dakota men, and nothing but the highest praise was ever given. While "fighting the battle of Paris" for two months I met North Dakota men and some University friends. Those were happy reunions. Fortunately some of the U.N.D. girls had get-together meetings. Edith Veitch of Grand Forks, of the Red Cross, Helen Sullivan of Langdon, of the National Catholic War Council, and I talked North Dakota and the University fast and furious at our gathering in Paris. The last day in France I dined with Miss Sullivan and Miss Delia Linwell. I left the girls in "Gay Paree," Miss Sullivan in charge of the Etoile Service Club for soldiers and sailors, and Miss Linwell studying in theatrical work.

Many have wondered how the war would change the boys. I think that is well answered in a poem which appeared in the Mother's Day number of *Q'EST-CE QUE C'EST* at Toulouse. The following poem was written by a sergeant of the Second Division, who had [135] been thru everything and had come out with four service chevrons, two wound stripes, a *croix de guerre*, and D. S. C. to his credit.

MOTHER O' ME

You're wond'ring, I know, little Mother o' me,
As you dream there day by day,
If your lad is the lad that he used to be –
the lad that you sent away.

You're asking, I know, little Mother o' me,
As you sit in your easy chair,
"How much did he learn of brutality –
What sights did he see 'Out There'?"

You're wond'ring, I know, little Mother o' me,
What part of your boy is your own?
"What things did he learn in his agony? –
His soul – has it shrunk, or grown?"

Let your heart be at rest little Mother o' me,
God worked it all out in his plan,
And the lad whom you gave to Humanity,
Is coming back home – a Man!

THE WORK OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

O.G. Libby
University of North Dakota

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The institutions of higher education in North Dakota aside from the University and the Agricultural College, include, as usually rated, Fargo College, located at Fargo, Jamestown College, located at Jamestown, the School of Science, at Wahpeton, the School of Forestry, at Bottineau, and the normal schools located at Valley City, Mayville, Minot, Ellendale, and a new one just starting, at Dickinson. In seeking information for this study these were communicated with and urged to give details of all war activities. Nearly all responded. From the replies received and from other sources it is known that they were, without exception loyal to the core during the entire period of the war. They all participated with zeal in the various efforts put forth to meet the situation. In the many drives for money, for books, or for other needed material, they all took part and responded with intelligence and generosity. In the work of the Red Cross and in the care of influenza patients they all worked so eagerly and so faithfully as almost to seem to have been vying with one another. Their various contributions of men for the battle front, of material things, or of other forms of service differed only in quantity, and that difference is easily explained by the size and age of the respective institutions. It will not be necessary, therefore, to relate in detail the work of each. As one reads the description of the movements at the Univer-

sity, he may know that approximately the same things were being done at the other institutions and in the same spirit.

The Agricultural College, however, owing to the technical character of its work, was able to render, in addition to the forms of service common to all, very valuable assistance in specific lines. It is an agricultural college, and thus is in close touch with the agricultural interests of the state. In several ways this enabled the institution to be of special service : (a) President Wilson, in selecting the members of his Commission for fixing the price of wheat during the war, chose one of its faculty. (b) The College Experiment Station and Extension Department combined to encourage the production of food, and were able, to a considerable extent, to stimulate [61] crop production and increase the area of land in farm crops, as well as to encourage and increase production of farm products, pork, and poultry. (c) Thru their active agents in the field they encouraged the conservation of food and the utilization of food products to a greater extent than formerly thru various methods devised for their preparation, utilization, and preservation. (d) The Federal Food Administrator was a member of the faculty and served thruout the period of the war, and the government at Washington frequently called members of the faculty into conference on matters of importance. The Agricultural College also carried on extensive work with both sections of the Students Army Training Corps.

It should be said, also, that Jamestown College and Fargo College, in addition to the lines of work common to all the institutions, changed their regular schedules and rearranged their work so as to care for small units of the S. A. T. C., college section.

STATE UNIVERSITY

The University war history began three days before the declaration of war. At a special council meeting called April 3, 1917, President McVey announced that voluntary military training had begun at the University and that a regularly commissioned officer would be

secured as soon as possible. By vote of the Council the University campus and plant were offered to the Federal Government as a training station. It was decided, also, that in all cases of students who entered United States military service a full semester's credit be given in such courses as were being pursued satisfactorily. The reality of war came directly to the institution when the University radio station was dismantled on April 20, by orders from the Department of Navy.

On the 27th of April, 45 per cent of the men were enrolled in the eight weeks' course in military training under the direction of F. L. Thompson, physical director. This purely elective course included two hours a week of lectures on hygiene by Dean French of the College of Medicine. The women of the University had at the same time already organized for Red Cross work thru the Women's League with its membership of 400 students and 100 faculty women.

President McVey was by this time actively engaged in mobilizing the University for war. Thru the newly organized Bureau of Public Information all data was compiled as to the special training of the faculty, alumni, and student body which would make them available for various forms of service to the Government. Early [63] in May President Wilson called for a joint conference at Washington of the National Council for Defense and the National Association of State University President. President McVey attended this conference with plans and suggestions for the mobilization of his institution for war work.

By the 18th of May 139 students had left the University; 39 of them had entered military service and the remainder had taken up various forms of farm work in conformity with the suggestion of the Government. The University Council met this emergency by making provision for excusing without loss of credits all students who left for this service.

June 5 was celebrated as National Registration Day by students and faculty who marched in a civic parade to Central

Park. Here patriotic addresses were made, President McVey delivering the principal address.

The fall term opened with an enrollment of 11% less than the previous year. The law school showed the most marked decrease, and the entire senior class was much depleted in numbers. On October 15 President McVey's resignation was accepted and Dean Babcock was chosen by the regents as acting president. The University section of the state Red Cross was organized October 11 under the direction of Mrs. Joseph Kennedy. Captain McVey, the new University Commandant, began organizing the freshmen and sophomores for compulsory military drill and was soon able to announce the non-commissioned officers for the two companies of the freshmen and the one company of sophomores. Early in November, 1917, Professor H. R. Brush, chairman of the Committee on Education of the State Council of Defense, began organizing classes in radio, telephony, and telegraphy for later service in the United States Signal Corps. In co-operation with local telegraphers he succeeded in starting the work at Devils Lake, Minot, Williston, Dickinson, Bismarck, Jamestown, Wahpeton, Fargo, and Grand Forks. On November 5 classes in radio-telegraphy were begun in the Department of Physics under Professor B. J. Spence. During this month the campaign was launched for funds to support the fatherless children of France, and on November 19, the first Y.M.C.A. war drive netted the sum of \$2,743.91.

On February 22, a service flag with 281 stars was presented to the University with appropriate ceremonies. A surgical dressings station was established at the University and quarters were found for it at the Commons. The University Library took part in the first A.L.A. book drive from the 18th to the 23rd of March. Many of [64] the faculty were filling lecture dates during the second semester, assisting in local drives for Red Cross funds. On April 6 the faculty and student body took part in a Win-the-War parade, and in the patriotic celebration immediately following at the city auditorium.

The newly elected president, Thomas F. Kane, was chosen by the regents January 24, 1918, and assumed his duties immediately after Easter. Following a suggestion made at the closing meeting of the University Club for that year, on May 3, President Kane appointed a War Committee of five members of the Council (afterward increased to six) to serve as a medium of communication between the Federal Government and the faculty and student body, and to act on all special war demands and in special emergencies. The adoption of a more aggressive war policy on the part of our Government and the rapid development of new plans for mobilizing the resources of the nation gave to the War Committee an unusual opportunity for service. The first work undertaken was the adjustment of the Home Economics courses to the recommendations of the Government, especially along the lines of food conservation and production. Next came a special demand after commencement for Summer Session courses in Nursing and Home Economics. This was met by securing the added teaching force needed and by making the new courses known to those who would be glad to take them. During examination week, at the request of the Federal Department of Labor, the Committee made a special canvass of the students, and 200 were enrolled for such work during the summer as they might be called upon to perform. A letter of greeting was prepared by the Committee and sent out from the President's Office to the students and alumni in service, and their attention was directed to the University collection of photographic and other records of their part in the war. Early in July the Federal Government assigned the University a detail of fourteen students and two members of the faculty to receive special military instruction for sixty days beginning August 1, at Fort Sheridan, Illinois. The general purpose of this training camp was to prepare officers for the S.A.T.C. units to be established at the various colleges and universities of the country. The committee found that the selection of these student representatives was made difficult by the late arrival of the notice when most of the students were on vacation. Professor H. A. Doak of the English

Department was the sole faculty representative but the full student contingent was selected as follows:

Sam K. Fisher, Devils Lake
Gjems Fraser, Grafton
R. C. M. Kraabel, Hope
E. J. McGrath, Grand Forks [65]
Min Hin Li, University
John J. Kelly, Grand Forks
G. E. Moultrie, Valley City
C. E. Schweitzer, Cavalier
Ralph E. Pray, Valley City
Rudolph C. Steidl, Fingal
Kenneth Graves, Grand Forks
Ralph J. Stewart, Drayton
George H. Haynes, University
T. M. Rygh, Cavalier

The War Committee drafted and printed a circular letter address to graduates of high schools urging them to continue their education by attending the University and pointing out the specific courses in which they might specially prepare for war service. The appointment of a state War History Commission was recommended to Governor Frazier, who later appointed as members of the commission: O. G. Libby, Grand Forks, Chairman, Mrs. Chas. F. Amidon, Fargo, and Curator M. R. Gilmore of the State Historical Society, Bismarck. At its headquarters in the Library the War Committee is still collecting war posters, books and pamphlets, photographs and letters, and data necessary for the making up of the individual war record of every student or member of the alumni or faculty.

The vocational work at the University in the N.A.T.C. units began July 1, 1918, and is described later. Mobilization of all colleges and universities for war service was decided on by the Federal Government and was made the subject of three national conferences with the heads of institutions and other faculty

representatives. For the Middle West the conference was held at Fort Sheridan, Illinois, August 31 and September 1. At this conference the University was represented by President Kane and the Chairman of the War Committee. At the conference the presiding officer was Colonel (now Brigadier General) R. J. Rees, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Special Training. Other heads of committees and numerous army officers took part in the discussions that continued thruout the conference. The drastic requirements of the Government were cheerfully acceded to by the representatives in session. The reorganization of college curricula on the quarter basis and the making of special provisions for the accommodation of the S. A. T. C. units fully occupied the officers of all educational institutions during September. At our own institution the N.A.T.C. units had already been assigned ample quarters in the Gymnasium where by means of ingeniously constructed balconies sleeping space was found for all. The S.A.T. C. unit was accommodated in Davis Hall and Budge Hall, while the Phi Delta Theta house on the University campus was requisitioned as permanent military headquarters. Other plans for the extension of the work and provision for additional [66] dormitory space were tentatively proposed but were not developed owing to the short time the new schedule was in actual operation. A new \$30,000 drill hall was authorized by the Board of Regents and will be ready for use during the present college year. Besides the University and the Agricultural College, two other institutions in North Dakota accommodated S.A.T.C. units, Fargo College and Jamestown College.

In the rearrangement of courses of study to fit into the military requirements of the Government, only those courses were retained that had a direct bearing on the training of officers and technical experts. English, Law, Physics, Chemistry, French, German, and Spanish were retained as well as courses in the Colleges of Medicine and Engineering. A special War Issues Course was provided which was given by the departments of Geology, History, Philosophy, Political Economy, and Sociology. In actual practise it was found

to be exceedingly difficult to provide study facilities in the barracks and to fit the academic work into the rigid requirements of military drill and camp duty. The experiment lasted but six weeks, the epidemic and the armistice combined to cut short the life of the S.A.T.C. unit. At best no one was satisfied and the reports of the inspectors of the various portions of the academic work now on file at Washington may be consulted as to the opinions of those who saw the experiment in a number of institutions.

The work of the S.A.T.C unit had hardly begun when the student body was overtaken by an epidemic of influenza which caused suspension of all classes by quarantine October 8, and finally of all but the most necessary of camp duties. Following the establishment of the quarantine in Grand Forks as well as at the University the street cars were stopt at Hamline avenue and guards were stationed at every University entrance for the control of traffic and the exclusion of the public from the University campus. On the thirteenth of October, Sunday, a large number of the students reported as sick of the influenza at the base hospital established in the Phi Delta Theta house and at the emergency hospital on the third floor of Budge Hall. The number of patients increased so fast that by the following Tuesday the military headquarters were removed to Davis Hall and all the students rooming in this dormitory were transferred elsewhere as rapidly as possible. By the end of the week pneumonia began to develop among the patients and the University found itself in the grip of the worst epidemic in its history. Lieutenant Jesse H. McIntosh was camp physician during the existence of the S.A.T.C. unit. During the epidemic he was assisted by Dr. James Grassick [67], University physician, who had his headquarters at Budge hall. The women patients at the University were cared for, principally, at a temporary hospital in a nearby cottage. Dr. H. E. French, Dean of the University School of Medicine, had charge of all these cases and was able to deal so successfully with the epidemic that he lost none of his patients.

Lack of adequate hospital facilities on the University campus led to undesirable overcrowding, and since no provision for this

contingency had been made in advance the most fatal consequences followed. The largest number of patients was cared for in Budge Hall, and that the mortality there did not run higher is due solely to the professional skill and untiring devotion of the head nurse, Miss Mae McCullough. Immediately on being placed in charge of the nurses at this hospital, near the close of the first week of the epidemic, she introduced every device that her long experience had shown her to be useful in such emergencies. The hospital record of every patient was kept at his bedside accessible to the nurses and doctors. Every patient had abundance of fresh air, but screens were placed over the windows so as to avoid dangerous draughts. The cots were raised on specially made blocks so as to render the care of the patients easier for the attendants. A diet kitchen was installed where proper food could be prepared under the most favorable circumstances. Relays of Grand Forks women, chosen from those most able to assist her, worked day and night under her directions to save the worst cases and to prevent further development of the most dangerous phase of the epidemic. The citizens of Grand Forks responded to every call for help. The day and night shifts at Budge Hall were conveyed to and from their homes in autos even during the worst weather. Meals were brought out every night to those who went on duty in the evening. When the head nurse called for volunteer doctors from the city to serve at the hospital during the night, at which time the regular physicians were not on duty, there was no lack of response. The services of the Red Cross were placed at the service of the University by its representative, Mr. C.C. Gowran, while the chairman of the University War Committee, acting as his volunteer assistant, helped to discover the needs of every one and to fill them promptly. With all the care that could have been lavished upon them, the patients would have fared badly but for the medical supplies and other material daily brought from the Red Cross headquarters at Grand Forks. Within the S.A.T.C. unit itself the medical students gave freely of their utmost as nurses' aides while the details of military orderlies did their work [68] loyally under the most trying circumstances. The

remarkable severity of the epidemic in every part of the country makes the record of its ravages of special interest. How a number of other institutions met and combatted the scourge is given in brief at the close of this sketch. Appended to these summaries is a table of the statistics for each institution that furnisht the facts.

Near the close of the epidemic the War Committee sent the follow communication to the President:

In view of the severity of the recent epidemic and the constant danger of a renewal of its ravages, in view of the trust reposed in us by the parents of the students in attendance at the University and for the purpose of more fully utilizing the service of the medicalmen of Grand Forks City and County, it is recommended by the University War Committee:

1. That a joint medical committee be formed by voluntary association for the purpose of taking into consideration the special problems arising from the spread of the epidemic at the University S.A.T.C camp, this committee to consist of the medical army officer of the camp, the Dean of the University School of Medicine, the Grand Forks County Health Officer, the City Health Officer, and the chairman of the Commercial Club Health committee.

2. While, from the military situation, it is recognized that the function of this committee must be purely advisory, it is strongly urged that the committee, acting for the whole state constituency of the University, consider every phase of the public health situation connected with the S.A.T.C. camp life, and to that end it is suggested that the committee be subject to call by any one of its members.

As events turned out, there was no renewal of the epidemic but it was felt that there was now a well-digested plan on file so that any future emergency might not again find us wholly unprepared. S.A.T.C. class work was gradually resumed during the first week in November. The general quarantine on the city and University

was not removed, however, and the outside student body did not return for work. As only six weeks remained of the first quarter, the class work was altered so as to cover, as far as possible, the courses for the entire quarter. The signing of the armistice on November 11 and the subsequent order for demobilization put an end to the S.A.T.C. organization and opened the way for a resumption of regular University work. During the early week of December and especially in the short vacation beginning December 21, there intervened [69] a period of considerable uncertainty and confusion. In anticipation of these conditions the War Committee drew up the following letter which, on their recommendation, was sent out from the President's Office to the parents of all students:

Now that the war is over, a number of our S.A.T.C. students are inclined to give way to a feeling of discouragement. In their discouragement quite a number are even thinking of throwing up all their university work. They seem to feel that this quarter's work has been lost, utterly failing to appreciate that their being here and under training was serving their country just as faithfully and as effectively as though they were on foreign soil. They were here because the Government assigned them here. Furthermore, the fact that there were mobilized, as army units at our colleges and universities, thousands of our best young men in intensive training for war work and from whom 30,000 officers were to be selected by July 1, was certainly a tremendous factor in hastening the collapse of the Central Powers – Our S.A.T.C. students are entitled to feel and should feel that they have played their part just as fully as those who were so fortunate as to be called to service overseas.

A recent canvass of the S.A.T.C. classes indicates the degree of this discouragement in that many, especially of the freshmen, are not planning to return to the University after the close of this quarter. While we appreciate the handicaps under which they have labored the past few weeks, the illness of so many of the students, the enforced closing down of the work

for a considerable period, together with the interference of the military duties with the regular academic work – all of which has undoubtedly been very discouraging – yet we feel that this should not prevent their getting the most possible out of the remaining two-thirds of the college year. With the passing of the influenza, and of the required military duties, the students will have time and opportunity to devote themselves to their university work.

The University expects to be back to very near, if not quite, normal conditions this next quarter. First: It is hoped that several, or possibly all, of the fraternity houses may be released from requisition and again given over to the fraternities. Second : The gymnasium will again be available for athletics and all departments of athletics will resume normal activities.”

The demobilizing of our S. A. T. C. unit took place December 24, 1918, under Captain Mark L. Calder, Commandant. The previous commandants had been Captain Seymour R. Wells, July 1 to October 2, (then transferred to Camp Funston, Kansas), Lieutenant [70] Lee R. Gaynor, Jr., October 2-27, Lieutenant Charles J. Sweeney, the immediate predecessor of Captain Calder. The official S.A.T.C. paper THE CAMP BARRAGE, ran thru seven issues from November 8 to December 20, 1918, with E. J. McGrath as editor-in- chief.

The University Council decided to continue on the quarter basis only for the remainder of the year and to give to all seniors a full year's credit for work done during the second and third quarters. On February 20, 1919, the Council provided for the establishment of a unit of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps at the University by adopting the report of a special committee providing for military training for freshmen and sophomores. This action was taken to meet the Government requirements for military training at colleges and universities where such training corps are established. On April 24 by the adoption of a joint committee report from faculty, alumni, and students, the council approved the

erection on the campus of a Memorial Auditorium as a testimonial of respect and gratitude to those of our number who have lost their lives in war service.

At the last meeting of the Council for the year provision was made for accrediting toward graduation the service of all students in the army and navy.

During the past year there have been attending classes at the University two young women from France, sent to this country by their government. Our University, in conformity with a very general action by our colleges and universities, made provision for these representatives from France as a part of a general plan for reciprocal exchange of college students. These young women, Marie Bentegeat and Madeleine M. Letessier, will remain with us for their second year.

As already stated, the vocational work at the University of North Dakota, in the N. A. T. C., began on July 1, 1918, with the arrival of the first detachment. It continued until November 1, tho, owing to the prevalence of the influenza, many of the men did not leave until later. The State Agricultural College, located at Fargo, also had units of the N. A. T. C. Inasmuch as the work done in the two places was practically the same, a description of that done at the University will suffice for both. The following brief account is taken, much abridged, from the report to the Government made by the Institutional Director, Dr. E. J. Babcock.

The courses in vocational training were given to auto-mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, concrete workers, miners and drill runners, [71] and radio operators. The total number of men trained in each of these courses was as follows :

Auto-Mechanics, 95
Blacksmiths, 40
Carpenters, 42
Concrete Workers, 40
Miners and Drill Runners, 51
Radio-Operators, 92

ORGANIZATION OF INSTRUCTION

The teachers employed were largely selected from the engineering staff of the University. All but three or four were college graduates and those who were not were men of technical and practical training in their respective lines. About one-third were men who had received the doctor's degree and who had had thoro training and a wide and successful experience as teachers in technical and scientific subjects. In the selection of instructors an effort was made to secure those who were not only well trained, but who were especially well qualified by experience to give thoro training in a practical way and in an intensive manner.

The materials and equipment utilized in the various courses were in general those used in the instructional work in the engineering college of the institution, but in each subject additional equipment or special equipment was required in order to provide for the numbers in the different courses and for the peculiar needs of the army training in this work. In selecting the equipment to be placed in the hands of the soldier-students, an effort was always made to provide, in the main, such working facilities as would be most likely to be available in actual military field service, and the student was taught constantly to use his ingenuity in devising methods of utilizing the implements at his command so as to accomplish the greatest variety of work.

The necessity of meeting emergencies and of overcoming difficulties without elaborate equipment was constantly kept before the student in vocational army training. Even in the selection of special equipment required as, for example, in the instruction of mining, portable, and, as far as possible, simple equipment was utilized such as gasoline engines, portable compressors, small hoists, etc., and with such equipment special training could be taken in rapidity of moving, setting up and getting into successful operation, under varying conditions, of the necessary machinery

or equipment corresponding as nearly as could be to the exigencies of army action.

The instructional work involved the two general divisions of [72] organization and supervision. In a general way the instruction proper was grouped as follows: The first general division embraced class instruction – (a) outlines of work, based upon the progressive unit plan; (b) simple lectures and explanations, covering only so much as is necessary for a clear understanding of the specific work in hand and the most rapid and accurate way of securing the results; (c) questions by instructor for the purpose of determining the mental grasp of the student and the clearness and accuracy of his knowledge of the subject and methods of procedure; (d) questions by students largely to afford an opportunity to give the student quick and clear relief from misunderstandings and wrong methods of procedure.

The second general division of instruction embraced shop work and field practise. The relative amount of time given to these two divisions of the work necessarily varied in different courses and at different times in each case, but a large portion of the time of instruction was given to practical shop and field applications. This phase of the work became, for the most part, individual altho in some subjects the men could work to advantage in groups. In the shop and field work special attention was given (a) to the proper use of tools and equipment and (b) to methods of work, especially for the purpose of securing the best results with reference to efficiency, speed, and emergency adaptation.

The methods used for developing initiative and resourcefulness were varied and, as far as possible, such as to look into the direction of handling emergency conditions that might be expected in active army service. As soon as the men became familiar with their tools and the general methods of procedure, we began to charge them with definite jobs either in groups or individually and to hold them responsible for the character of the work and results obtained and for conservation of time and material, together with the highest degree of efficiency. A constant effort was made to teach alertness

in grasping a situation and overcoming difficulties promptly and efficiently and with such simple and improvised facilities as one in service would naturally have at hand.

In lectures and in ship and field instruction, emergency cases were frequently thrown upon the students and they were required, not only to devise suitable methods for overcoming the difficulties, but were generally required to put them into actual practise. Usually this work was of an individual nature. Sometimes it fell to small groups, depending upon the character of the problem, but in all cases was handled about as it would be in actual field service. Training in this line was begun by simpler problems early in the work of [73] all courses. These problems were made gradually more difficult and complicated as the course progressed.

Our experience here in the work in vocational army training has been highly satisfactory and I believe clearly demonstrates the practicability of short, intensive training. The men who entered came with the idea of being trained as rapidly as possible for a rather definite service. They were at once impressed with the urgent need of the Government along these lines and with ideals of loyalty and service, all of which resulted in greatly stimulating them to utilize their time to the very best advantage.

The courses were short, it is true, but even the short courses of eight weeks were decidedly successful and demonstrate what can be done, not only in times of war, but to a considerable degree, under normal conditions, when young men are training for a definite purpose with a clear vision of its importance and with earnestness and devotion to duty and mastery of the task before them.

Maturity, previous education, past experience, and natural ability, were all modifying conditions and important factors in the character of the work and the results obtained in the vocational training. In the assignment of the men to the various courses all of these factors were given, insofar as time would permit, careful and personal consideration in an endeavor to place the man into the line of work which he would be most successful. The instruc-

tor was asked to keep each student's qualifications, experiences, and special ability in mind so as to lay out his work to permit of the most rapid and successful progress. There is no doubt that their qualifications greatly helped some of the men to intensify in this type of training, and I am inclined to think that this was on the whole more beneficial for these army purposes than simple scholastic training would have been.

Whatever may have been the results of military training and discipline in connection with the college section of army training, there is no question as to their working together satisfactorily in the vocational section. The responsibilities and functions of the vocational instructional section were carefully organized under the institutional director so that there was no encroachment of the military upon the educational, nor vice versa. All matters of mutual interest were considered directly by the commanding officer and the institutional director.

The vocational methods of instruction and control harmonized well with military training and discipline and the schedule of hours of duty for each was clearly defined and easily maintained. It was the matter of common observation among the instructors that precision [74] and other methods of military training carried over into the vocational work and it was likewise a common observation and comment of the military officers that nearly, if not fully, as rapid progress was made in the time allotted for military training of the vocational section as usually is in army training where the whole time is devoted to military training. In other words, the vocational education served as a change, a stimulus, and a recreation in connection with military training and indicated that a change of occupation would serve these purposes as well as entire relaxation.

The supervision for the vocational section supplied by the Committee on Education and Special Training was pre-eminently satisfactory. The District Director (Dean Potter) seemed to have very clearly in mind the objects to be attained, the difficulties to be met, and the proper methods of handling the situation. His assis-

tance in planning the work, in the organization, in the instruction, and in a variety of problems connected with the administration was very helpful and highly appreciated.

Among the first things presented to the men who entered the training and among the things which were constantly kept before them were those with reference to correct ideas of the causes of the war, the bearing the final outcome would have upon the rights of nations and of individuals, and the future security of the things most sacred and most essential to individual and national life and happiness, and along with this were also presented right ideas of individual life and service.

The effect of vocational army training on the institution was manifest among the instructional force of University students. Many phases of the work were new upon the University campus and the rapidity with which readjustments were made in the equipment and work of the engineering department and the rate of progress which the men made in this vocational work, as well as in their military training, was a matter of universal comment and appreciation not only by people connected with the institution, but also by citizens who had an opportunity to see something of the work being accomplished.

Our experience with this work was so highly satisfactory and demonstrated so clearly the practicability of many desirable features that before the work closed I concluded to introduce, gradually and in a modified way, several of the fundamental ideas in connection with certain specific subjects in our engineering courses.

The effect of the vocational training was noticed by the men themselves and highly appreciated. Many of the men who had no college training but who were mature and who had considerable experience [75] in life, express to me personally, before going from the camp into service, their high appreciation of the privileges and opportunities of this training given by the Government and the value that it had been to them ; and many of them also express a sincere hope that after the war they might be able to obtain more such training, better preparation for industrial life, and a broad-

er education. Already several of these men have returned to the University and are beginning industrial and engineering courses.

To those who have been watching and carefully studying this great experiment in the rapid training of men in vocational lines to meet the emergency war needs of the Government, there have been presented many valuable ideas, not a few of which are well worthy of adopting either in whole or in part in connection with various phases of our educational ideals and methods of training. This has served, as it were, as a great educational experimental laboratory course in which many new methods and ideas have been tested out and in which the results achieved have been remarkably successful; and it is sincerely hoped that the lessons which we have learned in methods, ideals, and educational efficiency, will be quickly and vigorously applied to our technical and industrial training.

We are beginning to realize more fully the enormous advantages to be derived from a training which gives a knowledge of the laws of nature and a skill and power capable of mastering the difficulties and real problems of daily life. Our universities and colleges should more and more inculcate the ideals of real service and should be actuated by a sincere desire to serve the people in every way possible, not only in aiding the investigation and development of our resources and our industrial, civic, and social problems, but also by training young people so that they will be well fitted to fill important places in life with credit to themselves and the industry or profession in which they are engaged, and who will have sufficiently broad and high views to become active, useful, and noble members of society.

To show contrasts and for general information, the following brief summaries are given. They are made from answers received to questionnaires sent. They show how the various institutions represented handled the epidemic situation. These summaries should be read and the contrasts noted in connection with the statistical table that follows.

BELOIT COLLEGE

Three weeks' interruption. Hospital accommodations were provided by the use of one dormitory and a room in the gymnasium. No medical aid was used beyond that regularly provided for the S.A.T.C. [76] Faculty cooperation was confined to one dean and the committee in charge of the War Aims Course.

CARLETON COLLEGE

Studies were interrupted from November 11 to December 12. The hospital facilities were supplied by taking over the men's dormitory as an emergency hospital. No medical aid was used outside of the two army physicians, but they were aided by five nurses. The local Red Cross operated with a committee of the faculty in caring for the sick.

DEPAUW UNIVERSITY

Classes interrupted from October 10 to November 4. Both the college infirmaries and Indianapolis hospitals were used. A provisional hospital was established in one of the dormitories. The two army physicians were aided by four outside physicians, two professional nurses, and many volunteer Red Cross nurses. Red Cross aid was effective also in many other ways.

HAMLIN UNIVERSITY

The epidemic caused no interruption of class. The medical work was done by an outside physician, a trained nurse, and S.A.T.C. orderlies.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

No interruption of classes during epidemic. The University hospital was supplemented by the use of two dormitories as detention hospitals. The regular hospital staff of from two to four physicians was aided by twelve senior medical students and several Red Cross nurses.

LAFAYETTE COLLEGE

No interruption of college work. The camp hospital and the college hospital both used. The army physician was aided by two outside physicians and several graduate and local nurses. The Red Cross found nurses and the faculty operated generally.

LAKE FOREST

Only two days' interruption of classes. The college hospital was supplemented by the use of the President's house as a well equipped detention hospital. The medical work was done by the regular army physician and a trained nurse.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

No interruption of class work. The women students were sent home and an emergency hospital was established in one of the dormitories. The army physician was aided by some twenty-five nurses. The Red Cross assisted in procuring nurses and the faculty co-operated generally.

NORTH DAKOTA AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE

Most of class work interrupted from October 8 to November 1. Three large general hospitals and two smaller private ones in [77] Fargo in use, also Music Building, Ceres Hall, three fraternity houses, and large hospital tents. Forty-two nurses, mostly from St. Johns and St Luke's hospitals but including volunteer nurses and others from Fargo. Camp physicians, five, with college physician and one specialist. Home Economics had entire charge of diet and general hospital cookery, and their graduates from the outside helped in various ways. Library open four hours each day outside of regular hours for convalecents and those exposed to the epidemic. Red Cross co-operated in supplying face masks and bedding.

UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

Classes interrupted from October 21 to January 2. Emergency hospitals were established in the gymnasium and in several rooms in

the agricultural building. The medical men were two regular army physicians and six from the outside. They were assisted by two professional nurses and volunteers from the faculty and student body. The Red Cross furnished hospital supplies.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

No interruption of classes. Two fraternity houses and two dormitories used as emergency hospitals. The regular University physician and the army physician were aided by five other doctors, giving part of their time. Six Red Cross nurses and two hired by the University aided in the hospitals.

UNIVERSITY OF IDAHO

No interruption of classes but non-S.A.T.C. students lost from three to five weeks from quarantine. Two city hospitals, an emergency S.A.T.C. hospital, a fraternity house, the Elk Club house used as a convalescent hospital and two churches and one college building used as isolation hospitals. Four trained nurses and twenty volunteers from faculty, town women, and the student body, one military physician and seven from the outside. The Red Cross supplied food for invalids and hospital supplies of every kind. One member of faculty chairman of county Red Cross. Advisory committee to President met frequently and there were special faculty meetings.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Three months' serious interruption of classes. The University hospital was supplemented by the use of one of the University recital hall, two dormitories, and a fraternity house. Four hundred patients accommodated at one time. Eighty-five nurses were assembled from all parts of the state. One army physician and eight from the outside. Faculty and local chapters of Red Cross furnished supplies of every sort. Epidemic handled by a closely organized faculty group, "the war department neither helped nor hindered."

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

Two weeks' interruption of classes and all public gatherings forbidden for three months. Emergency hospitals on the campus. [78] Trained and volunteer nurses from two to twenty-five. Four camp physicians and ten from the outside. Red Cross of considerable aid. Committee on Student Health represented the faculty.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Six weeks' interruption of class work. Medical faculty and advanced students made the temporary barracks into efficient hospitals. Few trained nurses but an abundance of volunteers from student body from Lawrence. Six army physicians and five from the outside. Red Cross worked day and night furnishing supplies of every kind. Department of Home Economics had charge of food supplies. Chancellor placed a director and two assistants in charge and heads of departments were selected by director for aid as needed.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

Six weeks' interruption of classes. Gymnasium and one dormitory converted into hospitals. Trained nurses, mostly volunteers, numbered twenty-five. Two camp physicians and one from the outside. Red Cross local chapter co-operated closely in caring for the sick.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

The epidemic caused only one week of interruption. Hospital service at Ft. Snelling and two hospitals on the campus. The staff of twelve military physicians and nurses at the three hospitals supplied all medical aid. Red Cross gave excellent co-operation and individual members of the faculty offered their services.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

Classes interrupted from October 7 to January 1, 1919. Two local hospitals, St. Patrick's and the Northern Pacific Railway,

later an S.A.T.C. hospital accommodated the large number of patients cared for temporarily in the barracks. Volunteer nurses from S.A.T.C. unit were later replaced by Red Cross and volunteer women nurses. One army physician and one outside for one week. Red Cross very efficient in finding nurses and doctors and in supplying bedding and other materials. The faculty committee on Health took an active part in caring for the sick students, and the dean of men and other members of the faculty visited the patients and kept their parents informed.

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

Three weeks' interruption of classes. Emergency hospitals were created by using three residences, two University buildings, and some rooms in other buildings. Nurses were supplied partly by the Red Cross and partly by volunteers from Lincoln; there were also the medical orderlies and military details. Three military physicians and one outside, besides a good deal of volunteer aid. The faculty all [79] took an active part in assisting in the hospitals, and the alumni co-operated vigorously.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Demoralization for three weeks but no actual closing. University infirmary was supplemented by the use of six fraternity houses. Seven trained nurses were assisted by 30 second year medical students and orderlies from the S.A.T.C. unit. The three army physicians operated with the S.A.T.C. committee of the faculty.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

No interruption of classes. Two hospitals, one of them the special S.A.T.C. hospital. Army physician and local doctor assisted by five city physicians in severe cases. Faculty made canvass of city for supplies and for medical help and assisted in the hospitals where needed. Red Cross furnished S.A.T.C. with sweaters, etc.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH DAKOTA

Three weeks' interruption. Besides the local hospital, four private residences were used as emergency hospitals. One camp physician was assisted by a very active Red Cross society.

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH

Classes interrupted from October 15 to November 20. All patients were taken directly to Ft. Douglas hospital and were completely under military authority thereafter. The physicians and nurses were wholly of the hospital staff. Practically every member of the faculty aided in the care of the patients directly or indirectly and the Red Cross co-operated.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

Two weeks' interruption. Two dormitories used as hospitals. Nurses, wholly volunteer, from ten to twenty from the city. The faculty and the S. A. T. C. unit aided the two camp physicians. Faculty War Emergency Committee of twenty appointed a committee of three to take actual charge of relief. The alumni assisted the Red Cross in supplying cots and blankets.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

No actual interruption of classes. Two city hospitals and University infirmary supplemented by emergency hospital at the quarters of the University Club. Two army physicians, five full time contract physicians, and six on half time. Graduate nurse and five health aides. Faculty represented by an advisory committee consisting of the Executive Committee of Medical School. Resident alumni offered their homes for care of convalescents. Red Cross furnished nurses, prepared food, equipt temporary hospitals, secured transportation, and furnished supplies.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

Three weeks' interruption of classes. Emergency hospital on campus. Volunteer nurses largely, only three or four trained nurses

[80] available with three army physicians. The women of the faculty were especially helpful and the Red Cross aid was invaluable.

YALE UNIVERSITY

No interruption of regular class work. New Haven hospital was supplemented by emergency hospitals established in two fraternity houses. Approximately thirty volunteer trained nurses and twenty untrained assisted the three outside physicians. Red Cross supplied nurses.

AFTER THE WAR – WHAT?

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A careful answer to the question of After the War, What? must begin with a consideration of the objects – the true objects – for which the allies are fighting. This article will not take up for consideration what would happen after the war in case of a German victory. In case of a victory for the allies, the terms of peace and other means for carrying out the plans of the victorious nations should secure to future generations all of the big human objects for which the present generation is fighting.

What, then, are the real objects for which the allies, and especially the United States, are fighting? I care not for what pretext the war began, or for what pretext any particular nation entered the war, or whether the United States was drawn into the war in the beginning for the purpose of defending its citizens, or the ships of its citizens, or for the purpose of helping humanity. Now that we are really engaged in this cataclysmic struggle, for what are we really fighting?

The objects of the war, from this standpoint, may be classified (1) as immediate and (2) as prospective, or permanent.

The immediate objects of the war are defense and restoration of rights violated. Upon the matter of restoration, President Wilson, in his message to Russia, has said: "No people must be forced under sovereignty under which it does not wish to live. No territory must change hands except for the purpose of securing those who

inhabit it a fair chance of life and liberty. No indemnities must he insisted upon except those that constitute payment for manifest wrongs done. No readjustment of power must be made except such as will tend to secure the future peace of the world and the future welfare and happiness of its people."

This article is concerned primarily with the permanent objects of the war, rather than the immediate, and the discussion of the latter, therefore, will be left with the above statement.

What are the permanent objects which the allies hope to obtain by this war and which, if I mistake not, furnish the deeper inspiration for their herculean efforts and sacrifices? Upon this point President Wilson has said: "And then the free peoples of the world must draw together in some common covenant, some genuine and practical cooperation that will in effect combine their force to secure peace and justice in the dealings of the nations with one another. [60] The brotherhood of mankind must no longer be a fair but empty phrase; it must be given a structure of force and reality. The nations must realize their common life and effect a workable partnership to secure that life against the aggressions of autocratic and self-pleasing power." If I were to enumerate and classify the permanent objects of this war, as I think they express the sentiments of the people of this and other countries, I should name the following:

1. Permanent peace.
2. Disarmament.
3. Prevention of the rebarbarization of the world.
4. Establishment of the oceans as a great international domain, free to the commerce of every nation and governed and controlled, not by a strong or an aggressive nation, but only by the principles of a real international law. "For these things we can afford to pour out our blood and treasure."

The world, with the possible exception of a power or two, wants permanent peace. It does not want war. The United States and

most of the other nations engaged in this war did not want this war. If they had wanted war they would have been better prepared for it. Our people, and most people, at the present time, prefer the pursuits of peace to a military life. A growing number of people are coming to believe that all war is unrighteous and wrong. That peace is one of the real objects for which we are fighting needs only statement; it does not require proof. We are fighting this war so that we may never have to fight another.

We are also fighting for disarmament, not only because it is the best way to prevent future wars, but for disarmament itself. Seventy-one and one-half per cent of our national income, up to 1910, had been spent on our army, navy, pensions for war sufferers, and interest on our war debts. The expense to other nations for armament up to this time has been greater. The expense of this war, both to other nations and to ourselves, is liable to be almost incalculable. The burden is becoming unbearable. The world has groaned under its weight too long already. The world wants to drop it. The burden is useless. The money thus spent we should use for the making of good roads, the prevention of disease and other things of benefit for humanity.

We are fighting to prevent the rebarbarization of the world. Periodically, thruout the history of the world, civilization has been at the mercy of some barbarian. We have only to look back over the pages of history to see how one civilization after another has thus gone down. Modern civilization is threatened today just as [61] Greek and Roman civilizations were once threatened. Some barbarian horde, which has physical prowess, no matter how little else, may in a moment wipe out ages of mental and moral development. To-morrow, unless some plan is devised for the prevention of the rebarbarization of the world, if not the German peril, some Asiatic or other peril will arise to endanger civilization. Small states especially are in danger of this menace. We believe that in the evolution of the human race it has reached the height of its physical development, and that if it is to evolve further it must be along mental and moral lines. This will never be possible in its fullest

sense until we make the world safe for the development of mental and moral qualities.

We are fighting for a new order of things upon the oceans. We are fighting for an international domain, for the freedom of the seas, and for the reign of international law. We have come to see that this finite world is too small for a hundred infinite nations; the seas, too small to be ruled separately by every nation large enough to send ships to traverse its waters. Any plan for the future peace of the world must take account of the submarine. But aside from the danger of the submarine it is best that the jurisdiction over the seas should pass under different control. The world would not tolerate the ownership of all the oceans by any one nation. By the same token it cannot tolerate the government of the oceans by any one nation, or by all the nations each acting separately in sovereign capacity. We must have a new control of the oceans and a true system of international law created and enforced.

Assuming that the above are the true objects for which we are waging this war, and assuming that we are victorious, how shall all of these things be brought to pass, after the war is over? The immediate objects of the war can be secured quickly. Those not obtained by the victory itself, can be covered by the terms of peace, hastily formulated by generals or diplomats. Not so, the prospective, or permanent objects of the war. To obtain these it will require, not only much forethought and careful planning, but some readjustments. Up to date two principal plans have been suggested for securing, after the war, what we are now fighting for so far as the future is concerned.

One plan is that of the League to Enforce Peace. This is sometimes called the American plan, altho no one claims that it represents the desire of the people of the United States as a whole. The League to Enforce Peace contemplates a sort of loose confederation of the nations which are willing to enter it. There is to be no [62] independent power, no large state with a sovereignty of its own, but hoped-for unity of action by separate sovereignties – a concert of states.

The first proposal of the League to Enforce Peace is that all nations which are members of the league shall submit all legal questions to a judicial tribunal. "All justiciable questions arising between the signatory powers, not settled by negotiation, shall, subject to the limitation of treaties, be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing and judgment, both upon the merits and upon any issue as to its jurisdiction of the question." This proposal is, so far as it goes, satisfactory to all those who are discussing the question of "After the War – What?" Standing alone it is not subject to criticism. It is subject to criticism only in connection with the entire program of the League to Enforce Peace.

The second proposal of the League to Enforce Peace is that all other questions shall be submitted to a Council of Conciliation. "All other questions arising between the signatories and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a council of conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation." With the exception of the effect of the decree of the council of conciliation, what has been said about the first proposal would apply to the second proposal.

The criticism of the plan of the League to Enforce Peace does not apply to its first two proposals, but to its last two proposals. The faults in its plan, so far as it goes, consist not in the substantive matters included therein but in the procedure adopted as the means for securing and enforcing such substantive matters. How are the members of the League to be compelled to submit their questions, either to the judicial tribunal or to the council of conciliation? This question is answered by the third proposal: "The signatory powers shall jointly use forthwith both their economic and military forces against anyone of their number that goes to war, or commits acts of hostility, against another of the signatories before any question arising shall be submitted as provided in the foregoing." The success of this scheme rests upon the joint but independent use of their economic and military forces by a number of different sovereign nations, before another nation, by acting quickly, could accomplish its purpose. This would be too much to expect.

Nations would be slow to meddle voluntarily in others' quarrels. This scheme is bungling. It has no head. There is no provision for getting the members to move. A well-prepared nation would be able to accomplish its objects of conquest etc. before the other nations would get around to act. It is intended to apply only to the members of the [63] League, and therefore provides no means to prevent the rebarbarization of the world by an outside force. But the most vital defect in the whole scheme is that it involves perpetual armament by all the individual nations. Even granting that the scheme would enforce peace, which would not be true, the fact that it would continue to load all of the nations with the burdens of armies and navies would alone condemn it, provided there was any other feasible plan not involving perpetual armament. Again, if any of the members of the League should submit their disputes to this judicial tribunal, or to this council of conciliation, how are they to be compelled to abide by the judgments and recommendations of such tribunal or council? The answer is that they are not going to be compelled. If the nation against whom the decision is rendered will not voluntarily abide thereby, the two nations in dispute must fight the matter out, just as tho it had never been submitted. The plan of the League to Enforce Peace does not contemplate the enforcement of awards. It prefers to depend upon the sanctions of public sentiment and national conscience. If these sanctions are so dependable, why do we not adopt them to enforce the decrees of our courts, and send home the officers whose business it has been to levy executions and enforce other judgments? If we are going to depend upon the voluntary action of nations, or individuals, to abide by decrees, why not depend altogether upon the voluntary action of nations and individuals to do right in the first place? This part of the scheme seems Quixotic, to say the least. Nations are much like individuals; an autocratic nation is liable to be worse than the majority of the individuals composing it, and it is too much to expect of nations what you cannot expect of individuals.

The fourth proposal of the League to Enforce Peace is: "Conferences between the signatory powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which, unless some signatory shall signify its dissent within a stated period, shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the judicial tribunal mentioned in Article One." There is no provision here for a true legislative body. The most that could be expected of such conferences is, either that they would talk themselves to death or that their actions would be repudiated.

Briefly the scheme of the League to Enforce Peace is a provision for a court and council to consider questions and to decree, or recommend, as the case may be, if questions are presented to them; but there is nothing to compel the submission of questions except the voluntary action of nations other than those in dispute, and there is [64] no provision for the enforcement of awards. There is no provision for a legislature, and no provision for an executive. In other words there is no pretense of a new state. It provides only for another "entangling alliance." The scheme takes into consideration only the first of the four great objects of a permanent nature for which the war is being fought. Disarmament, prevention of rebarbarization and the freedom of the seas with all that it involves are ignored. The scheme is the Bryan treaties, plus an attempt to get some concerted action among some nations to compel the submission of controversies to arbitration. This is a spineless program. It gets us nowhere. It not only is not modelled on any plan which has proven a success; it is modelled on those which have always proven failures. This would prove a failure. It would not prevent the only thing which it attempts to prevent – war among the members of the League.

Are we sending our boys forth to fight for such an end as this? After they have won a victory shall we throw victory away? We far better keep them at home and take the government of the barbarian than to have them shed their blood for naught. They are fighting for future peace, for disarmament, to prevent the rebarbarization of the world, for the freedom of the seas, and international law.

Then, after the war is over, let the statesmen of this and the other victorious countries formulate a plan which will ensure permanent peace, disarmament, the prevention of the rebarbarization of the world, and international government and law.

What we need is, instead of a concert of nations, a federation of nations. This is the second plan which has been put forth, and this plan has the championship, among others, of Sir Frederick Pollock. Herbert Spencer (over thirty years ago) said: "A federation of the highest nations – exercising supreme authority – may by forbidding wars between any of its constituent nations put an end to the rebarbarization which is continually threatening civilization." We want a United States of the World. Just as the states of this country have formed a union called the United States of America, so let the nations of the earth form a union called the United States of the World. This plan is modelled after those which have proven successes. We have to point only to Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, even Germany, and our own conspicuous United States, to show the practicability of the plan.

What does this plan involve? First, it involves a surrender of some of its sovereignty by each of the nations to compose the new federation. Sir Frederick Pollock, in criticising the plan of the [65] League to Enforce Peace and advocating the world state plan, says: "It will be said that this plan involves a serious degradation of sovereign power. This is very true. There is only one material out of which commonwealths or associations of any kind, starting from independence, can make an effective power for handling affairs of common interest, and that is individual power surrendered on equal terms by all of them." Not very many sovereign rights would have to be surrendered, but it is fundamental that some be surrendered. Jurisdiction over the seas should be given up. The control of the seas, as a sort of international domain, should pass to this world state. Possibly, in addition, a site for a capitol and a few other small land tracts should be set aside for it. As an incident to this there would gradually grow up, of course, an independent system of international law. The right to an army and a

navy should be surrendered by each nation as it came into the new federation and granted to such federation. This federation should maintain an army and navy larger than the next largest army and navy of any nation outside of the federation. When all the nations of the world should become members of the world state, as we should expect them all to do ultimately, this army and navy could be reduced to a force only large enough for police purposes, and to enforce the awards of the tribunals of the world state. In this way the burden of armament would be lifted off from each individual member of the federation at once, and ultimately off from the entire world. Permanent peace would be secured and the rebarbarization of the world prevented, for there would never be a power capable of coping with the United States of the World. There is no other way to get disarmament. There is no other way to make it safe to become civilized. In addition to the above, some revenue getting power would have to be given to this new world state.

This world state should have, within its constitutional limits, executive and legislative authority, as well as judicial authority. The details of the government of this great federation, together with the necessary modifications of present governments are matters which would have to be worked out as the new government was put into operation.

As to what should form the nucleus of this world state, I should say perhaps the allies, who have already learned the lesson of association. I would like to say that a democratic form of government should be a condition to membership, but I do not believe that the time is ripe for such an absolute requirement. The important thing is a world federation, and I would advocate beginning with those [66] states who are ready to surrender a part of their sovereignty and enter upon this basis, and admit others as they became ready. I do not believe it would be wise to compromise on some other basis for the purpose of getting additional members in the beginning.

Does the world want such a federation? I believe it does. Does the United States want such a federation? I believe it does. I believe that the idea of the brotherhood of man and the other teach-

ings of Jesus have so permeated society that at last men can look beyond their family, their tribe, even their nation, to the human race. I believe that the time has come when the people of this and other lands can have a loyalty for their city, for this state, for their nation, and for the world.