UTAH

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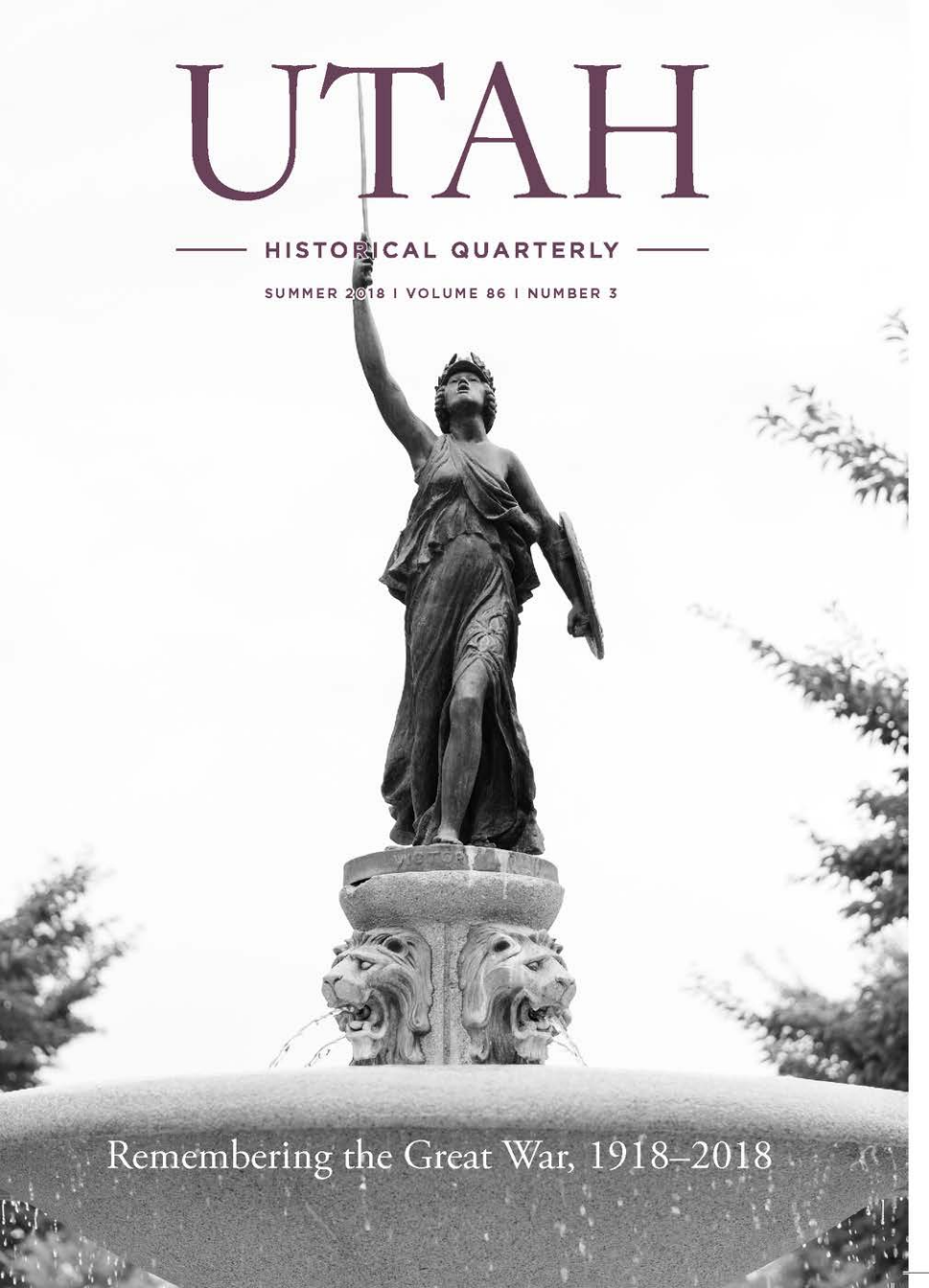

Remembering the Great War, 1918–2018

UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Utah Historical Quarterly is Utah's journal of record, published quarterly on behalf of the Utah State Historical Society since 1928. The *UHQ's* mission, from its earliest issues to the present, is to publish articles on all aspects of Utah history, as well to present Utah in the larger context of the West. Even as *UHQ* continues its commitment to themes traditionally associated with Utah history, it challenges readers and authors to think across state lines to the forces of history, physiography, and culture that link Utah to a host of people, places, experiences, and trends beyond its geopolitical boundaries. *UHQ* seeks a regional approach, reflecting Utah's geographic and cultural position at the crossroads of the West.

UHQ's editorial style emphasizes scholarly credibility and accessible language. Manuscripts dealing with any aspect of Utah history will be considered. Submissions based on allied disciplines—such as archaeology, folklore, or ethnography—are also encouraged, so long as the focus is on the past.

For submission and style guidelines visit history.utah.gov/submissions. Articles and book reviews represent the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Utah State Historical Society.

UHQ welcomes letters to the editor. Letters are published occasionally and online. We reserve the right to restrict word count and edit content.

In 1897, public-spirited Utahns organized the Utah State Historical Society in order to expand public understanding of Utah's past. Today, the Utah Division of State History administers the Society and, as part of its statutory obligations, publishes the Utah Historical Quarterly (ISSN 0 042-143X), which has collected and preserved Utah's history since 1928. The Division, which is part of the Utah Department of Heritage and Arts, also collects materials related to the history of Utah and makes them available online and in a research library; assists communities, agencies, building owners, and consultants with state and federal processes regarding archaeological and historical resources; administers the ancient human remains program; administers the Utah History Day program; offers extensive online resources; and assists in public policy and the promotion of Utah's rich history.

UHQ appears in winter, spring, summer, and fall. Members of the Society receive *UHQ* upon payment of annual dues: individual, $30; institution, $40; student and senior (age 65 or older), $25; business, $40; sustaining, $40; patron, $60; sponsor, $100. Visit history.utah.gov/become-a-member to join the Utah State Historical Society and receive your own copy of the journal.

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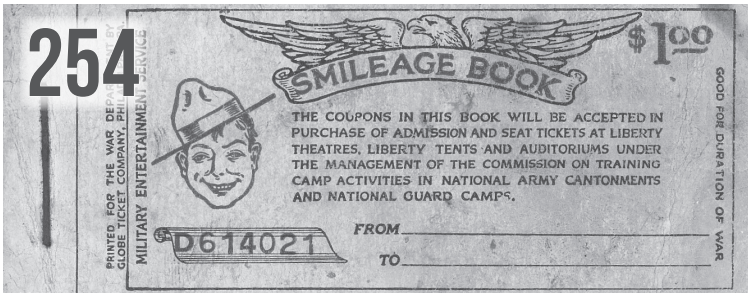

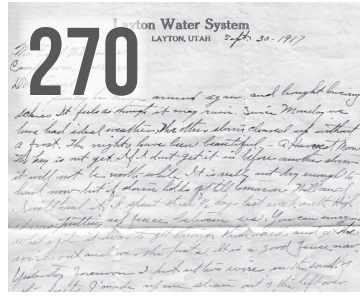

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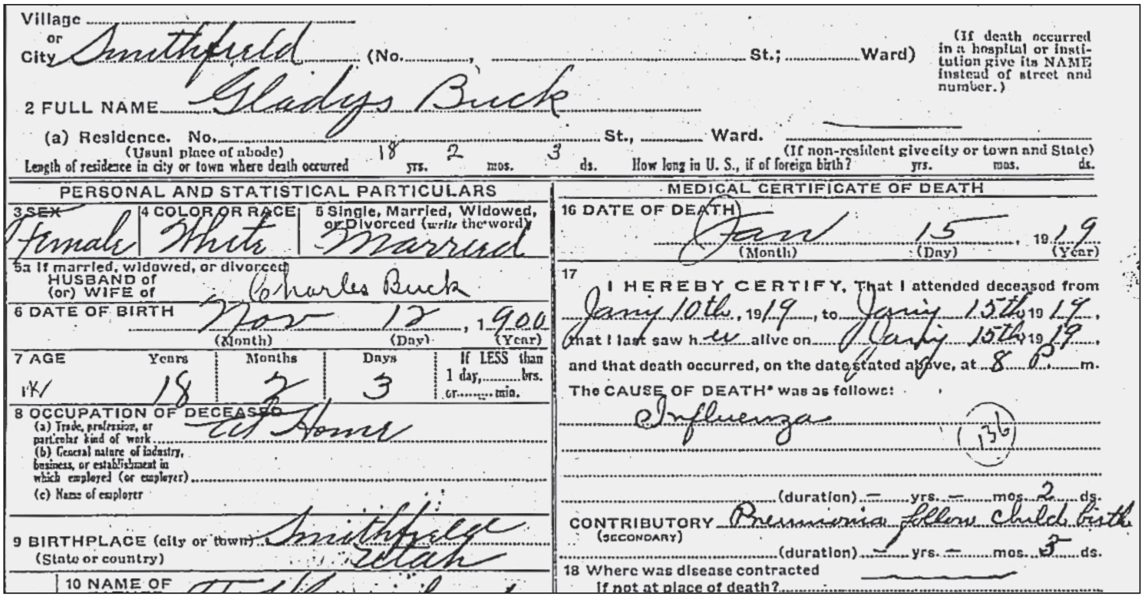
IN THIS ISSUE

The numbers that describe World War I (WWI) defy easy understanding: 4.7 million Americans fought in the combined armed forces during WWI; of that number, from April 1, 1917, until December 31, 1918, 116,516 died. A great many more continued to suffer and die after that period from the effects of chemical weapons, post-traumatic stress disorder, degenerative diseases, and much else. And the American toll was small in comparison to the losses around the world: an estimated 37 million war casualties. On top of the war deaths came the global influenza pandemic, which killed some fifty million people. In Utah alone, one-fifth of the population fought the flu, with 2,915 deaths occurring throughout the state.[1] In recognition of the cost and consequences of the war—which officially ended one hundred years ago, on November 11, 1918—this issue of *Utah Historical Quarterly* focuses entirely on WWI. This is done in conjunction with the Utah World War I Centennial Commission.

Our opening article provides the international context for the war. As Tammy M. Proctor notes, the conflict "rocked the foundations of global life," leading to the "redrawing of political and ethnic bounds, the death of empires, and the birth of a new geopolitical and economic order." Throughout the world, civilians and soldiers alike dealt with the consequences of this total war. Those who survived the conflict faced a host of troubles—personal, environmental, and public. Likewise, the nature and scope of government power shifted throughout the world, including in the United States. "It is not hard to argue," Proctor writes, "that the experience of WWI shaped a whole generation of people."

Although it was far from the major zones of conflict, the state of Utah did not escape the effects of the First World War. Rather, as Allan Kent Powell argues in our second article, Utah's citizens and leaders were "active participants"


Village or City Smithfield (No. , St.; Ward) (If death occurred in a hospital or institution give its NAME instead of street and number.)

2 FULL NAME Gladys Buck

(a) Residence. No. St., Ward. (Usual place of abode) (If non-resident give city or town and State)

Length of residence in city or town where death occurred 18 yrs. 2 mos. 3 ds. How long in U. S., if of foreign birth? yrs. mos. ds.

PERSONAL AND STATISTICAL PARTICULARS

3 SEX Female | 4 COLOR OR RACE White | 5 Single, Married, Widowed, or Divorced (write the word) Married

5a If married, widowed, or divorced HUSBAND of (or) WIFE of Charles Buck

6 DATE OF BIRTH Nov 12, 1900 (Month) (Day) (Year)

7 AGE Years 18 Months 2 Days 3 If LESS than 1 day, hrs. or min.

8 OCCUPATION OF DECEASED (a) Trade, profession, or particular kind of work At Home (b) General nature of industry, business, or establishment in which employed (or employer) (c) Name of employer

9 BIRTHPLACE (city or town) Smithfield (State or country) Utah

10 NAME OF

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

16 DATE OF DEATH Jan 15, 1919 (Month) (Day) (Year)

17 I HEREBY CERTIFY, That I attended deceased from Jany 10th, 1919, to Jany 15th 1919, that I last saw her alive on Jany 15th 1919, and that death occurred, on the date stated above, at 8 P m.

The CAUSE OF DEATH* was as follows: Influenza (136)

(duration) — yrs. — mos. 2 ds.

CONTRIBUTORY (SECONDARY) Pneumonia follow child birth (duration) 1 yrs. — mos. 5 ds.

18 Where was disease contracted if not at place of death?

From the death certificate of Gladys Craghead Buck, a Cache Valley woman who died in January 1919 of influenza. Buck's death was one of the millions of tragedies that occurred throughout the world as a result of World War I. (Courtesy Utah State Archives, Series 81448.)

in WWI. Powell details the political, social, and economic environment of wartime Utah; its participation in the wider war effort; and the experiences of Utah soldiers. The article provides a broad look at the state, explaining what the complexities of the era could look like in daily life—at a restaurant in Price or a district court in Manti—with special attention paid to effects of ethnicity, class, and religion. Powell concludes by assessing the impact of the war on Utah, which included the loss of life, the expansion of government, the culmination of reform efforts, and the increase of nativism.

Recent scholarship on WWI has recognized the importance of gender in both how the conflict played out and how governments and societies shaped their war efforts. Meanwhile, it has long been noted that the debacle of the First World War inspired remarkable art.[2] Our third article combines these two strains of thought. In it, Robert Means asks how poetry from contemporary Utah might compare with the works of Britain's soldier-poets. He tackles that question by analyzing poetry from the Utah-published *Relief Society Magazine*—most of it written by women—and finds that gender and perspective are essential to understanding the literature created by either set of authors.

In our fourth article, Kenneth L. Alford approaches the war through the life of Calvin S. Smith, a Salt Lake City man who had the unusual circumstance of being the son of Joseph F. Smith, the president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and one of three chaplains provided by the LDS church. Smith was one of ten chaplains who served the "Wild West Division" and had charge of all LDS men in the division. Although Smith had no formal training as a chaplain, he proved adept at the task, working hard to provide stateside soldiers at Camp Lewis with what respite he could and going "over the top" himself at the front.

The issue's last article, by Rebecca Andersen, offers a granular, familial recounting of the war experience by examining the letters exchanged between Emil Whitesides, a soldier in France, with his family in Davis County, Utah. Emil and his parents wrote one another almost weekly during his military service, using their correspondence "to maintain and even deepen their relationships with each other." Andersen analyzes letter writing in this era and also how the Whitesides's experience fit into the broader wartime picture. Emil's time abroad placed him, as it did many other young men, in a world outside the rural, religious Utah of his youth. Likewise, Emil's family learned vicariously through his letters, even as they became part of the worldwide conflict through politics, sacrifice, and, especially, the influenza pandemic.

These final articles remind us that however massive the scale of the war, the conflict and its aftermath were personal as well. The sorrow of the influenza pandemic traveled with my father's family for much of the mid-twentieth century. My great-grandmother, Gladys Craghead Buck, was an expectant mother during the winter of 1918. Then, in January 1919, at eighteen years old and only three days after the birth of her first child, Buck died in Smithfield, Utah, from influenza and pneumonia. Her death—at a great physical distance from the battlegrounds of WWI—was yet one of the millions of tragedies of a war that affected lives across the globe and ushered in a new phase of modernity.

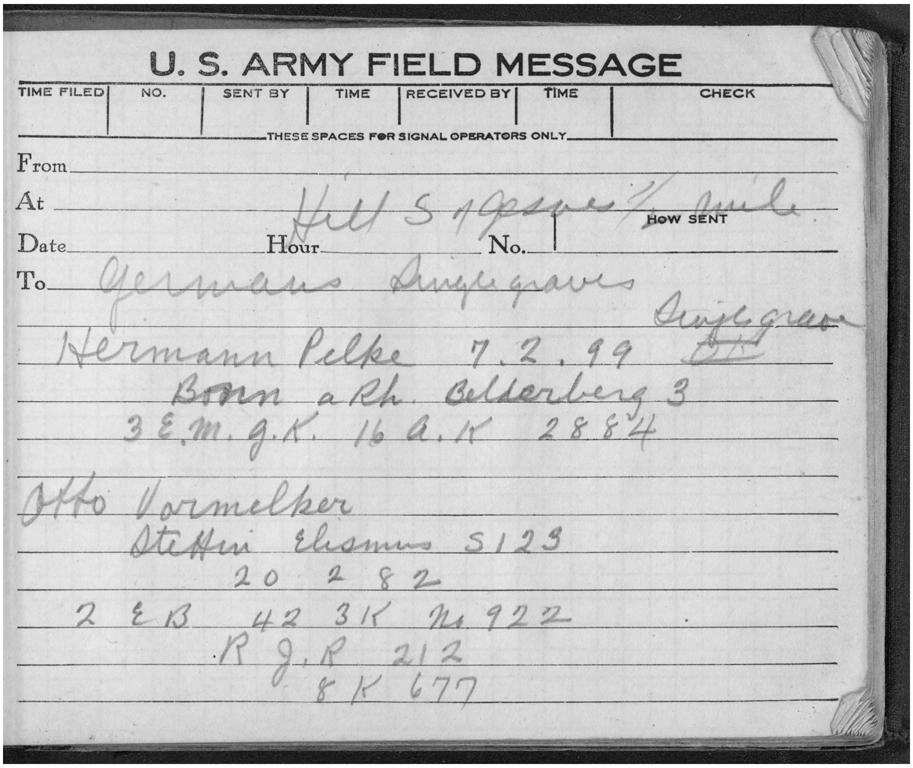
—Holly George

—

Notes

1 Carol R. Byerly, "War Losses (USA)," in *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War,* ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08, DOI: 10.15463/ie1418.10162; Charles S. Peterson and Brian Q. Cannon, *The Awkward State of Utah: Coming of Age in the Nation, 1896–1945* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press and Utah State Historical Society, 2015), 53.

2 See Nicoletta F. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor, eds., *Gender and the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017); Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).



U. S. ARMY FIELD MESSAGE

TIME FILED	NO.	SENT BY	TIME	RECEIVED BY	TIME	CHECK

THESE SPACES FOR SIGNAL OPERATORS ONLY

From

At Hill S 1 [illegible] ½ mile HOW SENT

Date Hour No.

To Germans Singlegraves

Singlegrave

Hermann Pelke 7. 2. 99

Bonn a Rh. Belderberg 3

3 E. M. G. K. 16 A. K 2884

Otto Vormelker

Stettin [illegible] 5123

20 2 82

2 E B 42 3 K Nr. 922

R J. R 212

8 K 677

Two images that demonstrate the reach—both global and personal—of the First World War. *Top:* A page from the U.S. Army Field Message Book that Chaplain Calvin S. Smith used to document burials; it records details regarding the graves of two German soldiers, Hermann Pelke and Otto Vormelker. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.) *Bottom:* A partial list of Wayne County men who served in WWI, as seen on a monument placed by the Camp Thurber of the Wayne County Chapter of the Daughters of Utah Pioneers in the 1930s. (Photography by Lucy Call. Utah State Historical Society.)

Spirit of the American Doughboy, E. M. Viquesney, detail. This rendition of Viquesney's *Doughboy*, a mass-produced statue, was erected by the Service Star Legion of Mount Pleasant, Utah, in 1926. (Photograph by Lucy Call. Utah State Historical Society.)

THE GREAT WAR AND THE MAKING OF A MODERN WORLD

BY TAMMY M. PROCTOR

On June 28, 1914, a local assassination by a small terrorist group in a corner of the Habsburg Empire sparked the beginning of a global conflict a month later in late July 1914. This war, known initially as the "European War" and then the "Great War," officially ended in armistice on November 11, 1918, and it had life-changing consequences for virtually every country in the world by the 1920s. Even those nations that were only peripherally involved or that maintained neutrality felt the effects of the conflict. The First World War rocked the foundations of global life, particularly in regards to long-held beliefs and well-established institutions. The war's aftermath led to the redrawing of political and ethnic lines, the death of empires, and the birth of a new geopolitical and economic order. Many historians consider World War I (WWI) the crucible within which the modern world was forged. This article aims to provide a brief overview of the war and its consequences, with an emphasis on how this destructive world war set the tone for the modern world in which we live.

On July 28, 1914, when the first declarations of war occurred between Austria-Hungary (Habsburg Empire) and Serbia, onlookers might have still thought that this war would remain contained to the Balkans. After all, two earlier Balkan wars in 1912 and 1913 had not drawn in other nations, and these conflicts had largely been limited, if bloody, affairs. When Gavrilo Princip and his fellow assassins targeted Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, they were building on a tradition of protest against the Habsburg presence in the region that stretched back to 1908.[1]

Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina that year in opposition to Serb public opinion and after a prolonged period of political agitation and intense negotiation, Austria-Hungary retained these provinces while simultaneously radicalizing Serb nationalists. The 1914 assassins belonged to one of these radical nationalist groups, the Black Hand, founded in 1911.[2] Local tensions from this confrontation and from waning Ottoman power in the region created an unstable situation in the whole Balkan region. Small-scale skirmishes and protests gave way to the regional Balkan Wars in 1912–1913, but the "big" powers in Europe took care to help bring those wars to an end without larger involvement of outside nations. Therefore, few dreamed that Princip's bullet would ignite a war that drew in virtually every continent. In Utah, the main Salt Lake City and Ogden newspapers reported on the assassination and the local tensions it had aroused, but there was no mention of a European war until nearly a month later. On July 26, the *Salt Lake Tribune's* headline read "All Europe Near War," as multiple nations began mobilization and issued ultimatums. Serbia and Austria-Hungary began hostilities on July 28, then between August 1 and August 5, Germany, Russia, France, and Britain all joined the fray. By mid-August 1914, it was clear to all who were paying attention that this would be neither a small nor a contained conflict.

There were three major signs that this war would change the world. First, the speed with which huge empires lined up their millions of subjects to fight and to labor for the war meant that WWI would pit unprecedented numbers of people against each other. The big land juggernauts—the Russian Empire, the Habsburg Empire, and the Ottoman Empire—were joined by the overseas empires of France, Britain, Italy, the United States, and Germany, bringing the total populations involved in the war to well over a billion people.[3] While only a fraction of those people were combatants in the war, they were not immune from the impacts of war: grief, homelessness, poverty, political instability, and economic volatility. The second sign that the First World War might be transformative was its immediate impact on the global economy. All the world stock markets closed on August 1, 1914, and banks scrambled to stabilize currencies and to prepare for the war loans that were coming. Economic warfare began immediately as well. Great Britain used its navy to establish a blockade of the land-locked German and Austro-Hungarian empires, in effect seeking to starve out its enemies. Germany responded with a submarine campaign, also seeking to destroy imports destined for Britain. Various nations blacklisted enemy countries economically, even in foreign trade zones such as Scandinavia and Latin America.[4] Finally, the war almost immediately unleashed a series of nationalist claims from minority groups within empires. In regions of modern-day Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, and Ukraine, groups who had longed for national independence began pushing their claims, often at the expense of other minority groups, particularly Jews. This impulse toward the break-up of empires in favor of modern nation-states accelerated as a result of the war, totally transforming the nature of the war and its resulting political realignments.[5]

By the end of 1914, it was also quite apparent that the war would not be short. Suddenly the somewhat discredited ideas of the Polish banker Jan (or Ivan) Bloch seemed prophetic. In Bloch's 1899 *The Future of War*, he predicted a modern war in which "the spade will be as indispensable to the soldier as his rifle."[6] Indeed, by December 1914, the Western Front in France and Belgium consisted of a series of ditches or trenches, with soldiers living almost subterranean lives. The Eastern Front, while not as entrenched as its western counterpart, had ground to a halt with the onset of winter. Exhausted soldiers on all sides contemplated their casualties (dead, wounded, missing) of nearly 2.5 million after five months of fighting.[7] These numbers and the prospect of another year of fighting sounded a wake-up call for politicians, military officials, and ordinary people. The sobering lists of the dead tempered any initial excitement that might have driven enlistments in the fall 1914.

So, who were the combatant countries, and how did they join? The initial week of the war featured a face-off between two loose alliances, the Entente (Britain, France, Russia) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary), but these alliances were not necessarily strong and neither did they entirely hold true. The Entente was more of a mutual assistance pact, and

American soldiers in the trenches near Verdun, France, 1918. (Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-41940.)

one member of the Central Powers, Italy, chose not to enter the conflict until 1915 and then on a different side than had been expected. Much has been made of the alliance system as an automatic "trigger" for war, but the truth is that, for each country involved, its own circumstances at the time were more important in its decision about war. Each state had leaders who chose war, for a whole variety of reasons, and those decisions meant that they spent the rest of the war and postwar period explaining to their subjects and citizens how and why they went to war.

In addition to the main countries involved in the escalation of the conflict, other nations joined the war between 1914 and 1917, leading to a long list of combatants on both sides (see table 1). Most of the main states had joined the conflict by 1915 with the exception of Romania (1916), the United States (1917), and several Latin American nations (1917) such as Brazil and Guatemala.

Table 1. Major states involved in World War I

Central Powers (and allies)	Entente (and allies)
German Empire	British Empire (and dominions)
Habsburg Empire (Austria-Hungary)	French Empire
Ottoman Empire	Russian Empire
Bulgaria	Serbia
	Belgian Empire
	Romania
	Japanese Empire
	Italy
	United States Empire

The war zones spread across the world, making few places entirely safe from violence. The main land battles occurred on multiple fronts, including the Western Front (France, Belgium), the Eastern Front (from the Baltic Sea to the Habsburg Empire to the Caucasus), the Balkan Front (Austria, Serbia, Greece), the Italian Front (Italy, Austria), the Mesopotamia Front (modern Iraq), the Palestine Front (modern Syria, Israel, Lebanon), the East African Front (modern Kenya, Tanzania), and the West African Front (modern Cameroon, Togo). There were also land battles in south and southwestern Africa, in the Gallipoli peninsula, in Qingdao (China), and on some Pacific Islands. Few battles took place on the seas, but navies still patrolled and controlled many ports, and the naval blockade and submarine war took their toll on civilians. Nations where active fighting did not occur still often felt the economic sting of the war, especially major export economies such as Brazil and Argentina that found their former markets were now closed.[8]

Refugees, who had fled war zones or who were forcibly relocated by military authorities, created another element to the war with a broad impact. Millions of people lost their homes or voluntarily relocated, either temporarily or permanently, as a result of war. Some of these refugees left in 1914 as armies invaded their homes, including hundreds of thousands of Belgians who fled to France, Britain, and the Netherlands or millions of people on the Eastern Front where three empire clashed. Others had no choice. The Ottoman Empire forcibly relocated millions of Armenians and other minorities, such as Syrians and Christian minority groups, which led to a genocidal destruction of whole communities. The most accurate statistics suggest that about 1.3 million Armenians out of a prewar population of 2 million were killed; the few survivors fled to nearby regions or spent the war in forced labor for the Ottomans.[9] Along the western border of the Russian Empire, whole populations also faced deportation. Here, Russian authorities forcibly expelled those whose loyalties they suspected, including hundreds of thousands of ethnic Germans, Poles, Lithuanians, and Roma. Jews were also subject to violence and deportation, mostly to the interior regions of the empire.[10] Altogether the number of those displaced in the Russian Empire reached 7 million by 1917.[11]

In addition to the human costs of the war on civilian populations, of course men lost their lives in battle in unprecedented numbers. Some of the worst losses of the war occurred in the first five months, but the bloodshed came in waves, especially with spring and summer offensives in 1915, 1916, 1917, and 1918. Men died up to the day of the Armistice, and in some areas such as East Africa, fighting continued for two weeks after November 11, 1918.[12] Every nation had a battle that defined the war for its populations at home, usually a terrible military tragedy. For France, the long Battle of Verdun in 1916, where millions of Germans and French became casualties, continues to hold an important place in the national memory. In Britain, the single worst day in its history for casualties occurred on the first day of the Battle of the Somme (July 1, 1916), when nearly twenty thousand British soldiers died in a single twenty-four hour period. The total official casualty figure (dead, wounded, missing) for that day was 57,740 men.[13] The Battle at Caporetto in 1917 nearly destroyed the whole Italian war effort, and the Russian Army faced terrible losses as well at the Battle of Tannenberg in 1914, leading the general in charge (Alexander Samsonov) to commit suicide.[14]

Because of the "modern" nature of the war—with quicker forms of communication, sophisticated propaganda techniques, and advanced technologies—the First World War was a conflict fought in the public eye. Wartime photographers and artists depicted the devastation that they witnessed, newspaper reporters visited front lines and hospitals, and telegrams quickly conveyed the results of battles. This documentation and the labor of war required an enormous amount of governmental oversight, ballooning the civil service of every combatant nation, but it also required the willing participation of soldiers and civilians for the work of war.

Most states drafted soldiers according to prewar legislation that mandated conscription of men, although as the war continued, many nations had to extend their age limits for volunteers and for conscripts. Among the big powers, only Britain (until 1916), Australia, and Ireland had volunteer armies; all the others used some form of mandatory conscription. For civilian labor, governments used propaganda to

remind people of what was at stake and also created incentives for those who engaged in war work. Millions of people—men, women, and children—performed war work, some of it voluntary and some of it paid. Without these contributions, the war efforts would have ground to a halt. Governments appealed to patriotism, often urging women to do factory work as a way to "do your bit" or to support a husband or father abroad. Schoolchildren were released from classes during harvests and urged to collect items that could be recycled for use in munitions. When voluntary efforts failed, the wartime governments used prisoners of war to perform necessary work at farms, factories, and in staging areas. In all these ways, the war became a "total" war that encompassed people of different ages and backgrounds.

Significantly, WWI was a mix of older forms of warfare and newer technologies. On the one hand, millions of horses, mules, dogs, and pigeons served in the war in the vital areas of transport and communications, while on the other hand, armies piloted new weapons of war such as poison gas, aerial bombs, and tanks. This juxtaposition of nineteenth-century uniforms and wagons and animals with the futuristic land dreadnoughts (tanks) or flamethrowers captured the imagination of the public. Novels, films, photographs, and newspapers explained this mixture of old and new in the war. Perhaps the most fascinating part of the war for populations at home were the so-called Knights of the Air or combat pilots. These young men faced terrible odds for survival in their rudimentary flying machines, finding danger from aerial combat, antiaircraft weapons on the ground, and even from bad weather. They brought an element of individual heroism and a face to battles that increasingly seemed like faceless slaughters. Certainly today, most general audiences when asked about the First World War remember the trenches of the western front, chemical warfare, and the dog-fights of pilots.

Given the quick and detailed communications from the various fronts and the high levels of literacy among Americans by the early twentieth century, it is fair to assume that most people in the United States understood what joining the war as a combatant would mean. Americans had not stood idly by during the war, and, in its neutrality, the United States and its citizenry had played a crucial role in relief of wartime victims, in international diplomacy, and in supplying other nations with goods, especially food. Yet, despite years of following the news of the war and a fairly recent bloody civil war (1861–1865), Americans did not entirely understand what a protracted overseas war might mean for their families, their economy, and their rights.

While the United States didn't formally enter the war until April 1917, it was fundamentally involved in the war almost from the beginning in the summer of 1914. In August of that year, many Americans were traveling in Europe as part of their summer holidays, and the immediate eruption of financial and travel instability left some U.S. citizens stranded. These frantic families arrived at American embassies and consular offices across Europe seeking aid in the form of emergency loans, travel assistance, or basic information. In the United Kingdom, a popular travel destination for Americans, Herbert Hoover, later president of the United States, created a citizens' aid committee with headquarters in London to provide assistance and funds to Americans in distress. Hoover's committee eventually helped more than forty thousand of his stranded fellow citizens.[15] This informal committee gave Hoover a taste for relief work, and he later led a much larger food aid organization known as the Commission for Relief in Belgium (CRB), founded late in 1914. The CRB used American resources and the neutral status of its personnel to funnel food into occupied Belgium and northern France during WWI, implicating the United States in food relief from the beginning of the war. In 1917, when the United States entered the conflict, ordinary Americans had donated nearly $12 million dollars to Belgian relief.[16]

Hoover's organization was by no means the only U.S. charitable endeavor operating between 1914 and 1917. One of the most important of these was the American Red Cross (ARC), which provided medical personnel, established hospitals, and organized fund drives even before the United States joined the war. Between 1914 and 1917, the ARC delivered civilian humanitarian relief in the war zones and aid to soldiers at the fronts.[17] Some Americans, especially doctors and nurses, volunteered with other national Red Crosses, including the German Red Cross

Poster of a Red Cross nurse, circa 1917.
(Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-10019.)

and the British Red Cross. Hundreds of large and small philanthropies emerged to help war refugees, prisoners of war, war orphans, and others displaced by war. Some of these private philanthropies provided aid to those in Allied countries such as France, but many also sought to help war victims in Germany and Austria. After all, the United States was a nation of immigrants, and, behind English, German was the most common language spoken at home in the United States in 1914.[18] These recent immigrants often volunteered to fight for the nations of their birth, particularly if their relocation to the U.S. was fairly recent.

American diplomats played an important role as neutral negotiators in the first years of the war as well. Many ambassadors and consuls found themselves in charge of other nations' citizens; for instance, James Gerard, the U.S. ambassador in Berlin, took charge of British citizens in Germany when the British diplomatic corps left at war's outbreak.[19] In this capacity of looking after the affairs of other nations, Americans inspected prisoner of war camps, heard pleas from indigent people, and took depositions from those who felt they had been mistreated. Along with other neutral nations such as the Netherlands, Sweden, and Spain, the United States played an important role between 1914 and 1917 as a witness to war, providing what was assumed to be an impartial view of belligerent nations and their wartime conduct. In other words, even before the United States officially declared war, it was heavily involved in the ripple effects from the conflict.

The wartime world drew in the United States in other ways. The British blockade of enemy ports and its enemy trade blacklists had implications for American businesses. Many companies tried to use the war as an opportunity to control or join important trade markets in South America. Other American citizens faced wartime dangers, most famously on the *Lusitania* when more than a thousand Americans died after a German U-boat sunk the British passenger liner in May 1915.[20] The U.S. also sought to protect its own interests in the world war, policing the Western Hemisphere. In 1914 the U.S. Navy occupied the port of Veracruz (Mexico) and then in 1915, U.S. Marines occupied Haiti. These occupations set up an even deeper involvement in the ongoing Mexican Revolution when President Woodrow Wilson sent a "punitive expedition" led by General John "Blackjack" Pershing into Mexico in 1916.[21] In short, the United States saw its responsibilities in its own back yard as being more significant than intervening in the ongoing war abroad.

Even though in 1916 Wilson successfully campaigned on a platform of "He Kept Us Out of War," it was apparent that many in the United States saw American neutrality as a problem.[22] Wilson himself realized that it might be important for the United States to have a stake in postwar negotiations. On January 22, 1917, just before his second inauguration, Wilson delivered a public address calling for a "peace without victory," which became the cornerstone of his postwar vision.[23] Wilson worried that the political and economic forces unleashed by war, especially the first Russian Revolution of 1917, could harm U.S. foreign policy interests if the United States were not at the negotiating table. In short, Wilson had a sense of moral mission, expressed in his speeches, that the U.S. was uniquely situated to bring democracy to the rest of the world.

Given those sentiments on the part of the president, all that was needed was provocation to tip the United States into war. The catalyst for

American entry into the war was two-pronged. First, the German high command announced the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, which had the potential of harming American citizens in the Atlantic. Second, British codebreakers intercepted and publicized the so-called Zimmermann telegram, which outlined a German plot to incite Mexico to invade the United States.[24] These two incidents helped shift public opinion in the United States toward war, yet as the historian Michael Neiberg argues, "Americans understandably remained anxious about the step the nation was on the verge of taking."[25] They knew what kinds of casualties might occur, and they understood that this was a major departure from U.S. foreign policy toward Europe. Wilson asked Congress for a war declaration, and on April 6, 1917, the United States joined its allies of the United Kingdom, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Romania, and others.

In 1917, with neither a large standing army nor a military conscription system in place, the United States only had about 300,000 total troops available.[26] Some men had participated in voluntary readiness or military training programs prior to 1917, but for the most part, the American military faced a tough challenge in recruiting, training, equipping, and shipping to Europe a combat-ready force. General Pershing, who was in charge of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), also wanted to ensure that most Americans fought together in U.S.-led units rather than in a piecemeal replacement fashion as part of existing French and British units. That meant that the first large groups of the AEF did not reach Europe until the late spring and early summer of 1918. Americans fought in some Allied units, but by the fall, they had their own sector of the front. As with other belligerents, the Americans had a decisive and bloody battle that lasted in U.S. memory, and it was their most important contribution to the war on the Western Front. Timed to coincide with attacks by their allies in different parts of the front, the Americans launched a major offensive on September 26, 1918, in the Argonne forest near the Meuse River in northern France. Despite the fact that the Germans

The Women's Radio Corps, February 12, 1919. Three women in uniform standing next to an Army car. (Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-50124.)

held the defensive advantage, American forces gradually forced a German retreat in the region.[27] While accounts of American heroism and bravery abound, most historians agree that the major U.S. contribution to the war was in its ability to boost morale of its allies through its mere presence. For German General Erich Ludendorff, the AEF brought a sense of looming defeat.[28] Certainly, American supplies and manpower helped bring the war to an end in November 1918.

With the U.S. entry into the war, things changed at home. The wartime economy went into overdrive, the federal government sought to fund the war with a Liberty Loan and a new taxation system, a nationwide draft of young men was instituted, and all kinds of new rules and prohibitions were passed. The Wilson government had to persuade Americans to support the war, framing its argument largely in terms of protection of rights and freedoms for small nations and minority peoples. Yet at the same time as Wilson spoke of democracy, freedom, and rights, his government also passed legislation limiting the freedom of pacifists and dissenters, undermining labor organizations, and allowing imprisonment of those who spoke against the war. Legislation such as the Espionage Act (1917) and the Sedition Act (1918) allowed local police and national officials to take measures against those considered disloyal. Wartime legislation also created censorship of mail and media.[29] For some activists, war did not sway them from their political aims. A good example of this determination was the continuing campaign for female suffrage fought by the National Woman's Party led by Alice Paul, which continued to picket the White House in 1917. Many of their posters and publications called the president "Kaiser Wilson" and demanded support. For their disloyalty, several of the leaders were jailed, which they then used as further proof of their claims that the United States did not value its female citizenry.[30]

The war unleashed a nativist and xenophobic wave, which led to violence against recent immigrants, ethnic minorities, and even American citizens who had heritage in an enemy country. German Americans found themselves the target of language laws and, worse, physical violence. This was an important shift because prior to the war Germans were seen as an ideal immigrant group, and approximately a quarter of all public high school students studied German.[31] German speakers had to defend their loyalty, and some changed their names or stopped using German in publications, clubs, and churches as a way to protect themselves from their neighbors' ire. School districts around the United States fired teachers and eliminated German-language instruction in schools. In some places, communities burned German textbooks to ensure that language education ceased.[32]

At Fort Douglas in Salt Lake City, the government installed an internment camp for problematic citizens and so called enemy-aliens. This reflected a broader use of concentration or internment camps for civilian enemies throughout the belligerent countries; millions of civilians spent time in prisons or camps during WWI. Fort Douglas, which was officially declared an internment camp on May 3, 1917, and initially housed German prisoners of war, was the camp the U.S. government designated for men west of the Mississippi with radical politics (especially Wobblies from the Industrial Workers of the World), conscientious objectors, Germans, and German Americans. At its height, Fort Douglas housed nearly 900 civilians.[33] This camp was known to be troubled, with multiple, well-publicized escape attempts (some successful) through tunnels. A concerted campaign by prisoners to protest their living conditions, which included strikes, rallies, and even fire bombs, caused more worry for local authorities. Officers responded with force and solitary confinement, and as one historian recorded, "Fort Douglas . . . in time . . . came to resemble more of a combat zone than a detention center."[34] Eventually, a rumored plot to blow up the guard towers and to set fire to the camp in August 1918 led to a confinement barracks for troublesome prisoners. The camp continued operating, mostly housing dissidents and conscientious objectors, until 1920.[35]

As Fort Douglas demonstrated, even people living far from the combat fronts experienced the intensity of the wartime atmosphere in other ways. Industrial workers faced pressure to produce goods, farmers ramped up production, and women learned to do more with less as part of organized efforts for conservation of food and resources. Unlike other countries involved

in the war, the United States never instituted a rationing system in the First World War, instead relying on propaganda and a volunteer spirit among its citizens. Posters and lecturers promoted "wheatless" and "meatless" days of the week, while special cookbooks explained how to use substitute goods for items that the armies needed.[36] To whip up support for the war effort, squadrons of men and women took to the lecture circuit to explain why the U.S. was fighting this war, what was needed to maintain the nation, and what the peace would look like if citizens would only do their part. Americans did do their part, volunteering for overseas service and work at home. Women took on jobs that had been reserved for men, for instance, and teenagers also entered jobs that had been barred to them prior to the war.

Yet some Americans still felt they were second-class citizens, and this was particularly true of African Americans. Not only did local and national government officials urge African Americans to demonstrate loyalty by joining the war effort as soldiers, nurses, volunteers, and workers, they were expected to do so. However, policies in both the military and civilian life ensured that racial barriers remained in place in the armed services and in workplaces and communities. Some war service organizations barred African Americans entirely, and African-American AEF draftees found themselves in segregated units with separate facilities, which even extended to canteens and recreation huts.[37] Worse than segregation was racial violence, which began during the war and accelerated in the immediate postwar period. One of the most serious of the incidents of racial violence occurred in East St. Louis, Illinois, on July 1, 1917, when white residents invaded black neighborhoods, beating, killing, and burning residences. When the smoke cleared, thirty-nine African Americans and eight whites had died.[38] The nature of wartime legislation regarding "loyalty" made it difficult to prosecute or control outbreaks of vigilante actions in the United States, leading to multiple violent encounters between minority and majority populations.

In short, the nature of government and its powers shifted during the war, not just overseas but in the United States. People saw their lives militarized in numerous ways. Intelligence services, which had ballooned in size during the war, remained as smaller but permanent fixtures in the political landscape. State control mechanisms for societies did not disappear; passports became a regular part of people's lives, as did Daylight Savings Time, income taxes, and liquor regulations. The Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, establishing Prohibition, was the most restrictive example of alcohol legislation, and anti-German sentiment partly fueled its creation. Loyalty and its meaning had changed with the war. The United States pushed Americanization campaigns, outlawed languages other than English, enacted segregation in communities, and tightened immigration laws. So-called hyphenated Americans continued to cause concern. The former friends of upstanding people, who had previously seen them as "good" immigrants with a work-and-family attitude, now ostracized them. So even before the war ended, vigilante violence targeted people considered

A poster that urges Americans to buy government bonds by depicting German soldiers as the barely human tormentors of women and children. Circa 1918. (Henry Raleigh. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-2792.)

This photograph of Flirey, France, a front line town in the St. Mihiel Salient, shows the environmental devastation wrought by the First World War. (Courtesy Library of Congress, LOT 6944 no. 23.)

foreign or disloyal, setting the stage for more serious nativist violence after the Armistice.

The war ceased with an armistice in November 1918, and both sides agreed to put down their arms in order to negotiate a peace. This meant that most soldiers did not get demobilized, and they remained in the combat and support zones as occupying troops for more than a year after the Armistice. Some troops even began their service in this period: small numbers of American soldiers (about 13,000 total) fought in two different parts of the former Russian Empire, only coming home in 1920.[39] More importantly, the war did not end for many areas of the world until much later, and some historians argue that really there was a modern Thirty Years' War from 1914 to 1945 because of the ways in which the First World War sparked the Second World War.

The First World War, then, had many consequences. Perhaps most significant of the impacts of the war was its reshaping of political boundaries around the world. Four historic empires—the Russian, German, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman empires—disappeared with the end of the war. In each case, new states emerged from the ashes of those empires. Examples include Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Austria, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia to name a few. Each of these new entities had to create its government nearly from scratch, often with difficulty given the diversity of their populations in terms of language, religion, and ethnicity. In other cases, the victorious allies designated former imperial holdings as "mandates" to be ruled with help from European governments until a future day when these areas could embrace self-rule. This was particularly important in the former Ottoman Empire, where France and Britain "tutored" the mandate states that later became Iraq, Israel, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon. The Allies also divided up conquered German colonies, creating outright colonies or mandates in the Pacific (Japan in Micronesia) and East and Southwest Africa (today, Tanzania and Namibia), for instance. Finally, inhabitants of British, French, and Belgian empires who thought their loyalty and service in wartime might lead to a measure of independence found that this was not the case. Nationalist leaders faced imprisonment in India, where martial law had to be imposed, while in Ireland, a deadly war for independence broke out in the months after the war. All of this political change meant that millions of people lost their nationality, and some became permanently stateless, which created a worldwide crisis of displaced people.

As these people without country suggest, the war brought a terrible toll in terms of human lives and livelihoods. Estimates are hard to pin down, but the war caused at least forty million casualties, which included ten million deaths, and a nearly equal number of civilian deaths.[40] In some nations, one in four men of military age died. For the United States, this was a less destructive war than it was for states that had been involved for more than four years. Yet more than 126,000 American soldiers died nonetheless, and thousands more came back with permanent disabilities and psychological damage.[41] Cruelest of all in this period was the toll that the worldwide influenza pandemic inflicted on top of the wartime losses; an accurate count of the flu dead worldwide is hard to find, but the most recent scholarship suggests numbers in excess of fifty million people.[42]

For those who did survive, the postwar world did not immediately return to normal. In addition to the millions of war widows and orphans who had to remake their families and livelihoods, many soldiers came home with serious physical and mental illnesses. Some experienced the lingering illnesses associated with poison gas, while others struggled with "shell shock" from the trauma of combat. Still others needed extensive medical treatment and prosthetics to function in daily life. Medicine in the 1920s sought to meet these challenges with new surgical and therapeutic techniques, which included occupational and physical therapy, plastic surgery, and increasingly sophisticated artificial limbs.[43] Societies had to get used to the site of grievously wounded veterans, many of them unemployed, in their midst. For some families, the return of a loved one who could not face the postwar world led to terrible situations of alcoholism, violence, and separation. Much of this history is difficult to recover.

The war also brought physical destruction to landscapes around the world, leading to homelessness and famine. The destruction of harvests, the burning of farms during army retreats, and the aerial bombing campaigns all contributed to widespread devastation in the combat zones. Areas that military forces had occupied also faced long recoveries because the occupying powers had stripped them of many of their natural and industrial resources. Today, units in the Belgian and French armies still remove munitions from farm fields that have been buried for a hundred years; warming of glaciers has revealed dead soldiers in the Italian and Austrian war zones, who had been encased in ice since the war. This is an important legacy of the war, that of a scarred environment.

For the most part, the United States avoided much of the long-term trauma and devastation of its enemies and allies. It emerged as a powerful force in the world, with its ideological

message and financial power. Yet the decision by Congress not to ratify the Treaty of Versailles meant that the United States opted out of a role in much of the postwar politics of Europe. The U.S. did not join the fledgling League of Nations, and it also negotiated its own peace with Germany. Americans did continue to work in the rebuilding of Europe through massive food relief projects in the early 1920s, but U.S. domestic politics meant that Wilson's dream of a postwar internationalism led by the United States never was realized.

It is not hard to argue that the experience of WWI shaped a whole generation of people. Many of the leaders we associate with the interwar period and with World War II had faced combat in World War I: Harry S. Truman, Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, Winston Churchill. The 1920s would not be a return to normalcy as many government officials hoped; instead, it would become an age of violence. In the United States, race riots erupted in 1919, a new Ku Klux Klan emerged to terrorize minority groups, and the Red Scare continued to target the supposedly disloyal. In Europe, fascist violence was on the rise by the early 1920s, and authoritarian regimes increasingly gained power in many European states. The postwar generation also saw the world in a different way, and many wanted society to reflect the shifting moral and political codes they perceived to be results of the war. The Jazz Age of the 1920s with its flappers and dance halls was one symptom of this transformation; another strand were the increasing movements for political equality and civil rights for minority groups and colonized peoples.

Perhaps the most important thing to remember about World War I's legacy for the whole world, including the United States, was its role in changing the nature and extent of what was possible in wartime. For the first time, nations around the world attempted a total war strategy that eroded "the distinction between combatants and civilians" and that pitted whole populations against each other, not just armies in the field.[44] Widespread internment of enemy alien civilians, bombing of civilian targets, using food as a weapon, propaganda—these all erased the lines between the home front, the battle front, and the occupation zone. Pioneering new technologies such as airplanes (for reconnaissance, combat, and aerial bombing), chemical warfare (poison gas), and submarine warfare changed notions of modern war and laid the framework for the Second World War and *blitzkrieg*.

Finally, wartime governments expanded both in size and power in order to deal with the war itself and its consequences. Each state had to manage claims for pensions from soldiers, widows, and orphans, and it had to manage the expectations of those who had served, many of whom expected special treatment in exchange for their loyalty and service. This was especially true in the United States in 1932 when more than 20,000 war veterans marched on Washington, D.C., to ask for a pre-payment of a promised war bonus. The Great Depression had left these men out of work and desperate, but their calls for government assistance went unheard. Eventually General Douglas MacArthur sent in troops and tanks under orders from President Hoover to disperse the Bonus marchers.[45] In addition to such demands from veterans, governments continued to pay for this expensive war through sophisticated international financing arrangements, which added to economic instability in the 1920s and the worldwide depression of 1929. The conditions created by war and the transformation of national governments did not disappear in 1919, and many of the institutions and policies of the war remained in place.

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Web Extra

Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras for a list of Proctor's reading recommendations on the history of World War I.

Notes

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Maud Fitch (right), a native of Eureka, Utah, was eager to serve during WWI. She left for France in March 1918 and, by May, had found a way to the Western Front with a British ambulance unit. Fitch received the French Cross and the Bronze Star for her bravery and service. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 24757.)

UTAH AND WORLD WAR I

BY ALLAN KENT POWELL

"This is the greatest event in the history of the world," proclaimed a jubilant Simon Bamberger, the governor of Utah, of the November 11, 1918, Armistice that ended World War I (WWI).[1] A hundred years later, Governor Bamberger's proclamation may be debated, but without question the signing of the Armistice was one of the most important events of the twentieth century and one whose consequences still resound today. Utah did not escape WWI; rather, the Beehive State's citizens and leaders were active participants in it. The purpose of this article is to describe Utah's response to the war, highlight the issues and events that shaped the Utah experience, consider the involvement of Utahns—those who entered military service and those who remained at home—and, finally, to assess the impact of the war on Utah and the war's significance in the course of the state's history.

THE ROAD TO WAR

On the eve of American entry into the war, during the second decade of the twentieth century, Utah's population pushed toward the half million mark, with an estimated 450,000 residents. Nationally, the population of the United States was approaching 100,000,000, making Utah just one-half of a percent of the total. Utah was largely rural and agriculture its primary economic activity, yet an urban Utah was emerging and mining and smelting had grown in economic importance.

With radio and television still years away, Utahns relied on newspapers for their information. The *Salt Lake Tribune, Deseret News, Salt Lake Herald, Salt Lake Telegram, Ogden Examiner*, and *Provo Herald* provided daily service while dozens of local weekly newspapers served much of the rest of the state. These newspapers provided the window to the outside world and the troublesome events sweeping across Europe, beginning in 1914 with the assassination of the Austrian archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie by Serbian agents on June 28, 1914.

However, when war began in August 1914, few Utahns understood the tangle of alliances and the ethnic and nationalistic issues that added fuel to the emerging flames of war. No one could foresee that the events of

that summer would lead to four years of insane trench warfare, the loss of millions of lives, the disappearance of long-standing monarchies in Russia, Austria, and Germany, and the emergence of communism on a new political landscape that included the ascendance of the United States as the foremost power of the twentieth century. Nor could Utahns imagine that the war would finally end with the seeds of another world conflict already sewn in a controversial peace treaty.

Although Utah's people in general were unaffected by the outbreak of war, three groups immediately confronted the reality of war in 1914: Utahns serving as Mormon missionaries on the European continent, German Americans who had made Utah their new home, and immigrants whose homelands had been thrown into the war.

In the early weeks of the war, several hundred Mormon missionaries were evacuated to England from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, and the Netherlands. Most left their assignments with little difficulty; however, some were held for a time under suspicion of being American spies. After arrival in England, those missionaries who had served two years or longer were released and sent home while those with less service were reassigned in England or the United States. Missionaries who had received calls to serve in Europe were also reassigned, including future church president Spencer W. Kimball.[2]

In Salt Lake City on August 5, 1914, more than five hundred German Americans gathered for a patriotic rally with songs and speeches, as well as the adoption of a message to the German ambassador in Washington, D.C., expressing that while prayers for peace had been offered in the past, they would now ask for victory for the German homeland. In addition, money was collected for the German Red Cross and leaders proposed participation in a German American Relief League to support the German war effort. The gathering ended with praise for President Woodrow Wilson and the United States of America. However, as anti-German sentiment was soon manifest throughout the community and the nation, no further large public demonstrations of support for Germany took place.[3]

While Utahns in general responded to the outbreak of war with indifference, some immigrants became caught up in the war fever. At Bingham Canyon, two hundred Serbs returned to Europe to fight with their countrymen. In Price, six of Carbon County's French Basque residents returned to France to join the army. From Salt Lake City's German-American community, a number of young men opted to return to their homeland to fight in the Kaiser's army. As the war progressed, other Utahns made their way north to Canada or across the Atlantic to join the Canadian and British Armies. Others, including several women, traveled to France as volunteer ambulance drivers and Red Cross workers.[4]

The sinking of the British liner *Lusitania* in May 1915, with the loss of 198 American lives, raised the question of the United States joining the war against Germany. However, Americans still preferred peace. In the same issue of the *Park Record* reporting that J. E. Inman of Park City was traveling on the *Lusitania* for a surprise visit to his parents in Ireland and had not been accounted for, editor S. L. Raddon wrote: "While condemnation cannot be too severe against Germany for . . . deliberate murder on the high seas . . . the Record is of the opinion that the English admiralty and the owners of the big steamship are far from blameless for the last awful tragedy." The *Iron County Record* judged the American passengers on board the *Lusitania* guilty of deadly miscalculations and, while not condoning the torpedo attack by the Germans, saw justification in their actions: "The *Lusitania* was carrying explosives with which to kill Germans. Why should not Germany seize the opportunity of sinking the vessel when it was presented?"[5] The *Iron County Record* and other Utah newspapers sustained Wilson's refusal to go to war over the tragedy, and the nation altogether demonstrated its agreement with Wilson's policy and campaign slogan—"He kept us out of war"—by reelecting him in 1916.

But campaign promises often go unfulfilled. After two-and-a-half years of bloodletting, an amalgamation of long-standing issues and attitudes sparked by immediate events brought the United States to the precipice of war in early 1917. An effective British propaganda

machine continuously depicted Germany as a brutal monster that threatened the existence of Western civilization and the expansion of democracy. In addition, by 1917 the U.S. policy of neutrality, open seas, and free trade had created a conviction that American civilians should be protected as they traveled on war-stirred waters, even as American industry remained free to sell arms and munitions to the belligerent nations, purchased with loans obtained from American financers.

Despite Wilson's efforts, it seemed that a German victory was still possible unless the United States ended its proclaimed neutrality and entered the conflict as an ally of the British and French. According to Utah's Senator William H. King, as a consequence of victory, Germany would demand Canada and "sooner or later we would have been forced to fight her or submit to oppression."[6] Furthermore, it was clear that if the United States were to take a leading role in the all-important postwar peace negotiations, it could only do so at the cost of the blood and lives of American soldiers.

Under these conditions, two actions by Germany in early 1917 turned Americans from supporting neutrality and non-participation to a people ready for war.

The resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare, which had stopped after the *Lusitania* affair, meant that American ships would be sunk, American lives lost, and the "freedom of the seas" principle violated. The uproar over the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare coincided with the revelation that Germany, through what became known as the Zimmermann telegram, had proposed that Mexico might regain the territory lost to the United States if it entered the war as a German ally. That territory included the states of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. Utah newspapers reported that "the whole of the United States lying west of the Rocky Mountains, including the state of Utah," had been offered to Japan if it joined with Mexico as allies against the United States.[7]

By March 1917, war seemed necessary if not inevitable. The *Ogden Standard* editorialized, "The rich red blood of this country wants no further temporizing with an enemy as treacherous as a Zimmermann and as brutal as the torch bearers in Belgium and the murderers of the women and children on the *Lusitania*."[8] On the evening of March 26, 1917, more than ten thousand Utahns gathered for a patriotic rally held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. At the conclusion of the mass meeting, those in attendance passed resolutions affirming the nation's efforts to secure peace and avoid war even when Germany had denied freedom of the seas, destroyed American ships, and taken American lives. The resolutions ended with a pledge "to loyally support the president of the republic in whatever course may become necessary to enforce our rights as a people to preserve our honor as a nation and to protect the lives of our fellow citizens at home or abroad, on land or sea."[9] Ten days later, on April 6, 1917, it was clear what the course would be when Wilson asked the Senate for a declaration of war. With Utah senators Reed Smoot and William H. King and representatives Milton H. Willing and James H. Mays voting for war, Utah joined with the rest of the nation in supporting the declaration of war. Bamberger urged young men to join the Utah National Guard and moved quickly to organize the Utah Council of Defense and county councils of defense to coordinate and manage Utah's war effort.

Following the declaration, many Utahns became caught up in the fervor of wartime. Some people seemed to believe that German spies, saboteurs, and aircraft could be found almost everywhere. Arthur W. Stevens, of the U.S. Forest Service in Utah, recalled,

> Life became different. A sort of war-hysteria took over. Strange lights were seen in the sky at night, always at some other town. In time it was quite generally accepted that the Germans had a landing field down in Mexico, that they had super-pilots who could navigate at night and super-planes that could carry enough fuel to fly from Mexico into the United States and back again. No sound of motor was ever reported, so the planes must have operated on some secret, soundless power. A young man told me, quite seriously, that he had seen a German plane the night before, at another town. He said it showed a green light

> and then it turned and showed a red light. . . . Nobody ever explained why an unfriendly plane should be flying at night over a sparsely populated area.[10]

When it was reported that eight hundred sheep had been poisoned, the Utah Council of Defense contacted nearly every farmer and rancher in the state warning them to be on the lookout for suspicious individuals. Particular concern was expressed about members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who planned to use muratic acid, nitric acid, concentrated lye, and roach powder to kill cattle and hogs. State Chemist Herman Harms, responding to a nationwide rumor that German agents were lacing processed foods with ground glass or undefined forms of poison, examined 150 individual samples and found very little evidence of deliberate poisoning.[11]

UTAH SUPPORTS THE WAR

As United States rallied for a total war effort, the government called upon Utahns, like all Americans, to support the war effort by producing more, consuming less, purchasing war bonds, serving, and supporting those who entered the armed forces. States and counties established councils of defense to help organize men, women, and children, as well as businesses and organizations, in their wartime activities.

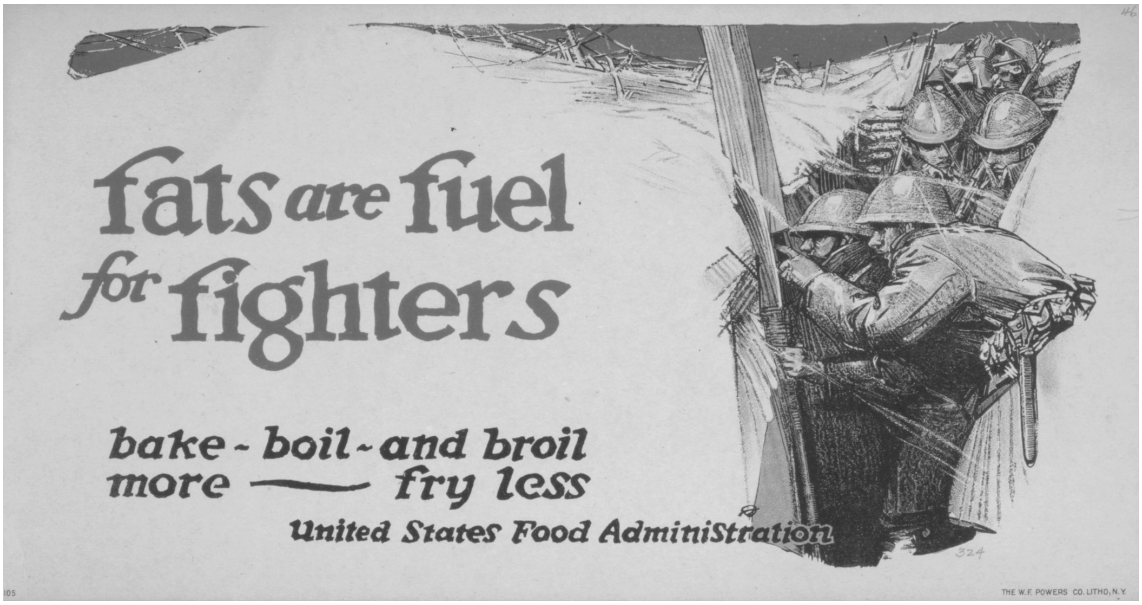
Utahns tried to expand agricultural production by adopting more effective farming practices, more efficient use of scarce water, the opening of viable new agricultural lands, and the easing of grazing regulations on federal lands to allow for greater numbers of sheep and cattle. Particular emphasis was given to increasing the output of sugar beets and their processing at Utah's twenty-four sugar factories.[12] Mining, the other major component of Utah's economy and one critical to the war effort, grew.[13]

Drives for at-home production accompanied the large-scale production efforts. The victory garden program sought to increase the amount of fruits and vegetables available for immediate consumption and for preservation. The *Deseret News* reported that in Salt Lake City, 1,350 acres were utilized for 8,515 war gardens. Vacant lands at the University of Utah, on the Agricultural College campus in Logan, and on the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad right of way became home to victory gardens.[14] Boys and girls in the coal camps and essentially every other Utah community assisted in planting, weeding, and harvesting victory gardens. Their task was not always easy or rewarding. One observer noted, "It was difficult to maintain the high level of fervor and devotion that characterized the beginning of a project when the weeds come and the sun's rays beat mercilessly upon the heads of the boy farmers."[15]

The government's pressure on Americans to consume less could touch the most everyday of details. No produce was wasted, as women were encouraged to bottle all available fruits and vegetables. Many Utah communities held canning demonstrations, and a cellar or pantry full of canned goods judiciously consumed over the winter was a tangible expression of a family's patriotism. The consume-less initiatives limited the use of motor vehicles to conserve gasoline, restricted the use of building materials for all but essential projects, reduced the hours for certain businesses, curtailed home delivery services, focused on more efficient ways to prepare food, and pressed the observance of wheatless and meatless days in private homes and public restaurants.[16]

Implementation of the movement was complicated. The Price *News Advocate* described the situation in that eastern Utah community, where the "American and "foreign born" restaurant owners had all "signaled their willingness to get in line if the matter could be put properly before patrons. . . . Patrons have no right to criticize those who are trying to live up to the request."[17] The conservation demands led one citizen to respond with a statement to Herbert Hoover, head of the United States Food Administration: "O Mr. Hoover, My Tuesdays are meatless, My Wednesdays are wheatless, Am getting more eatless each day; My bed, it is sheetless; My coffee is sweetless. Each day I get poorer and wiser: My stockings are feetless, My trousers are seatless. My God, how I do hate the Kaiser."[18]

Citizens were encouraged to become members of the Red Cross and participate in its activities in direct support of the war. For many women, work with the Red Cross was of particular



This U.S. Food Administration poster urges Americans to change their cooking methods, because "Fats are Fuels for Fighters." (New York: W. F. Powers Litho Co., 1917. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-8352.)

importance as a concrete demonstration of their involvement in the war effort, and Red Cross chapters were organized throughout the state.[19]

Another important way that citizens could support the war effort was with their money. At least a dozen fund-raising campaigns occurred in Utah, encouraging Utahns to invest as much as a quarter of their income in war bonds.[20] Everyone participated, including inmates in the Sugarhouse Prison, whose 171 residents subscribed to $2,250 of Liberty Bonds. An estimated 90 percent of all Utahns purchased war bonds and contributed financially to the war effort with an average of $190 for every man, women, and child in the state.[21]

The launching of war bond drives was usually accompanied by celebrations, extensive newspaper articles, and when necessary, the strong arm of intimidation. Authorities used Family War Cards to record the names and demographic information about the members of a household—including their nationality and citizenship status; the amount they had paid for Liberty Bond drives and War Savings Stamps; and whether they belonged and donated to the Red Cross.[22] Local newspapers often printed lists of subscribers. This could add up to an atmosphere of social coercion.

All told, Utah surpassed the quota set for it and raised a total of $80,854,840 for the war effort. Participation ranged from the nickels of children and the elderly poor to reported amounts of $50,000 by Preston Nutter; $100,000 for J. E. Bamberger; $125,000 for Matthew Cullen; and $500,0000 for Enos A. Wall.[23]

While increased production, lower consumption, and money were important, military service was the greatest demonstration of support for the war effort. Even before the April 1917 declaration of war, Utah began moving toward a more active role in military affairs. On June 18, 1916, President Wilson called up all National Guard units from the forty-eight states, including eight hundred Utah guardsman, for duty along the United States–Mexico border in what historian Richard C. Roberts called "a sort of dress rehearsal" for WWI.[24] The last Utah guardsmen returned home for deactivation on March 8, 1917. Shortly after their return, Bamberger called on Utahns to enlist in the National Guard. Then, after the completion of a statewide military census, Bamberger sent a letter to each man identified in the census, urging him to enlist in the Utah National Guard and even threatening to establish a state conscription if the National Guard did not reach full strength.

Although a state conscription was not necessary, Utahns did register for the national draft under the Selective Service Act, and Bamberger declared registration day, June 5, 1917, as a public holiday to celebrate the more than 45,000 Utah men who had signed up for the draft. Iron County provides a case study of how the draft played out in rural Utah. Registration day in Cedar City featured a patriotic meeting and a grand ball in the evening. Five hundred and fifty-seven Iron County men registered and from those 202 names were drawn to meet the county's quota of forty-six. However, when many of those selected failed to pass the physical examination or applied for exemption, additional men were added to the original list.[25]

Along with patriotic language and celebrations, tension and fear also accompanied draft registration and military service. Some questioned the unfairness of deferments or the health issues that excluded certain men from service but not others. As in future wars, Americans could be torn between a sense of duty to country and the reality of war. As Robert Brown of American Fork wrote: "There was kind of a fear of the war. . . . When you are going out and facing a gun, there isn't anybody that is very brave . . . I know I was scared. It drove plenty of fear into me and I was tickled to death when they classified me way down."[26] For some who served, separation from loved ones led to drastic measures. Joseph Kalsac of Hiawatha was sent to Fort Lewis, Washington. There he became so despondent after leaving his bride of a few weeks that he attempted suicide by cutting his throat and abdomen, then jumping into a lake. He survived but caught pneumonia. Ralph L. Davis was court martialed at Fort Douglas and given a five year sentence for desertion and escape. He escaped a second time, but surrendered voluntarily when military authorities arrested his wife for assisting him.[27]

One Utahn, Arthur Guy Empey, played an influential role in the recruitment process and preparation of American soldiers for the military experience and the realities of war. After the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Empey sailed to England and enlisted in the British army in 1915. Asked by the British recruiting officer for his birthplace, Empey answered, "Ogden, Utah." The officer responded "Oh yes, just outside of New York."[28]

Empey served with the Fifty-sixth (London) Division on the Western Front until he was wounded in action during the Battle of the Somme. After spending weeks in hospitals in France and England, he returned to the United States and wrote of his experiences in the British army in *Over the Top*: *By an American Soldier Who Went*. *Over the Top* was published in May 1917—just as American mobilization was moving into high gear—and sold more than 350,000 copies during its first year to an American audience anxious to read about one of their own who had seen front line action.[29] The book is an engaging account that humanizes Empey's British comrades through humor and insightful descriptions of how they coped with the war. It also introduced readers to the reality of trench warfare, the randomness of death, and the fear of battle.

As an instant celebrity, Empey starred in a 1918 Hollywood film and wrote two more war-related books, both published in 1918, and penned patriotic wartime songs—"Liberty Statue Is Looking Right at You," "Our Country's In It Now: We've Got To Win It Now," and "Your Lips Are No Man's Land But Mine." Empey's unquestioned patriotism reflected positively on his birthplace and served as one more indicator of Utah's commitment to the war effort, and his success reflected the public's appetite for commentary on the war and patriotic popular culture.

In addition to military service, growing and conserving food, and purchasing war bonds, Utahns demonstrated their patriotism and support for the war in other ways. Some measures were positive steps; others were intolerant, unreasonable, and counterproductive.

Cultural expressions—parades, war bond rallies, community sings, and moving pictures—brought Utahns together but could also shade into nationalism and propaganda. Movies, for example, kept the flames of patriotism burning as they depicted the heroism of American and allied soldiers and the sinister inhumanity of the enemy. Seventy-five year-old Cache Valley farmer James Cantwell recorded in his diary on August 27, 1918, "Went to the picture Shoe last night. It was A representation of the Germon intreges to destroy the lives and Factorys of the Americans to prevent them from

A piece of sheet music, "Your Lips Are No Man's Land But Mine," with words by Arthur Guy Empey and music by Charles R. McCarron and Carey Morgan. Empey, a native of Ogden, Utah, became famous after writing *Over the Top*. (New York: Jos. W. Stern, c. 1918. Courtesy of WUSTL Digital Gateway Image Collections and Exhibitions, omeka.wustl.edu.)

taking part in the war, but they where caught & exposed in most of there plots. This war is the most extensive & cruel that was ever known. It is destroying lif & property endless for men wiman & children. A meny citys are whiped of the map."[30]

Music proved to be a powerful tool to stir hearts, open purse strings, and provide community togetherness. In the "American Army Song of Freedom," dedicated to Utah native Brigadier-General Richard W. Young, Lucy Rice Clark used almost scriptural language to declare the righteousness of the American cause. "Thou, who ruleth hosts that fight In freedom's holy cause," Clark wrote, "Give power to break the tyrant's yoke, Establish righteous laws."[31] Throughout the nation, "community sings" rallied people together and stimulated their patriotism. In Utah, members of the local councils of defense organized the events and distributed the lyrics to old favorites, patriotic hymns, and wartime songs such as "Keep the Home Fires Burning" and "What Are You Going To Do to Help The Boys?" As many as several hundred citizens participated in the community sings, which were often held on Sunday afternoons or evenings with the cooperation of the local churches and school bands and choirs.[32]

Band concerts were another popular means to stoke the fires of patriotism. The forty-five member 145th Regimental Band toured Utah, its home state, in July 1918 with appearances in sixteen places. In most of these communities, band members stayed with local citizens and presented a full day of performances that ended with a dance in honor of the band members. The people of Milford spruced up their town for days in advance of the band's visit and, when the concerts and dancing had ended, "lingered about, telling one another what a perfectly happy day Milford had spent." And, importantly, they contributed $527 to the regimental fund that July day. [33]

The departure of volunteers and draftees for military service was often preceded by activities intended to show the men the community's thanks for their service and to demonstrate solidarity with to what was viewed as a noble and necessary crusade. The "Ferron Soldier Day" of August 29, 1917, typified celebrations held around the state. "The people of Ferron," wrote the *Emery County Progress*, "spared no efforts that day in making it a most enjoyable one for the boys from beginning to end. From the parade throughout the town at noon, through the program in the high school auditorium, the banquet in the social hall, and the dance in the auditorium at night, the boys were feted as only truly honored guests might be."[34]

Perhaps the most frequent activity for keeping the fires of patriotism burning was the Four Minute Men speakers program, coordinated nationally by the Council of Public Information (CPI) and administered by George Creel. President Wilson created the CPI, a government agency, as a tool to convince Americans of the rightness of mobilization, and Creel was a journalist who knew how to use media for advocacy. Along with film, newspapers, posters, and other media, the CPI charged some 75,000 speakers—the Four Minute Men—with spreading the government message by delivering pithy talks in a host of venues throughout the nation. Utah's effort with the Four Minute

Men, however, was found to be inadequate, primarily for a failure of the state director, J. S. Critchlow, to appoint local chairmen to push the program. By November 15, 1917, with 2,165 local chairmen throughout the nation, including twenty-five in Idaho and fourteen in Nevada, Utah had only one. When things did not improve, the associate director of the national organization wrote to Critchlow on February 13, 1918, castigating him for not building up a Four Minute Men organization in Utah.[35]

The state's program grew somewhat after this blistering letter, "largely due to the zealousness of enterprising citizens of other counties who insisted on having an organization in their midst."[36] On August 5, 1918, F. W. Reynolds replaced Critchlow. By war's end, the Four Minute Men organization in Utah was composed of a state director and an associate director, ten local directors, and 137 speakers who were "thoroughly loyal, very enthusiastic, and always ready to respond to calls for service."[37]

Patriotism could, and did, become intense and volatile during the war and its aftermath. The push to assimilate and Americanize immigrants, always a factor in American history, became pronounced during the war. A contemporary document, "Notes for the Americanization Movement," conveyed the wartime mistrust of "the adult alien, whose ignorance of the ways and ideals and language of the country in which he was, made him an easy victim of German propaganda, if not an active accomplice in furthering the purpose of the Fatherland."[38]

In Utah, the Americanization Committee of the Utah Council of Defense and the Women's Education Committee headed up initiatives to help immigrants learn English, understand the American government, move beyond the ideas and traditions of their native lands, support the war effort in every way, and become citizens.

The dark side of the pro-war and Americanization efforts was the emergence of an anti-German movement that sought to end the teaching of German in Utah schools, halt publication of the state's only German language newspaper (*Der Beobachter*), keep a close watch on German Americans, and arrest those guilty of anti-American or pro-German sentiments. The Reverend B. Henry Leesman, pastor of the German Evangelical St. Paul's Church in Ogden, for instance, was arrested when he conducted church services in German for prisoners of war at Fort Douglas. In the anti-German fervor, four German eagles that had been placed on top of the newel posts of the grand marble stairways on the main floor of the Utah State Capitol were removed and replaced with American eagles.[39] *Der Beobachter*, however, remained in publication because the Mormon church, which sponsored the newspaper, refused demands to terminate the paper.

ETHNICITY, CLASS, GENDER, AND RELIGION

German Americans were not the only Utahns whose patriotism was questioned. Across the Wasatch Plateau from Sanpete Valley in the coal fields of Carbon and Emery counties and to the north in the copper and smelting locations in Salt Lake and Tooele valleys, Utahns scrutinized other ethnic groups, especially Italians and Greeks, for apparent shortcomings in their patriotism.[40]

In Carbon County, the Price *News-Advocate* mistakenly questioned why the "foreign aliens" were not subject to the draft, why so few volunteered, and why so many of them requested exceptions.[41] At times the criticism against the foreign born turned threatening. A *News-Advocate* article used chauvinistic, hostile language to condemn the large number of requests for exemptions submitted by immigrants, warning that:

> Feeling against such dirty low down grafters is running high in many towns in Utah and many letters are being sent to our representatives in congress asking speed in legislation which will compel these fellows to either come in or get out. Fathers and mothers who are sending their American born boys to fight in Italy if need be and for the safety of both Greeks and Italians and all other races are getting more and more incensed at the whelps who think of nothing but getting American dollars under the American flag but who would not turn a handover

> to save that flag from being dragged in the dirt by the kaiser's bloody cutthroats. Some of the worst specimens of this sort are going to get some early day western treatment if they do not wake up to their duty soon.[42]

The threats against immigrants suggested by this article were real. One Italian, Felice Viglanese, was identified by nationality as one of seventy so-called slackers who had not responded to the first two draft calls. The *New Advocate* reported that Viglanese had been "enjoying life in the county jail for several weeks because he made his boast that he would not appear for examination and that the officers could not bring him. His case will be properly dealt with soon." The article went on to note, "Action is to be taken in the case of Franceso Martini, an Italian who has been in the country 11 years but has never taken out first naturalization papers. He refused to file a questionnaire and is reputed to have stated that he has no use for the United States."[43]

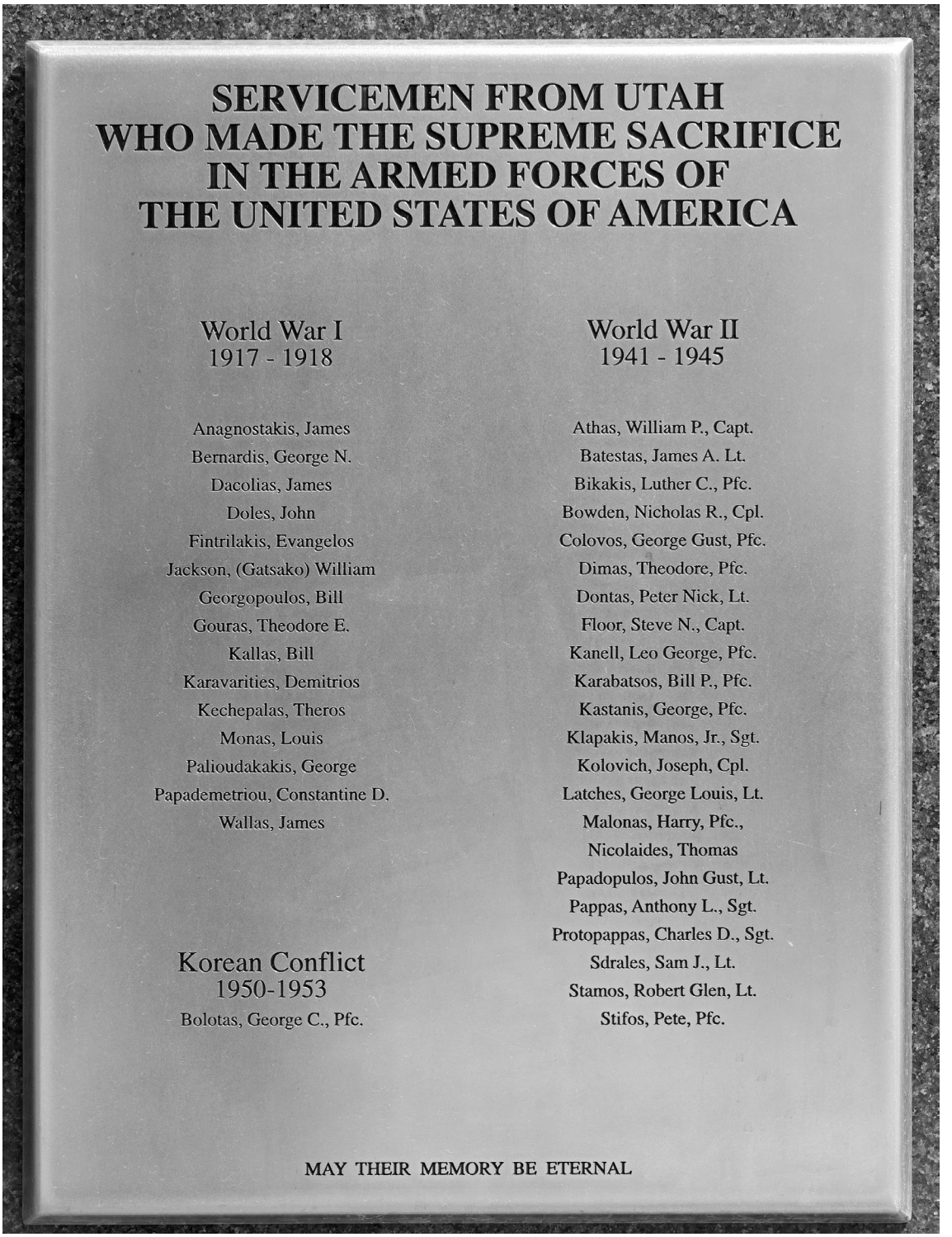
Some foreign-born Utahns responded to these slurs by emphasizing their war efforts. A prominent Greek resident of Price defended the patriotism of immigrants, noting "My countrymen have been drafted and volunteered to the number of fourteen. They are side by side with the Americans and those of other nationalities from Carbon County at the front. . . . At the same time the Greeks are doing all they can and . . . in the thrift stamp and liberty bond campaigns."[44] Likewise, the Sunnyside Italian band participated in a number of patriotic celebrations; Greek, Italian, and Slovenians were identified as patriotic participants in get-out-the-coal campaigns and in war bond drives. Letters from T. H. Jouflas, a Greek-American soldier, and Henry Rugerri, an Italian-American officer, were printed in the local papers.[45]

Questions of citizenship and patriotism also affected the wartime experiences of another group of ethnic Utahns: Native Americans. Utah's Indians lived rural, isolated lives often with little contact with the Anglo world; nevertheless, they expressed their support for the war effort. The *Myton Free Press* reported that Chipeta, the mother of the Ute chief Ouray, had given her life savings of five hundred dollars to support the American Red Cross.[46]

Critically, residents of the United States who had not gained citizenship were still eligible for the draft. Thus Native Americans for whom citizenship became a possibility only in 1924 and immigrants who had not met the requirements for citizenship were required to register for the draft. Native Americans saw no reason to become involved in a conflict thousands of miles away being fought for reasons that made no sense, against an enemy they did not know and in behalf of a country that had taken their land, broken promises, and sought to eliminate their culture and traditions. One of the most disheartening wartime episodes involved the attempt to track down and arrest a group of Goshute and Shoshone Indians in the remote Deep Creek Mountains of western Utah because they resisted draft registration.[47]

Immigrants whose homelands had been swept into the conflict could choose to return to join the armies of their homeland, volunteer for military service in the United States, or register for the draft and serve if necessary when deferments were not granted. As Helen Papanikolas explained, "The Balkan and Mediterranean immigrants and the fewer Asians in the state were wary, fearful that they would be taken into the army, where they did not understand the language and where they could be killed with all hope of fulfilling traditional duties to their families dying with them. They did not rush to volunteer." Still, they served: 10 percent of the Utahns in the armed forces were of foreign birth or among the state's ethnic and racial minorities. Among those were 74 of Utah's 665 war casualties.[48]

An especially violent crime of the era—and one that showed the complexity of service and ethnicity during the war—was the killing on August 23, 1918, of Rudolph Mellenthin. Mellenthin was a German immigrant who became a forest ranger in 1911 and was sometimes called "The Kaiser" for his autocratic ways. Mellenthin learned that an army deserter, Ramon Archuletto, was hiding out in the LaSal Mountains at a sheep camp of his father-in-law Ignacio Martinez. Archuletto had been drafted into the army in New Mexico and sent to Camp Funston, Kansas. In February 1918, Archuletto wrote to his in-laws, indicating that he planned to leave the army and needed a safe place to hide where he could work and earn money.



The Greek Veterans Memorial (detail), located on the grounds of the Greek Orthodox Holy Trinity Cathedral in Salt Lake City. Placed in 1988, the memorial honors Greek Utahns who served in WWI, WWII, and the Korean War. (Photograph by Lucy Call. Utah State Historical Society.)

He made his escape in June 1918 when he left a troop train near Grand Junction, Colorado, making his way to the LaSal Mountains. When reports of Archuletto's whereabouts reached Mellenthin, the forest ranger set out to apprehend the deserter. During the process, gun shots were exchanged—by whom is unclear—and Mellenthin was killed. Archuletto was wounded and taken to a hospital in Fruita, Colorado, and placed under guard as nurses and law enforcement officials feared he might make an escape attempt with the assistance of a substantial Mexican-American population in the area. The District Court in Manti tried Archuletto and Martinez, convicting them of Mellenthin's murder. Archuletto was sentenced to life in prison and Martinez to fifteen years of hard labor. Mellenthin, meanwhile, was memorialized with the naming of a 12,645 foot peak in the LaSal Mountains in his honor.[49]

The ethnic question constituted an important aspect of class in Utah, where a large percentage of farmers, miners, and other laborers made up the working class. Farmers prospered during the war because they were encouraged to plant more crops to meet the unlimited demand for food. Sugar beet farmers were pushed to greater production in order for Utah's sugar beet factories, operating at only two-third's capacity because of a shortage of sugar beets, to reach maximum production. The surge in sugar beet production marked the beginning of a change in Utah agriculture from the self-sustaining practices of the nineteenth century to the cash-based, corporate economy of the new century.[50] Farmers struggled to find enough workers during the war years. Schools adjusted their schedules to involve children in harvesting crops, while workers from Mexico and Canada and prisoners of war at Fort Douglas provided other possible sources of labor.

In mining, Utah companies were hard pressed to meet wartime demands, especially for copper and coal. At the Utah Copper Company, the number of men on the payroll grew from 1,760 in 1914 to 5,554 in 1918, and the company granted seven pay raises between 1915 and 1918. However, Utah Copper was not entirely satisfied with the new work force, claiming that "the class of men was very inefficient" compared to those who had left for military service. Still, the company reported that no strikes occurred during the war as "the war spirit helped to keep down labor troubles."[51]

In the coal fields of eastern Utah, men who had previously left the mines because of a lack of work returned, and wages increased about 25 percent above prewar wages. Nevertheless, miners went on strike at Kenilworth, Castle Gate, Standardville, and Storrs. Organizers for the United Mine Workers of America reentered the Utah coal fields in 1918, after a fourteen year absence following a failed strike in 1903–1904.[52] Coal companies fought against the union, denying organizers permission to hold meetings on company property, dismissing pro-union miners, and constructing elaborate amusement halls for the miners and their families. Labor unrest simmered in other mining locations, including at Eureka in the Tintic Mining district.[53]

Several hundred Utah craftsmen traveled to the Pacific Coast when war time shortages of material slowed Utah's construction industry and in response to a concerted effort to recruit workers for the California shipyards. They were part of the 3,500 men from Utah who registered for the United States Public Service Reserve and were willing to leave the state for jobs in support of the war effort. In addition, the U.S. Department of Labor organized a Boys' Working Reserve in Utah for boys sixteen and older. During the summer of 1917, 528 boys were sent to farms to thin beets. The boys were housed in camps with sleeping tents, mess tents, and commissary wagons. The state of Utah also organized a Junior Boys' Working Reserve, where boys under the age of sixteen helped with apple picking, beet harvesting, and potato digging.[54] At some schools boys received military training. At Garfield Junior High School, the lack of a gymnasium and the prospect of future military service justified the military training under the direction of a former soldier who had served on the Mexican border.[55]

Children made real contributions to Utah's war effort, which was both helpful and, sometimes, a cause for concern. When nine-year-old Wilhelmina "Stecky" Holdaway's mother was unable to continue as the telephone operator in the Hiawatha coal mining camp, the young girl took over "using knowledge she had

A group of schoolchildren knit donations for the Red Cross, December 5, 1917. Lincoln school, 440 West 500 South, Salt Lake City. (Utah State Historical Society, Shipler no. 18494.)

absorbed while hanging around the mine office after school. She ran the switchboard all by herself every night from 10 to midnight when her father, the town marshal, came to take her home."[56] To address the well-being of children, the State Council of Defense established a Child Welfare Department as part of the Woman's Work Committee. The year 1918 was designated as a "Children's Year Program" with initiatives to encourage proper care for mothers, infants, and older children. In many counties, all preschool children were weighed and measured in an effort to determine early health needs, especially for children with physical disabilities. Local committees attended to the enforcement of child labor laws, school attendance, and recreational opportunities, efforts to ensure older children were not "left to shift for themselves" in the wartime atmosphere. The City of Ogden funded a Child Welfare Clinic and Dispensary, which continued to operate after the war.[57]

World War I saw women step forward to take advantage of opportunities that the war brought, especially in the areas of leadership, nursing, promoting the war effort through the Red Cross and sale of war bonds, and pushing for social reforms and community enhancements that only grew in the following decades. When Governor Bamberger established the Utah Committee on Women's Work in the World War and encouraged women's participation in county councils of defense, he provided for a statewide structure that led to the appointments of women to state and local committees for a host of efforts.[58]

New employment opportunities opened for women who were hired, for instance, by the Utah Power and Light Company. A Committee on Women in Industry concerned itself with the welfare of women engaged in industrial work, including the expanding canning factories and positions formerly occupied by men in the service. Women became more firmly established in business offices, working as stenographers,

typists, bookkeepers, accountants, and clerks. Statewide a total of 23,926 women registered for service in thirty-five different professional and industrial activities.[59] Women also took the lead in many wartime activities. Thousands joined the American Red Cross. The Utah Women's Committee supported a national prohibition resolution to stop, as a wartime necessity, the manufacture and sale of beer and alcohol.[60] This all added up to an increased public presence for Utah women.

Religious organizations provided the structure for many individual's contributions to the war. While the Biblical commands not to kill and to love your enemies were antithetical to even a war to make the world safe, most of Utah's religious leaders justified the current war. They urged church members to support their country and often made available church resources, including buildings, auxiliary organizations, financial resources, and their own time and talents to further the war effort.

The April 6, 1917, declaration of war came during the spring conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In his remarks, church president Joseph F. Smith did not address specifically the moral dilemma that believing Mormon Christians faced. Rather, he condemned the war-hungry leaders of Europe and their desires for power while urging Mormons not to blame the common citizens of the warring nations but to "treat the people from these nations that are at war with each other, with due kindness and consideration."[61] Mormons were not to be pacifists and could follow the example of Smith's six sons, who had enlisted for military service.[62]

Church leaders such as Heber J. Grant and Clarissa Smith Williams served in important wartime positions and helped utilize church resources and members with such success that the church received enthusiastic praise from national and state leaders.[63]

Examples of work done by local units of the LDS church include the victory garden grown by the Boy Scouts of the Salt Lake Pioneer Stake, an agricultural survey conducted by stakes in Utah, contributions of wheat by local Relief Society groups, and an effort by the Young Ladies organization to set up War

Women stand next to a Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) sign urging onlookers to help the YWCA help soldiers through the war. Salt Lake City, circa 1918. The YWCA was one of many civic and religious organizations that aided in the war effort. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 00343.)

Savings Societies in each ward.[64] At times, however, LDS values seemed at odds with wartime expectations. When the famous singer John McCormack gave a benefit concert in the Salt Lake Tabernacle for the Red Cross, organizers wanted to raffle autographed records. Church leaders refused the requests stating "We would like to do anything to help the Red Cross but we did not think it the [proper] thing in a religious building used for [religious] purposes."[65]

Utah's Roman Catholic Bishop, Joseph S. Glass, served on the Utah Council of Defense and its committees, in addition to his work on the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council.[66] Glass called on all Utahns for their support, admonishing that "It makes no difference whether my neighbors be Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic. Man's religious belief is a personal matter, but when his country is in need, there should be no lines of creed or politics. The United States needs every man's service, and every man's cooperation."[67] The Knights of Columbus sponsored a showing *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* as a fundraiser when the film's star, Mary Pickford, sent a copy to Salt Lake City. The Catholic Church, through its National Catholic War Council, purchased the residence of Samuel Newhouse at 165 East South Temple Street as a clubhouse to host soldiers assigned to Fort Douglas.[68]

Meanwhile, the Reverend John Malich of the First Unitarian Church in Salt Lake City, who was also an official in the Utah Red Cross, urged the members of his congregation to cooperate with the government in fighting "kaiserism and Prussian autocracy. . . . We must crush Germany with a force superior to its own brute strength. . . . Thus only can America keep the freedom won by its forefathers."[69]

HURDLES AND DETOURS ALONG THE WAY

Not all religious leaders supported American involvement in the war. Paul Jones, appointed Episcopal Bishop of Utah in 1914, became Utah's most outspoken opponent of the war and advocate for peace. As a Christian, pacifist, and socialist, Jones expressed his opinion clearly: "To prosecute war means to kill men, bring sorrow upon women and children, and instill suspicion, fear and hatred into the hearts of the people on both sides. No matter what principles may appear to be at stake, to deliberately engage in such a course of action . . . is repugnant to the whole spirit of the Gospel."[70] Jones persuaded few. The *Salt Lake Tribune* saw Jones and other pacifists as "consciously or unconsciously . . . instruments of sinister German propaganda."[71] Utah Episcopalians distanced themselves from their controversial bishop and called for his resignation, which Jones submitted in December 1917.

Utah's institutions of higher education played an active role in the war effort, even though—with so many students drafted or volunteering—they faced a shortage of students. Campus newspapers, for instance, promoted military preparedness before the declaration of war and enlistment in the military after. Professors spoke against the militarism and authoritarianism in Germany and articulated the manifest responsibility of the United States to become an active participant and to guide the treaty negotiations to insure that democracy took precedent.[72]

After the declaration of war, male students were required to attend daily military drills and female students were organized into units to assist the Red Cross with its various duties. When the law expanding the draft to males between the age of eighteen and forty-five went into effect at the end of August 1918, the number of soldiers increased significantly. As the established training camps could not handle the flood of new soldiers, Student Army Training Corps (SATC) camps were established as part of the nation's universities including the Utah State Agricultural College, University of Utah, and Brigham Young University.

At the University of Utah, 450 draftees joined with 600 volunteers to study under a curriculum that included a weekly schedule of thirteen hours of drills, two hours of military theory, ten hours in academic subjects, and a special three-hour course on "war aims." Soldiers were provided a uniform, equipment, lodging, food, and thirty dollars a month pay. The men were under military supervision at all times marching to classes, meals, and even the library or other locations for supervised study.

A University of Utah telegraphy course. During the war, telegraphy was taught to soldiers from Fort Douglas. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 7252.)

The student army training corps lasted only a few months and was disbanded soon after the armistice. As Ralph Chamberlain described it, "Most of the boys had not been hardened by any preliminary training and, as a result, found their double duties as students and soldiers impossible to perform properly. It was not uncommon to see tired soldiers in recitation and study rooms, slumped in their seats, asleep over unlearned lessons. . . . There tended to arise in classroom and mess hall a state of passive resistance which could not be fully controlled."[73] By war's end, 2,581 University of Utah students had performed military service.

The Utah State Agricultural College in Logan became "essentially a war institution . . . whose energies and resources were dedicated to winning the war."[74] The land-grant college focused on training soldiers and nurses, as well civilians such as farmers, ranchers, and homemakers. Farmers and sugar beet factory employees, for instance, could take a six-week course at the Logan school during the winter of 1917–1918 that was designed to improve and expand sugar production. More than 550 members of the agricultural college's pre-war student body served in the military. Of those, twenty-nine gave their lives.

The military operated a very different kind of camp at Fort Douglas: Prison Barracks Three, a camp that housed nearly seven hundred German navy prisoners of war (POWs) captured when their ships were in port at Guam and Hawaii when war broke out. The prisoners arrived in May, June, and September 1917. The facility went on to house 870 civilian enemy aliens and 200 conscientious objectors who had been arrested in Utah and other states west of the Mississippi River.[75]

While the naval POWs had their own established organization that brought order and discipline during their stay, that was not the case for the civilian prisoners, who came from a variety of backgrounds that included suspected spies and saboteurs, enemy aliens, pro-German sympathizers, non-German speaking citizens from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, conscientious

objectors, pacifists, socialists, members of the Industrial Workers of the World, and other radicals.[76] The naval POWs remained at Fort Douglas until March 1918 when they were sent to Fort McPherson, Georgia; they returned to Germany after the war. Two-hundred-seventy of the civilian enemy aliens returned to Germany in June and September 1919, and the last of the remaining five hundred civilian prisoners were released in May 1920.

The decision to remove the German naval POWs from Fort Douglas to Georgia in March 1918 was unpopular in Utah and brought forth complaints that while Utah had given much in support of the war effort, the state had not benefitted economically as had other states. A *Salt Lake Tribune* editorial on June 9, 1918, noted that millions of dollars had left Utah in support of the war, only to leave all Utahns poorer because of their sacrifice. Much of the blame, the paper argued, belonged to Utah's congressional delegation who, in the crush of the war work, had neglected their responsibilities to their home state in contrast to "the congressional delegations from other states have seen to it that their states obtained the maximum of benefit from war industries." The removal of the German prisoners seemed to be evidence that what little the government had given Utah it had taken away, despite the opposition of the state's leaders.[77] Beyond patriotic rhetoric, then, Utahns recognized the economic give-and-take of a total war.

Twenty-one prisoners died at Fort Douglas, most of them victims of the worldwide flu epidemic that struck in Utah with particular severity between October 1918 and the fall of 1919. The flu epidemic first spread from the U.S. Army camps in the Midwest to the battlefields of France in the spring of 1918. From there, it traveled around the world and back to the United States. An estimated one-fifth of the world's population suffered flu symptoms and an estimated twenty-one million people died from the flu, including approximately 675,000 Americans. The flu epidemic reached Utah in early October 1918 and by the time it was over, more than 3,500 Utahns had died and many others had contracted the dreaded disease but survived.[78] Among Utah's servicemen an estimated half of the 665 deaths were from the flu epidemic.

The epidemic hit some areas much harder than others. Reports from isolated Boulder in Garfield County indicated that no flu cases occurred.[79] However, the *Grand Valley Times* suggested that hundreds of Navajo Indians were dying from influenza and stated that "unless the disease is checked soon it is feared that the Navajo tribe will be almost completely wiped out."[80]

Utahns took drastic measures to combat the disease. Passengers on the Bamberger Railroad between Ogden and Salt Lake City had to show a certificate of clearance before they could board. Schools closed, church services and other public meetings were suspended, and funerals for flu victims were halted or restricted to brief graveside services. The high demand for burials obligated sextons to hire extra gravediggers.[81] Schools, churches, courthouses, and even a newly constructed amusement hall in Hiawatha became pest houses. Some educators feared that the ill patients would leave the schools permanently infected and render them unsuitable for future use. By the end of 1919, the flu epidemic was mostly over, although cases continued to be reported in 1920 and 1921.

MILITARY SERVICE AND BEYOND

Utahns served in companies and regiments throughout the United States Army, but at least two regiments—the 362nd Infantry and the 145th Artillery—were considered Utah regiments. The 362nd Infantry was part of the Ninety-First Division, known as the "Wild West Division," because it was made up primarily of men from Utah, Idaho, Montana, Washington, Oregon and northern California. The Division arrived in France on July 22, 1918, in time to participate in the two major American offensives, the St. Mihiel drive in September and the Meuse-Argonne offensive in October, before being transferred to the Belgium sector. After the Armistice, they became part of the American occupation force in the German Rhineland.

The 145th Artillery Regiment began as the primary component of the Utah National Guard. After state National Guards were activated for federal service, the War Department ordered the Utah National Guard to reorganize into a regiment of light artillery and to continue training in preparation for assignment to Camp

A detail from the 145th Field Artillery Monument, located in Memory Grove in Salt Lake City. Gilbert Riswold sculpted the monument, which honored the veterans of the 145th. It was dedicated in 1927. Noble Warrum described the 145th as the pride of the state, with soldiers coming from "every valley, village, camp and city" in Utah. (Photograph by Lucy Call. Utah State Historical Society.)

Kearny near San Diego, California. The regiment left for California on October 10, 1917, hopeful that they would soon be on their way to France. While some Utah soldiers reached France after reassignment to other units, the 145th remained at Camp Kearny until July 1918, when it left for Camp Mills, New York, and departure for France on August 14, 1918. Arriving in France in early September, the 145th was sent to Camp de Sourge near Bordeaux, where they completed a six-week advanced training course on November 9 in preparation for an American assault on the fortified city of Metz. Much to the regret of some regimental soldiers, the war ended before they saw any battlefield action. The return home began on December 24, 1918, and a month later the men ended their wartime service.[82]

Women who volunteered for service as nurses made the journey to their assignments as individuals or in small groups. In early 1918 Anna Rosenkilde, a graduate of the LDS Hospital nursing program, received orders to proceed by train to Camp Doniphan at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Mary Preston, a good friend and fellow graduate, accompanied her. The two Utah nurses sailed from New York on June 18, 1918, and after their arrival in France were assigned to a hospital in Angers. The normal capacity for the hospital was 3,000 patients, but, according to Rosenkilde "under stress we had as many as 5,000 patients. They were placed in the chapel in corridors and every available spot." She recalled, "There would be a drive after which we would receive by train, ambulance 600–700 wounded men. Operating rooms would be in use day and night and everyone working long hours. One could so wish to be alone someplace and give way to grief. This was never possible. In time these patients would begin to mend then another drive and the same thing would happen all over again."[83]

Those Utahns who did see military action in France faced a long odyssey. Utah communities sent both their volunteers and draftees off as expectant heroes, often with a daylong patriotic celebration.[84] Beyond the public celebrations, of course, were a host of difficult

private experiences. For Ralph Aldous and his wife, the train departure was frustrating and depressing. Trying to comfort her, he wrote, "They marched us to the train at attention and loaded us on and when I asked permission to come out and bid you good by they refused to let me. They told me I was still at attention and to keep my seat. I was on the other side of the train and would not have had the chance to see your dear sweet face again if it had not been for Sergeant who slipped me to the other side when the officers were not looking. . . . . I wanted to jump out the window and take you in my arms and bid you good by . . . but that would only mean that I would be sent back by the guards."[85]

The first test of the men's resolve came soon after arrival at the military induction centers. Oscar Evans, of Sunnyside, was sent to Fort Douglas in December 1917, where doctors pushed and prodded Evans and his fellow inductees to the point of causing some of the young soldiers to faint. Without skipping a beat, the medical personnel used the time to inoculate the men.[86] The train ride from training camps to New York was something of a continuation of the hometown celebrations. Leland Stapley, a soldier from Kanarraville, wrote, "People at every station gave us candy, cigarettes and wished us good luck."[87]

They needed it, for on the ships bound for Europe, the troops faced filthy, sickening conditions.[88] Nels Anderson recorded on his first full day at sea, "There is a great deal of sea sickness. Fellows are vomiting everywhere so besides all the horrible smells that were here we have added the smell of vomit. No ventilation. Everyone who knows how is cursing unless he is too sick."[89]

In addition to the physical battle with seasickness and unsuitable quarters, soldiers crossing the Atlantic experienced the fear of attack by German submarines. Alarms were sounded for practice drills and in earnest whenever submarines were spotted. With the implementation of the convoy system the effectiveness of submarine warfare was reduced, but not eliminated. On February 5, 1918, the *Tuscania,* with 2,013 American soldiers and a crew of 384, sank off the coast of Ireland. While none of the 210 dead came from Utah, newspaper reports counted at least seven Utahns among the *Tuscania*'s survivors.[90] Two Utahns, William A. Brown of Hoytsville and Thaddeus Hodges of Mount Carmel, were among the casualties when the *RMS Moldovia* sank while crossing the English Channel en route to France with American soldiers.[91] After landing in Liverpool, the soldiers were transported by train to Southampton, where they boarded boats for the crossing of the English Channel to France and another bout of sea-sick misery.[92]

Soldiers stayed connected to home through the letters from family and friends. Hometown newspapers were sent gratis to soldiers and became a means to keep informed on the happenings at home and the experiences of their fellow soldiers, because the local papers published their letters. The soldiers passed the newspapers to each other, for any news from the States was welcome. S. C. Mills wrote to his father, "I have been getting the [Salt Lake] Tribune pretty regular and they sure are great. After I get thru with them I send them to a L. R. Bridwell from 2159 South 11th East, who was gassed on the Meuse-Argonne front. I met him thru the Tribune at Raulecourt just before he went over the top in the St. Michel drive."[93]

While most soldiers found France much different than their Utah homeland, they were sympathetic to the people for whom they had come. As Stephen L. Bunnell, from Castle Dale, wrote, "I have seen a good lot of France and it is a swell country. There are some of the finest looking crops I ever saw in my life. The people here treat us fine [and] have opened their homes to the American soldiers."[94]

Battle was a totally different experience from the bucolic rural landscape of France and its people. In letters home, Utah soldiers attempted to describe the horror of battle and the alien hell into which they had marched. George Stevenson wrote to his mother:

> The main thing is that I am all together and enjoying life (so to speak) that is, I am enjoying it as much as one can who has gone through Hell and lost most of his pals. We saw all the mangling and killing we care to for the rest of our lives. . . . It was just Hell, that's all. We lost all our blankets, toilet arti-

> cles, and all such things. All we hung on to was our rifles and trenching tool and emergency rations. That's all we needed. We that got away with our lives thought we were lucky. It seems that there were more wounded than killed. I helped bury one poor fellow at a little after midnight last night. This letter is an awful mess but maybe you can read it.[95]

Years after the war, George Ballif recalled his experience with death on the battlefield and the introspection it caused. "I suddenly stumbled on to a poor dead soldier. . . . I thought about his mother, his sweetheart, and my heart went out to him. I thought about shattered dreams, hopes, and ideals, and wondered if the world would ever know the price those glorious dead of ours have paid. I was exceedingly humble that morning and have never before nor since realized so thoroughly what an insignificant piece of impotency man is. We all saw life and death that day and pride and rank were melted away. One minute we were; the next minute we were no more."[96]

For soldiers, the flu proved as deadly, if not more so, than battle. Daniel Ferre was taken to a makeshift hospital in a French chateau after he contracted the flu. Assuming that he had passed away, medical personnel placed him on a balcony where the dead were laid out. His best friend, John Smith of Payson, came to visit him and was told where the body had been taken. Smith went onto the balcony and saw signs of life in his friend. Ferre was brought back into the building and "given hot toddys, more cover, and rubbed . . . in order to restore circulation." Ferre recovered, and he and Smith remained life-long friends.[97]

After the horrors of the battlefield and the flu, Utah soldiers welcomed the Armistice. In letters home, they emphasized the joy and gratitude of the French and the tremendous relief the war's end brought. Clarence Anderson, a soldier from Sanpete County, wrote of the Armistice Day celebration in France on November 11, 1918:

> You have no idea how these people appreciate the Americans. This morning I went over to the café for a cup of coffee and the place was filled with Frenchmen. When I came in they all got up and yelled "Viva les Americans," and sang me a song about Berlin and the war being finished. I shook hands with the whole bunch and then had my coffee. These are great times you bet. Old men chasing around like kids again. Everyone happy and noisy. An American is some personage these days, let me tell you.[98]

Henry Ruggeri, who practiced law in Helper before enlisting in the Army, wrote of his experience in Paris on the day of the Armistice, "I shall never forget the sight and the behavior of the French people. They had emerged over night, as it were, from a quiet, solemn, unconcerned and dispassionate life to a high spirited and enthusiastic throng. They were all nearly mad with joy."[99]

Maud Fitch, a volunteer ambulance driver from Eureka, was on duty a hundred miles north of Paris when she wrote to her family that the end to "All this suffering and hardship" was sublime, "up here at St. Quentin the announcement of the signing of the armistice was taken quite calmly. . . . The soldiers have been in so long they seem to have lost the power of rejoicing."[100]

In Utah, premature celebrations erupted in a number of towns and cities on November 7, as word arrived of the expected armistice. November 11, however, began early for many Utahns as word arrived at about 1:30 a.m. that the fighting had ended. Communities throughout the state erupted into hours of celebration—despite the flu—with bonfires, parades, feasts, music, and the Kaiser humiliated in effigy.[101]

The desire of nearly every United States soldier was to return home as quickly as possible. Most did so, though not as quickly as they wanted. Others marched from France through Belgium and Luxembourg where they were part of the occupation of the German territory west of the Rhine River to the French border. Although almost all American soldiers left Germany by July 1919 and returned home, a small force remained until January 1923. Some Utahns, including Leon Davis of Kanarraville were among the United States soldiers sent to Siberia to help

stem the tide of Bolshevik success in that remote part of Russia. Davis was not discharged from the Army until November 1919, a year after the fighting had ended in France.[102]

Utahns repeated the Armistice celebrations, although on a much smaller scale, with the return of the servicemen. Ten weeks after the signing of the Armistice, Utah welcomed home nearly 1,200 men and officers of the 145th. As the troop train arrived in Ogden on January 17, 1919, orders were issued that no crowds were to gather at the Ogden Union Railroad Station because of the flu epidemic and that during the parade through downtown Ogden, onlookers must not to speak with the soldiers, who were sternly instructed not to break ranks. With Bamberger and other state officials riding in automobiles and a marching escort of two hundred recently discharged veterans from Ogden and other Weber County localities in the lead, the enthusiastic crowd welcomed their soldiers home. After the Ogden parade, the soldiers boarded a train for Logan where an organized celebration complete with an "arch of welcome" decorated with flags and flashing electric lights greeted them. The soldiers marched from the Logan railroad station to the Utah State Agricultural College campus, where the governor praised the men for their sacrifice and for the enhanced reputation their service had brought to Utah.[103]

The soldiers were housed in various college buildings. The next day, January 18, they participated in a formal parade and review in downtown Logan where they awed the crowd with their marching, manual of arms demonstration, and gas mask drills. A few days later after completion of physical examinations and paperwork, the 145th Field Artillery was officially mustered out.[104]

Less elaborate, but no less enthusiastic events such as parades, dances, dinners, programs, and free moving picture shows celebrated the return of soldiers in the cities and towns of the state. For other soldiers, their return seemed to go unnoticed except for individual greetings at the store or post office, or church. In his autobiography, Beaver native George Grimshaw recorded, "when I got back nine months after the Armistice was signed there was very little evidence that there had been a war. All was

World War One veterans stand atop a tank, with a marching band behind them and a crowd looking on. Ogden, 1919. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 18247.)

quiet on the home front and after I had quietly greeted a few of my friends, I walked back home feeling just a little lonely and realizing that I had quite an adjustment to make, but I was so grateful to be home."[105]

For others, war had left physical and emotional wounds that would be with them for the rest of their lives. Noble Warrum gave a poignant contemporary account: "But all who returned were not as blithe and hopeful as when they went away. Some came staggering back with empty sleeves, some hobbling along on canes or crutches and some with sightless eyes. . . . There were some who reeled and tottered with the lingering quakes of shell shock, many who flinched from festering sore of mustard gas . . . and others whose shrieks or babblings told of minds destroyed."[106]

Most of Utah's veterans returned to their prewar life as farmers, laborers, or students. Although Brigham Young Academy offered free tuition to veterans, it was clear to state officials "that there are more men returning to the various counties than there are positions to be filled." The lack of sufficient employment, as a consequence, "imposes upon the state an obligation of creating work in order that these men may be given an opportunity to support themselves and dependents."[107] Public officials and contractors compiled a list of highway, road, school construction, water works, and other public improvement projects costing more than twenty-four million dollars, that would provide jobs for those returning from the war to the extent that "there will be no lack of employment, either for the common laborer, the mechanic, the artisan, the engineer or any other toiler who has willing heart and brain and hands to work."[108]

In addition to establishing a public works program, state leaders recognized the need to work with private industry to absorb the large number of men returning from military service.[109] Further, the state legislature established a Utah Soldiers Settlement Board to work with federal authorities to secure funding for soldiers' homes in rural areas. However, the effort was unsuccessful because the United States Congress failed to appropriate funds for the measure and the American Legion pushed for establishment of the homes in urban, not just rural, locations.[110]

For one group of veterans, the efforts of both the state and private industry were too slow and inadequate, leading M. P. Bales, a Salt Lake City barber, to organize a council for soldiers, sailors, and workers. Based on the model used by the Russian Bolsheviks to carry out their revolution, the council urged more jobs for the unemployed and gained temporary control of the Utah Federation of Labor, which, in the three years preceding the war, had endorsed the Socialist Party.[111] An earlier council, the People's Council of America for Democracy and Peace, held a public meeting in August 1918 to promote the repeal of conscription laws, obligate the federal government to define its specific peace terms, safeguard labor standards, and to secure a peace "in harmony with the principles outlined by new Russia, namely: no forcible annexations, no punitive indemnities, free development for all nationalities [and] to urge international organization for the maintenance of world peace."[112]

Yet the radical ideas of socialism and communism appealed to few Utah veterans. Still, some veterans balked at the condescension of their elders. LeRoy Cox, a St. George native, voiced his resentment against intransigent educators at Brigham Young Academy, "When we went to war they called us men, now they treat us like children."[113]

The organization of American Legion posts throughout the state helped veterans make the transition from military to civilian life by fostering the camaraderie most had known during their service and giving the veterans, among many things, a platform for advocating their agenda, a means of public service, and a way of perpetuating the memory of their fallen comrades and their own military service. The American Legion was organized in Paris in February 1919 and grew quickly with the return of veterans to the United States. Membership was open to any veteran with honorable service and an honorable discharge. By the end of 1919 more than one hundred local posts had been established in Utah. As the organization grew, many posts established women's auxiliaries to augment the activities that included the purchase of Doughboy statutes, raising money for the children of veterans, organizing patriotic programs, and providing honor guards for graveside salutes for deceased veterans.[114]

The wartime unity cracked on the hotly debated question of American participation in the League of Nations. Proponents like the Utah war mothers saw the league as the best and perhaps only organization to prevent future wars.[115] Opponents feared the loss of American sovereignty. In Utah, the division was reflected among the leadership of the LDS Church. Heber J. Grant, who became president of the church on November 23, 1918, favored the league, as did B. H. Roberts, a senior leader who had served as an army chaplain during the war. However, U.S. senator and LDS church apostle Reed Smoot was one of the league's most ardent opponents.[116]

President Woodrow Wilson visited Salt Lake City on September 23, 1919, to advocate for ratification of the Treaty of Versailles by the United States Senate and its provision for the United States joining the League of Nations. Wilson spoke to an overflow audience in the Salt Lake Tabernacle, asking the questions, "Shall we guarantee civilization or shall we abandon it?"[117]

Two days later, in Pueblo, Colorado, Wilson collapsed while giving a speech and later suffered a massive stroke. The opposition of Republican senators, including Smoot, and Wilson's unwillingness to compromise doomed passage of the treaty and participation by the United States as a member of the League of Nations.

REMEMBERING

In the fury of controversy over the League of Nations, Utahns did not lose sight of the significance of the war as they sought to commemorate the victory, honor those who gave their lives, and remember all who had served. The establishment of at least three dozen WWI memorials throughout the state, the construction of buildings, the designation of Armistice Day as a national holiday, the pilgrimage of Gold Star Mothers to the graves of their fallen sons in France, and the publication of a history documenting Utah's involvement in the war were all means to remember Utah's involvement in the war. As the *Box Elder News* suggested, "Our soldier boys are worthy of every recognition that can be given them and a monument erected in a public place would be one of the finest tributes that could be paid them."[118]

Utah leaders recognized the importance of recording the history of Utah's participation in the world war. The Utah State Legislature

Lehi City Hall, as seen in 1941. The city hall was built as a monument to Lehi's World War I veterans, with construction beginning only two weeks after the signing of the Armistice, in December 1918. It was completed in May 1926. The architectural firm of Walter Ware and Alberto Treganza designed the building, which incorporates elements of the Mission style. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 27478.)

appropriated $5,000 for writing the history, designated the Utah State Historical Society as the institution to do so, and authorized the appointment of a State War Historian. In addition, the respective county councils of defense designated county war historians. However, with no firm direction at either level, the project floundered for a time.

Critically, in the fervor of war, the councils of defense had not kept adequate records. In the opinion of Andrew Love Neff, Utah's war historian, "Utah's record of what was done during the war is woefully incomplete." When challenged by L. H. Farnsworth, director of the Utah Council of Defense, Neff responded:

> You are unquestionably a splendid executive, Mr. Farnsworth, as the documents prove, but may I add that you have a poor comprehension of historical values and historical material. The truth is that you and your associates were so busy making history that you had little time to record it. Naturally and properly you were so absorbed in winning the war, and solving the paramount problems of the hour, that the minutes speak all too briefly and modestly of the accomplishment. Would you ensure historical workers for shedding a professional tear that the wealth of interesting and valuable detail was omitted, even though unavoidably?

Neff went on to explain that the historical society had only the report of one Red Cross chapter and nothing but press clippings to document the "invaluable" contributions of churches, universities, lodges, and other organizations, while county records remained "scattered and uncompiled." "Surely there is a need for urgency," Neff exclaimed, "in assembling these local documents, that the magnificent deeds of this generation may be handed down to posterity."[119]

Neff came to focus "his efforts principally to the preparation of monographs on subjects that are predominately Utah in setting and characteristic," with the justification that "the measure of the service of the state to the cause of country consists not alone in the valiant deeds of the men in uniform, but also in the activities of civilians who directly and indirectly furthered the purposes of the Nation. And as there is infinitely more likelihood of the story of the latter being lost to posterity, it is eminently fitting at this time to save from oblivion as much of the history of these many-sided contributions as the already fragmentary record will permit."[120]

The conflict remained unresolved. Neff seemed to lose the drive to continue with the history he envisioned, perhaps because he became overwhelmed with the potential enormity of the project and frustrated with the lack of support he felt. The board of the Utah State Historical Society opted to assign completion of the history to Noble Warrum, whose volume *Utah and the Great War: The Men Behind the Guns and the Men and Women Behind the Men Behind the Guns*, was published in 1924. Although not the interpretive history that Andrew Neff envisioned, Warrum's work provides a still useful account of Utah's involvement in the war and on the home front. The book honors the men and women who served by listing them by name and branch of service.

SIGNIFICANCE

Less than four months after Wilson's memorable visit to Salt Lake City, General John J. Pershing, the Commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe during the war, came to Utah. After a welcome at the Union Pacific Railroad Station, Pershing and his staff joined in a parade downtown. Following an inspection tour of Fort Douglas, Pershing spoke at a patriotic program held in the Salt Lake Tabernacle. The visits by Wilson in September 1919 and Pershing in January 1920 recalled the previous joyous celebrations on November 11, 1918, and the return of Utah soldiers in early 1919. In one sense, the visits were an acknowledgement of Utah's contribution to the victory and verifications that Utah's loyalty to the nation was recognized at the highest levels.

Demonstrating Utah's patriotism was certainly a high priority for its citizens and especially for its Mormon population, many of whom still remembered the accusations of disloyalty that marked much of Utah's territorial period. LDS church president Joseph F. Smith set an

unquestionable example with six sons serving in the armed forces. Smith also approved the use of church facilities including the Salt Lake Tabernacle for rallies and other public programs, authorized the purchase of Liberty Bonds with church funds, and encouraged church members of all ages and positions to serve in whatever way they could. Where Mormons had openly resisted the federal army in the 1850s and avoided participation on either side during the Civil War, by 1917 no question remained of Mormon support for their country's war effort.

Many of those who joined the army subscribed to the conviction expressed by Nels Anderson, "No young man's future is worth much if he has shirked his duty in this war. The men who rule in the U.S. for a long time to come are going to be those who have played their part in overthrowing autocracy."[121] Three of Utah's future governors—Charles R. Mabey, Herbert Maw, and J. Bracken Lee—served in the Army during the war, and in the decades after the Armistice a host of state legislators, county commissioners, and town mayors were veterans.

Utahns, as other American citizens, believed in a pay-as-you go policy for financing the war. Much of the civilian war effort involved securing the necessary money through a relentless series of bond drives and other fund raising activities that left little room for Americans to shirk their responsibility. The "foreign-born" often carried their war bonds with them as proof of their loyalty. Almost all citizens were willing to invest to meet the wartime threat and not defer the cost of war to future generations.

The war brought economic opportunities to Utah with the expansion of the mining industry and agriculture. Full employment meant that anyone who wanted to work could and, without sufficient labor, migrant workers and school children were utilized to meet the pressing needs, especially for farmers. However, the prosperity did not last. After the war demand shrunk, and the state did not see a return to a comparable economy until the onset of World War II. Yet with the economic challenges of the 1920s and 1930s, Utah continued to become more urbanized with its population concentrated along the Wasatch Front.

Urbanization and the two twentieth-century world wars brought greater opportunities for women, as new areas of employment opened and the role of women in the military expanded. During WWI, women were encouraged to become nurses. Volunteer ambulance drivers like Maud Fitch and Elizabeth McCune brought Utah women to the edge of the battlefield and their service was both heroic and humane.

At home, women assumed a vital role in all aspects of the war effort through serving in the Red Cross, joining state and local defense councils, by conserving and producing food, purchasing war bonds, and remembering those in military service. Utah's women demonstrated leadership, commitment, and a resolve to do whatever they could.

World War I saw the culmination of many Progressive Era reforms, including woman suffrage, prohibition, labor reforms, and greater attention to the needs of children. However, the war also contributed to the decline of an American Socialist movement that before the war had shown promise of becoming a viable political force in the state. The arrest of antiwar dissidents and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, which threatened to bring a new world order, caused many Socialist sympathizers to reexamine their views.

The war expanded the involvement of all levels of government—especially the federal government—in everyday lives. To answer its obligation to soldiers, Congress established a Federal Veterans Bureau in 1921 to administer veterans' benefits, including disability compensation, insurance for service personnel, vocational rehabilitations, and pensions.

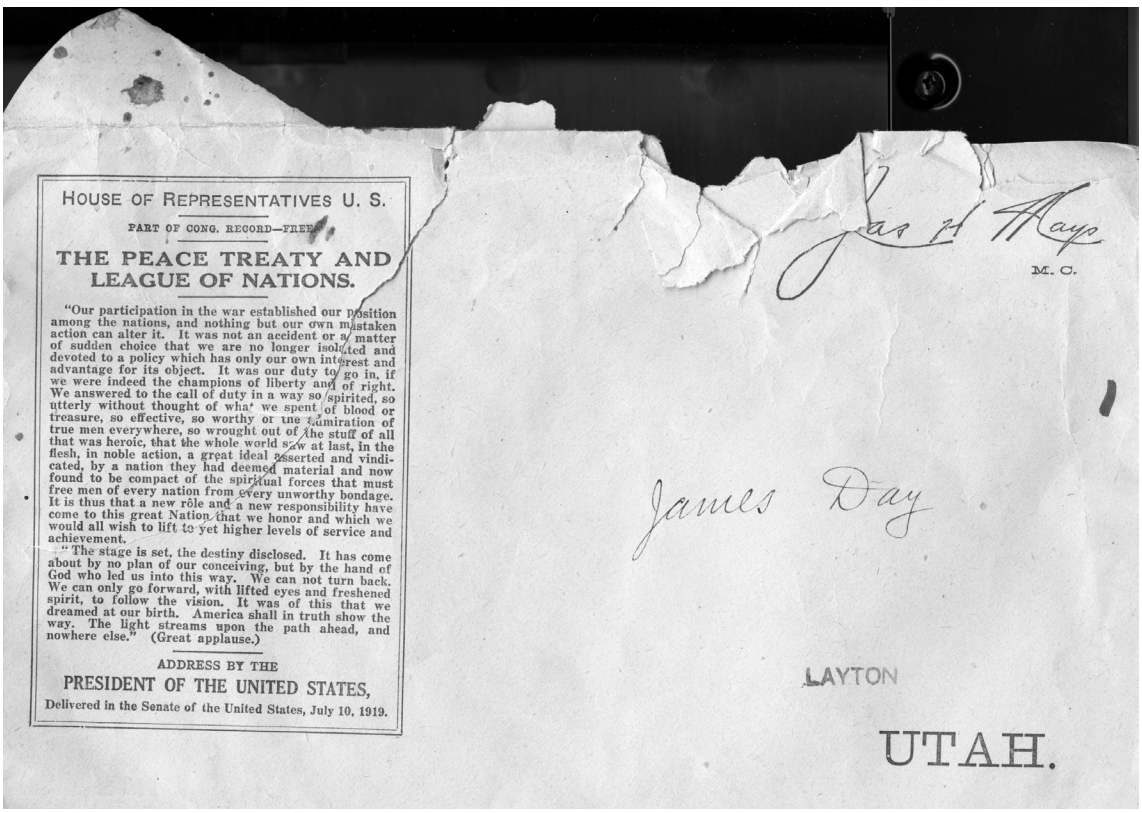
Many veterans and their families came to the conclusion that their sacrifice had earned them more than the cheers of appreciative home folks but also a share in the wealth of the nation through an adjusted compensation plan, which Congress passed in 1924 over President Calvin Coolidge's veto. This compensation was recognized, in the eyes of many, as partial fulfillment of a social contract between the government and its citizens that was made when it drafted men or urged them to volunteer. Under the contract, the government had a responsibility

to redistribute war-accumulated wealth to those whose opportunities had been restricted because of military service.[122]

A strong advocate for veterans, the American Legion also became an important force in communities throughout the nation, not only providing veterans with a place to meet with other former soldiers, but also an organization to promote "Americanism" through school programs, patriotic commemorations and, later, such far-reaching activities as Boys' and Girls' State and baseball teams for high-school age boys.

The wartime patriotism also continued in the construction of memorials and monuments and the compilation of histories documenting both the military and home-front experiences.

The fervent Americanism had a dark side that was manifest in nativistic tendencies such as the emergence of the Ku Klux Klan in Utah during the 1920s and other activities, including immigration restriction directed against immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. The African American population of Utah was small and confined primarily to mining and transportation areas. But discrimination and segregation in accommodations and restaurants, housing, entertainment, employment, education, religious and fraternal organizations mirrored that of the rest of the country, and Utah did not confront the challenges of squaring democratic ideals with the reality of a second-class status for African Americans. Many Utahns—after initially subscribing to the wartime ideal that America's destiny was to serve as a beacon of democracy, for which support of the League of Nations was essential—turned inward toward isolationism, an America-first position encouraged by the belief that wartime allies did not appreciate the role of the United States in winning the war.



An envelope bearing the address of James Day of Layton, Utah, and an excerpt from an address by Woodrow Wilson about the peace treaty and the League of Nations. It is part of the Kent Day Family Papers, which includes letters written by Ada E. Day to Utah soldiers and legal papers regarding the death of David Day, a soldier who died from the Spanish influenza. James W. Day was the father of Ada and David. (Utah State Historical Society, MSS B 1011, box 1, fd. 9.)

The sentiment for isolationism persisted through the 1920s and 1930s as new and dangerous expressions of nationalism manifest themselves in Japan, Italy, and Germany. When war came to the United States with the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the nation once again set out with the same objectives expressed in 1917: to make the world safe for democracy and to fight to victory the war to end all wars. In so doing, Americans recalled the experience, the commitment, and the means that had been at the fore during the Great War of 1917 to 1918. Looking to the postwar world, Utahns and their fellow Americans vowed not to repeat the mistakes and failures that had come in the aftermath of World War I.

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Web Extra

Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to read transcripts of some of the documents Powell used to construct this article.

Notes

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L. Lula Greene Richards, a poet and editor whose work appeared in a number of publications associated with the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. During the First World War, Richards depicted the experience from her perspective as a religious woman. (From a sketch by Lee Greene Richards. *Relief Society Magazine*, July 1925.)

TRY TO BE AS BRAVE
CROSS-CONTINENTAL COMPARISONS OF GREAT WAR POETRY

BY ROBERT S. MEANS

English poetry of the Great War is famous for its (sometimes naive) patriotism, its black humor and satire, and its ability to paint the ugly reality of twentieth-century war in a way that has haunted readers and influenced subsequent writers ever since.[1] The poet and memoirist Robert Graves (1895–1985) wrote a revealing poem in 1918 that summed up his war poetry and his war experience. "The Patchwork Quilt" combines curious images of domesticity and femininity—"patterned silks and old brocade / Small faded rages in memory rich," curious, because they're not the images you'd expect in (especially male) "war poetry"—with the more recognizable symbols of manly soldiering: the muddied khaki uniforms of the British and the field grey of the Germans, the latter torn and clotted with blood.[2]

That was the way World War I (WWI) impressed itself on its generation: as a patchwork of experiences for combatants in the front lines and a different patchwork of waiting and worrying for family and noncombatants back home. Many of those back home were women, and their experiences were sometimes like that of a blind John Milton who consoled himself with the idea that "they also serve who only stand and wait."[3] And while women on the home front waited for the war to end and participated in a host of efforts to aid in that cause, they, too, wrote about it. As L. Lula Greene Richards expressed in the *Relief Society Magazine* in January 1919, "may all who must wait / Feel that even now they participate."[4] When the war was over, women confronted a patchwork of emotions, as Sarah Ahlstrom Nelson (who published as Mrs. Parley Nelson) wrote in "To the Departed Year 1918":

> Your birth was heralded 'mid clouds of gloom,
> So dark, we scarce dared think of happiness;
> Famine and Death stalked broadcast o'er the earth
> But Right prevailed against the power of Might!
> O, glorious year, you brought the Victory.[5]

This panoramic, 1919 photograph of a no man's land in France shows the devastation of World War I. (Photo by William Lester King. Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-124516.)

The *Relief Society Magazine* began in the same year as the Great War, 1914, was published in Salt Lake City, and provided a forum for female members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) to comment on current events, publish short stories and poetry, and learn about what was going on in their organization and receive instruction from it.[6] Altogether, the *Relief Society Magazine* authors discussed in this article can be characterized as religious, middle-aged women who lived throughout the Mormon cultural region and found time to write amidst a host of family and other responsibilities. I was curious to learn what similarities might exist between women and occasionally men writing about the war in the *Relief Society Magazine* and the well-known poems from British authors, both men and women.[7] Connections do exist, to be sure: *Relief Society Magazine* authors wrote about some of the same themes as their British counterparts and sometimes alluded to the work of those famous poets. On the other hand, the greatly different experiences of these two sets of authors is evident in their writing, especially given the connection between gender and military service and the resulting tension between men and women.

As products of Victorian and Edwardian upbringings, the people of Great War–era Britain were writers. They wrote letters, kept diaries, and practiced writing verses. Gentlemen of the day followed the Sir Philip Sidney model: they were expected to be equally at home and at ease writing poetry, riding with their hounds, or soldiering. Poetry was respected and respectable, published in the best (and worst) newspapers and magazines; its authors were the culture's rock stars. So, when the war came, this generation was practiced and ready to express itself in poetry. After the Great War, poetry—especially in traditional forms and employing regular meter and rhyme—would never be the popular medium it was before and during the war.[8] During the Great War, famous poems were often alluded to in subsequent poetry. Often the most famous phrases, resonating with (or challenging) other poets, were echoed, answered, or even politely parodied. This seems to me to be akin to musicians today covering a song they admire: recording their own version and making it an homage to the original. One clear connection between the poetry of Great War Britain and its *Relief Society Magazine* counterpart was such "covering."

The first poem in the *Relief Society Magazine* that caught my eye did so for two reasons. First, it was an anomaly: a poem written by a man—one Joseph Hunt Stanford—and not the magazine's most regular contributors, women. Second, its title, "To a Lark," put it squarely in the tradition of Great War poetry: larks in the

air, and rats on the ground were both historical and literary fixtures of the Western Front.

To a Lark.
Heard singing near support line during artillery service, February, 1918.

How can you sing? 'Tis true the skies are blue,
    And in the air there comes a breath of spring;
But hurtling death shrieks o'er the head of you—
    Beneath—around you—till it seems your wing
Must surely brush the flying shot and shell
That screams across the fields you love so well.

How can you sing? The sun is warm, I know,
    Beyond what is this February's dew;
And song's your business, whereso'er you go,
 'Tis nothing more that we expect from you.
But—here's my point—by what astounding chance
Came you to sing in this grim part of France?

Is there a message in the song you sing
    Which, could it be rightly understood,
Would cheer us in the faith that everything–
    E'en war—works only for some final good?
Or do you sing because you have no choice—
You're just a bird that must report its voice?

About that "final good" you will agree
    (Should hopes of that your own free soul inspire)
That there's but little here to make us see
    An eye to eye with you as you desire.
The good to us seems altogether void,
While with this bloody work we are employed.

Look at the fields beneath you, do they please?
    Can you see aught but desolation there?
Look at the blackened stumps that once were trees—
    Your wildest fancy cannot make them fair!
Look in the hearts of men, then tell me true
If you're so sanguine after that review.

I hear your song. I, too, have often heard
    That song called Pippas—"God is in his heaven,
So all's right with the world"; but every word
    Seems mockery when all that world is given
To mad ambition, treachery, and strife,
And shameful sacrifice of human life.

Still, keep on singing! To at least one ear
    Your song is sweet, whate'er its meaning be;
It makes this devastation seem less drear,
    It wakes the music long asleep in me.
For mine, and song's sweet sake, then, sing away—
I'll try and scale the blue with you today.[9]

The author of one of the seminal works on WWI, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, the literary critic Paul Fussell, remarked that "sky-study" was one of the few amusements a soldier had when stuck in the trenches of the Western Front.[10] And the image of carefree larks, wheeling over no man's land appears in a number of Great War poems, including what is probably

the most famous or well-known poem from the Great War, "In Flanders Fields," written three years earlier than Stanford's 1918 poem, by LTC John McCrae (1872–1918):

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie,
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.[11]

Fussell observed that "In Flanders Fields" remarkably combines the maximum number of poetic images—"triggers of emotion," he aptly called them—together in a single poem: poppies, crosses (remembrance), larks (hope), guns (the war), dawn, sunset (the brevity of young lives), the passing torch (sacrifice), and faith.[12] One grittier image that does not appear in McCrae's poem is rats. Rats don't appear in Stanford's poem, either; however, Stanford's apostrophe to a lark, while containing echoes of "In Flanders Fields," seems to have even more in common with what is considered the finest poem of the Great War: "Break of Day in the Trenches" (1916) by Isaac Rosenberg (1890–1918), notwithstanding that Rosenberg's philosophical questions about the war are put not to a soaring lark (as in Stanford's poem), but to a foraging rat in the front lines. "Droll rat," Rosenberg wrote,

It seems you inwardly grin as you pass
Strong eyes, fine limbs, haughty athletes,
Less chanced than you for life, . . .
What do you see in our eyes
At the shrieking iron and flame
Hurled through still heavens?[13]

McCrae's "In Flanders Fields" touched many good people who "stood and waited" patiently, and the poets among them couldn't help answering McCrae that they hadn't forgotten the fallen, that they had kept—and would keep—faith. The unsigned "Armistice Hymn," published a few years after the war, in the November 1925 issue of the *Relief Society Magazine*, assures its readers, including and especially those who recalled McCrae's poem, that memory is just as fresh and commitment just as strong as when the war raged.

Hail to the warriors peacefully sleeping.
Nameless or known in the cross-covered plains;
Bow we with those who sit quietly weeping,
Bearing their loss for the world's richer gains.

We will be keeping the tryst ye decreed us,
Ye who lie under the wave and the sod;
Watchful we stand, guarding all that has freed us,
Resting our deeds in the judgment of God.[14]

A similar sentiment came from Sarah Ahlstrom Nelson, a native of Manti, Utah, a librarian, and a mother.[15] In "Thanksgiving Memories," published by the *Relief Society Magazine* in 1920, Nelson reminisced about "a child's Thanksgiving prayer" offered years before that closed with "Please, Lord, take care of me." Then,

The busy years slipped quickly by,
You grew to man's estate,
Your country called and you went forth
To meet a soldier's fate.
And now you sleep in Flanders' field,
Where countless flowers grow,
With valiant comrades lying near,
'Neath crosses row on row.
You gave your life in freedom's cause,
And though my tears still fall,
I'm thankful that you stood for right,
I'm glad you heard the call.
I lift my heart in thanks to God
Who sent a son so true;
And though in foreign land you sleep,
I know He cares for you.[16]

In this clear allusion to McCrae's poem, Nelson found solace for the death of young men and the sorrow of mothers through faith in a caring God.

Probably no other Great War poet and poem was more alluded to than Rupert Brooke (1887–1915) and his "War Sonnet V: The Soldier," written in 1914 and published in 1915: its

opening lines—"If I should die, think only this of me, / That there's some corner of a foreign field that is for ever England"—just could not be left alone. Brooke described a soldier's immortality "In that rich earth a richer dust concealed; / A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware."[17]

Maud C. Oliver, in "Lines to Sister Rowena M. Whipple, In memory of the death of her Soldier Son, on July 20, 1918" (and note the capitalization in the subtitle "Soldier Son," effectively a title, emphasizing the special kind of sacrifice given by Whipple), gave us an American version of Brooke's heaven for dead soldiers. In this mother's version, sons are brought back home to lie and not left to molder where they fell on foreign fields (something that might not have occurred to the romantic Brooke). From "Lines to Sister Rowena M. Whipple":

> They are bringing all that's earthly
> Of your soldier boy who died
> Far away from home and mother,
> Only strangers at his side.
> It is hard to thus behold him,
> Stricken in the prime of life,
> But you have this consolation:
> He is free from all earth-strife.
>
> And you know that his dear body
> Rests not on a foreign shore,
> But beside your other children
> Who have only gone before.
> Wrap the Stars and Stripes around him,
> Emblem of the true and brave,
> And with loving hands consign him
> To a soldier's honored grave.[18]

Oliver noted the tragedy of this young soldier dying "Far away from home and mother, / Only strangers at his side." The major differences in these two poems are, of course, the result of the writers' vastly different perspectives: Rupert Brooke is speaking as a Byronic bachelor, concerned with how heroic and splendid his death will be perceived: his only worry is that it won't be properly understood to be sufficiently rich with poetic romanticism and Georgian Anglophilia if he doesn't spell it all out (which he then does). Maud Oliver, on the other hand, is putting herself in the place of a grieving mother—lamenting the lost potential of a child—and tenderly consoling Whipple against a parent's worst nightmare, assuring that her son's suffering is now over, he has come home, and she now knows where he is.

Sometimes fellow soldiers were called upon to provide loved ones with some consoling words about how their sons fought and died. And sometimes they had to lie to do it (most of us probably couldn't handle the kind of truth about what really goes on in battle). Such was the case with the fictional German soldier Paul Bäumer in Erich Maria Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front* when he visited his comrade Kemmerich's mother.[19] A British version takes place in Siegfried Sassoon's "The Hero":

> "Jack fell as he'd have wished," the Mother said,
> And folded up the letter that she'd read.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Quietly the Brother Officer went out.
> He'd told the poor old dear some gallant lies
> That she would nourish all her days, no doubt.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> He thought how "Jack," cold-footed, useless swine,
> Had panicked down the trench that night the mine
> Went up at Wicked Corner; how he'd tried
> To get sent home, and how, at last, he died,
> Blown to small bits. And no one seemed to care
> Except that lonely woman with white hair.[20]

The biographical details about Whipple's soldier son provide a color to Maud Oliver's poem, however faint and unintended, that is not unlike that of Sassoon's account. Rowena McFate Whipple, born in Toquerville, Utah, in 1867, was practically the definition of a frontier woman. Crippled by rheumatism since her early childhood, Whipple married at seventeen and went on to bear sixteen children, whom she raised mostly in Show Low, Arizona. With the American entrance into the war, four of the Whipple boys—Columbus, Joseph, William, and John—entered the military. Columbus had an especially proud record in combat: serving on the frontlines for eighty-seven days, rescuing a drowning soldier, crossing a valley under fire thirteen times in one day, and receiving the Croix de Guerre. Joseph served in the army of occupation in Germany, at the front for fifty-four days. However, it was William—who died on July 20, 1918—whom

Maud Oliver memorialized in "Lines to Sister Rowena M. Whipple." He was operated upon in San Francisco for appendicitis and evidently contracted septicemia. Will wrote home about feeling poorly and about his desire to come home briefly before going overseas. Tragically, he died a short time later, his flag-draped body brought home on his twenty-eighth birthday, after four months in the service. William Whipple's sacrifice to his country was real and noble, but it was not entirely what Oliver represented in her poem. In other words, Oliver's purpose was as much to comfort a grieving mother as to remember a fallen son.[21]

Not all Great War poetry was somber; much of it was lighthearted and funny. In this regard, the Great War poetry published by the *Relief Society Magazine* also reflected what was being said elsewhere in the nation and world about the war—on, for instance, the question of military service. In the January 1918 issue, an unsigned author expressed his (or her?) lament at not being appreciated in "Only a Volunteer." This popular poem appeared in publications and even in diaries, without attribution, throughout the United States in 1917 and 1918.[22] Whoever the poet and whatever the reason for the anonymity, this is a fun, rollicking poem that one can almost hear put to music by Irving Berlin.

Why didn't I wait to be drafted,
And led to the train by a band,
And put in a claim for exemption;
Oh, why did I hold up my hand?
Why didn't I wait for the banquet?
Why didn't I wait to be cheered?
For the drafted men "get the credit"
While I—merely volunteered!

And nobody gave me a banquet
And nobody said a kind word.
The grind of the wheels of the engine
Was all the goodbye that I heard.
Then off to the camp I was mustered
To be trained for the next half year,
And then in the shuffle forgotten—
I was only a volunteer.

And maybe some day in the future
When my little boys sits on my knee
And asks what I did in the conflict
And his little eyes look up to me—
I will have to look back, as in blushing,
To the eyes that so trustingly peer,
And tell him I missed being drafted—
I was only "a volunteer."[23]

This poem sounded familiar to me, and so I compared it to a very similar poem with the same title by one Bertram Dow Titus. Titus's "Only a Volunteer," which seems to have been first printed in 1915, opined that

It must've been great to be drafted
And hear the cheers of the throngs,
And march away from home and friends
'Midst laughter, kissing and songs.
It must've been great to say goodbye
To mother and sweethearts dear.
But I joined the colors and no one knew,
I went as a VOLUNTEER.[24]

This tongue-in-cheek disappointment in volunteering can be understood in light of the general American sentiment of the time. The United States—and a majority of Americans—wanted to stay out of the Great War until the May 1915 sinking of the *Lusitania* and the country's official entrance into the war on April 6, 1917. Volunteers before that time learned the hard way that they did not have the full support or respect of an isolationist America, as did the draftees who came after the U.S. officially joined the Allies in the war. But in England the emphasis was very different: the country was "all-in" from August 4, 1914, and the sooner a man could enlist the better; Sassoon enlisted as events in the summer of 1914 heated up, even before the war started for England. And consequently, poetry in England praised the (earlier-the-better) volunteer, while the waiter, the late-comer was looked on as barely a second-class man. "The Call" by Jessie Pope illustrates this in a cruel interrogation of a naturally hesitant, prospective citizen soldier:

Who's for the trench—
Are you, my laddie?
Who'll follow French—[25]
Will you, my laddie?
Who's fretting to begin,
Who's going out to win?
And who wants to save his skin—
Do you, my laddie?

. . . . . .

Who's keen on getting fit,
Who means to show his grit,
And who'd rather wait a bit—
Would you, my laddie?[26]

Pope's needling of so-called slackers was of a piece with a broader culture that used coercion to encourage recruits, where young women publicly handed white feathers to unenlisted men.[27] By the way, Pope was the "poetess" to whom Wilfred Owen (1893–1918)—who was killed just one week before the Armistice—facetiously dedicated his famous poem "Dulce et Decorum Est," which describes a casualty of a gas attack and cautions noncombatants back home against the easiness of armchair patriotism. Owen's poem ends:

If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs,
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues,—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori.[28]

Englishmen could be just as nasty as Englishwomen in shaming the country's youth into enlisting; witness these two stanzas from Harold Begbie's "Fall In." Begbie struck low from the first punch, hitting on the number one reason any young man should do something he's hesitant to do: girls and sex.

What will you lack, sonny, what will you lack
When the girls line up the street,
Shouting their love to the lads come back
From the foe they rushed to beat?
Will you send a strangled cheer to the sky
And grin till your cheeks are red?
But what will you lack when your mate goes by
With a girl who cuts you dead?

. . . . . .

How will you fare, sonny, how will you fare
In the far-off winter night,
When you sit by the fire in an old man's chair
And your neighbours talk of the fight?
Will you slink away, as it were from a blow,
Your old head shamed and bent?
Or—say I was not with the first to go,
But I went, thank God, I went?[29]

So, the man who eventually joined the fighting men and served might at last be accepted, but the (earlier-the-better) volunteer was admired and praised. British writers explored the relationship between military service and civilian life—before and after war—through another group of poems that compared the drabness of the everyday world with the heroism of war. Herbert Asquith (1881–1947), the son of Herbert Henry Asquith—the Liberal Prime Minister from 1908 to 1916—penned a very good poem entitled "The Volunteer":

Here lies a clerk who half his life had spent
Toiling at ledgers in a city grey,
Thinking that so his days would drift away
With no lance broken in life's tournament:
Yet ever 'twixt the books and his bright eyes
The gleaming eagles of the legions came,
And horsemen, charging under phantom skies,
Went thundering past beneath the oriflamme.

And now those waiting dreams are satisfied;
From twilight to the halls of dawn he went;
His lance is broken; but he lies content
With that high hour, in which he lived and died.
And falling thus he wants no recompense,
Who found his battle in the last resort;
Nor needs he any hearse to bear him hence,
Who goes to join the men of Agincourt.[30]

Where this poem might be read as sentimental, I find it ennobling, for one should remember that almost no one went unaffected by the Great War: the elder Asquith himself, while prime minister, lost a son (Raymond) in the war, as did Rudyard Kipling, and Theodore Roosevelt, to name but a few leaders and luminaries. Kipling (1865–1936) had pulled a few strings to help his near-sighted son John obtain a commission, not wanting "Jack" to miss out on the defining experience of his generation. John Kipling was one of the nearly half-million British dead whose bodies were never recovered. Rudyard Kipling later wrote "Epitaphs of the War, 1914–1918" which included this:

A less-than-subtle recruiting poster that uses Harold Begbie's "Fall In" and accompanying illustrations to convince British men to become soldiers. November 1914. (Courtesy of the First World War Poetry Digital Archive, University of Oxford, GWA_4565_Poem.jpg.)

Ex-Clerk

Pity not! The Army gave
Freedom to a timid slave:
In which Freedom did he find
Strength of body, will, and mind:
By which strength he came to prove
Mirth, Companionship, and Love:
For which Love to Death he went:
In which Death he lies content.[31]

Another unheralded clerk, one H. B. K. Allpass, in "Afterwards," recounted how the war experience overwhelmed everything that came after, while also highlighting the lie that society appreciated and protected its returning "heroes," who instead ended up returning to the war as the only place where they felt they now belonged. Allpass wrote this poem in January 1915, and he was killed in action the following year, 1916.

"My King and Country needed me," to fight
The Prussian's tyranny.
I went and fought, till our assembled might
With a wan triumph had dispersed in flight
At least the initial P.

I came back. In a crowded basement now
I scratch, a junior clerk.
Each day my tried experience must bow
Before the callow boy, whose shameless brow
Usurps my oldtime work.

I had not cared—but that my toil was vain,
But that still raged the strong:
I had not cared—did any good remain.
But now I scratch, and wait for War again,
Nor shall I need to wait long.[32]

Twenty-year-old Vera Brittain, intelligent and well-educated, wanted to assist in the war effort, like other British women—old and young, of all classes. She trained as a nurse and served with the Voluntary Aid Detachment (VAD). Brittain's memoir *Testament of Youth* (1933) is one of the most important works to come out of the Great War. She suffered especially from the war by the loss of several of the young men in her life: a foursome that included her fiancé and brother. Her fiancé Roland Aubrey Leighton was killed just before coming home on Christmas leave, 1915; friend Victor Richardson, who was seriously wounded and effectively blinded in 1917—and whom Vera planned to marry and care for—died later that year. And finally, Vera's older brother, Edward, who was wounded on the first day of the Battle of the Somme (July 1, 1916), was killed in June 1918. In "The Lament of the Demobilised," Brittain reflected on the four years of sacrifice that she and others of her generation made, and the callous, even contemptuous response she received from those who sat out the war:

"Four years," some say consolingly. "Oh well,
What's that? You're young. And then it must have been
A very fine experience for you!"
And they forget
How others stayed behind and just got on—
Got on better since we were away.
And we came home and found
They had achieved, and men revered their names,
But never mentioned ours;
And no one talked heroics now, and we
Must just go back and start again once more.
"You threw four years into the melting-pot—
Did you indeed!" these others cry. "Oh well,
The more fool you!"
And we're beginning to agree with them.[33]

The Great War affected everyone in Britain, even if they were a conscientious objector or a war-profiteer. Meanwhile, in America, the authors in the *Relief Society Magazine* had their own opinions about military service—particularly when it came to sending their sons to battle. Yet in the August 1917 issue, "Enlist Now," by Verona Banks Peterson, turns out to be a call to enlist in the Relief Society and makes the enthusiasm for the war effort into a greater spiritual patriotism for an even larger crusade for hearts and souls.

"Enlist now! Help your country!"
Comes the cry all o'er the land.
Enlist now! Help the needy!
Come join our valiant band.
For the Lord has "White Cross Sisters"
For those wounded in life's fight.

They need your help, or you need theirs
To make life's burden light.
The aid in want, in dire distress,
They feed the mind, help souls progress.
Enlist now! Join this order of the Army of the Lord!
Help spread the Gospel message to the homes that
need His word.

Help clothe the needy children of the armies of the poor.
Help drive the demon "Ignorance" away from every door
Where children dwell. In Zion or abroad throughout the world,
May we find recruiting stations,
May we see our flag unfurled!
The Relief Society needs you!

Can't you hear your conscience call?
There is work for every sister,
Come, enroll now, one and all,
Be a member of this order of the Army of the Lord.
Learn yourself the Gospel message,
Help the Lord to spread His word![34]

"Enlist Now" comes as a rallying cry after three pages of editorializing about what the *Relief Society Magazine* saw as the real dangers facing soldiers: alcohol and prostitution. In response to these fears, the editors reprinted resolutions calling for an absolute standard of "moral sanitation" for the U.S. military and urged women to "link around these soldier boys a chain of loving, daily prayer that shall guard them from ignoble death, unnecessary suffering, and from all uncleanliness." Here was an enlistment in which women could more than participate and that would have effects beyond wartime.[35]

It's not surprising that the poems—even the "war poems"—in the *Relief Society Magazine* would have definite religious, Christian undertones. But this was not unusual for much Great War poetry, even from the most experienced of the soldier poets. A favorite of mine, the not-well-known William Noel Hodgson (1893–1916), often spoke openly in his poems of a spirituality. Hodgson composed his final poem, "Before Action," in the last days of June 1916, leading up the Battle of the Somme. With his death at age twenty-three, Hodgson's desire to be equal to his duty became a kind of prayer:

By all the glories of the day
And the cool evening's benison,
By the last sunset touch that lay
Upon the hills when day was done,
By beauty lavishly outpoured
And blessings carelessly received,
By all the days that I have lived
Make me a soldier, Lord.

He mused on life, all that he had loved but also taken for granted, and the end to it all that was surely coming—and did come for him on July 1, 1916:

I, that on my familiar hill
Saw with uncomprehending eyes
A hundred of Thy sunsets spill
Their fresh and sanguine sacrifice,
Ere the sun swings his noonday sword
Must say good-bye to all of this; —
By all delights that I shall miss,
Help me to die, O Lord.[36]

Siegfried Sassoon wrote "The Redeemer" (which he called "my first front-line poem") during the winter of 1915–1916; it was inspired by going out at night on working and wiring parties to maintain the trenches and barbed wire.[37] In the poem, it is while wallowing in the mud and drizzle of an archetypal nightmarish scene in no man's land—lit with artillery flashes and arching flares—that Sassoon recognizes Christ in the common British soldier: "No thorny crown, only a woollen cap." Then, in classic Sassoon fashion, he ends the poem with a satirical twist:

He faced me, reeling in his weariness,
Shouldering his load of planks, so hard to bear.
I say that He was Christ, who wrought to bless
All groping things with freedom bright as air,
And with His mercy washed and made them fair.
Then the flame sank, and all grew black as pitch,
While we began to struggle along the ditch;
And someone flung his burden in the muck,
Mumbling: "O Christ Almighty, now I'm stuck!"[38]

In a letter to Osbert Sitwell in July 1918, Wilfred Owen also reflected on the Christian symbolism he observed while leading his men, like a New Testament centurion, to the place of a skull:

> For 14 hours yesterday I was at work—teaching Christ to lift his cross by numbers, and how to adjust his crown; and not to imagine he thirst until after the last halt. I attended his supper to see that there were no complaints; and inspected his feet that they should be worthy of the nails. I see to it that he is dumb, and stands at attention before his accusers. With a piece of silver I buy him every day, and with maps I

A "wiring party" of British soldiers rolls unbarbed concertina wire through the mud to the forward area during the Battle of the Somme, September 1916. (Courtesy Library of Congress, LC-DIG-ggbain-24845.)

> make him familiar with the topography of Golgotha.[39]

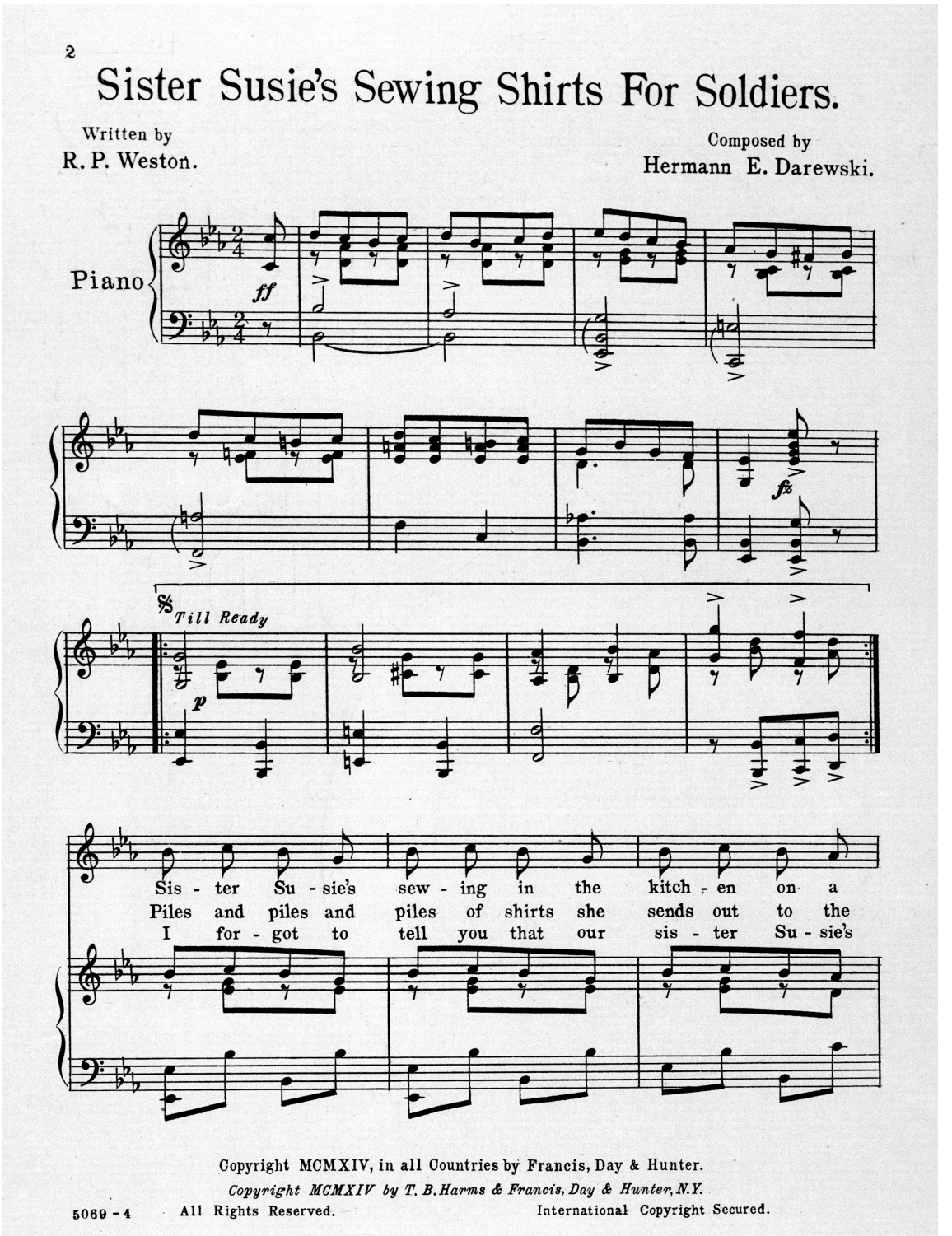
Once again, it was one's proximity to and perspective of the war that made a British soldier write war poetry the war he did and a contributor to the *Relief Society Magazine* write war poetry the way she did. Where the *Relief Society Magazine* used the language of war to "enlist" its readers in the cause of Christianity, the British Great War poets saw the figure of a suffering Christ in the persons of beaten-down soldiers.

On the other hand, as we've seen, British war poets often employed humor (sometimes black humor) in their poems to highlight the inanity and insanity of the war. Likewise, poets in the *Relief Society Magazine* seemed as willing to joke a bit (remember "Only a Volunteer"). Coming immediately after the anonymously authored "Only a Volunteer" in the January 1918 issue, is a short, one-stanza poem (once again anonymous) entitled "Note Returned to a Utah Girl From Army Front":

> I want to thank you for the socks you knit,
> But sorry to say they do not fit.
> Wear one for a scarf and one for a mitt,
> Where in the world did you learn to knit?[40]

Is this author another incognito Relief Society sister (acting just like a man) and having a little fun? Even poking fun at other women? It makes one wonder. Anything was possible with an editor like Susa Young Gates.[41] This little poem is squarely in the tradition of soldier's lighthearted complaints to well-meaning girls back home, the most famous WWI example probably being the tongue-twister "Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers" (1914).[42] Here's an excerpt:

> Piles and piles and piles of shirts she sends out to the soldiers,
> And sailors won't be jealous when they see them,
> Not at all.



Excerpt from the sheet music for "Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers," written by R. P. Weston and composed by Hermann E. Darewski. (New York: T. B. Harms and Francis, Day and Hunter, 1914. Courtesy Library of Congress, 19/1291.)

And when we say her stitching will set all the soldiers itching,
She says our soldiers fight best when their back's against the wall.

But even more particularly, American poet E. E. Cummings (1894–1962) once had something to say about "knitters." Cummings, who drove an ambulance during the Great War and was also arrested for protesting the war, wrote in his famous 1923 poem "The Cambridge Ladies,"

the Cambridge ladies who live in furnished souls
are unbeautiful and have comfortable minds . . .
are invariably interested in so many things —
at the present writing one still finds
delighted fingers knitting for the is it Poles?[43]

Nervous knitting constituted a popular theme—or at least image—in poems from the Great War in part because knitting represented one method women used to assist with the war and comfort soldiers. Just so, it can be seen as emblematic of the fraught position of women in a total war. "Socks," by Englishwoman Jessie Pope, has the speaker knitting feverishly away at socks for someone at the front and exemplifies this tension:

Shining pins that dart and click
In the fireside's sheltered peace
Check the thoughts that cluster thick—
20 plain and then decrease.

He was brave—well, so was I—
Keen and merry, but his lip
Quivered when he said good-bye—
Purl the seam-stitch, purl and slip.

Never used to living rough,
Lots of things he'd got to learn;
Wonder if he's warm enough—
Knit 2, catch 2, knit 1, turn.

Hark! The paper-boys again!
Wish that shout could be suppressed;
Keeps one always on the strain—
Knit off 9, and slip the rest.

Wonder if he's fighting now,
What he's done an' where he's been;
He'll come out on top, somehow—
Slip 1, knit 2, purl 14.[44]

A group of young women, members of a Red Cross unit, sit on a University of Utah lawn, knitting for the war effort, 1918. (Utah State Historical Society, photo no. 7241.)

The poem at first seems motherly, but on closer examination it's also irritated and almost incensed, competitive: "He was brave—well, so was I." Is the speaker really worried about the soldier or does she want to get in there and do the fighting herself? Perhaps both? This tangle might well have been the predicament that many women faced during the Great War.[45]

Sassoon's satirically titled "Glory of Women" (1917) also chews on the question of a woman's role in a (seemingly) man's war:

> You love us when we're heroes, home on leave,
> Or wounded in a mentionable place.
> You worship decorations; you believe
> That chivalry redeems the war's disgrace.
> You make us shells. You listen with delight,
> By tales of dirt and danger fondly thrilled.
> You crown our distant ardours while we fight,
> And mourn our laurelled memories when we're killed.
> You can't believe that British troops "retire"
> When hell's last horror breaks them, and they run,
> Trampling the terrible corpses—blind with blood.
> O German mother dreaming by the fire,
> While you are knitting socks to send your son
> His face is trodden deeper in the mud.[46]

While Sassoon disparaged the adulation of women back at home as unconnected to the reality, the horrors of trench warfare, *Relief Society Magazine* authors had an entirely different take on how a woman might perceive the war and aid the cause.[47]

For the November 1918 number of the *Relief Society Magazine,* Sarah Ahlstrom Nelson wrote a short story and accompanying poem that illustrated this point. "Aunt Jane's Thanksgiving" tells the story of one Amanda Jane Ashton, a good woman and widow known to all as Aunt Jane, and the most important thing in her life, her son Jimmy. As Jimmy comes of age, the clouds of the Great War gather, and (against her wishes) Jimmy answers the call. One day his faithful, regular letters stop, and Aunt Jane fears the worst. On Thanksgiving Day, at her nadir of worry and anxiety, a deserter is apprehended at her doorstep by an ashamed father (and proud veteran of the American Civil War). Aunt Jane experiences a sort of epiphany as her perspective changes and pride in her son's dutiful sacrifice replaces the grief of his loss. Just then a long overdue letter arrives from Jimmy, along with an invitation to come to Thanksgiving dinner. Then follows the poem "Letters":

> If you have a soldier laddie
> In the ranks, on land or sea,
> Fighting for the Starry Banner
> And the cause of liberty,
> Let the messages you send him
> Carry words of hope and cheer;
> Try to do your part as nobly
> As the lad you hold so dear.
>
> If you have a soldier brother,
> Friend or dear one "over there,"
> Sit not down to useless grieving,
> This is no time for despair;
> Gird your soul with strength and courage,
> Send him words of hope and cheer,
> Try to be as brave a soldier
> As the one you hold so dear.[48]

With this, Nelson argued that a mother's contribution to the war effort was not only sending her son but also girding him up with her own strength of character. "The Prayer of a Mother" by Leah Brown similarly put faith in the power of a mother's love to transcend distance and violence and bring her son home safe:

> 'Twas the prayer of mother saved him,
> The babe on mother's knee,
> From the care and toils of baby-land,
> That only babies see.
>
> 'Twas the prayer of mother saved him,
> The boy at death's dark gate,
> And brought him back to baby-land—
> A mother's prayer and faith.
>
> Then 'twas the faith of mother
> That bade him at her chair,
> To kneel and ask protection
> In humble, childlike prayer.
>
> If a mother's prayer may save him
> While at the mother's knee,
> So has it now that power
> On distant land or sea.[49]

Brown's description of a woman shepherding her son through the perils of life fit solidly with one of the chief images employed by cultural

commentators and government propagandists in WWI to enlist the support of women: that of the brave and righteous mother, raising (and even sacrificing) sons for the good of the nation.[50]

Likewise, *Relief Society Magazine* contributors such as L. Lula Greene Richards wrote of the soldiers' return from a much different perspective than the British poets. By the 1910s, Richards had written for and edited Utah and LDS publications for decades, with a body of work that reflected both practicality and religiosity.[51] In her 1919 poem "The Home Coming," Richards described the glorious reunion of soldiers with their loved ones, as well as the overarching need for divine assistance (the poem begins with a quotation from the Beatitudes):

> *"Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted."*
>
> Hark! the sound of returning steps we hear,
> And in it the ring of victory's cheer.
> Our soldiers, our heroes, are coming home
> From battle front, over the ocean's foam.
> In the cause of liberty, truth and right
> They bravely enlisted, and won the fight;
> But—Lord, Thou gavest them the power divine—
> The honor, the triumph, the praise are Thine,
> And humbly and gratefully they return
> To loved ones, still praying, whose hearts still yearn.
> They have given answer to freedom's call,
> And they come—they come—but they come not all!
>
> Now, oh, Thou Beloved! Who was lifted up
> And drank to the dregs that bitter cup—
> Thou art the great Comforter, be Thou near
> The lonely bereft ones to soothe and cheer.
> Make easy the yoke, and their burdens light—
> Theirs have but followed with Thee in the fight,
> As oft to the faithful Thou didst appear,
> Let these feel the joy of their loved ones near.
> Cut short Thy work, and may all who must wait
> Feel that even now they participate,
> And draw from the measureless source above
> The glory of Faith and the strength of Love.[52]

Here again, British war poets had the experience of warfare "over there" rather than one of engaged observation from afar, and Sassoon's poem "They" (1916) paints a different picture than Richards' first stanza of the returning "heroes":

> The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back
> "They will not be the same; for they'll have fought
> In a just cause: they lead the last attack
> on Anti-Christ; their comrades' blood has bought
> New right to breed an honourable race,
> They have challenged Death and dared him face to face."
>
> "We're none of us the same!" the boys reply.
> "For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind;
> Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;
> And Bert's gone syphilitic: you'll not find
> A chap who's served that hasn't found some change."
> And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange!"[53]

The second stanza of "The Home Coming"—the suffering and loss of the war healed by Christ's grace—can be contrasted against Charles Sorley's "When You See Millions of the Mouthless Dead." Sorley (1895–1915), a twenty-year-old captain when he was killed at the fiasco that was the Battle of Loos, was considered by Robert Graves to be one of the three great poets lost in the war: the other two being Wilfred Owen and Isaac Rosenberg.[54]

> When you see millions of the mouthless dead
> Across your dreams in pale battalions go,
> Say not soft things as other men have said,
> That you'll remember. For you need not so.
> Give them not praise. For, deaf, how should they know
> It is not curses heaped on each gashed head?
> Nor tears. Their blind eyes see not your tears flow.
> Nor honour. It is easy to be dead.
> Say only this, "They are dead." Then add thereto,
> "Yet many a better one has died before."
> Then, scanning all the o'ercrowded mass, should you
> Perceive one face that you loved heretofore,
> It is a spook. None wears the face you knew.
> Great death has made all his for evermore.[55]

For Richards, Christ's suffering and subsequent empathy wipe away all tears and make a joyous home coming possible, even assured. Conversely, Sorely is overwhelmed by the scale of death on the Western Front: for Sorely, Death has swallowed up faith and become the new god.

When it came to the subject of reconciliation after the war, the *Relief Society Magazine* poets and their British counterparts could, appropriately, agree a little more—but with the *Relief Society* writers insisting on the need for heavenly assistance. Sorley, who had studied in Germany

before the war, saw clearly the pride and ignorance (the blind leading the blind) that had lead both sides to war, and predicted that one day in the future the combatants would join hands again. In, "To Germany," he wrote,

> You are blind like us. Your hurt no man designed,
> . . . . . .
> When it is peace, then we may view again
> With new-won eyes each other's truer form
> And wonder. Grown more loving-kind and warm
> We'll grasp firm hands and laugh at the old pain,
> When it is peace. But until peace, the storm
> The darkness and the thunder and the rain.[56]

With "A Prayer For the Nations," Annie G. Lauritzen also saw Sorley's reconciliation between nations as still possible but only with God's help:

> Great God of the hosts of Israel,
> Look down in much mercy I pray,
> Relieve thou the war-ridden nations,
> O, lead them back into thy way.
>
> O, soften their hearts by the power
> Of thy Holy Spirit divine,
> Bring them back from the death traps of error,
> By a Father's deep love that is thine.
>
> Lead them back from the wild desolation;
> From horrors of war set earth free;
> Bid men turn back from following Satan,
> And teach them to come unto thee.
>
> O, soften their hearts by the Spirit,
> No more thy blest precepts to spurn;
> That celestial joys they may inherit;
> When to heaven and thee they return.[57]

Maud Baggarley's "Humanity's Song," while not mentioning the war by name, similarly pleaded for world peace in this first stanza:

> From the tops of the mountains,
> Circling all the world around,
> We cry unto our brothers,
> Whom the tie of flesh hath bound,
> To behold a higher vision
> That shall set all mankind free
> To dwell in peace together
> And in perfect unity.[58]

Baggerly's poem, which was published in December 1918, carries with it extra poignancy because she, too, was likely a casualty of the broad, deadly reach of the Great War. Baggerly wrote prolifically for the *Relief Society Magazine* and other Mormon publications throughout the 1910s on themes of motherhood, strength found in God, and the natural world. Then, in November 1918, she died of acute pneumonia and dilation of the heart following the funeral of her mother and sister: clues that Baggerly's death was one of the many associated with the Spanish influenza epidemic that grew out of the war.[59]

Depending on their perspective and proximity, their exposure and experience, British and American (and Utah) men and women authors wrote poems about the Great War that were bombastic and honest, supportive and condemning, tragic and funny, sacred and irreverent, whimsical and heartbreaking. But, as Sassoon reminds us: "War's a bloody game," and sometimes a poem exists to give voice to those who were silenced.[60] In "Suicide in the Trenches," Sassoon left the satire and punch lines behind—he's no longer interested in sparing feelings or being clever—and told it straight, so that no one will misunderstand or get sidetracked by humor. His message was that this is what war does to the individual, and also: part of that war guilt belongs to you, comfortable citizens back home:

> I knew a simple soldier boy
> Who grinned at life in empty joy,
> Slept soundly through the lonesome dark,
> And whistled early with the lark.
>
> In winter trenches, cowed and glum,
> With crumps and lice and lack of rum,
> He put a bullet through his brain.
> No one spoke of him again.
>
> You smug-faced crowds with kindling eye
> Who cheer when soldier lads march by,
> Sneak home and pray you'll never know
> The hell where youth and laughter go.[61]

So, what was a supportive noncombatant to do? I think Sarah Ahlstrom Nelson, in "Letters," had the answer: "Try to do your part as nobly . . . / Try to be as brave a soldier / As the one

you hold so dear."[62] Wilfred Owen once wrote to Sassoon that "I don't want to write anything to which a soldier would say *No Compris!*"[63] That is, "I don't understand, I don't get it." He didn't want to be phony. The women writing in the *Relief Society Magazine* also tried not to be phony. They avoided jingoism and Hun-bashing, and, in large part, shaming the enlistment-indecisive or conscientious objectors—figuratively handing out white feathers. Still, tension between the perspectives of male, British poets who fought on the front with those of women whose participation in the war effort was generally supportive cannot be ignored: they didn't agree, but it wasn't personal, it was experiential. Each was writing in a kind of vacuum, far removed from the other, and when their poems are examined side-by-side, each presents a different world view. But I believe that Nelson bridged the divide and spoke for a generation of LDS and Utah women dealing with the Great War when she balanced patriotism and stoicism in her straightforward message: "Try to be as brave." To this, perhaps, the Great War poet and front line soldiers could say "compris."

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Web Extra

Visit history.utah.gov/uhqextras to read the full text of the poems Means discusses in this article.

Notes

1 See, for instance, Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier" for patriotism; Siegfried Sassoon's "They" and "The One-Legged Man" for black humor; and Wilfred Owen's "Dulce et Decorum Est" and Isaac Rosenberg's "Dead Man's Dump," for vivid depictions of war.

2 Robert Graves, *Poems about War* (London: Cassell, 1988), 53.

3 John Milton, "On His Blindness," *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, Cambridge ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1899), 77.

4 L. Lula Greene Richards, "The Home Coming," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1919, 39.

5 Mrs. Parley Nelson, "To the Departed Year 1918," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1919, 23. Nelson's poem follows a short piece by Mary Foster Gibbs (on pp. 22–23) about the merits and possibility of General John J. Pershing (commander of the American Expeditionary Force on the Western Front, 1917–1918) becoming the next president of the United. The piece included stories told to the writer by LDS apostle Anthony W. Ivins, who met Pershing during the fight between U.S. troops with Pancho Villa in Mexico.

6 During 1914, the magazine was called by its original name, *Relief Society Bulletin*. In 1915 the name was changed to *Relief Society Magazine*, which it was known by until it ceased publication in December 1970. Susa Young Gates was the magazine's first editor, from 1915–1922.

7 By 1925 the *Relief Society Magazine* was already publishing studies of Great War poetry, with "American Poets and the World War" (*Relief Society Magazine*, October 1925, 554–58). This study appeared in "Guide Lessons for December," which included other lessons on "Theology and Testimony" (550–53), "Work and Business" (553), and "Social Service" (558–61). It was by far the longest of any of the lessons. Three American poets—two of whom were killed in the war—were surveyed. The first is Joyce Kilmer (1886–1918), the author of "Trees," first published in 1913: "I think that I shall never see / A poem lovely as a tree." It's noteworthy and typical that an "answering" poem to Kilmer's "Trees"—written to honor Kilmer—is also included. Written by one Mr. Irving Clarke of Massachusetts, this answering, echoing poem begins, "I think that I shall never scan / A tree so lovely as a man." Kilmer's poem "In Memory of Rupert Brooke" was also included. The second poet was Alan Seeger (1888–1916), who was killed on July 4, 1916, while fighting with the French Foreign Legion in the first days of the Battle of the Somme. Among Seeger's poems mentioned is the famous "I Have a Rendezvous with Death." The third poet surveyed was Charles Divine (1889–1950); the *Relief Society Magazine* lists his birth year as 1899, which would've made him a teenager during the war. A former newspaperman turned private in the U.S. Army, Charles Divine was especially noteworthy because he certainly did not fit the model, the stereotype of the Byronic Great War soldier-poet (as did Seeger, Brooke, et al). Divine was part of the "sanitary troops," and his homely verse-sketches of rear-area (no pun intended) Army life were perfectly juxtaposed against the loftier poems of Kilmer and Seeger: "Joyce Kilmer and Alan Seeger wrote of the great sacrifice. Charles Divine of actual soldier life" (557). Even in 1925, the *Relief Society Magazine* was admirably seeking to stay up with literary trends and tastes. After the four lessons appeared a poem entitled "Love Patriotism" by Susan Coolidge (p. 561), who declared that private virtue and good example are the best ways to show patriotism: "He serves his country best / Who lives pure life, and doeth righteous deed."

8 When reading novels and short stories, we understand that the author and the speaker are probably not the same person; they almost never are. But when it comes to poetry, especially when spoken in first person, we quickly (and perhaps too easily) assume that the author and the speaker are the same. However, for this comparison, I'm going to assume just that: the speaker in the poem and the author are one in the same. War poetry in general, and poetry from the Great War in particular—especially when it is immediate and personal—is a kind of creative nonfiction: an account of some real event or impression or the author's personal declaration. Even the "characters" infrequently employed in Great War poetry are simply mouthpieces for the authors to express their own feelings.

9 Joseph Hunt Stanford, "To a Lark," *Relief Society Magazine*, October 1919, 584.

10 Carl Byker, David Mrazek, Blaine Baggett, J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the Shaping of the Twentieth Century*, vol. 2, "Stalemate" (Alexandria, VA: PBS Video, 1996). Paul Fussell's interview and comments are at approximately 45:47–45:57 in the program.

11 John McCrae, "In Flanders Fields," *In Flanders Fields and Other Poems* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1919), 3.

12 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 248–50.

13 Isaac Rosenberg, "Break of Day in the Trenches," *The Collected Poems of Isaac Rosenberg* (New York: Schocken Books, 1949), 73.

14 "Armistice Hymn," *Relief Society Magazine*, November 1925, 563.

15 *Mormon Literature and Creative Arts,* s.v. "Sarah Ahlstrom Nelson," accessed July 27, 2018, mormonarts.lib.byu.edu; *Tenth Biennial Report of the Idaho State Library Commission, For the Years 1919–1920* (Boise: Strawn, 1920), 30; 1900 U.S. Census, Manti, Sanpete County, Utah, sheet 1A, family 10, Sarah Ahlstrom, digital image, accessed July 6, 2018), familysearch.org; *Idaho Death Certificates, 1911–1937*, s.v. "Sarah Ahlstrom," Letha Nelson death certificate, May 12, 1933, accessed July 6, 2018, familysearch.org; "The Propaganda for Reform," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 72, no. 21 (May 24, 1919): 1561.

16 Mrs. Parley Nelson, "Thanksgiving Memories," *Relief Society Magazine* 7, no. 11 (November 1920), 621; see also Ardis E. Parshall, "Thanksgiving Memories," *Keepapitchinin*, accessed July 27, 2018, keepapitchin.org.

17 Rupert Brooke, "War Sonnet V: The Soldier," from "Poems of 1914," *The Collected Poems of Rupert Brooke* (New York: John Lane, 1916), 111.

18 Mrs. Maud C. Oliver, "Lines to Sister Rowena M. Whipple, In memory of the death of her Soldier Son, on July 20, 1918," *Relief Society Magazine*, October 1918, 549.

19 Erich Maria Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, trans. A. W. Wheen (Boston: Little, Brown, 1929), 156–57.

20 Siegfried Sassoon, "The Hero," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 49.

21 Roberta Flake Clayton, Catherine H. Ellis, and David F. Boone, *Pioneer Women of Arizona*, 2nd ed. (Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, and Deseret Book, 2017), 788–92; *Officers and Enlisted Men of the United States Navy Who Lost Their Lives during the World War, from April 6, 1917 to November 11, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), 773; "Rowena M'Fate Whipple of Show Low, Arizona," *Relief Society Magazine* (1918), 402; W. M. Hauslee, F. G. Howe, and A. C. Doyle, comp., *Soldiers of the Great War*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Soldiers Record Publishing Association, 1920), 101, 227–28; *U.S. World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918*, s.v. "William Mickle Whipple," accessed July 27, 2018, familysearch.org.

22 Jennifer D. Keene, *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 15; "Only a Volunteer," *Oregon Voter*, November 24, 1917, 26; "Only a Volunteer," *Boston Sunday Post*, January 13, 1918, 42; Hugo A. Hap Gruenberg, Diary, 1–2, identifier 1991-008.1, digital work, McFarlin Library, Department of Special Collections and University Archives Repository, University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Oklahoma; "Just a Volunteer," *Watertown (CN) News*, December 1, 1917, 8; "The Navy and the Draft," *Our Navy, the Standard Publication of the U.S. Navy* 12, no. 4 (August 1918): 57.

23 "Only a Volunteer," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1918, 29.

24 Bertram Dow Titus, "Only a Volunteer," *Only a Volunteer and Other Poems* (Douglas, AZ: International Publishing, 1919), 5–6. "Only a Volunteer" seems to have been first published in 1915 (with possible reprints in 1916). It's noteworthy that Titus proudly identifies himself in "Only a Volunteer" as one of the "Yankees," when a few pages further on in the collection (p. 14), his poem "Dixie Land, I Love You," anxiously looks forward to returning home—down South—after the Great War is over, where he will settle down with his sweetheart and never roam again. Further on, in "Maple Leaves" (p. 20), Titus reflects on his first, true, childhood home: Canada, where (once again) his sweetheart is waiting for him. (A 1921 oath of allegiance exists for Titus, who had emigrated from his home country of Canada in 1906.) Apparently, Titus had some choices to make. *Massachusetts, Death Index, 1901–1980*, s.v. "Bertram Dow Titus," Oath of Allegiance, March 7, 1921, accessed August 10, 2018, ancestry.com.

25 General Sir John French, commander of the British Expeditionary Force until late 1915, asked to resign after the Battle of Loos.

26 Jessie Pope, "The Call," *Scars Upon My Heart: Women's Poetry and Verse of the First World War*, ed. Catherine Reilly (London: Virago, 1981), 88.

27 Nicoletta F. Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons": Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), ch. 4.

28 Wilfred Owen, "Dulce et Decorum Est," *The Poems of Wilfred Owen*, ed. John Stallworthy (New York: W. W. Norton, 1986), 117–18.

29 Harold Begbie, "Fall In," *Never Such Innocence: A New Anthology of Great War Verse*, ed. Martin Stephen (London: Buchan and Enright, 1988), 71.

30 Herbert Asquith, "The Volunteer," *A Treasury of War Poetry: British and American Poems of the World War, 1914–1917*, ed. George Herbert Clarke (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917).

31 Rudyard Kipling, "Ex-Clerk," from "Epitaphs of the War," *Rudyard Kipling's Verse, Inclusive Edition, 1885–1932* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1938), 443.

32 H. B. K. Allpass, "Afterwards," *Never Such Innocence*, 326–27.

33 Vera Brittain, "The Lament of the Demobilised," *Scars Upon My Heart*, 14.

34 Verona Banks Peterson, "Enlist Now," *Relief Society Magazine*, August 1917, 464.

35 "The Battle Is On," *Relief Society Magazine*, August 1917, 462, 463.

36 Jack Medomsley, *William Noel Hodgson: The Gentle Poet* (Durham, England: Mel Publications, 1989), 140–41.

37 Siegfried Sassoon, "The Redeemer," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 16–17.

38 Ibid.

39 Wilfred Owen to Osbert Sitwell, July 1918, *Wilfred Owen Collected Letters*, ed. Harold Owen and John Bell (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 561–62.

40 "Note Returned to a Utah Girl from Army Front," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1918, 29.

41 The *Relief Society Magazine* holds surprises: just a few pages before to "Only a Volunteer" and "Note Returned

to a Utah Girl from Army Front" (on p. 22), appear these two anonymous, tongue-in-cheek gems of homespun wisdom to make up the space on the page: "Let us be thankful for the fools. But for them, the rest of us could not succeed." And, "Few things are harder to put up with than the annoyance of a good example."

42 Hermann Darewski and R. P. Weston, "Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts for Soldiers" (New York: T. B. Harms and Francis, Day and Hunter, 1914).

43 E. E. Cummings, "The Cambridge Ladies," *E. E. Cummings, the Complete Poems: 1913–1962* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972), 70.

44 Jessie Pope, "Socks," *Scars Upon My Heart*, 89–90.

45 For the great complexity of gender relations during the war, see Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons*, and Susan R. Grayzel and Tammy M. Proctor, eds., *Gender and the Great War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

46 Siegfried Sassoon, "Glory of Women," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 100.

47 Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons,"* 213, n. 74.

48 Mrs. Parley Nelson, "Aunt Jane's Thanksgiving" and "Letters," *Relief Society Magazine*, November 1918, 618–24.

49 Leah Brown, "The Prayer of a Mother," *Relief Society Magazine*, August 1918, 468.

50 Gullace, *"The Blood of Our Sons,"* 55–69.

51 Sherilyn Cox Bennion, "Lula Greene Richards: Utah's First Woman Editor," *BYU Studies* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1981): 3; *Mormon Literature and Creative Arts*, s.v. "Lula Greene Richards," accessed July 27, 2018, mormonarts.lib.byu.edu.

52 L. Lula Greene Richards, "The Home Coming," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1919, 39.

53 Siegfried Sassoon, "They," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 57.

54 Robert Graves, *Good-bye to All That* (New York: Anchor Books, 1998), 169.

55 Charles Sorley, "When You See Millions of the Mouthless Dead," in Jean Moorcroft Wilson, *Charles Hamilton Sorley: A Biography* (London: Cecil Woolf, 1985), 202.

56 Charles Sorley, "To Germany," *Charles Hamilton Sorley*, 168.

57 Annie G. Lauritzen, "A Prayer for the Nations," *Relief Society Magazine*, August 1918, 441. Both Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen wrote of reconciliation with the enemy on a one-to-one level. Sassoon's "Reconciliation" (November 1918, in *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 136) invites those who have lost loved ones in the war to consider the mirror grief and suffering on the other side. Sassoon's "Enemies" (January 6, 1917, in *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 66) imagines two dead soldiers, once enemies, meeting "in some queer sunless place / Where Armageddon ends" to find no hatred between them. Likewise, in Wilfred Owen's famous poem "Strange Meeting" (1917–1918, in *The Poems of*, 125–26), two dead soldiers, once enemies, wake and encounter one another: "I am the enemy you killed, my friend."

58 Maud Baggarley, "Humanity's Song," *Relief Society Magazine*, December 1918, 657.

59 *Mormon Literature and Creative Arts*, s.v. "Maud Baggarley," accessed July 27, 2018, mormonarts.lib.byu.edu; Catherine A. Brekus, ed., *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past* (Greensboro: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 204, n. 49; Grace Ingles Frost, "My Friend, Maud Ellen Baggarley," *Relief Society Magazine*, January 1919, 1, and "Maud Baggarley," *Improvement Era*, September 1921, 1020–21; *Utah, Salt Lake County Death Records, 1849–1949*, s.v. "Maud Ellen McKean," November 29, 1918, accessed August 1, 2018, familysearch.org; "10,000 Flu Cases in Yakima County," *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA), December 1, 1918, 11.

60 Siegfried Sassoon, "Aftermath," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 143.

61 Siegfried Sassoon, "Suicide in the Trenches," *Siegfried Sassoon, the War Poems*, 119.

62 Mrs. Parley Nelson, "Letters," *Relief Society Magazine*, November 1918, 624.

63 Wilfred Owen, *The Poems of Wilfred Owen* (New York: Viking, 1931), 125.

This photograph of Chaplain Calvin S. Smith was taken shortly after the war's end. It is addressed "To Mother." (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

CALVIN S. SMITH
"UTAH'S FIGHTING CHAPLAIN"

BY KENNETH L. ALFORD

Calvin S. Smith (1890–1966) of Salt Lake City, Utah, was one of the 4.5 million Americans who served in uniform during the First World War—"the war to end all wars."[1] Popularly known as "Utah's fighting chaplain," his story is unique.[2] Humble and unassuming, Smith was raised in a polygamous household, and his father became president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. While the circumstances of his early life merit attention, Smith's dedication to his fellow soldiers—living, wounded, and dead—is also a story worth telling.

Calvin Smith was born in Utah Territory, six years before Utah received statehood. His father, Joseph F. Smith (1838–1918), was an apostle and second counselor in the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. His mother, Mary Taylor Schwartz (1865–1956), was Joseph's sixth and last wife. Calvin had forty-seven siblings. Called in 1910 as a Mormon missionary to the French-German Mission, Smith served two-and-a-half years in Germany, living in Hamburg, Chemnitz, Freiburg, Lebach, and Hannover.[3] He grew to respect the people and learned to speak German and French—skills that would serve him well when he returned to Europe five years later as an Army chaplain.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Prussian diplomat Otto von Bismarck predicted that "one day the great European war [would] come out of some damned foolish thing in the Balkans."[4] After decades of international tension fueled by nationalism, Europe found itself enmeshed in a complex network of mutual defense agreements likely to escalate even a minor conflict into a general war. The match that ignited the conflagration known as World War I (1914–1918) was the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, in Sarajevo, Serbia, on June 29, 1914. A month later, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia. In rapid succession, the major European powers mobilized their armed forces to meet their respective treaty obligations or to protect themselves, allying Great Britain, France, and Russia (the Allies) against

Germany and Austria-Hungary (the Central Powers). The conflict became international in character when non-European powers entered the fray: notably, Japan and the United States on the side of the Allies and Turkey on the side of the Central Powers.[5] Before the war's end four years later, over 59 million men had been mobilized in more than fifty countries, and tens of millions of soldiers and civilians had died.[6] The world war began one year after Smith completed his missionary service.

The United States declared its neutrality on August 4, 1914, and during the next three years endured a series of challenges to that position, including the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915, the sinking of the *Sussex* in 1916, the Zimmermann telegram in January 1917, and Germany's declaration in January 1917 regarding unrestricted submarine warfare on the open seas, followed by the sinking of the *Laconia* and three American steamships—the *Illinois,* the *Memphis,* and the *Vigilance*—shortly thereafter.[7] American neutrality ended on April 6, 1917, when the United States declared war on Germany.[8]

President Joseph F. Smith set the tone for the Mormon church's response to the war. During the April 1917 general church conference, he declared, "Let the soldiers that go out from Utah be and remain men of honor. And when they are called obey the call, and manfully meet the duty, the dangers, or the labor, that may be required of them . . . with an eye single to the accomplishment of the good that is aimed to be accomplished, and not with the bloodthirsty desire to kill and to destroy."[9] Regarding America's declaration of war, Calvin said, "We all drew lots to see who was going into the war and wasn't going into the war. I was labeled 4-F. I didn't think I would have any chance of getting into the war."[10] He married his sweetheart, Lucile Dimond , on September 28, 1917, unaware that he would soon be called to military service.[11]

One meaningful way for religious denominations to support the nation and its soldiers was to provide military chaplains.[12] General John J. Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force, observed that chaplains "are very important influences in the highest efficiency of the army. The men need them for all kinds of help. They sustain the men especially at the most critical times."[13] World War I (WWI) marked the first time the United States government invited the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to provide military chaplains, a practice that continues to this day.[14] The church received an invitation to fill three chaplain positions.[15]Joseph F. Smith and other senior church leaders wanted to ensure that each appointee would represent their church well. They selected Herbert B. Maw, a future governor of Utah, whose father was a close friend of senior church leaders; Brigham H. Roberts, a church general authority who was over sixty years old; and President Smith's son, Calvin, who was teaching college English in Salt Lake City.[16]

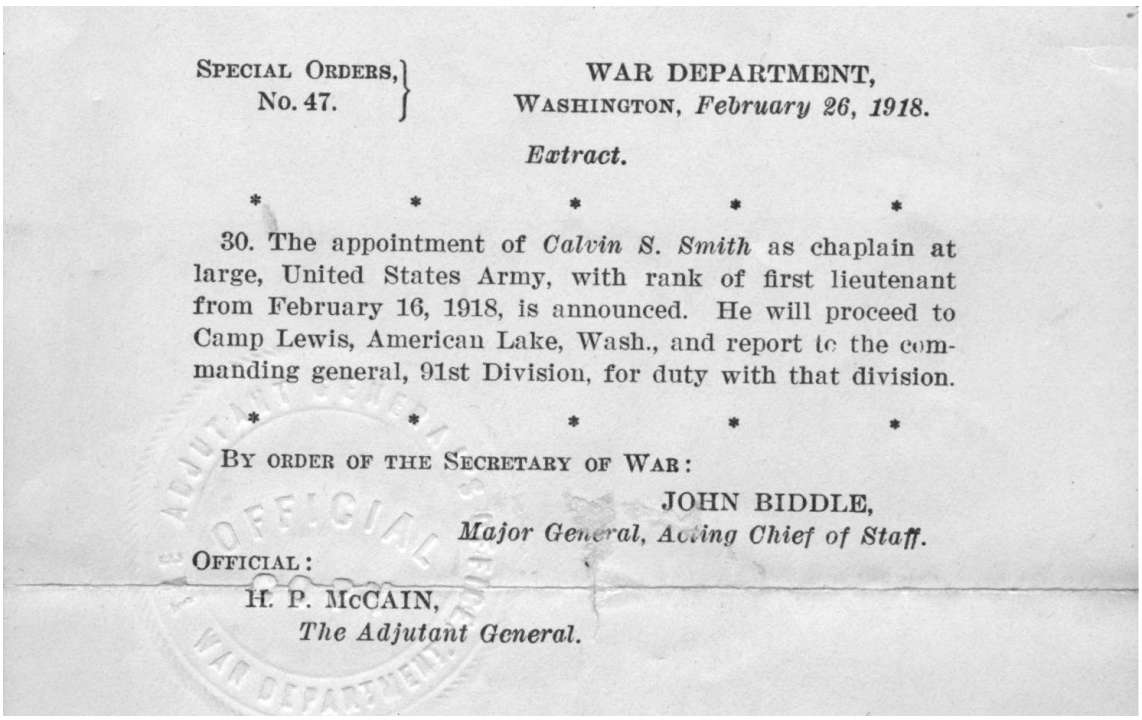
Lucile Dimond Smith, as pictured in the 1920s. She married Calvin Smith in September 1917, just six months before he began serving as an Army chaplain. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

A 1918 military history noted that "requirements at Washington D.C. for chaplains are rigid, and a local army board passes besides, upon their personality and ability to deal with men."[17] The church notified the War Department regarding Smith's selection on January

5, 1918. Smith was directed to appear before a chaplain examination board at Fort Douglas, Utah. The board determined he was qualified to become a chaplain on February 7, 1918, and it recommended to higher authority that he be commissioned as such.

The War Department issued Special Orders No. 47 on February 26, 1918, announcing the "appointment of *Calvin S. Smith* as chaplain at large, United States Army, with rank of first lieutenant." Smith received a telegram from the Army the same day notifying him of his appointment as an officer and chaplain and ordering him to report to Camp Lewis at American Lake, Washington. The newly appointed lieutenant wired his acceptance to Washington, D.C., and left for Camp Lewis the following day.[18] Regarding his call to serve as a chaplain, Smith said, "If I'd have had my own choice of a position in the Army, it wouldn't have been [as a] chaplain." He was concerned that he "had no training whatever" and "didn't know what was expected of a chaplain. I got a book which explained the duties of a chaplain and among the duties was taking care of the post office and the post exchange, the selling and buying of goods for the organization, and taking care of the recreation."[19]

Upon reporting to Camp Lewis, Chaplain Smith was assigned as one of ten chaplains in the Ninety-First Infantry Division—the Wild West Division—which was composed of soldiers from Utah, Idaho, Montana, Washington, Oregon, Alaska, and northern California. "All Utah men inducted into the service through selective enrollment [the draft] were sent to this camp for training."[20] Smith's appointment as an at-large chaplain meant that he was to "look after the members of the LDS Church in the division as a whole."[21] (A WWI division could contain up to 28,000 men.) "The work of the chaplain," Smith noted, "was not alone in the realm of religion, but meant looking after such work as education, recreation, athletics, illness, mail and canteen service."[22] Having received no formal chaplaincy training, he explained that "[I] had to find my own way. Because of that, I acquired a good dose of ulcer. I thought that I would have to be operated on. But, fortunately, that ulcer cleared up."[23] Hard working and enthusiastic, Smith quickly figured out how to be useful.



SPECIAL ORDERS,
No. 47.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, *February 26, 1918.*

Extract.

* * * * *

30. The appointment of *Calvin S. Smith* as chaplain at large, United States Army, with rank of first lieutenant from February 16, 1918, is announced. He will proceed to Camp Lewis, American Lake, Wash., and report to the commanding general, 91st Division, for duty with that division.

* * * * *

BY ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

JOHN BIDDLE,
Major General, Acting Chief of Staff.

OFFICIAL:

H. P. McCAIN,
The Adjutant General.

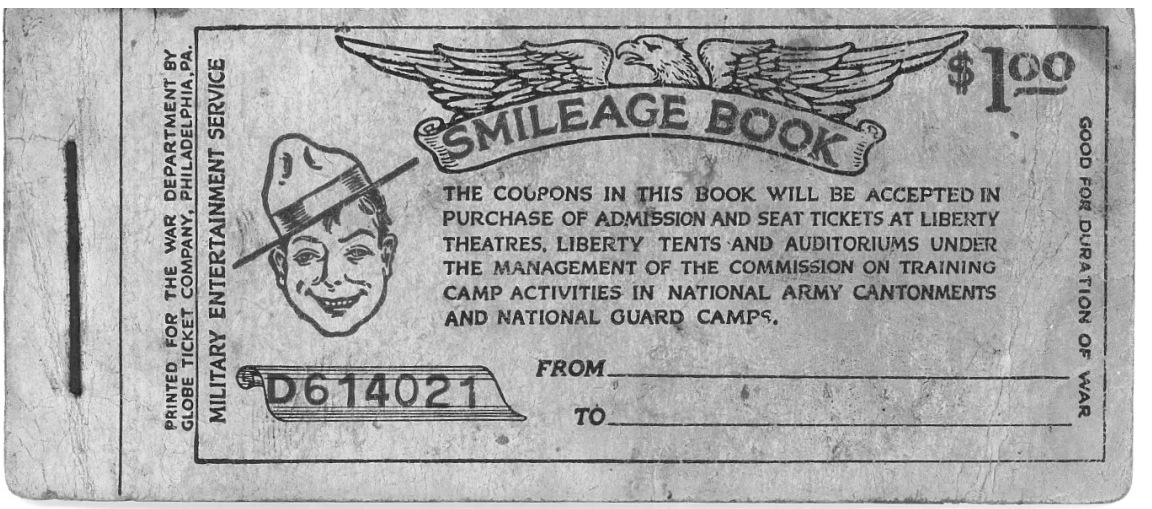
This notarized extract from War Department Special Orders No. 47, dated February 26, 1918, appointed Calvin S. Smith as a "chaplain at large" in the U.S. Army with the rank of first lieutenant and ordered him to report to Camp Lewis, Washington for duty in the Ninety-First Division. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

A series of letters sent between Calvin and his older half-brother David A. Smith, who was serving as a counselor in the church's Presiding Bishopric, provides insights into his life at Camp Lewis.[24] The nation found itself unprepared to enlist, equip, train, and transport large numbers of soldiers to fight in Europe. Calvin quickly learned that even seemingly routine actions, such as purchasing a complete military uniform, could be challenging. He wrote home that when it came to obtaining parts of his uniform, he "couldn't get anything through the army." He wore a military overcoat that David gave him and told his brother that he was "sorry I didn't bring your trousers along too." He remained optimistic, though, and wrote David that "I think I'll get along fine. I expect to make good if the Lord will help me." Life as an Army chaplain "agrees with me," he added.[25]

Smith quickly grew to believe that "the Chaplain's job is one of the most important in the army and it is fraught with the greatest of opportunities." He taught Sunday services in a YMCA building, and while chaplains were supposed to preach nonsectarian sermons, Smith confessed that "I don't know any of that so they'll find L.D.S. [doctrine] creeping out all the time." He added, "I feel as if I can give them straight L.D.S. doctrine and no camouflage. I feel quite at home in the work. About 75–100 were at service last Sunday."[26] Smith felt needed and respected, reporting to his brother that "the officers of the 362nd Infantry are the finest group of men I have ever met." They were, he said, courteous and only "moderately profane."[27]

Chaplain Smith took seriously his responsibility to support "the Utah boys," which required significant effort on his part.[28] He complained to his brother that "all Utah Smileage books go to Camp Kearney" in California, where Chaplain B. H. Roberts and Utah soldiers in the 145th Field Artillery Regiment were stationed for training. Smileage books were published by the federal government and often purchased for soldiers as a gift. Sold in one- and five-dollar denomination booklets, they contained five-cent coupons that could be redeemed at the Liberty Theaters located at most military training camps. "How can I get some of the Smileage books to come this way?" he asked David.

Smith also noted that the Utah soldiers "resent the fact that no Salt Lake newspaper is delivered to Camp Lewis. They feel neglected here." He wrote to the newspapers, asking them to send courtesy copies to Camp Lewis. He asked for David's help in receiving monthly issues of the church's *Improvement Era* magazine as well as "any good text books on American history, geography, English grammar or other subjects." With his brother's assistance and the kindness of Utah's citizens, Salt Lake City newspapers, church publications, Smileage and other books



The five-cent tickets in $1.00 and $5.00 Smileage books could be redeemed at Liberty Theaters at military camps, such as Camp Lewis, where Chaplain Smith was stationed prior to being deployed to France during WWI. (Courtesy Kenneth L. Alford.)

began arriving at Camp Lewis within a short time.[29]

In March, Calvin wrote to David that "we need a social center for our Utah boys here" and promised "I can secure rooms" if funds from Utah could be provided to purchase reading tables, easy chairs, phonographs and records, sports equipment, "little knick-knacks for our sick boys," and "if we have enough, to give some little token of remembrance from the state to boys leaving for the front." He concluded, "I could use several hundred dollars to good advantage." Not content to wait for David to take action, Calvin also wrote to the managing editors of the *Deseret News*, *Salt Lake Telegram*, *Salt Lake Tribune*, and *Salt Lake Herald* newspapers and "asked for four inches in two columns on the second or third page of their papers" to run advertisements during the week of April 1, 1918, requesting donations from readers for his "Chaplain's fund," as he called it. Smith wrote to Utah's governor, as well as to George A. Smith, Heber J. Grant, other Latter-day Saint church authorities, and "everyone else I can think of to get this fund." He concluded his appeal to David by observing that "it seems to me that this cause might justify an appropriation both from the State and the Church. I would appreciate it if you would take charge of this and not let this fall through. I may have rushed in where Angels fear to tread, but I've got to succeed here, because our boys need this place." He wanted to "make it a quiet and very attractive place for them. We can do wonders with six-hundred dollars if we can't get more."[30]

In April, Smith received a $600 donation from Utah's Council of Defense. The LDS church also authorized him to "spend from $500.00 to $600.00 in this work. . . . [w]e will send you the necessary funds up to this amount." He used the money to furnish and equip the promised social and recreation center for Utah's Camp Lewis soldiers. In a letter of thanks to the defense council, he wrote: "This hall will be a very useful and very pleasant place for the soldiers and will afford them much comfort."[31] The center, a 100-by-30-foot hall located in the regimental area of the 346th Machine Gun Battalion, was also used for Sunday church services.[32] His wife, Lucile, visited Camp Lewis in June and attended church meetings there.[33] Shortly after her departure, his division received orders to deploy to France.

As secretary of the division chaplain's organization, Smith wrote a letter to the editor of the *Army and Navy Journal* explaining that "the general impression seems to be that the duties of the army chaplain are confined to the holding of religious services. The fact of the matter is that this phase of his work occupies but a very small portion of his time. At Camp Lewis, Wash., eight army chaplains fitted out their regimental halls as libraries and restrooms with easy chairs, writing table, paper, ink, and other equipment. Three of these halls were provided with pool tables, pianos, phonograph and games." Additionally, chaplains served as athletics officers, post office managers, entertainment coordinators, and

> the defending attorney for all prisoners who come up for court-martials. It is the chaplain's business to counsel with the prisoners, so that they know their rights. The sick and the down-hearted of a regiment are the chaplain's special charge. He visits them as often as possible. He answers all inquiries from friend and relative about the men and frequently writes and helps them. On the hike and in the field the chaplain is supposed to be a jolly, good fellow.[34]

He arranged for band concerts, dances, boxing contests, movie nights, theatrical plays, intercompany athletic competitions, and other recreational activities.[35] Speaking from personal experience, Smith added that the chaplain was "the one officer who 'mixes' and gets personally acquainted with as many men as he can. He goes with them to the rifle range, to the machine gun schools, and the gas schools. He hears troubles and becomes a confidant. He is frequently able to lend his entire salary, if he doesn't need it."[36]

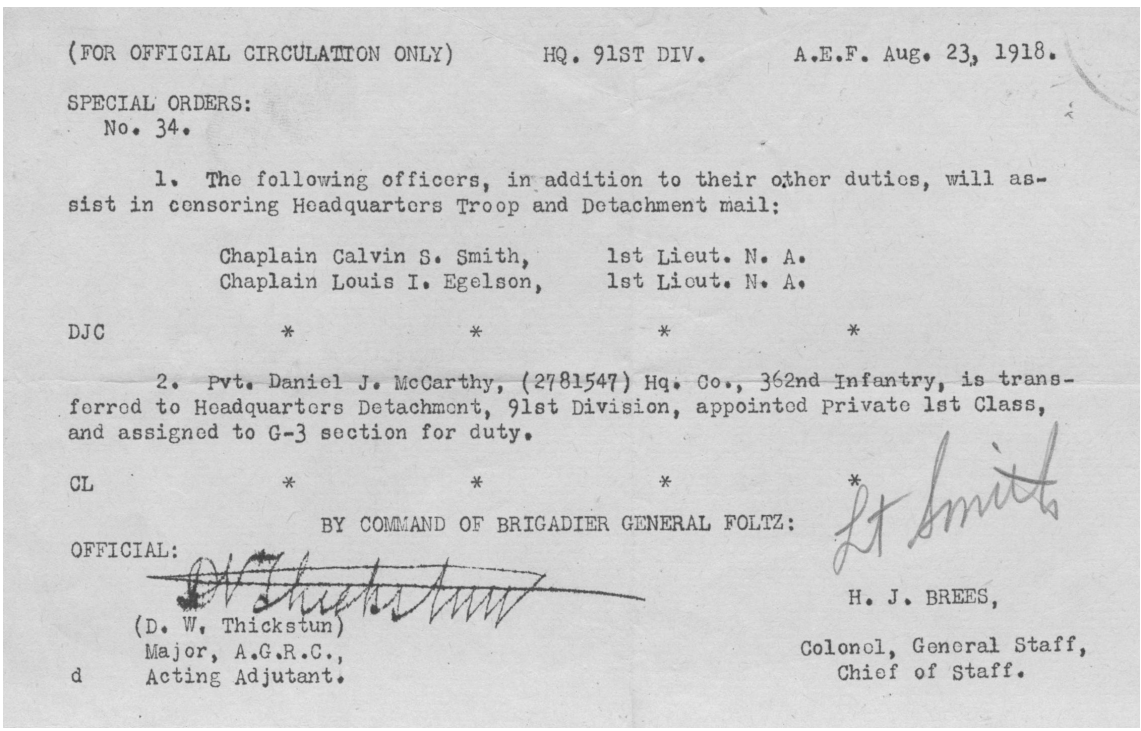
Chaplain Smith further explained that "the chaplain is supposed to teach the common branches of English education to the illiterate, and the foreign-speaking elements of his regiment. These schools convene daily, usually in the morning" and attendance was compulsory.

He organized classes for soldiers on numerous subjects: ethics, languages, agriculture, history, business, first aid, sanitation, and martial law. Any time that "a group of ten men wanted any technical subject taught the chaplain found a teacher." He also sent "Camp Lewis Notes" to Salt Lake newspapers to keep family members informed, and he invited "Utah boys who are to be assigned to that camp in the next draft [to] communicate with him" so that "he may be of service to them in helping them to get acquainted in camp and becoming initiated into national army life."[37]

Three Western Union telegrams sent by Smith in April 1918 shed light on another aspect of his responsibilities. He sent all three messages to Amos Sargent in Hoytsville, Utah, regarding the health of his soldier son, Wilford. The first telegram informed Amos that "Wilford N. Sargent critically ill pneumonia. Has fair chance. Will telegraph tomorrow." The second sounded optimistic: "Wilford is somewhat better." But the third, signed "Chaplain at large," carried the solemn announcement: "Shipment of Wilford[']s body delayed until Monday at six P.M."[38]

As the division's deployment to France grew near, the military reassigned large numbers of Utah soldiers to new units. Referring to the 362nd Infantry Regiment, Smith wrote: "Our regiment has been broken into very heavily and large numbers of the boys have gone to the front from here. One company in this regiment was composed almost entirely of Utah boys. There are five of that company here now."[39]

The Wild West Division embarked for Europe on July 6, 1918. Smith sailed aboard the RMS *Empress of Russia* as part of the largest convoy that had ever crossed the Atlantic.[40] During the voyage, he organized French lessons for the soldiers.[41] He also spent many hours working as a military censor. While it was "a tedious job because the letters were so much alike," it did lead to at least one humorous experience. A sergeant in the 362nd Infantry "wrote to his fiancée in Los Angeles, his 'best girl' at Tacoma, his 'only beloved' at Olympia, and the 'only girl he truly loved' at Seattle." After reading the letters, Smith "inadvertently" switched the letters and the envelopes and always wondered "what happened as a result of that."[42]



(FOR OFFICIAL CIRCULATION ONLY) HQ. 91ST DIV. A.E.F. Aug. 23, 1918.

SPECIAL ORDERS:
No. 34.

1. The following officers, in addition to their other duties, will assist in censoring Headquarters Troop and Detachment mail:

Chaplain Calvin S. Smith, 1st Lieut. N. A.
Chaplain Louis I. Egelson, 1st Lieut. N. A.

DJC * * * *

2. Pvt. Daniel J. McCarthy, (2781547) Hq. Co., 362nd Infantry, is transferred to Headquarters Detachment, 91st Division, appointed Private 1st Class, and assigned to G-3 section for duty.

CL * * * *

BY COMMAND OF BRIGADIER GENERAL FOLTZ:

OFFICIAL:

(D. W. Thickstun)
Major, A.G.R.C.,
d Acting Adjutant.

H. J. BREES,
Colonel, General Staff,
Chief of Staff.

This extract from Special Orders No. 34, Headquarters, Ninety-First Division, assigned Chaplain Smith to temporary duty as a mail censor. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

The soldiers arrived at Liverpool "slushy and wet." They marched four miles to the Knotty Ash Rest Camp (where they spent two nights), after which they traveled by rail to the port of Southampton on the southern coast of England.[43] They sailed to Le Havre, France, on 22 July.[44] After six weeks of training near the village of Montigny le Roi, 300 kilometers southwest of Paris, they were sent 100 kilometers north to join the war at St. Mihiel.[45] Visiting a regiment near the front, Smith watched soldiers line up for food outside a mess tent. As German bombs exploded nearby, a sergeant yelled, "Take Cover!" but no one moved because they wanted to keep their place in line for food.[46]

In a letter sent to his father shortly after arriving in France, Chaplain Smith wrote, "I have never felt so vigorous and happy as I do at the present time. Yesterday I walked about seven kilometers to see some of our men at a near-by city. . . . I am told that the men feel glad to have me here." He added, "We have seen very little of war so far, but we have done a good deal of playing at it."[47] That would change as his division "soon got into the thick of the fighting."[48]

By the fall of 1918, the opposing armies continued to suffer across a stalemated front that stretched from the North Sea to the Swiss border. The Allies hoped that the arriving doughboys would turn the war's tide in their favor, and they were anxious to give the Americans an opportunity to prove their battlefield mettle. One of the first opportunities came on September 12–16, during the St. Mihiel Offensive.

Shortly after arriving at St. Mihiel, Smith wrote that "hundreds of planes flew overhead carrying loads of bombs on the enemy. Fortunately for us we were entirely out of range of the guns of the enemy. It was our first experience of war and it reminded us of a big Fourth of July celebration."[49] Initially assigned to work in the division headquarters, Chaplain Smith believed he could serve soldiers better if he was attached to a smaller unit, such as a battalion or regiment. Therefore, he attached himself to the 346th Machine Gun Battalion briefly and then worked with soldiers in the 362nd Infantry Regiment, which had about 500 Latter-day Saints, and "tried to be generally useful."[50] The Ninety-First Division was part of the reserve as the Allied forces successfully attacked.[51] In talking with the soldiers he served, Smith was "surprised at their cheerfulness under the conditions. The mud was ankle deep and the trees were dripping with water. . . . They were all anxious to get out of the mud and into the fight."[52]

The day before a major attack was scheduled, a French unit stationed on the 362nd Infantry's flank invited Smith and the regimental intelligence officer to join a reconnaissance mission in which Smith's knowledge of French and German could prove helpful. He went to a nearby French dugout and dressed in a French uniform—presumably so that French soldiers would not accidentally shoot him.[53]

The next major action in which the Ninety-First Division participated was the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, which involved over 1.2 million soldiers and was the largest military offensive in American history. The 362nd Infantry received orders to march to the Argonne just four days after the Battle of St. Mihiel ended.[54] Shortly before his unit launched its offensive in the Argonne Forest, a young soldier came to Chaplain Smith and said, "I think you ought to call all of the men of the division together, and let's have prayer before we go over the top." According to Smith's own account of the incident, he replied, "Well, I think that it wouldn't be appropriate. I'm not sure that the men feel the same way as you do about it. It isn't the right time. It wouldn't do you any more good for me to pray for you, than it would for you to pray for yourself." The soldier reported in a letter home, though, that Smith had said, "There's a time to fight and a time to pray, and this is the time to fight." That rephrasing was picked up by the Utah press, and Calvin Smith became known for the rest of his life as "Utah's fighting chaplain."[55]

Chaplains do not carry weapons and therefore seldom attack with frontline soldiers, but Smith went "over the top" with his division on September 26, 1918, the opening day of the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, as the soldiers attacked entrenched German units across no man's land. He commented that it "looked like a field where fire had passed over, leaving only barbed wire on ground that looked like a rough sea of dirt."[56] Of that experience, Smith wrote,

> We waited in the dugouts with considerable curiosity for the zero hour. . . . It was a cold clear night, we all were shivering. At zero hour the sky was lighted up by our guns and pandemonium had broke[n] loose. It was a beautiful, but fearful and awful sight. . . . One shell fell short. It exploded in front of the dugout where I was; a brick and some dirt fell on my head.[57]

Smith "expected to see men fall immediately. But they did not. . . . The first resistance was after going half a mile."[58] He was with a medical detachment of stretcher bearers to care for the wounded. "We stretcher-bearers were ignorant of where the German line was and were going where not even the infantry was going," he said. They worked until exhaustion forced them to stop. "We tried to sleep, we nearly froze. No one had a blanket. We had nothing to keep us warm . . . I had several narrow escapes."[59]

Few people owe their life to a can of beef, but Chaplain Smith did. Passing by a German military cemetery during the attack on September 26, he realized that someone was shooting at him. "Every time I lifted my head a bullet would whistle by. I would have given all I had for a rifle to shoot back with," he wrote later.[60] Smith "flattened out on the ground" and waited while the enemy "shot two or three times" and then stopped. That evening at dinner, he discovered that a bullet had "gone through the top of the can" of beef he carried in his mess kit and "part way out of the back. . . . I nearly cracked my teeth because it was dark when I ate that. I bit down on the bullet. It was in the mess kit. It saved me from being wounded in the back."[61]

After a sleepless night, Smith carried wounded soldiers off the battlefield the entire following day. "Shells and machine gun bullets are absolutely without mercy," he observed. Loading and unloading hospital wagons, they established a


No. 126 - S - 4
126
AMERICAN
EXPEDITIONARY FORCES
Corps Expéditionnaires Américains
IDENTITY CARD
Carte d'Identité
Name / Nom: C. S. Smith
Rank / Grade: 1st. Lt.
Duty / Fonction: Chaplain
Signature of Holder
Adjutant General.
Signature du Titulaire: Calvin S. Smith

The American Expeditionary Forces identity card carried by Calvin Smith during World War I. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

makeshift aid station only to have an artillery shell "dropped in the station. Thirteen helpless men never drew breath again. We could not do better than we did by the men."[62] When several wounded German prisoners were captured, he served as their translator.[63]

A few soldiers, including Chaplain Smith, dug shallow holes in which to sleep. During a German artillery barrage, one shell exploded nearby, and he "felt as if someone had lashed me with a whip and blood began to run down my trousers." He was lying face down, and shrapnel tore into his backside. His wound was dressed at an aid station, and he returned to his foxhole. "I lay on the hill all night and shivered," he said. "The next day I was very stiff. I walked as if an accident had happened. I was able to help bring in wounded and all day I worked." Despite his wound, Smith "got up many times during the night to help carry wounded to the automobiles." The next day, most likely September 29, he was in charge of a company of stretcher-bearers who scoured the woods looking for wounded soldiers.[64] Joseph Timmons, a reporter from the *Los Angeles Examiner* attached to the Ninety-First Division, reported that during the Argonne fighting, "Lieut. Smith was always with the troops during battle and was of inestimable value in helping care for the wounded."[65]

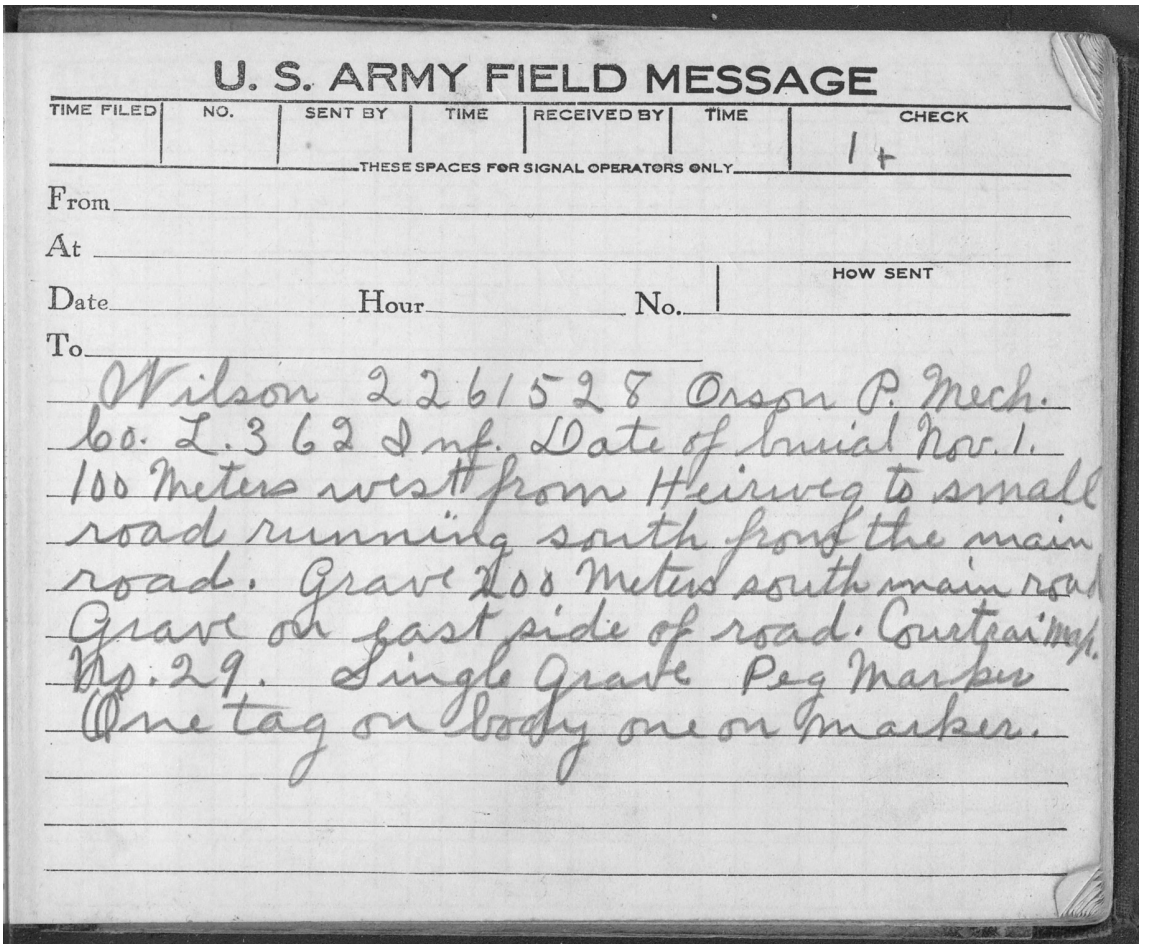
Smith's desire to serve the soldiers who were living in trench networks at the front nearly cost him his life several times. One morning, for example, "the Germans threw [poison] gas into the valley" on top of his position, and he was forced to walk "through that gas barrage."[66] During the Argonne Offensive, Smith teamed up with another chaplain to search for wounded men on the battlefield. They unwittingly found themselves at the very front lines, "exposed and immediately subjected to machine-gun fire." While passing through a forest, they came under another artillery barrage. He said, "I got behind a tree and hugged the ground. Three or four shells exploded and threw dirt on me. . . . For several [more] days I assisted in carrying back wounded from that front. When our division was relieved, we were all relieved, you may be sure."[67]

On October 3, when the 362nd Infantry was withdrawn from fighting in the Argonne for a brief period of rest and recuperation, "its dead were left behind unburied on the field of battle because the regimental chaplain [Smith] was wounded and in the hospital." After resting only one day, Chaplain Smith was sent back to bury the dead. His division was placed in reserve and ordered to Flanders, where they would participate in their final offensive between the Lys and Scheldt Rivers in Belgium.

In addition to providing care and support for the living, military chaplains also buried the dead and recorded gravesite locations. As a division burial officer, Chaplain Smith and his burial details found conditions on the battlefield as they had left them a few days earlier. "On Gesnes hill the dead lay in rows and heaps. . . . Thirty men and several officers were carried to the valley south of Gesnes and were buried in a long grave there. It was but a rude grave and poor, but it was the best that we could give. Several times the stretcher-bearers were forced to lay down their burden and run for their lives" because of German artillery attacks. "Thirteen men were buried in one grave. . . . Three were buried in another grave. Five were buried in the open place. . . . Because of the stress of circumstances the burial services were short and simple—a prayer, and in some instances a few words. This was all that could be done for these men."[68]

Chaplain Smith's burial record book provides insight into his character. He meticulously recorded details regarding the burials of American soldiers, such as in this entry: "Wilson 2261528 Orson P. Mech. Co. L. 362 Inf. Date of burial Nov. 1. 100 meters west from Heirweg to small road running south from the main road. Grave 200 meters south main road. Grave on east side of road. . . . Single grave Peg marker One tag on body one on marker." As busy and overworked as Smith and his burial team were, he still took sufficient time to record the names and locations of German grave sites as well.[69]

Regarding this burial duty, Smith wrote: "For eight days I was busy. There was almost constant shell fire all the time. I joined the division two hours before it started for the Belgian front. I found that I had been assigned to the 362nd Infantry [for] ten days and did not know it. . . . I was told that the Colonel had recommended me for promotion, which pleased me greatly."[70]



U. S. ARMY FIELD MESSAGE

TIME FILED	NO.	SENT BY	TIME	RECEIVED BY	TIME	CHECK
						1 +

THESE SPACES FOR SIGNAL OPERATORS ONLY

From

At

Date Hour No. HOW SENT

To

Wilson 2261528 Orson P. Mech. Co. L. 362 Inf. Date of burial Nov. 1. 100 Meters west from Heirweg to small road running south from the main road. Grave 200 Meters south main road Grave on east side of road. Courtrai Map. No. 29. Single Grave Peg Marker One tag on body one on marker.

A page from the U.S. Army Field Message Book that Calvin Smith used as a burial record and graves registration book. This page lists the interment details for an American soldier, Orson P. Wilson, who had been killed in France. (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

He did not receive the recommended battlefield promotion, however. As he explained in a letter home: "There is an order against promotion of chaplains except by years of service. A chaplain serves seven years as a first lieutenant and then is automatically promoted. That is why this recommendation may never be acted on. I feel satisfied, however, that I did the best I [k]new at all times."[71]

The Ninety-First Division was next sent to Ypres in Belgium, which had been under siege for almost four years. Smith observed that it was even more desolate than the battlefields in France. "There was not an American soldier who would have owned a foot of it for anything," he wrote. "Truly no grass will grow here for a thousand years." He was asked to assist some wounded men near Ypres. On the way to pick up stretchers, he was wounded a second time by shrapnel—this time in his right arm. Of the two soldiers who were with him, one was killed and one was wounded.[72] Nevertheless, he "got a stretcher and with a group of men we went after the wounded men."[73]

The day before the war's end, the 362nd Infantry received orders to march to the town of Audenarde and "take [a] position for an immediate attack on the Germans who were occupying strongly entrenched positions on the west side of the Scheldt river." It was November—cold, with a light snow on the ground. Years later Chaplain Smith remembered that "great fatigue soon brought oblivion and quiet" as they bedded down for the night on piles of straw in a Catholic priest's home. The following morning, November 11, 1918, was strangely

calm. He explored the town's ruined cathedral, which had a great hole in its roof. "As we were returning to our quarters we saw a French soldier mounted on a horse riding toward us. He was unsteady in his saddle as though he had been drinking." Waving his hand as he passed by, he "called out to us 'Le guerre est finis!' (The war is over!) and rushed on. . . . In this manner we learned of the armistice."[74]

After the Armistice, Smith felt "happy to be alive and safe" and looked forward to going home.[75] With peace restored, "rumors were as numerous as squads in the regiment."[76] Together with other army chaplains, his mission now was "to locate the graves of men who had been killed in action. I had buried many of them. We covered the whole battlefield."[77]

Calvin's father, Joseph F. Smith, "regretted the outbreak of war, and the necessity of the United States entering the conflict," but he encouraged Utahns, including his own sons, to be loyal to their country because their cause was just.[78] Serving as a chaplain was certainly not Calvin's first choice for military service, but he accepted promptly after receiving a call to serve.

Smith was not a self-promoter, but the soldiers and officers he served with were "loud in their praise of [his] valor." Lieutenant H. F. Weyerstall from Butte, Montana, wrote that "Chaplain Smith was the most popular chaplain in the whole Ninety-first division. For bravery and daring he was unequaled by any chaplain in France." He reported that "Chaplain Smith was twice wounded during the fighting, once in

Chaplain (First Lieutenant) Calvin S. Smith's Ninety-First Division identification tag. Aluminum "dog tags," such as this, were issued to soldiers in 1918. "N.A." is an abbreviation for "National Army." (Courtesy Calvin S. Smith family.)

the Argonne and the second time in Belgium. Both times he was out in No Man's Land carrying back wounded soldiers, exploding high-explosive shells wounding him, but he refused to stop on his errand of mercy, even, though he was suffering from wounds." According to Regimental Sergeant-Major Davis of the 362nd Infantry, Smith "did not know what fear was." Davis observed that "every time we saw him while we were in action, he was out in the thick of it. He made his way along the line, slapping the boys on the back with a cheery word and a few minutes later he would be seen crawling toward some wounded or dying boy. The spirit he showed had much effect on the rest of us and he made us feel like better fighters and better men."[79] For his battlefield bravery, Smith received the Distinguished Service Cross.[80]

In a letter to his parents, Gaylen S. Young, a private who served in the 362nd Infantry, painted a clear picture of Chaplain Smith. Young wrote that his chaplain "showed himself to be a brave and courageous man. He is a 'brick.' I cannot say enough good about him. He gave first aid and helped the wounded of our division in every battle of any importance. . . . All of the boys know Chaplain Smith. He is of a very quiet disposition, but certainly shows what he is by his work."[81] *Utah in the World War*, a state-sponsored history of Utah's participation in World War I, confirmed Young's observations by noting that in the 362nd Infantry "there was no more popular man in the division than the chaplain, who never considered personal risk when he could serve his comrades."[82]

In a letter written to his father four days after the Armistice, Smith summarized his attitude regarding war: "My sympathy goes out to those who will never go home and for those who expect to see friends and relatives who will never come back. I have come to the conclusion that life is a precious gift and is worth living, no matter what the difficulty[;] . . . it is not worthwhile to consider our health and happiness and comfort above that of others. It is worthwhile sometimes to die, if death will serve to help others. When we think too much of our comfort we expose ourselves to more danger . . . than we do when we make a brave fight and face every danger and exposure."[83]

At the conclusion of his last letter to his father, he wrote, "I am happy to say that peace seems to have come. . . . I hope I come home from this war more of a man than I went into it. If I don't, I'll feel that I have not played my part." Unfortunately, Joseph F. Smith never had the opportunity to read his son's letter. He died on November 19, four days after the letter was written.[84]

In a unit history of the 362nd Infantry Regiment, Chaplain Smith wrote, "Our dead have more than paid their debt to humanity. We owe it to them to pay our debt in living 'lives of service and usefulness.'"[85] In spring 1919, the army sent Chaplain Smith to Leeds, England, for three months of vocational schooling.

After returning to the United States in July 1919, Smith was officially discharged from the Army at Camp Albert L. Mills on Long Island. He quickly returned to Utah and his family.[86] After teaching English in Salt Lake City for a few years, he earned a master's degree in educational administration at the University of Utah and served as superintendent of schools in Nephi, Utah. He later earned a doctorate in educational administration from the University of Chicago and served as school superintendent of the large Granite School District in Salt Lake City. He and Lucile raised a large family of ten girls and three boys. He remained active in the American Legion and veteran affairs throughout his life and helped organize a Salt Lake chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous to assist World War I soldiers—doing work he might have viewed as a continuation of his duties as a chaplain. He ended his working years as a regional education and vocational administrator in the Veterans Administration.[87] He died in Salt Lake City on June 15, 1966.

A few months after the war's end, Major General William H. Johnston, commanding general of the Ninety-First Division, praised the chaplains who served the soldiers in his division. "Chaplains representing Protestants, Catholics, Jews, 'Mormons' and other religions and sects," he said, "worked side by side with the men for the common cause of virtue, and I never heard the word theology mentioned by any of them. Our Christianity consisted of offering lives for our country, for the common good of all mankind."[88]

Many military chaplains, such as B. H. Roberts, received schooling at Camp Zachary Taylor near Louisville, Kentucky, to prepare them to serve in the chaplaincy. Smith received no formal military training; he was self-taught and learned on the job. Like other military chaplains, Smith was unarmed throughout the war. But unlike many chaplains, Calvin Smith continually and purposefully placed himself in harm's way in frontline trenches, during battlefield attacks, and when removing the wounded from no man's land. His dedication was extraordinary. Even receiving battlefield wounds did not deter him from continuing to serve his fellow soldiers.

Chaplain Calvin S. Smith was a war hero, although he most certainly would have cringed to hear himself portrayed as such. He served during the war and throughout his life with honor—continually doing more than was required—and he set an exemplary standard of service and integrity for the many men and women from Utah who have followed him into military service.

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Web Extra

At history.utah.gov/uhqextras, we present a photo gallery illustrating Calvin Smith's experiences in WWI and throughout his life.

Notes

1 In August 1914, H. G. Wells published several articles in London newspapers, which he soon collated into *The War That Will End War* (New York: Duffield, 1914). As that phrase began to be used by others, it was often altered to "the war to end all wars" and was quoted by President Woodrow Wilson. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Eloquence in an Electronic Age: The Transformation of Political Speechmaking* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 99.

2 "Fighting Chaplain to Speak Tonight," *Salt Lake Herald*, August 3, 1919; see also "Fighting Utah Chaplain Home: Tells of Heroic Ninety-First Division," *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 26, 1919. The author wishes to thank the descendants of Calvin S. Smith who graciously donated Chaplain Smith's papers and ephemera to the L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah (hereafter HBLL).

3 "Messages from the Missions," *Improvement Era,* April 1911, 6; "Get Busy," *Improvement Era,* March 1912, 5; "Messages from the Missions," *Improvement Era,* January 1913, 3; Claudia Landro, ed., *Calvin S. Smith: A Biography* (n.p., undated), 3 (copy in the author's possession). Smith was set apart as a missionary by Heber J. Grant on July 12, 1910, and returned from his mission on March 23, 1913. Missionary Register, vol. 4, p. 89, line 466, Missionary Department Missionary Registers, 1860–1959, CR 301 22, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah (hereafter CHL).

4 Colin Bingham, *Wit and Wisdom: A Public Affairs Miscellany* (Beaverton, OR: International Scholarly Book Services, 1982), 118.

5 See, for example, Richard S. Faulkner, *Pershing's Crusaders: The American Soldier in World War I* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017); Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August* (New York: MacMillan, 1962); and John Spencer Bassett, *A Short History of the United States, 1492–1920* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), 873–78.

6 Statistics regarding civilian and military death tolls from World War I vary widely. Some totals include deaths from the Russian Revolution and the Spanish influenza; others do not. Martin Gilbert, *The First World War: A Complete History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Henry Holt, 1994), xxi.

7 Noble Warrum, *Utah in the World War: The Men Behind the Guns and the Men and Women Behind the Men Behind the Guns* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Council of Defense, 1924), 11, 444–48.

8 Woodrow Wilson, "Proclamation 1364—Declaring That a State of War Exists between the United States and Germany," April 6, 1917, *The American Presidency Project*, accessed August 29, 2018, presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=598.

9 In 1917, almost two-thirds of Utah's population consisted of Latter-day Saints. Utah received an initial enlistment quota of 872 men. With the approval and encouragement of President Joseph F. Smith, almost five thousand men enlisted during 1917. In 1918, nearly twenty thousand additional Utah men volunteered to serve in the Army, Navy, and Marines. By the end of WWI, over 5 percent of Utah's population was serving in the military. See Joseph F. Smith, *Eighty-Seventh Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, April 1917 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1917), 3–4, and B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I,* 6 vols. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1965), 6:455–56.

10 Calvin S. Smith, interview by Calvin S. Smith, Jr., December 29, 1965, MS 23095, CHL. Having been categorized in a 4-F status meant that Calvin would not have been required to enter military service. Current records are unclear regarding why Calvin received a 4-F designation.

11 Lucile was born in Taylorsville, Utah, on 31 July 1897. "He met Ethyl Lucile Dimond at a church function [in 1917]. She was playing the organ and he was impressed by her musical talents. . . . she also impressed him with her practicality. . . . Lucile graduated as valedictorian of her class at Granite High School. . . . She went on to study English and Music at the University of Utah. . . . One of her professors commented that he thought that marriage had spoiled a brilliant music career." Claudia Landro, *Calvin S. Smith: A Biography* (n.p, n.d), 3–4 (copy in the author's possession). Lucile was selected as the "Utah Mother of 1962." See also, Lucile Dimond Smith, "Patterns of Family Life and Organization," *Relief Society Magazine*, October 1962, 722–28.

12 Coincidentally, Calvin's father, Joseph F. Smith, had served as a chaplain twice during his life—once as chaplain of a Utah territorial militia regiment during the

Utah War (1857–1858) and once as an unofficial chaplain for an 1863 pioneer company bound for Utah. See Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1969), 204, 481.

13 "Chaplains Needed, Minister Cables," *Salt Lake Telegram*, July 12, 1918.

14 The first active duty chaplain from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was Elias S. Kimball, who served during the Spanish-American War. Elias Smith Kimball, Journal, June 14, 1898, MS 13348, CHL.

15 In June 1919, Heber J. Grant, suggested that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints should have been "entitled to twenty chaplains," but he did not disclose the calculations that led to that conclusion. In July 1918, there were "approximately 900 regular chaplains in the army and navy, and the number is rapidly being increased." See Heber J. Grant, *Eighty-ninth Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, June 1919 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1919), 110; David A. Smith, *Eighty-ninth Semi-annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, October 1918 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1918), 153; and "What the Church Is Doing for Uncle Sam's Soldiers," *Salt Lake Telegram*, 20 July 1918.

16 "Calvin Smith to Be Army Chaplain," *Salt Lake Telegram,* February 28, 1918; see also "Calvin Smith Made Chaplain at Camp," *Salt Lake Herald,* February 28, 1918. See Susa Young Gates, "Joseph Smith, His Country and His God, Part IV," *Juvenile Instructor*, November 1926, 602–609. According to Gates, Calvin was one of the church president's six sons who "joined the Utah Division in the late World War." In her article, though, Gates mentions the military service of only five sons: David A., Calvin S., Samuel, Silas, and Andrew K. For information about the WWI military service of B. H. Roberts and Herbert B. Maw, see Kenneth L. Alford, "Joseph F. Smith and the First World War: Eventual Support and Latter-day Saint Chaplains," in *Joseph F. Smith: Reflections on the Man and His Times*, eds. Craig K. Manscill, Brian D. Reeves, Guy L. Dorius, and J. B. Haws (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center and Deseret Book, 2013), 434–55; and James I. Mangum, "The Influence of the First World War on The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2007), 112–33 .

17 Alice Palmer Henderson, *The Ninety-First: The First at Camp Lewis* (Tacoma, WA: John C. Barr, 1918), 121.

18 U.S. Army, Calvin Schwartz Smith Service Record, U.S. Army Chaplain Corps Museum, Fort Jackson, South Carolina. In the First World War, military chaplains were commissioned as first lieutenants—bypassing the rank of second lieutenant.

19 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

20 Warrum, *Utah in the World War,* 47.

21 Henderson, *The Ninety-First*, 121. An undated WWI roster indicates that Utahns were assigned to the following Ninety-First Division units: 361st, 362nd, 363rd, and 364th Infantry Regiments; 346th, 347th, and 348th Machine Gun Battalions; 346th, 347th, and 348th Field Artillery Regiments; 316th Engineers; and the 316th Sanitary Train. Calvin Schwartz Smith Papers, MSS 8922, HBLL (hereafter MSS 8922).

22 "Says Pact Will End Bloodshed," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 4, 1919.

23 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

24 David Asael Smith (May 24, 1879–April 6, 1952) was a son of Joseph F. Smith and Julina Lambson. David joined the Presiding Bishopric in 1907, at age 28. *2012 Church Almanac* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 2012), 146. David and Calvin's correspondence is available in box 1, David A. Smith Collection, 1856–1968, MS 23339, CHL (hereafter MS 23339).

25 Calvin S. Smith to David A. Smith, March 7, 1917 [*sic*], box 1, fd. 2, MS 23339. The 1917 date on this letter is in error and should be 1918. In March 1917, the United States had not yet declared war on Germany, and Calvin was living in Salt Lake City without any idea that he would soon be called upon to serve as a U.S. Army chaplain. See also Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, undated, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339; the date for this letter is presumably March 1918, as Chaplain Smith mentioned that "I hold my first service next Sunday."

26 Calvin S. Smith to David A. Smith, March 15, 1918, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

27 Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, March 7, 1917 [*sic*], box 1, fd. 2, MS 23339.

28 Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, March 15, 1918, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

29 Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, undated, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339; see also Charles Kalmen Horwitz, "Buy Smileage Books," *Harvard Crimson,* March 1, 1918, accessed September 4, 2018, thecrimson.com/article/1918/3/1/buy-smileage-books-pbwe-invite-all/.

30 Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, March 20, 1918, March 21, 1918, and April 3, 1918, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

31 "Defense Council Provides Comfort for Utahns," *Salt Lake Herald,* April 21, 1918; "Chaplain Writes Thanks for Funds for Utah Troops," *Salt Lake Telegram,* April 26, 1918; "Provide Place for Utahns at Lewis," *Salt Lake Herald,* June 26, 1918; "Camp Lewis Men Attend Services," *Salt Lake Tribune,* March 12, 1918; and Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, April 3, 1918, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

32 David A. Smith to Chaplain Calvin S. Smith, April 4, 1918, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

33 Landro reported that "Joseph F. Smith paid for Lucile to visit Calvin with the idea that she would write to him her observations of Calvin's Army Camp just before he was to leave for Europe." *Calvin S. Smith: A Biography,* 3.

34 "Army Chaplain More Than Spiritual Advisor Says Utah Lieutenant," *Deseret Evening News,* July 20, 1918, in Journal History, July 20, 1918, 4, CR 100 137, CHL (hereafter Journal History). This letter to the editor, which Lieutenant Calvin S. Smith wrote prior to deploying to France, originally appeared in the July 20, 1918, issue of the *Army and Navy Journal*.

35 Harold H. Jenson, "Utah's Three Latter-day Saint Chaplains," *Juvenile Instructor,* October 1919, 521–22.

36 Journal History, July 20, 1918. 4.

37 "Chaplain Wants to Hear from Men," *Salt Lake Telegram*, March 25, 1918; "Chaplain Asks Utah Boys to Write Him," *Salt Lake Tribune,* March 25, 1918. Chaplain Smith took similar actions after his division deployed to France, except this time he offered "to furnish friends and relatives of Utah men with the ninety-first division any information he can concerning the welfare of the men." See "Chaplain Smith Ready to Advise," *Salt Lake Tribune,* November 4, 1918. The Selective Service Act of 1917 initially organized the U.S. Army into the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the National Army. As the war progressed, much of those identities had disappeared. "By mid-1918 the War Department changed the designation of all land forces to one 'United States

Army." Richard W. Stewart, ed., *American Military History, Volume II: The United States in a Global Era, 1917–2003* (Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, 2005), 21; see also Calvin S. Smith to *Deseret News*, May 14, 1918, MSS 8922.

38 Western Union telegrams, Series 1, box 2, fd. 2, MSS 8922.

39 Calvin S. Smith to Bishop David A. Smith, undated, box 1, fd. 4, MS 23339.

40 T. Ben Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry* (n.p.: The 362nd Infantry Association, 1920), 8; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 47.

41 "Chaplain Calvin S. Smith," *Millennial Star*, July 17, 1919, in Journal History, July 17, 1919, 7.

42 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965; Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 16.

43 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 11.

44 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 8; Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 47.

45 Calvin S. Smith, "Reminiscences of the Great War," Series 1, box 2, fd. 9, MSS 8922.

46 Ibid.; "Says Pact Will End Bloodshed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 4, 1919.

47 "Salt Laker Tells of Work Abroad," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 10, 1918.

48 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 47.

49 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918, Joseph F. Smith Papers, 1854–1918, MS 1325, CHL.

50 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918; Calvin S. Smith interview, December 29, 1965.

51 Journal History, July 17, 1919, 7.

52 Calvin S. Smith, "'Let 'er Buck'—a Plain Tale of Battle," *Deseret Evening News*, May 17, 1919.

53 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

54 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 19–21.

55 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965. Perhaps unwittingly, the young soldier had paraphrased a statement attributed to John Muhlenberg, an eighteenth-century American priest who preached a sermon in January 1776 on Ecclesiastes chapter 3, reportedly telling his congregation: "There is a time to pray and a time to fight, and the time to fight has now come!" See Don S. Armentrout and Robert Boak Slocum, eds., *An Episcopal Dictionary of the Church* (New York: Church Publishing, 2000), 345; and F. F. Sedgwick Martyn, "The Citizen and the Law," *Improvement Era,* September 1932, 11.

56 "Says Pact Will End Bloodshed," *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 4, 1919.

57 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

58 Journal History, July 17, 1919, 7.

59 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

60 Smith, "'Let 'er Buck'—a Plain Tale of Battle."

61 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

62 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

63 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

64 "Fighting Utah Chaplain Home: Tells of Heroic Ninety-First Division," *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 26, 1919; Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

65 "War Correspondent on Way to Coast Praises Utah Men," *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City, UT), undated, Series 1, box 2, fd. 13, MSS 8922.

66 Calvin S. Smith, interview, 29 December 1965.

67 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, 15 November 1918.

68 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 56–57. In the book's introduction, Meldrum notes that Chaplain Calvin S. Smith wrote chapter 17, "The Honor Roll." Chaplain Smith repurposed a standard U.S. Army "Field Message Book" (Signal Corps Form No. 217A, 1917), which included carbon paper for duplicating each page, as his burial book. See "Calvin Schwartz Smith Field Message Book," Series 1, box 2, fd. 14, MSS 8922.

69 "Calvin Schwartz Smith Field Message Book," Series 1, box 2, fd. 14, MSS 8922. This type of grave-book information was used after the war to relocate field graves to military cemeteries across Europe.

70 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

71 Ibid.

72 "Fighting Utah Chaplain Home: Tells of Heroic Ninety-First Division," *Salt Lake Tribune,* September 26, 1919.

73 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

74 Smith, "'Let 'er Buck'—a Plain Tale of Battle."

75 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

76 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 48.

77 Calvin S. Smith, interview, December 29, 1965.

78 Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith*, 419.

79 "More 362nd Utahns Landed on Home Soil," *Deseret Evening News,* April 16, 1919.

80 "Extol Chaplain for Brave Acts," *Salt Lake Tribune,* April 16, 1919.

81 "Bravery of Chaplain Calvin Smith Praised," *Salt Lake Herald,* January 10, 1919.

82 Warrum, *Utah in the World War*, 47.

83 Calvin S. Smith to Joseph F. Smith, November 15, 1918.

84 Ibid. Chaplain Smith learned of his father's death while he was in Belgium.

85 Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 57.

86 Calvin S. Smith Journal, Series 2, box 2, fd. 16, MSS 8922; "Utah Soldiers Back from Duty Overseas," *Salt Lake Tribune,* July 19, 1919.

87 Calvin S. Smith Journal, MSS 8922. Regarding his involvement in veteran affairs, see, for example, "Buddies Ready for Annual 'Chick-a-Ree,'" *Salt Lake Telegram,* June 6, 1952. For several years, Calvin S. Smith and T. Ben Meldrum also edited the *Powder River Gang*, a bimonthly newsletter dedicated to the WWI exploits of the 362nd Infantry Regiment (see MSS 8922). The newsletter's title came from a phrase soldiers in the Ninety-First Division yelled as they went "over the top" into battle: "Powder river, a mile wide and an inch deep! Let 'er buck!" See Smith, "'Let 'er Buck'—a Plain Tale of Battle."

88 "Maj. Gen. Johnston, Ninety-First Division, Lauds Chaplains' Work," *Deseret News*, May 15, 1919, in Journal History, May 15, 1919.

Emil Whitesides in army uniform, no date. (Courtesy of Stephen E. Whitesides and Caroline Whitesides Ludlow.)

"DEAR SON EMIL": THE WHITESIDES FAMILY LETTERS, 1917–1919

BY REBECCA ANDERSEN

Emil Morris Whitesides was born on November 12, 1894, in what became Layton, Utah, to Edward (Ed) Morris and Mary Harvey Whitesides. On September 19, 1917, shortly before his twenty-third birthday, Emil and seventeen other Davis County men reported for active military duty at the Farmington train station, arriving two days later at Camp Lewis, just outside of Tacoma, Washington. On the day Emil left, Mary sat in her rocking chair on the front porch, quietly accepting the wartime fate that would ultimately take her son nearly six thousand miles away. A month later, a second son, Lewis, would leave for Camp Kearney, California.[1] Ed, who couldn't bear the separation and accompanied Emil as far as Ogden, reflected a week later, "Your mother bears up well or appears to. She has good self-control. She has her dark hours alone."[2]

It was the first of many letters sent and received between Emil and his parents over the next twenty-one months, which Emil carefully preserved along with letters from other family members: his younger brother Lewis, and nine-year-old brother Mark. Family members routinely mentioned in the letters include Emil's older sister Edwina, married with a farm in Cornish, Utah, along with her young daughter Esther, brother Clair, a senior at Davis High School, and sisters, fourteen-year-old Mabel and twelve-year-old Helen. These letters sustained Emil, and he confessed that he read some of them "three four or more times until I could nearly recite them by heart."[3] Likewise Ed and Mary found reassurance and strength from their son's letters home. "We are pretty hungry for a letter when it has been two weeks since we heard," Mary noted. A few months later, she wrote in the margins of another letter, "Never be afraid that your letters will be too long. They always come to an end too soon."[4]

Emil and his parents were certainly not alone in their letter writing. Due to an increase in literacy, better transportation modes—especially rail—and overall efficiency in mail processing, people sent more mail than ever before during World War I. The 1918 U.S. Postmaster General annual report noted the amount of mail processed for 1917 "exceeded any other

like period in the history of the department." The report attributed much of the increase to enhanced industrial output as the nation transitioned into a wartime economy. Yet a significant proportion of this mail included personal correspondence. Prompt mail delivery was a patriotic duty, contributing as it did "to the contentment and happiness of our officers and soldiers." That year alone the postal service added 123 military branch offices.[5] This situation was not unique to the United States. "Letter writing became an almost manic enterprise," the historian Martha Hanna observes. "For the duration of the war, German soldiers and civilians exchanged close to 30 billion pieces of mail, of which 7 million letters and postcards were sent home every day. French civilians sent at least 4 million letters per day to the front-lines and received as many in return. By 1917, British soldiers were sending home between 1 and 2 million letters and postcards every day."[6] Hanna maintains that despite military censorship, the unprecedented rise in wartime correspondence established important links between soldier and civilian, significantly affecting how each experienced and weathered the war. Moreover, a letter's tangible quality "provided reassurance to soldiers and civilians alike that those they cherished remained faithful in affection and constant in consolation." Wartime correspondence, especially letters to and from home, are particularly valuable because they demonstrate the overlooked "history of affect and emotion as fundamental components of war."[7]

Because Emil and his parents wrote to each other nearly every week, the Whitesides family letters provide a near complete window into how one family used letter writing to bridge time and space. Handwriting, spelling conventions, and the way in which they arranged words on a page captured the immediate and familiar qualities of personality and voice. Available letterhead and even writing utensils traced the unwritten, everyday lives of the correspondents.[8] Moreover, each used the letter as a space for reflection and self-expression, selecting and relating events based on perceptions of reader interest and the overwhelming need to inform. Indeed, it is quite possible that Emil and his parents never would have verbalized the kind of sentiment they so eloquently expressed in writing had there not been a war and had Emil not been drafted and sent so very far away.[9]

The letters are significant in other ways, too. Ed and Mary's parents were some of the first Mormon pioneers to settle the Layton area. Ed's mother and father, Lewis and Susannah Perkins Whitesides, acquired property along Fiddler's Creek, where they farmed and had a molasses mill. Susannah clearly remembered sitting on the lap of Joseph Smith as a child. Mary's parents, Daniel and Hannah Smuin Harvey, were converts from England, crossed the plains and settled along the Mountain Road, near today's town of Fruit Heights. Hannah died when Emil was twenty. When Ed and Mary began married life in 1892, their church had only recently ended its practice of polygamy. They raised their family during a period of intense transition in which the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints underwent a painful process of Americanization. In their letters to Emil, Ed and Mary demonstrate the extent to which World War I and the accompanying influenza pandemic encouraged this process, as it did for numerous others across the United States. The Whitesides family, their ward, and the broader LDS church membership participated in displays of patriotism. Mary, along with her fellow Relief Society sisters, helped the Red Cross; Ed reported on the Spanish influenza's deadly spread and reflected on the League of Nations. Intense patriotism, suffering, and a shared sense of obligation to the nation as a whole established what the anthropologist Benedict Anderson called "an imagined community"—a sense of kinship and collective identity that attempts to transcend regionalism and purely ethnic or religious loyalties.[10]

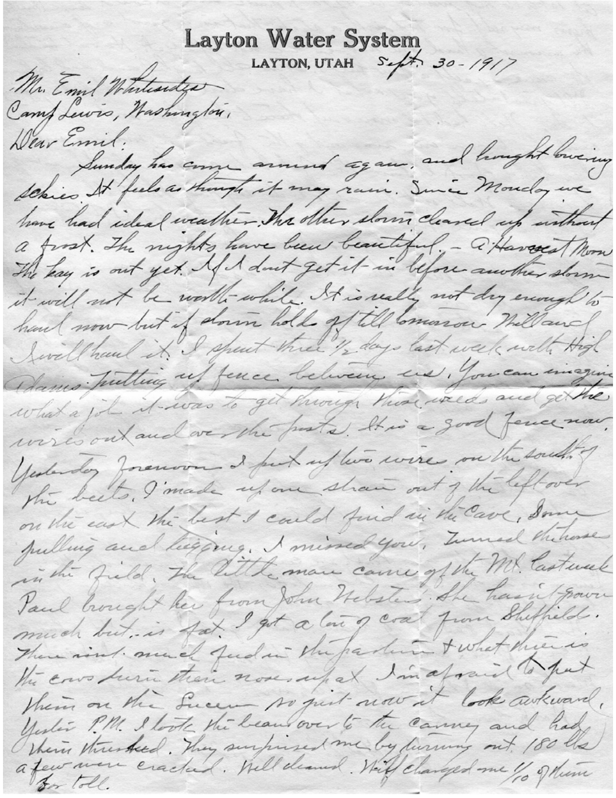
Assimilation always exists in tension, however. Historian Thomas Alexander notes that during the first decades of the twentieth century, Latter-day Saints searched "for a new paradigm that would save essential characteristics of their religious tradition, provide sufficient political stability to preserve the interests of the church, and allow them to live in peace with other Americans."[11] In many respects, Emil experienced these tensions on an individual level. As a soldier, he met, made friends with, and otherwise associated with people very

different from himself. How would he maintain his identity as a Latter-day Saint? For Emil, the answer came in attending church meetings whenever he could and strictly observing the Word of Wisdom, his faith's dietary and health code that advised against the use of tea, coffee, alcohol, and tobacco. Joseph Smith first articulated the Word of Wisdom in an 1833 revelation. Yet during most of the nineteenth and early twentieth century observance remained entirely voluntary. It would be several more years before church leaders officially changed the status of the Word of Wisdom from a suggestion to a commandment applicable to the general church membership.[12] Yet for Emil, how better else to demonstrate his identity and religious commitment than by refusing to consume the popular products of the day? If Emil's faith served as an important link to home, observing the Word of Wisdom solidified the connection.

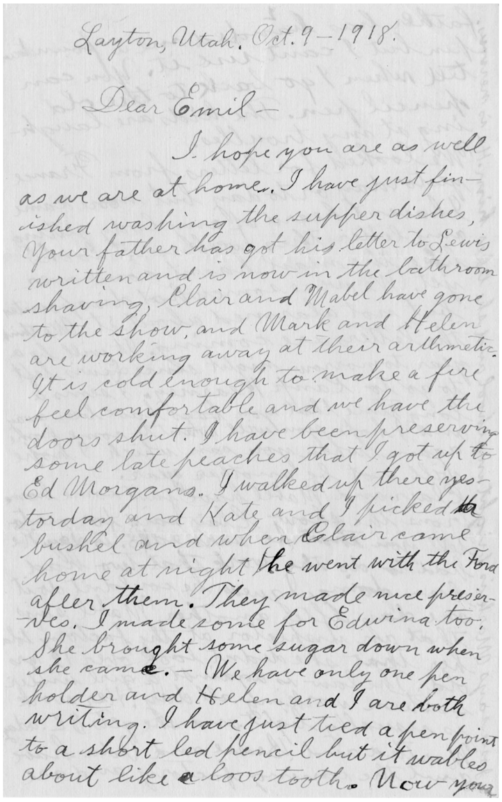
This article first analyzes the Whitesides family correspondence in terms of its materiality and content, identifying the ways in which Emil and his parents used letter writing to maintain and even deepen their relationships with each other. The second part of this article addresses ways in which the letters Emil and his parents exchanged provide a glimpse into the larger questions of World War I and Latter-day Saint assimilation and Americanization.

The simple act of receiving a letter was a highly anticipated event. At Camp Lewis, Emil observed the mass "scramble for the mail box" each time the letters arrived. "The different expressions when [soldiers] get something or do not it would convince anyone that letters from home and friends are a big factor in helping the soldier."[13] Likewise, letters home were marked events, often deserving of mention in the local paper, the *Davis County Clipper*.[14] Letters were physical artifacts; their materiality eased the temporal and spatial distances between sender and receiver. In one letter to Emil, Mary's usually clean script became uneven, burdened with heavy ink blots. "We have only one pen holder and Helen and I are both writing," she explained. "I have just [tied] a pen point to a short led pencil but it wables about like a loos tooth. Now your father has handed me a fountain pen but I can't use it. You can tell when I go back to the old pencil pen. The kids are laughing at my troubles."[15] For his part, Ed, who helped establish Layton's first water system, often used the water company's letterhead for his weekly letters to Emil.[16] Significantly, Mary never used the official stationary; perhaps Ed had his own private desk where the stationary was kept separate from family paper supplies. Emil, on the other hand, wrote his letters on YMCA stationary, reflecting the significant role the organization played in his time overseas. Emil visited YMCA-operated leave areas and took advantage of their specially organized tours to Paris and southern France. He attended sponsored lectures, sporting events, and even took French lessons, trying to master a language whose "nazel sounds" Emil found especially difficult.[17]

Aside from a letter's materiality, content says much about how Emil and his parents bridged physical and temporal distances. Ed wrote as though Emil were in the same room with him. His letters overwhelmingly focus on farming. A letter dated October 28, 1917, is typical and reflects Ed's usual conversational tone. "My, I take genuine pleasure in the vegetable cellar. I feel a security in whatever I get in it. We have about 40 lbs of apples . . . and about 40 more to pick." He added, "Did you know the trees below the path were Jonathans? I didn't till this time. They are splendid. I picked 9 lbs a day beside going to Priesthood Union at Kaysville, besides all the chores, morning and night."[18] Mary, on the other hand, used vivid prose to evoke a scene for Emil. She often focused on what was going on around her as she sat and composed her letter. "Your father has gone to bed, Edwina is cronching an apple, Helen is studying, Mabel is hunting her locker key, and Mark has gone upstairs to bed alone for Clair has gone to the show. I have just taken ten pretty loves [*sic*] of bread out of the oven."[19] Mary also often described the weather, appealing to Emil's prior knowledge of place as a way to lessen the gap between them. In a letter from November 1917, Mary wrote, "The sun shines out sometimes but most of the time it is cold and cloudy. You know how everything looks. When the fields are brown, the trees are bare, and the snow is down to the last water mark. The lawn is green, since the rain and is thickly flecked with yellow leaves."[20] Elsewhere she wrote, "Winter has come at last. Snowed all day yesterday and last


Layton Water System
LAYTON, UTAH Sept. 30-1917

Mr. Emil Whitesides
Camp Lewis, Washington,
Dear Emil:
Sunday has come around again, and brought lowering skies. It feels as though it may rain. Since Monday we have had ideal weather. The other storm cleared up without a frost. The nights have been beautiful. — a Harvest Moon. The hay is out yet. If I don't get it in before another storm it will not be worth-while. It is really not dry enough to haul now but if storm holds off till tomorrow Will and I will haul it. I spent three ½ days last week with High Adams putting up fence between us. You can imagine what a job it was to get through those weeds and get the wires out and over the posts. It is a good fence now. Yesterday forenoon I put up two wires on the south of the beets. I made up one strain out of the left-over on the east the best I could find in the cave. Some pulling and tugging. I missed you. Turned the horses in the field. The little mare came off the Mt. last week. Paul brought her from John Websters. She hasn't grown much but is fat. I got a ton of coal from Sheffields. There isn't much feed in the pasture & what there is the cows turn their noses up at. I'm afraid to put them on the lucern so just now it look awkward. Yester P.M. I took the beans over to the Canney and had them thrashed. They surprised me by turning out 180 lbs a few were cracked. Well cleaned. Wiff charged me 1/10 of them for toll.


Layton, Utah. Oct. 9-1918.
Dear Emil—
I hope you are as well as we are at home. I have just finished washing the supper dishes. Your father has got his letter to Lewis written and is now in the bathroom shaving. Clair and Mabel have gone to the show, and Mark and Helen are working away at their arithmetic. It is cold enough to make a fire feel comfortable and we have the doors shut. I have been preserving some late peaches that I got up to Ed Morgans. I walked up there yestorday and Kate and I picked a bushel and when Clair came home at night he went with the Ford after them. They made nice preserves. I made some for Edwina too. She brought some sugar down when she came.— We have only one pen holder and Helen and I are both writing. I have just tied a pen point to a short led pencil but it wables about like a loos tooth. Now you

The Whitesides letters sent during the Great War "eased the temporal and spatial distances between sender and receiver." Left, Whitesides used Layton Water System stationary for his letter to his son at Camp Lewis, Washington, September 1917. Right, Mary Whitesides begins by detailing the domestic scene before commenting on her troubles finding a suitable pen to compose the letter. (Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Emil Whitesides Collection, Accn 3082.)

night the north wind whistled howled around the corners through the trees, drifting snow in at every crevice, making the fire boom up the chimney and people huddle around the stove . . . You know the kind of night."[21] And finally, "This is a beautiful June morning. You know the kind. Your father took the water at seven this morning in the Lindsey field."[22] In using such expressive language, Mary did not want to be seen as "poetical." "[I] just want to make you think of home as it is, so you can seem nearer."[23] This last quote is telling, suggesting that Mary wrote her letters with at least two purposes in mind: first, she carefully selected scenes of home and family life so that Emil, reading, could experience the day-to-day sensation of being with his loved ones; second, anticipating Emil's reaction to her words helped Mary feel a connection with her son that made him feel closer to her than he really was.

Emil's letters home reveal an intellectually curious, well-educated young man. Prior to being drafted, he completed a year at the University of Utah's Normal School (1913–1914), taught school in Farmington for two years, and then moved to Logan to attend a year at the Utah Agricultural College (now Utah State University).[24] Emil embraced the unique opportunities military service afforded him to see and experience new places, first at Camp Lewis, Washington, Camp Merritt, New Jersey, and finally at Army General Headquarters in Chaumont, France, where he served as field clerk. Until the November 1918 Armistice, army censorship limited what Emil could disclose regarding his exact whereabouts. This included any comments on "the moral or physical condition of our own or allied troops." Until September 1918, servicemen could not even send photographs home. Nevertheless, in many of

his letters Emil describes French landscapes, village life, and culture in almost ethnographic detail. Once censorship relaxed following the Armistice, he routinely filled ten, eleven pages with his long, fluid cursive script. Some letters did not survive Emil's wartime service. In the summer of 1918, Emil burned many of them when it looked like his unit might move to the Front.[25]

For his part, Emil seems to have accepted his separation from home and family with a sense of resignation—at least as long as the chance for reunion seemed remote and far in the distant future. Shortly after arriving in France he wrote Ed, "I received mother's letter and I anticipated my move caused you all much worry that is what I hate about it. We must meet difficulties and so on philosophically and make the best of them." He continued, "As far as being blue I'm not that nature. Of course, there are ups and downs in all things but it is a foolish thing to brood over things we can't help." Plus, with the upcoming peace talks perhaps Emil would be home sooner than expected. "It is a good experience and a fellow learns as much as he would going to school."[26] Shortly after arriving in France, for instance, Emil busied himself learning French through classes offered through the YMCA. "I wish I had studied French in High School or at the A[gricultural]. C[ollege].," Emil lamented in April 1918. By June he knew a few phrases and could ask simple questions but found communication frustrating. "Part of the time the French don't get what I am driving at. It comes by practice and I am not foreward enough to make friends."[27] Although by the end of the month, Emil found he could read French easily enough, it took another year before he felt confident in his speaking abilities.[28] Ed approved of Emil's efforts. "I think your taking French is the right thing. It will take the place in our schools after the war that has been vacated by the German language. Everything German will be taboo for a long time—at least for a generation," he surmised.[29] Emil's interest in learning French stemmed from his desire to experience and understand the local culture. "I have thot all along that I would miss something if I didn't get acquainted with some of the common people," he wrote Ed in July 1918.[30] Whenever he had the chance, Emil took the time to explore village life in the Chaumont area, sending home vivid descriptions to his parents and family.[31]

> The peasants wear wooden shoes but dress pretty well. . . . It looks queer to see the kids clatter along in their wooden shoes and ask for pennies and cigarettes. . . . The old men, boys about 14 to 16 years old and the women seem to be doing all the work.
>
> Just back from a walk around the hill. Down in the valley at the west of town there is a municipal wash place, a basin built of stone. It isn't covered and water flows there. All around the edge the stone is slanted enough for a proper slant of a washboard. The women kneal in boxes all around this basin and wash their clothes by hand. They have a paddle and pound the clothes a while then [scrub] them.
>
> I went to about the prettiest little village I have seen. Everything was so green and peaceful. [Dairying] seems to be the main occupation of these people and they seemed better fixed than on a great many places. It is a typical village with its Chateau and church and houses clustered in a little hollow thru which flows what we would call a creek but they call a river. . . . They seem to live quiet and contended lives in these villages in comparison to the break neck speed . . . that the American goes at anything even in the small town of [America].[32]

In September 1918 Emil finally made his first trip to Paris. "Yes, I have gotten to see Paris at last," he began the letter home. Emil stayed at the Hotel du Grand Pavillon, then commandeered by the YMCA. "They serve the best of food here in a fine dining room and it sure seems good to eat that way after not having eaten from a table with a cloth on for nearly 8 months," he noted. Emil spent the first day visiting the Notre Dame Cathedral, the Eiffel Tower, and the Bastille. The next day he saw Versailles, reporting "In spite of the fact that I had heard so much about it and expected to see a great deal

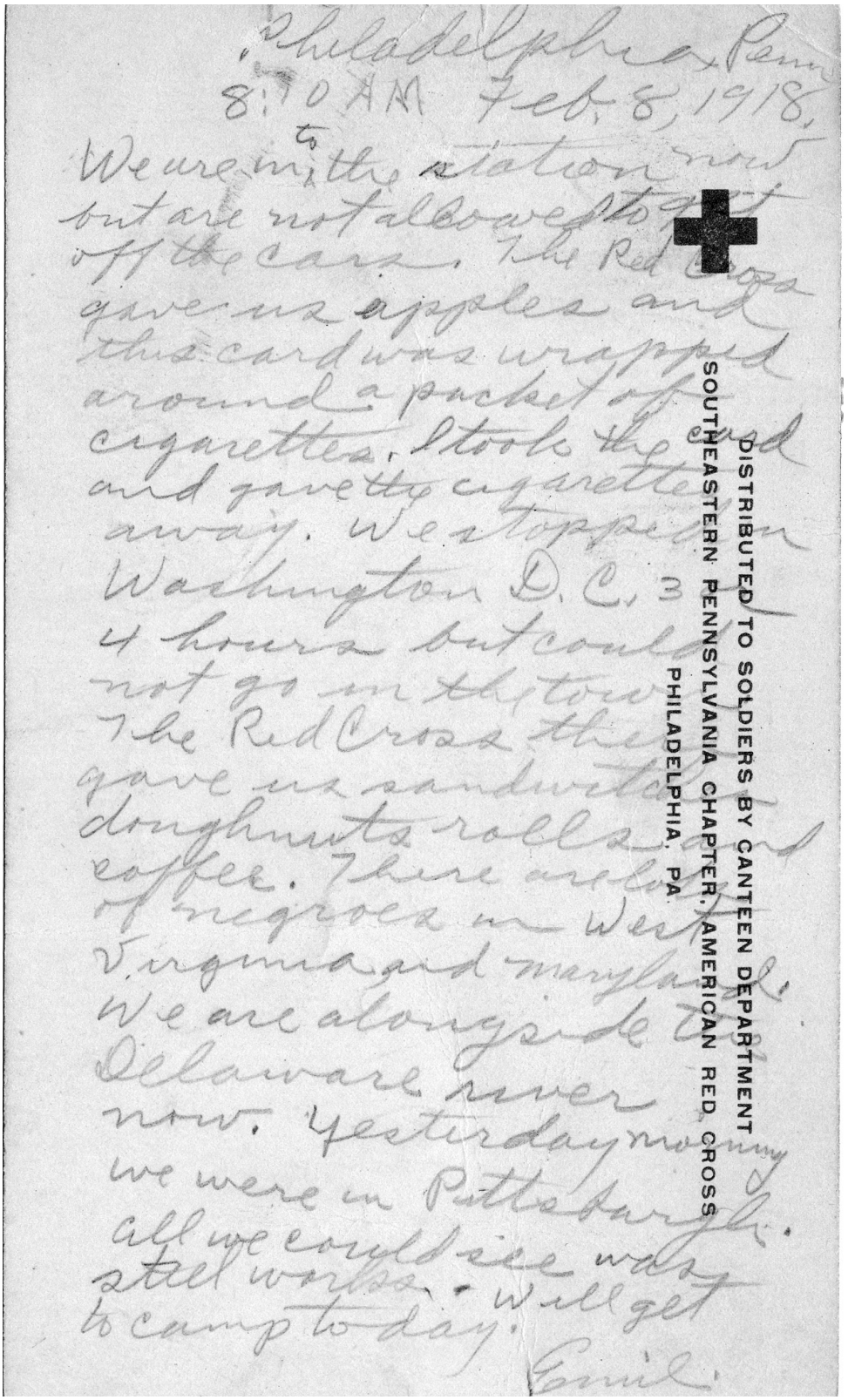
American soldiers in Chaumont, Haute Marne, France, 1919. Left to right: Valentine, Whitesides, Wugnild, Desche. (Courtesy of Stephen E. Whitesides and Caroline Whitesides Ludlow.)

it surpassed my expectations in magnificence on a tremendously large scale. The park which surrounds the palace beats anything for parking I ever expect to see."[33]

As these and other experiences suggest, Emil's wartime service reflected a period of intense identity formation and negotiation. It was the first time he and many other Latter-day Saint men encountered a world outside purely Mormon Utah contexts, a world his family learned about vicariously through his letters. Correspondence from Ed and Mary, on the other hand, reflect ways in which the war and its attendant influenza epidemic embedded their family and faith community into a wider national experience, contributing to an already ongoing process of assimilation and Americanization. During his service Emil found outward ways to maintain his distinct religious identity; his family and neighbors, on the other hand, eagerly joined the war effort through overt patriotism. When influenza claimed the lives of friends and family, they joined a nation of mourners, sharing in the common experience of illness and death.

Throughout his time in the army, Emil was careful to maintain his Latter-day Saint identity. At Camp Lewis, Emil actively attended Sacrament meetings. "Two Mormon Lieutenants asked a returned missionary to organize and have LDS services. He did so and they had a meeting at 10 o'clock Sun morning. The time was devoted to testimony bearing. Time was sure at a premium. It seemed that one could hardly wait for another to sit down. It was a very spiritual meeting."[34] Once overseas, Emil especially missed the emotional and spiritual stability he gained from church attendance. In the winter of 1919, while waiting to be shipped home, he observed, "The last time I was in a LDS meeting house was Xmas holiday time 1917 at Tacoma. There isn't the same spirit pervading at any other service."[35] Apparently Emil was not alone in this attitude. Glen Wilcox, whose letter to his bishop appeared in the *Davis County Clipper* observed, "These chaplins [*sic*] don't . . . know very much about the truth as we have it. A student of President Wilson's and a minister, gave a fine lecture here on the 18th. . . . I judged from his remarks that he didn't believe in a resurrection of the body after death. In fact neither of the soul. . . . Although his talk was good from a moral standpoint, several Mormon boys whom I knew made the remark after services that it was flimsy so far as the truth was concerned."[36]

Emil was careful to observe the Word of Wisdom by abstaining from alcohol and tobacco use. His decision certainly marked him out as being different from the others, a distinction he willing accepted. In one letter Emil observed that a friend from home was "the same old guy but he smokes a pipe."[37] Again, Wilcox also made a point of distinguishing between those who observed the church's health code and those who did not. "Out of seven men in my room, five of them are smokers and swears, three are gamblers and two of us are now users. I am the only one who does not use coffee in our room."[38] En route to Camp Merritt, New Jersey, the train stopped at a station in Philadelphia long enough for Emil to send a postcard home. "The Red Cross gave us apples and this card was wrapped around a packet of cigarettes. I took the card and gave the cigarettes



Emil's Red Cross postcard, February 1918. (Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Emil Whitesides Collection, Accn 3082.)

away," he explained.[39] In France he observed, "It seems that wine takes the place of desert. Anywhere you see people eating there are three or four bottles on the table." Invited into a French home for dinner one evening, Emil struggled to explain to his hosts why he would not "drink to their health." "After considerable stammering and feeling around for words I made them feel alright about it."[40] With these comments, Emil communicated an important message to his parents that despite being far from home, their son had not succumbed to the common vices military life sometimes entailed. He would return, just as his mother hoped, "a clean and honest man."[41]

On the home front, the Whitesides family joined countless others across the United States in a shared wartime experience. When Mark turned nine, he thanked Emil for the dollar he sent him, adding, "Ma couldn't make me a birthday cake because it was wheatless day."[42] In August 1918, the family had to dry their fruit instead of bottling it because of sugar rationing. That fall Mary also noted the difficulty in finding harvest help. "Your father said that the old guard is back to the threshing machine . . . They have worked hard but it is done now and they feel tired but pretty well satisfied. Indeed, they miss you boys!"[43]

Wartime patriotism also pervaded Mormon worship services. In commenting on the April 1918 General Conference, Ed observed, "The Tabernacle was decorated with the national colors and the mention of treating the decorations with respect a burst of applause broke forth and was only quelled by the uplifted hands of Joseph F. [Smith.] Much of the talk was patriotic." He noted, "The church takes a quarter of a million worth of bonds of the Third Liberty Loan, which was launched yesterday."[44] At stake conference a month later, newly called Apostle Richard R. Lyman spoke in Clearfield. "He refered to the soldier boys in eloquent terms and the Stars and Stripes as the flag that had never known defeat," Ed reported. The following week's Sacrament meeting program featured a Judge W. H. Reader from Ogden, who spoke to a full meeting house on the importance of the Red Cross. "The drive for $100,000 starts tomorrow," Ed explained. "Layton Ward is allotted $765 and expects to go over the top. The time is about passed when one has to take up an argument with anyone on subjects of this kind."[45] Mary noted the way in which patriotism infused Mormon hymn singing with newfound fervor and meaning. "I think we are clinging closer to our faith and closer to each other in the church. How often the [choir] and congregation stands and sings 'Come Come ye Saints' and that with more feeling than I noticed before," adding, "We women are all knitting and sewing to beat time for the Red Cross at all visitings and all socials and some meetings the knitting needles are just flying."[46]

Armistice celebrations further created a sense of national unity and identity that was reflected in the letters Emil received from home. Mary recounted, "Yestorday, the whole U.S. went mad with joy. All work ceased and all business suspended and people went out. Bells rang whistles blew. And all manner of noise could be heard." Clair and a group of friends traveled to Salt Lake City and witnessed the festivities firsthand. According to Mary's re-telling, people

> ran, shouted, banged tin pans, tooted automobile horns, cuffed each others hats of[f] and in a thousand other ways gave vent to their feelings . . . Clair said that no one was annoyed at anything that was done. He saw expensive hats knocked into the gutter and the owners would pick them up over and over again and put them on only to be knocked off again. They only smiled. Old and young joined in alike. Some people went to Ogden and Salt Lake both.[47]

Politics intermingled with patriotism at church, particularly after the Armistice. Ed, who voted Republican, avidly followed the developing peace talks. "The peace parly will be no kindergarten affair," he observed. "I note what objections are being raised to the 'League of Nations' proposal and that England is not entirely converted to one of the fourteen points dealing with the freedom of the seas." In late February 1919 Ed noted the overwhelming ambivalence towards U.S. involvement in the League of Nations. "We discussed it in the High Priesthood today and made it a special order for our next meeting." A few weeks later, Ed reported on how the discussion went and lamented on the

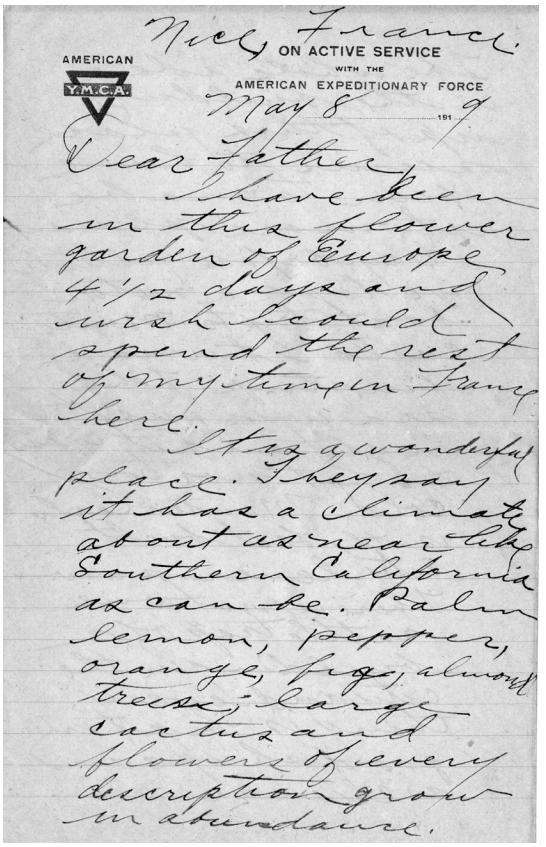
general ignorance he observed around him. "Very few know much about [the League of Nations] only in a general way, partly because they have not read or studied much about it; and partly because they couldn't understand it if they had." He concluded, "I think there is no one wise enough to see what the ultimate effect of it will be either with or without it. Sentiment is about unanimous in favor of doing something that prevent wars, but beliefs are not unanimous on the proposition that war can be ended at this stage of man's progress."[48] It is difficult to ascertain what exactly Ed thought about the League, but Emil expressed avid support.[49]

Perhaps nothing connected the Whitesides family and their neighbors to the world beyond the Wasatch Front like the 1918 influenza pandemic. Ed and Mary first mentioned the epidemic in mid-October 1918. Ed initially called it a "scare." After all, only one case had been discovered in Kaysville, although Dee Hospital had admitted forty cases. By the end of the month all schools and church meetings had been closed or suspended, and Ed reported twenty to thirty cases of flu in Layton. "This has seemed a most unusual Sunday. Everything of a public nature still closed tightly," Ed reported.[50] It would become the norm for the next three months as cases proliferated and deaths mounted. "Time seems to go slow while we are so careful. We never go into each others houses," Mary noted. "The children do not flock togather like they always did." Funeral services were held outside and often the only thing neighbors could do for one another was fast and pray.[51] At the beginning of November Ed felt the worst of the epidemic was over and it was only a matter of time before the schools opened again. A few weeks later he solemnly noted, "It is Sunday again and no meetings and no anything much except funerals and they are being held quite frequently." Armistice Day revelers undoubtedly contributed to the epidemic's spike, though no one seems to have made the connection at the time. By December, however, small groups of students began to gather in Kaysville twice a week to go over homework assignments. Church services and school formally resumed with the new year.[52] None of the family caught the virus, although Ed believed he may have suffered a light case in January.[53] In total, Ed and Mary named at least four individuals who died of Spanish influenza, including Emil's cousin, Edna Harris Davis from Preston, Idaho, who had recently given birth. Ed and Mary were unable to attend the funeral because of bad roads. With Preston under quarantine, they couldn't even buy a train ticket north.[54]

Significantly, Emil was unusually silent about the influenza epidemic both in France and at home. "You haven't said anything about the prevelance of this disease over there. Of course, we know it is there because we read the fatalities," Ed noted.[55] Either Emil's unit saw less influenza than others, or he deliberately refrained from writing about the epidemic so as to keep his parents from worrying.[56] Another explanation for Emil's silence might be the lag in mail processing and delivery. It took an average of three to four weeks for any mail to reach its destination. Emil wrote weekly, regardless of whether or not he received a letter from his parents. By the time his return letter arrived in Layton, an additional six to eight weeks had passed since the original event occurred, making it very difficult for Emil to comment on any news from home. A third possibility is that although censorship rules relaxed considerably following the Armistice, it might have still been difficult to obtain reliable information on the health of U.S. troops.[57] Finally, Emil simply had other things to write home about.

In May 1919, just as Ed and Mary attended their last outdoor funeral, Emil took his final sightseeing trip to the south of France.[58] "They say it has the climate about as near like Southern California as can be," he wrote Ed. "Palm lemon, pepper, orange, figs, abound." But it was more than the climate that interested Emil. At Nice, he attended a YMCA dance where he met a young woman, introducing an entirely new dynamic to his time in France. "It was the first time I danced since Xmas 1917, so I got in and made the best of my time," Emil related.

> I danced with one French girl a daughter of a Lt. Colonel. She could understand a little English but I soon found out I could put across what I wanted to say in French better than English as bad as my French. Lo and behold before the dance was out she envited me to come to their home to afternoon tea . . . I was surely surprised for it is


Nice, France.
AMERICAN
Y.M.C.A.
ON ACTIVE SERVICE
WITH THE
AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE
May 8 1919
Dear Father
I have been
in this flower
garden of Europe
4 1/2 days and
wish I could
spend the rest
of my time in France
here. It is a wonderful
place. They say
it has a climate
about as near like
Southern California
as can be. Palm
lemon, pepper,
orange, figs, almond
trees, large
cactus and
flowers of every
description grow
in abundance.

The first page of a May 1919 letter from Emil Whitesides in which he mentions Marie Therese. Emil's descriptions of the geography, culture, and people made his foreign travels familiar to his family; in this case he compared the climate of Nice, France, to Southern California. (Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Emil Whitesides Collection, Accn 3082.)

> the first time anything like that has happened since I have been here in France. So I went.

Emil suddenly found himself a guest at the Bazinet home: Lt. Col. and Madam Bazinet and their children, twenty-year-old Marie Therese and fourteen-year-old Jean. Lt. Col. Bazinet served the French Army in Asia and Africa, ending his military career in the trenches of the Western Front, where he was gassed terribly. Although his health was broken and frail, Bazinet still found the strength to engage Emil in a spirited discussion of politics. "We discussed or I mean he did most of the discussing and about all I could do was to agree or disagree with him."[59]

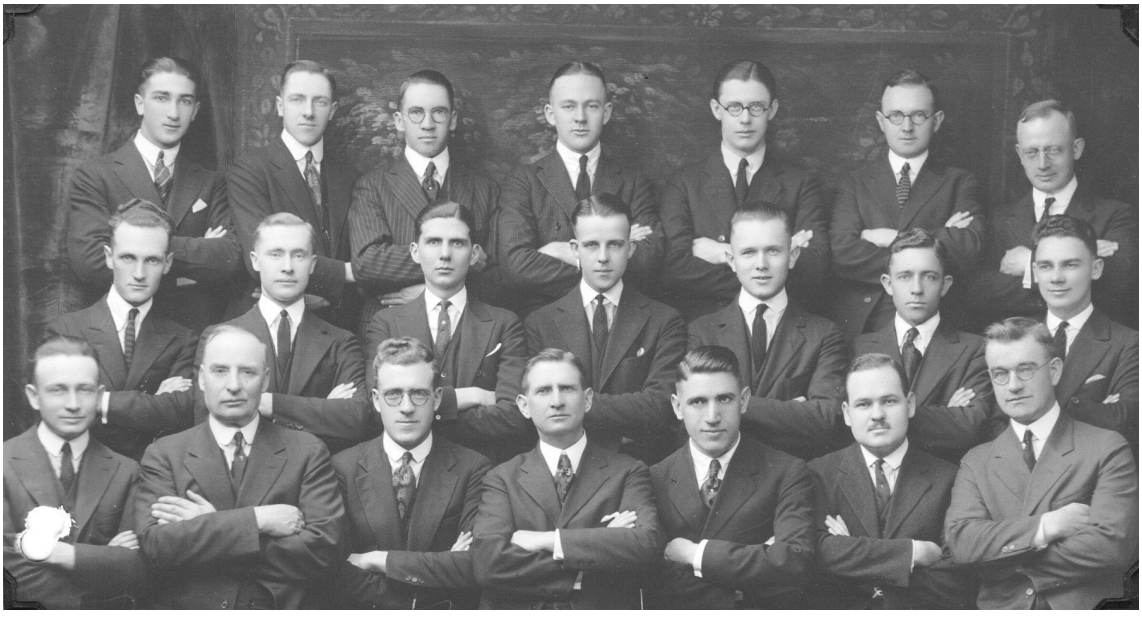
When Emil's traveling partner decided to forego a side trip to Marseilles, Emil happily consented, spending the remainder of his time in Nice visiting the Bazinets. "Their home is more like our own. They have rugs on the floors and some good chairs to sit down in and they like to talk of things more of interest to me," he related to Mary. On Sunday, Emil attended Catholic services with the family. "I am not at home in a Catholic church but they had some music and the preacher spoke pretty well on living a life of simplicity more like the ancients and so on." That afternoon they took Emil to Cap Ferrat, where he stood entranced, looking out across the Mediterranean, watching the sea change colors from green to deep purple and the waves break against the rocky shoreline. Once at home again, Madame Bazinet saw to it that Emil had as much milk as he wanted—an especially welcome treat. "You don't get milk any old day in France. It was good because the cream was on it and I drank about three cups one after another and it made me think of the times at home when after supper I would tuck away about 3 glasses of milk."[60]

Suddenly the visit was over and Emil had to return to Chaumont. The morning of his departure, Emil and the family climbed a hill near town and took photographs. "They told me they would send some two of each so I could send one home to my mother." Madam Bazinet saw that he had his fill of cake and milk before they took him to the train station. Emil shook hands "at least a dozen times" with Lt. Col. Bazinet, who wished him a "'bon voyage.'" "[Madam Bazinet] went on ahead in the car and we met her in a bakery shop and there she was having a lunch of cakes put up for me. They were sure fine," Emil recounted. The family's hospitality overwhelmed him. "It did seem good for that is the first time I have had anything done for me for nearly two years and in the army we learn not to have someone put themselves out for you. When we got to the station the lady got me some oranges despite all my protests that she had done too much." From his letters home, it is apparent that Emil suspected the Bazinet's kindness may have been directed at fostering a relationship between Marie Therese and himself, a prospect he seems to have deemed impractical. "We have some wonderful girls in America and I think the majority of the A.E.F. knows it," Emil observed to Ed, recognizing the

need for restraint. "One has to be careful what he says to the French girl because you can't kid them like you can an American."[61]

Emil arrived home two months later on July 18, 1919. That fall he taught at Centerville Elementary, where his wartime service came in handy—rowdy boys thought better of causing trouble when they discovered his veteran status.[62] He and Marie Therese corresponded until Emil received a call to the LDS Eastern States mission, where he served from 1920 to 1922.[63] It meant another separation, filled once again with letters from home. At the close of his mission, Emil was "reluctant in leaving," a direct contrast to how he felt waiting to be shipped home from France three years earlier. "I have always looked forward to a mission and now it is over and I'll have to buck other propositions in life," he wrote Mary in August 1922. A teaching job at Farmington Elementary followed, as did graduation from the University of Utah and marriage to Ruth Miriam Renstrom on August 14, 1924. After a brief stint as an LDS Seminary teacher in Cowley, Wyoming, the couple settled in Kaysville where Emil returned to what he knew best: the public schools. Three children soon followed: Caroline, Marilyn, and Stephen. Emil taught and worked as a counselor at Davis High School from 1925 until 1951, when he became principal of North Davis Junior High. The 1954–1955 school year saw him back at Davis High where he finished out his career as principal, retiring in 1960. During these years, Emil also entered local politics, serving as mayor of Kaysville from 1944 to 1948 and as Davis County Treasurer from 1963 to 1970.

In 1973 Emil and his grandson Andy attended the International Rotary Convention held that year in Lausanne, Switzerland. It gave Emil the opportunity to revisit many of the places he remembered from his wartime service. In May the pair arrived in Nice, and he eagerly searched for the Bazinet home. "Walked along Boulevard de Anglaise, which looked the same except the Jette Promenade, the amusement casino had been destroyed by the Germans in World War II," he recorded in his diary that day. "Tried to find #3 Rue Antoine Gauther. The street had been widened and the house was gone."[64] Emil returned home never knowing what happened to the Bazinets—Marie Therese, her parents, and brother Jean. The time he spent with them looking out across the Mediterranean and eating at their table remained only memories, which would themselves become shrouded and veiled. Tragically, Emil suffered the last ten years of his life with dementia, passing away on October 6, 1992. Yet



Conference presidents, LDS Eastern States Mission, New York, November 1921. Emil Whitesides is seated on the second row, second from the right. (Courtesy of Barbara H. Crockett.)

despite his trouble recognizing family members, reportedly he could still sing the "Marseilles" in French well into his nineties.[65]

When he died, three-quarters of a century had passed since the day he left for Camp Lewis—Mary watching from the porch, Ed's final goodbyes in Ogden, and the train taking him farther and farther from home.

Emil's service in World War I was a mere snapshot in time of an otherwise long and eventful life, but one he nonetheless chose to document through letter keeping. Initially Emil saved these letters because they breathed of home and in reading them he could hear his parents talking and feel the familiar qualities of home and family life. For readers and scholars today, the Whitesides letters function in a related way, overcoming, as they do, a similar separation of time and space. The literary critic Janet Gurkin Altman notes that letters "function as a connector between two distant points, as a bridge between sender and receiver," whose concrete, tactile qualities "straddles the gulf between presence and absence." Altman continues, "We read any given letter from at least three points of view—that of the intended or actual recipient as well as that of the writer and our own."[66] What meaning or significance the letters hold, then, depends upon the reader and what he or she needs or wants to know. Certainly, these letters help us better understand the emotional hardship World War I brought to countless American families and the significant role letter writing played in assuaging these feelings—even communicating sentiments that may otherwise have been left unsaid. They also demonstrate how an individual, family, and religious community responded to life-altering change. For Emil the decision to maintain his identity through outward observance of his faith's dietary code is coupled with his family and community's overwhelming participation in patriotic displays and shared suffering. Finally, perhaps less ostentatiously, the Whitesides family correspondence relates the mundane, day-to-day existence of one family who lived at the base of Utah's Wasatch Range and their son and brother, far away in France, who wrote long letters home about people and places they would never see.

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Notes

1 Emil Morris Whitesides, "Things I Remember Most and Things I Have Been Told," 11, personal history in possession of the author; Ed Whitesides to Emil, October 21, 1917, the Emil Whitesides Collection, Accn 3082, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. All correspondence cited in this article are from the Emil Whitesides Collection.
2 Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, May 12, 1918; Ed Whitesides to Emil, September 26, 1917.
3 Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, May 12, 1918, March 9, 1919.
4 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, September 11, October 23, 1918.
5 United States Postal Service, *Annual Report of the Postmaster General for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1918* (Washington, DC, 1919), 2–4.
6 *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, s.v. "War Letters: Communication between Front and Home front," by Martha Hanna, last modified October 8, 2014, encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/pdf/1914-1918-Online-war_letters_communication_between_front_and_home_front-2014-10-08.pdf.
7 Martha Hanna, "A Republic of Letters: The Epistolary Tradition in France during World War I," *American Historical Review* 108 (December 2003): 1339, 1341–44, 1348.
8 Steven Stowe, "Making Sense of Letters and Diaries," last modified August 18, 2018, historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/letters/.
9 See Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, May 12, 1918. "It is hard to break thru my reserved nature," Emil wrote in a Mother's Day letter home. "You remember I always did keep my innermost feelings to myself."
10 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1991), 6–7; Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6–8, 209.
11 Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 14.
12 Ibid., 258–71.
13 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, October 20, 1917.
14 Letters from Emil were specifically noted in the April 19, 1918 issue. For other examples, see *Davis County Clipper,* March 8, 1918, October 4, 11, 1918.
15 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 9, 1918.
16 Edward Morris Whitesides, Obituary, *Ogden Standard-Examiner*, August 19, 1960.
17 The Young Men's Christian Association, *Summary of World War Work of the American YMCA* (The International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, 1920), 26–28, 150–51, 176, archive.org/stream/cu31924027893126#page/n7/mode/2up; Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, April 28, 1918.
18 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 28, 1917.
19 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 7, 1917.
20 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 14, 1917.
21 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, January 10, 1918.
22 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, June 6, 1918.
23 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 14, 1917.

24 Emil Morris Whitesides, "Things I Remember Most and Things I Have Been Told," 7–11.
25 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, March 7, 1918; United States Army, Center of Military History, *United States Army in the World War, 1917–1919*, vol. 16, General Orders, GHQ, AEF (Washington, 1948, 1992), 3, 438, accessed August 20, 2018, history.army.mil/html/books/023/23-22/index.html; Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, March 9, 1919.
26 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, February 13, 1918.
27 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, April 15, June 4, 1918.
28 Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, June 30, 1918; Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, March 30, 1919.
29 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, August 25, 1918.
30 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, July 11, 1918.
31 Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, April 22, 1918.
32 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, March 7, 1918; Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, September 22, 1918, April 6, 1919.
33 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, September 1, 1918; Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, September 2, 1918.
34 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, October 9, 1917.
35 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, January 19, 1919.
36 Glen E. Wilcox, "Letter from Glen E. Wilcox," *Davis County Clipper,* December 28, 1917.
37 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, October 9, 1917.
38 Glen E. Wilcox, "Letter from Glen E. Wilcox," *Davis County Clipper,* December 28, 1917.
39 Emil Whitesides, postcard, February 8, 1918.
40 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, July 11, 1918.
41 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, June 6, 1918.
42 Mark Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, December 15, 1917.
43 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, August 1, 15, 28, 1918.
44 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, April 7, 1918.
45 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, May 12, 19, 1918.
46 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, January 10, 1918.
47 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 12, 1918.
48 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 24, 1918, February 23, March 16, 1919.
49 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, February 16, 1919.
50 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 13, 20, 1918; Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 9, 1918.
51 Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 30, 1918.
52 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, November 3, 24, 1918, December 1, 8, 29, 1918, January 5, 1919.
53 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, January 26, 1919.
54 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 27, 1918.
55 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, December 8, 1918. Mary Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, October 30, 1918.
56 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, January 5, 1919. "According to statistics," Emil wrote, "there was about ½ [as] much flu here in the army as in the states."
57 Ward J. MacNeal, "The Influenza Epidemic of 1918 in the American Expeditionary Forces in France and England," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 23, no. 6 (June 1919): 657.
58 Ed Whitesides to Emil Whitesides, May 4, 1919.
59 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, May 8, 18, 1919.
60 Emil Whitesides to Mary Whitesides, May 11, 1919.
61 Emil Whitesides to Ed Whitesides, May 18, 1919.
62 Emil Morris Whitesides, "Things I Remember Most and Things I Have Been Told," 45.
63 Kaye Whitesides Andersen, conversation with the author, February 4, 2018.
64 Emil Morris Whitesides, "Things I Remember Most and Things I Have Been Told," 45–48, 53–55, 60–61, 70.
65 Memory of Marilyn Whitesides Dalton in Emil Morris Whitesides, "Things I Remember Most and Things I Have Been Told," 85.
66 Janet Gurkin Altman, *Epistolarity: Approaches to a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1982), 13, 43, 111.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

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Still the Right Place: Utah's Second Half-Century of Statehood, 1945–1995

By James B. Allen

Provo: Charles Redd Center for Western Studies at Brigham Young University and Utah State Historical Society, 2016. 661 pp. Paper, $22.99.

Writing about the times in which you live presents an author with an interesting challenge. On one hand you have perspective, a familiarity with the issues and events, and a knowledge of how things concluded. On the other hand, you may also have personal involvements and prejudices regarding how and why the events unfolded as they did. Striking a balance between the two is the challenge. Fortunately for those studying recent Utah history, James B. Allen recognizes that challenge and has found the appropriate balance in *Still the Right Place*.

Allen's work—organized structurally around the administration of Utah's governors in the latter half of the twentieth century—is encyclopedic. Within the narrative, several general themes emerge. Importantly, Allen notes that during this period, with only a few exceptions, Utah's economic and political life "tended to follow broader American patterns." In that regard, Allen posits that postwar Utah did not exist in a vacuum and that its "political and economic life became more fully integrated than ever before with the rest of the nation and with the world" (3). Moreover, as he makes clear, the centrality of "Utah's changing economy" made Utah a very different place than in its first half century. Finally, Allen realizes that while the LDS church is part of the state's story, it isn't the only part. He blends in church actions with the actions of other key groups on politics, social issues, diversity, personal beliefs, and morals and mores. Again, he strikes the appropriate balance.

Allen makes conservation, education, and economic expansion central to understanding postwar Utah. He handles those topics with insight, noting the complexities that exist within them. Beyond that, his examination of two other areas is of particular value. One is the "intense political debate" over the Equal Rights Amendment (193–97). Although the ERA began with broad support among Utah's political leaders, the opposition of the LDS church became a major factor in preventing the ERA from becoming part of the U.S. Constitution. In the process, the state became greatly divided, and the Utah experience served as a "microcosm of the continuing debate around the nation" (196). As a result, Allen argues, despite the division over the ERA, the legislature was forced to "correct some statutes . . . and equalize the status of men and women before the law" (197). The other topic is the Vietnam War, and Allen demonstrates its cost in lives and money, the changing and ambivalent attitudes of Utahns, and the outpouring of protest that came from a range of Utahns—from the banker Marriner Eccles to the student activists who organized significant protests in the 1970s. As with the ERA, Vietnam was a divisive issue in Utah and perhaps just as much a microcosm for attitudes nationally. Beyond the narrative itself, Allen provides three detailed and informative appendices covering ethnicity, religion, and the arts.

One of the best parts of *Still the Right Place* is Allen's consideration of some of the engaging personalities of postwar Utah. While there are many such individuals, several stand out. There is the feisty J. Bracken Lee, whose conservatism and tendency to call shots as he saw them without worrying about the consequences produced eight stormy years. For a quarter of a century, from 1948 to 1971, Lee was a factor in almost every election at the state and local level. At the same time, the solid Senator Arthur V. Watkins presided over the senatorial censure of Joseph R. McCarthy, knowing that many of his constituents supported the Wisconsin senator's crusade against communism.

The controversy surrounding these events and the enemies he made (including Lee) led to Watkins's defeat for a third term in the 1958 election. Out of that divided election emerged Frank E. "Ted" Moss, whose eighteen years in the Senate as a moderate liberal in an increasingly conservative state were marked by a commitment to conservation, consumer protection, and public health care issues. Finally, Calvin L. Rampton, who had run without success for several political offices, emerged in 1964 to begin three terms as Utah's chief executive. Allen describes Rampton as man of "rare political balance," whose years in office represented "a time of particularly fundamental and far reaching change for Utah" (159, 225). Utah's governors have built upon Rampton's legacy and approach in the years since.

Crisply written and well researched, James B. Allen's *Still the Right Place* is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Utah experience. Moreover, it is an important resource for those seeking to understand the roots of contemporary Utah, now more than twenty years into its second century.

— John Sillito
Weber State University

At Sword's Point, Part 2: A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859

Edited by William P. MacKinnon

Norman: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2016. 698 pp. Cloth, $45.00.

The Utah War, because it pitted the territory of Utah against the U.S. federal government, easily ranks among the most intriguing and simultaneously baffling chapters in the history of this state. With the addition of *At Sword's Point, Part 2* to his earlier volume, *At Sword's Point, Part 1* (2008), William P. MacKinnon has greatly contributed to our understanding of that event. Whereas the 2008 volume helped to piece together the intriguing story of Utah's engagement in an armed standoff with the U.S. federal government, this volume narrates the equally surprising culmination of the conflict, which ended in suspicion and an unsteady détente. With painstaking attention to detail, *At Sword's Point, Part 2* dramatically illuminates the concluding events and immediate aftermath of the Utah War. This volume thus represents a significant achievement and will become the unquestioned starting point for research into the Utah War for many years to come.

At Sword's Point, Part 2 describes in detail the Utah War during 1858, including the conditions of the Army during the winter at Camp Scott, the peace negotiation efforts of Thomas L. Kane, the Latter-day Saint move south, the U.S. Peace Commission, and the tenuous truce that developed between the Mormons and the Army following the conflict. While each of these stories is a familiar portion of the Utah War narrative, MacKinnon adds to our understanding of these events by including heretofore unpublished documents. *At Sword's Point, Part 2* goes beyond the familiar aspects of the war by detailing the efforts to plan a military invasion of Utah by means of the Colorado River, as well as a chapter discussing Buchanan's correspondence with foreign diplomats regarding the Utah War. These latter topics represent a significant contribution to our knowledge about the Utah War and help resolve the question of whether an attack from California was actually considered or merely rumored.

As with its predecessor and companion volume, the virtues of *At Sword's Point, Part 2* include MacKinnon's careful nuancing of the Utah War. In recounting the often-polarized story, MacKinnon refuses to portray "good guys" and "bad guys." Rather, his telling of the Utah War includes more than enough blame for all participants, Mormon and non-Mormon alike. Accordingly, the volume provides rich insights into the personalities of key players such as James Buchanan, Brigham Young, Thomas L. Kane, Alfred Cumming, and Albert Sidney Johnston. Even more importantly, he brings out the color and significance of the event's cast of minor characters such as Elizabeth W. Kane, John W. Phelps, Fitz-John Porter, Lazarus Powell, and Ben McCulloch. Particularly, the letters from the wives, like Elizabeth W. Kane, provide an important perspective to the history and remind us of the costs of military conflicts on the home front.

Importantly, MacKinnon's narrative and documents place the Utah War within a larger

national context than has often been understood. Rather than describe the war as an obscure and enigmatic event, MacKinnon demonstrates that both the origins and conclusion of the conflict grew out of the national discussions concerning slavery, sovereignty, and the increasingly evident North-South divide that would split the nation less than five years later. While some historians have struggled to carve out a place for Utah in the national narrative of the Civil War, MacKinnon reminds readers that the territory was indelibly linked to the questions that precipitated that conflict.

Nowhere does MacKinnon's book make a greater contribution than in its prodigious research. Rejecting the tendency to rely on the easily accessible materials that have been published in government reports and other collections, *At Sword's Point, Part 2* demonstrates the depth of MacKinnon's half-century of painstaking archival research into the topic. MacKinnon draws from various archival collections throughout the nation, including the sometimes complicated collections at the U.S. National Archives. The breadth and depth of his research provide historians not only with access to hitherto unpublished documents but also with new avenues for future scholarship.

In composing the book, MacKinnon chose to write both a historical narrative and a documentary history. This approach is both challenging and beneficial to the reader. In parts the annotation of the edited documents is minimal. This approach allowed MacKinnon to include more documents than would have been possible in a more heavily annotated documentary history. At the same time, in places the reader is left wishing for additional information regarding individuals, places, and other items mentioned within the presented documents. But while additional annotation would have been helpful in places, the inclusion of more material and unpublished documents proves to be of greater importance to the readers than would be the additional annotation.

MacKinnon's attention to detail makes *At Sword's Point, Part 2* a tribute to the virtues of thorough archival research and an essential inclusion in the library of any student of Utah or western history. It is to be hoped that students of the 1850s beyond Utah and the West will similarly take note of the volume and use it to broaden their understanding of the period and its problems, which extended well beyond the Mississippi River and the established states of the Union. Doing so will lead to a wider understanding of the nation in the years leading up to the Civil War.

— Brett D. Dowdle
LDS Church History Library

Defender: The Life of Daniel H. Wells

By Quentin Thomas Wells

Logan: Utah State University Press, 2016. x + 508 pp. Cloth, $39.95.

Before reading this biography, I knew Daniel H. Wells as the leader of Mormon military actions against Indians in early Utah and the Black Hawk War (not an entirely sympathetic role, if you see such conflicts partially from the perspectives of Utes, Goshutes, and Shoshones). I had also seen him through the eyes of one of his plural wives, Emmeline B. Wells, as I read sections from her diaries: she portrays him as emotionally distant in painful entries in those diaries; I was pleased that the author quoted and discussed these entries. My interest in apostolic succession also led me to remember Wells as one of those members of the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints who had served as a counselor to the church president, one of the most important roles in the church; then, at Brigham Young's death, Wells was suddenly consigned to a much lower role, Assistant to the Twelve, because he, although an apostle, had never been part of the Quorum of the Twelve.

Before this book, the only biography of Daniel H. Wells was Bryant Hinckley's *Daniel Hanmer Wells and Events of his Time*, published by the Deseret News in 1942, now well out of date and without scholarly footnotes. So Quentin Wells's book is a welcome upgrade and update. It ably tells the story of Daniel Wells's life as a wealthy non-Mormon in Nauvoo, then as a convert who became a favorite of Brigham Young and subsequently played a leading part in many of the major chapters of Utah history. It portrays Wells as a devoted convert to Mormonism and

a military defender of the Latter-day Saints in the Battle of Nauvoo, the Indian wars, and the Utah War.

Wells's life story shows how the temporal and the ecclesiastical were joined in early Utah. In addition to serving as a high church leader, Wells acted as attorney general for the State of Deseret, as a major general for the Mormon military forces in Utah, and as the mayor of Salt Lake City. He was also involved in extensive business dealings.

This narrative text of this book deals with Wells's extensive polygamous family; however, I wish the author had included an appendix listing Wells's wives and children, as Stanley Kimball did for *Heber C. Kimball: Mormon Patriarch and Pioneer* (1986). This could have been done adequately in two or three pages and would have been helpful to the reader and researcher.

My main reservation concerning *Defender* is its use of sources. While it certainly quotes many primary sources not found in Bryant Hinckley's book, I somehow felt that the LDS church archives must have more records of Wells's behind-the-scenes deliberations within the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. From this book, I didn't have a sense of the kinds of things Wells would be saying in that context. The author often quoted Hinckley's biography, which is a secondary source. It would have been better to cite a primary source, if possible.

In addition, the author sometimes did not cite important recent books. I suppose my main personal interest in Wells would be his involvement in Indian conflicts. For example, he was a central figure in the tragic war against the Timpanogas Utes in Utah County in early 1850. The author does not cite the three most important sources on that conflict: Jared Farmer's *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (2008) and D. Robert Carter's *Founding Fort Utah: Provo's Native Inhabitants, Early Explorers, and First Year Settlement* (2003) and *From Fort to Village: Provo, Utah, 1850–1854* (2008). In addition, Howard Christy's 1978 *Utah Historical Quarterly* article, "Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–52," is an invaluable source. When discussing Wells's participation in the Black Hawk War, the author does cite John Alton Peterson's excellent *Utah's Black Hawk War* (1998).

As Daniel H. Wells played a major part in the Utah War, I would have hoped that the author would have cited the first volume of William P. MacKinnon, *At Sword's Point* (2008). In his chapter eleven, Quentin Wells describes the Utah War as "A War of Lies and Egos, but No Casualties." However, MacKinnon emphasizes that there *were* casualties in this conflict; see especially his chapter twelve, "'Lonely Bones': Violence and Leadership."

Although I would have liked the author to have used these and similar sources more fully, this is nevertheless a valuable biography of an important Mormon leader and a readable and reliable retelling of a remarkable life.

— Todd Compton
Cupertino, California

The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History

Edited by Jill Mulvay Derr, Carol Cornwall Madsen, Kate Holbrook, and Matthew J. Grow

Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, 2016. 813 pp. Cloth, $49.95.

In 2008, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints announced it would create a press to publish scholarship about the faith. Its primary focus has been the Joseph Smith Papers, a multi-volume project devoted to publishing the thousands of pages of correspondence, revelations, ledgers, and more that Smith produced during his lifetime. It has also published smaller volumes, such as the *Journals of George Q. Cannon* and *At the Pulpit: 185 Years of Discourses by Latter-day Saint Women.* The Church Historian's Press has also made the contents of these books available electronically through its website.

The First Fifty Years of Relief Society: Key Documents in Latter-day Saint Women's History is one such smaller volume. A collaboration among Jill Mulvay Derr, Carol Cornwall

Madsen, Kate Holbrook, and Matthew J. Grow, the book is a documentary history of the official women's organization of the LDS church from 1842 to 1892. The editors have organized the documents into four categories. The first examines the founding of the Relief Society in the 1840s, complete with early tensions over the practice of polygamy and petitions to government officials to protect the Mormon community from persecution. The second section focuses on the creation of unofficial relief societies after Brigham Young dissolved the organization in March 1844. The decision of the LDS church to officially revive the Relief Society in the late 1860s is the focus of the third section, while the fourth section examines how the organization expanded in the last decades of the nineteenth century even as the federal government prosecuted Mormon polygamy more heavily. The book ends in 1892, just two years after Wilford Woodruff suspended the practice of polygamy. Choosing this date allows the editors to end with the Relief Society's Golden Jubilee.

The volume's publication by the Church Historian's Press determines its focus to some extent. The editors gathered their documents from Mormon sources and largely tell the story of faithful members of the church. Theirs is not a history of women who felt marginalized within the Relief Society. Fanny Stenhouse and Ann Eliza Young, who toured the United States denouncing Mormonism, would not find their excoriating critiques of the church within the volume's pages, in spite of the fact that the latter mentioned the Relief Society in her exposé of the church.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the editors offer a history without controversy. A careful reading of the documents offers insight into early responses to polygamy. Sarah Cuthbertson's application for admission to the society, with its inclusion of signatures meant to serve as a testament to her character, can be used as evidence of growing concerns over morality within the Mormon community. Documents from the 1870s evidence the growing dissatisfaction of Mormon women with their portrayals in newspapers and popular magazines. Minutes of a "Ladies Mass Meeting" and the "Great Indignation Meeting" held in January 1870 provide readers with vivid accounts of the anger that Mormon women felt when non-Mormons questioned their propriety. In the latter meeting, Sarah Granger Kimball asked her fellow Mormons whether they had "transgressed any law of the United States?" She was greeted with a loud "No" from the audience (313).

Perhaps most interesting is the attempt of the authors to move beyond white Mormonism to understand how a variety of ethnic groups experienced Mormonism in the nineteenth century. The minutes from the Indianola Ward offer a glimpse into a mixed-race Mormon congregation in the 1880s, while a report from a relief society in the Sandwich Islands describes the visit of the Hawaiian king and queen to Mormon communities.

The First Fifty Years of Relief Society also documents the successes of Mormon women as doctors and journalists. In general, it is a fantastic resource for individuals researching Mormon women's history. The sources are carefully selected, well edited, and arranged to provide readers with a broad introduction to the Relief Society's history. This book will be an invaluable resource for historians and scholars for years to come.

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The World War I pagoda memorial at Memory Grove in Salt Lake City. This eight-columned structure, erected in 1932, contains the names of 760 soldiers who died during and after World War I and the inscription "In grateful remembrance of the heroic sons of Utah who gave their lives in the world war." Anne Payne Howard (known publicly as Mrs. E. O. Howard) played an instrumental role in raising public and private funds for the memorial. Howard's son, Captain James B. Austin, became one of 29,277 Americans who died in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive. (Photograph by Lucy Call. Utah State Historical Society.)

Outside the Denver and Rio Grande Depot, 1910. *Utah State Historical Society*

UTAH DIVISION OF STATE HISTORY
UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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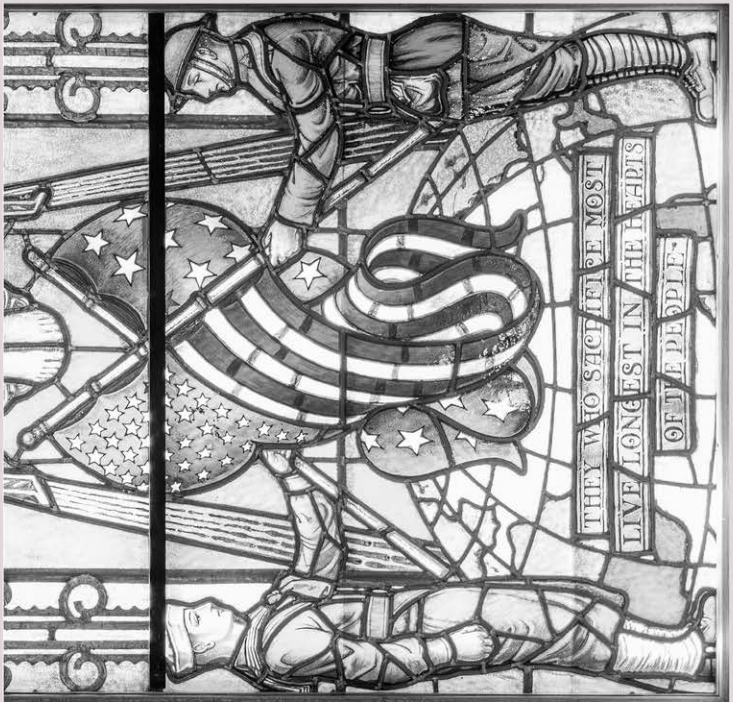
BACK COVER

— Davis County Veterans Memorial (detail) in Farmington, Utah.
Photo by Lucy Call. USHS.

FRONT COVER

— Springville Victory Fountain, sculpted by Cyrus Dallin in 1924 at the request of the local Service Star Legion.
Photo by Lucy Call. USHS.



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