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MAINE'S MARINES: THE SEARCH FOR REMEMBRANCE OF THE GREAT WAR

BY J. MICHAEL MILLER

Of the 32,083 Maine men who served in World War I, approximately twenty-four did so as enlistees in the United States Marine Corps. While Maine marines at that time represented only a small percentage of servicemen, they participated in some of the most significant battles in the war, battles that boosted the morale of the Allied forces in Europe, bolstered military recruitment efforts in the United States, and, by many estimates, helped turn the tide of the war. In the following article, author J. Michael Miller offers a remembrance of some of these marines by naming them and providing an account of their deaths. He also provides context for the conditions under which they served and imagines what they may have experienced by examining the recollections of war correspondent Floyd Gibbons, whose reporting elevated the profile of the marines, both at home and abroad. In doing so, Miller also provides an overview of some sources on Maine in WWI, which other researchers might find useful for future projects. Miller retired in 2016 from the Marine Corps History Division after over three decades of service, including as director of the archives. He is currently writing a multi-volume history of the marines in WWI.

At 11:00 a.m., November 11, 2018, the centennial of the Great War will pass in the blink of an eye, as do all commemorations. Remaining behind will be the vestiges of history that surface during the event and then are passed from the memory of one generation to the next. Some historians suggest that true history can only be written at least one hundred years after an event when unprejudiced analysis can take place. The United States is barely twice that age, making it important for its national narrative to accurately measure its role in decisive events, such as those surrounding World War I. To date, United States diplomatic history has fared well with many excellent studies centered on President Woodrow Wilson and his vision of the world, but social and military history less so. European nations

and their former colonies around the world are exactly the opposite, regarding the years 1914–1918 with the same fascination as Americans do the Civil War (1861–1865). Bolstered by this moment of collective remembrance, historians will likely ride the centennial wave of national interest in World War I until it crests and recedes in 2018, producing books, media, websites, and articles much like this one. For states and local communities, however, the task is much more daunting. A recital of the basic facts and figures of the events of 1917–1918 sometimes lacks a real association with the past. Connecting with smaller sets of personal data about individuals and the war presents a window into the past that is more understandable and responsive. This article seeks to do this through two levels of remembrance: a tribute to the fallen and an individual recollection of the war.

Since honoring the fallen is the bedrock of remembrance, this article will begin with a snapshot of the men from Maine who sacrificed their lives while serving in the United States Marine Corps during World War I, offering a touchstone to the past. While the recounting of these less famous marines herein represents but a small portion of the records available for the remembrance of the Mainers who served in the war, this article consulted documents available from the Maine State Archives in Augusta, Maine, which maintains records of all of the individual Mainers who took part in World War I. Included in these records are multiple boxes of correspondence, microfilm, newspaper clippings, service cards from the army and navy, and more. Of greatest importance to this article were the records of the Maine adjutant general. An act of the United States Congress in 1919 authorized the delivery of cards from every branch of the service to every state adjutant general. These cards detailed pertinent information about each sailor, soldier, and marine, particularly in terms of casualties, and have served an important role in World War I remembrance. In 1920, the army adjutant general wrote of numerous requests from historical and memorial agencies for information relative to deceased officers and enlisted men for use in remembrance ceremonies. In response to these inquiries, the army, navy, and marines delegated such requests to the states for action. With the delivery of thousands of three-by-five cards, remembrance became and remains the responsibility of each state archive. While far more records exist at the national level, Maine still holds the basic accounting of its citizens' contributions to the war.¹

While some might dismiss the minute details of individual service members who perished as less significant than the broader historical narratives and debates surrounding World War I, when placed in proper context and fleshed out with individual testimony, those details can provide



Close Combat in Belleau Wood, painting by United States Marine Corps illustrator Tom Lovell, 1918. Image courtesy of the United States Marine Corps.

citizens with a more personal connection to this significant period in world history. They also help to impart a deeper understanding of the seismic roar of the events of World War I for the people who lived through them. To provide that context, this article offers an individual recollection of the war, which emphasizes the nature of the sacrifices made by those on the front lines. Famed newspaper journalist Floyd Gibbons, one of the most prolific reporters of his era, went into battle with the marines at Belleau Wood and was grievously wounded. An examination of his papers, which are held by Raymond H. Fogler Library Special Collections at the University of Maine in Orono, Maine, offers vivid insight into the events of World War I, particularly as Americans search for ways to connect with a war that pales in recognition when compared to World War II and the Civil War. Gifted to the University of Maine in 1967 by Gibbons's descendants as a result of a family connection to *Bangor Daily News* reporter Jim Byrnes, the collection is contained in 110 linear feet of materials in 96 boxes and includes Gibbons's original drafts of newspaper articles, radio addresses, notebooks, interviews with Poncho Villa, his account of Belleau Wood and the resulting time in the hospital, and even his battle-damaged helmet worn at Belleau Wood. It is perhaps one of the largest manuscript collections of an early-twentieth-century American newspaper reporter that exists today, providing details surrounding moments in military history every bit as momentous as Joshua Chamberlain at Gettysburg, the D-Day landings at Normandy, and the flag raising on Iwo Jima. One such event was the opening attacks during Battle of Belleau Wood, coincidentally, on June 6, twenty-six years to the day before the Normandy invasion.²

Marines from Maine

Approximately 32,083 men from Maine served in World War I, representing all branches of the military. Of this total, only twenty-four marines were from Maine, or .07 percent. When compared with other Maine units that participated in the war—particularly Maine's famous 103rd Infantry Regiment and other units in the 26th "Yankee" Division—this number is incredibly small. These twenty-four Maine marines also composed only .04 percent of the 57,144 marines who enlisted during World War I, primarily because there were no marine recruiting stations in Maine in World War I, and the corps was substantially smaller than the army and navy. Almost any conclusion drawn from such a small sample size would be questionable. Less than 1 percent of any statistic could hardly be described as representing the contributions of the state of Maine, except when viewed

through the lens of sacrifice, one of the most important ways that Mainers contributed to the war effort.³

The number of deaths from Maine for all services during the war totaled 1,026, including marines, soldiers, and sailors. Of this number, sixteen marines were killed in action in France or died of disease, exhibiting another smaller percentage. However, the number of those marines killed represents a higher percentage than any other service. An amazing 67 percent died, over half of the total of twenty-four. These deaths also occurred in the largest and most famous of all of the American battles in 1918, from Belleau Wood to the Argonne Forest, including casualties from influenza, which occurred off the battlefield. These sixteen marines represent the nature of Maine's sacrifice in the Great War. The fact that there were no marine recruiters in Maine during the war meant that each man who sought service with the "Devil Dogs" did so with an extreme amount of resolve. Some were already working in other states and enlisted there. Others journeyed to the marine barracks established in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Boston, Massachusetts. The Marine Corps slogan, "First to Fight," certainly explained the choice of service. Reaching Europe quickly to engage the Germans proved the selling point for enlistment.⁴

Sergeant Miles H. Dodge, 18th Company, 5th Marines, was the first marine from Maine killed in action on June 1, 1918, at the Battle of Belleau Wood in France. He is buried in the American Battlefield Monuments Aisne-Marne Cemetery, on the battlefield where he fell. Another marker commemorates his passing at Woodlawn Cemetery in Wiscasset, Maine. Dodge enlisted in the Marine Corps on April 18, 1917, and went directly to recruit training in Parris Island, South Carolina, then to Quantico, Virginia, where he became a part of the 5th Marine Regiment. The regiment left almost immediately for France aboard the USS *Henderson*. He landed in Saint-Nazaire, France, on August 20, and was attached to the 18th Company, 5th Marines. Dodge flourished in his duties, being promoted to corporal in November 1917, and to sergeant in May 1918.⁵

Following Sergeant Dodge's death, three men from Maine perished in the attack over the Belleau Wood wheat fields on June 6, 1918. First Sergeant John Grant, an old-time marine born in Mars Hill, was killed while leading the 20th Company, 5th Marines. His body was returned to the United States to a Mrs. Rosie Brown and buried in Baltimore, Maryland, beside a four-year-old boy who died in 1905. (His relationship to these individuals is unknown.) The only listing of next of kin was John Roberts, a friend from Mars Hill. Grant received the Navy Cross and Distinguished Service Cross for his bravery under fire. Private Edmund J. La Bonte from



Marines from 1st Battalion, 5th Marines at Belleau Wood, 1918.
WWI US Army Signal Corps Photographs Collection,
US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

York Beach was also killed in action at Belleau Wood on June 6, as a member of the 49th Company, 5th Marines. La Bonte first enlisted in 1915 and was killed in the first early-morning assault on Hill 142. He now rests in Arlington National Cemetery. The third man to die that day was Corporal Gordon S. O'Donnell, twenty-one years of age, in the same wheat field, not far from Grant. O'Donnell, a native of East Holden, was a member of the 47th Company, 5th Marines, and the oldest of nine children. He worked on his father's farm in his youth before moving to Portland. He was employed as a newsboy on the Maine Central Railroad before enlisting on April 18, 1917. O'Donnell fell just two weeks before his twenty-second birthday.⁶

The battle for Belleau Wood also claimed Private Donald J. Sutherland, who was a native of Caribou. He reported to his unit, 43rd Company, 5th Marines, on June 12, and suffered a head wound on the same day. Sutherland died of those injuries six days later and was buried in Hillsboro Pioneer Cemetery in Hillsboro, Oregon. Before he enlisted, Sutherland worked for his uncle in Portland, Oregon. The local newspaper reported his loss with the headline, "Boy Well Known in Portland Killed in Action on June



Marine Veterans of Belleau Wood, 1919. *WWI US Army Signal Corps Photographs Collection*, US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

18.” Private Wells B. Cummings was another Maine marine to perish as a result of the battle for Belleau Wood. A native of York Harbor and a student at Princeton University before enlisting in the Marine Corps on February 15, 1917 (just before the United States entered the war), Cummings suffered a gunshot wound on June 28, 1918, near the end of the battle. He was transferred to a field hospital and died of his wounds on July 1.⁷

The next marines from Maine killed in action were at the Battle of Soissons, which took place in July of 1918. Private Malcolm E. Webster of Bangor, a member of the 81st Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion, was first listed missing in action and later declared to have died on July 19 during the Battle of Soissons. A second Mainer to fall at Soissons was Auburn native Private John A. Harrisburg, 82nd Company, 6th Marines, who was killed by shellfire on July 19 in the sugar beet fields near Tigny. He was the son of Russian immigrants who came to Maine in 1892. Another Mainer, Private Edmund B. Rowe of Berwick, 81st Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion was also killed in action on July 19, 1918. Rowe was brought back to the United States for burial in 1921.⁸

That autumn, a German gas shell during the American offensive at Saint-Mihiel claimed the life of Private Leon E. Richardson, 76th Com-



Surviving Marine Officers of 2nd Battalion, 6th Marines after Belleau Wood, 18 June 1918. Image courtesy of the United States Marine Corps.

pany, 6th Marines, on September 17. Richardson died of his wounds six days after joining his unit as a replacement fresh from Quantico. He is buried in Naples, Maine. One month later, the deadly battle on Blanc Mont Ridge claimed the lives of three Mainers on consecutive days. Private Garfield W. Kelley, 23rd Company, 6th Machine Gun Battalion, was wounded on October 3, 1918, only two months after joining his unit. He was evacuated to a field hospital but died of his injury on October 6. On October 4, Sergeant Guy M. Yeaton, a farmer and native of Islesboro, succumbed to his injuries in the same battle. Yeaton was a veteran of the deadliest combat in the three major battles of the summer and fall. He took command of his platoon in the assault on Blanc Mont after his commanding officer was evacuated, fighting “with remarkable coolness and courage, under heavy artillery and machine [gun] fire.” Yeaton continued preparing his unit for further attack until German gunfire ended his life. He is buried in his hometown of Islesboro. The town erected a monument over his grave in memory of his service in 1922. Private Pearl “Perley” Thurlow, 43rd Company, 5th Marines, who reached France in April of that year, died on the slopes of Blanc Mont on October 5. He was brought back to Maine and buried in Woodlawn Cemetery, nestled in the mountains of Andover.⁹

The final weeks of fighting in Argonne in November 1918 proved deadly to the marines from Maine. Sergeant George E. Cilley, Jr., 76th Company, 6th Marines, Sergeant Herbert B. Paine, Headquarters Company, 5th Marines, and Private Frank H. Gower, 45th Company, 5th Marines, all perished on November 1, just days from the end of the war. Gower died of wounds received after just reaching the front as a replacement. He now rests in his family plot in Calais, Maine. Previously cited for bravery at Belleau Wood, Cilley, a native of Harmony, was lost in the mud and rain of the Argonne Forest. He was struck by a high explosive shell and buried in a ravine on the battlefield. Cilley is now buried in Colebrook, New Hampshire. Paine died of gunshot wounds received the same day and is buried in the Meuse–Argonne American Cemetery.¹⁰

Of course, not all Maine marine casualties occurred as a direct result of combat. Captain Charles P. Holliday, Supply Company, 4th Marine Brigade, perished of acute appendicitis on August 5, 1918, in Base Hospital 2. He is buried in the Suresnes American Cemetery near Paris. Sergeant Alfred J. Gallant, 19th Company, Heavy Artillery Force, never even made it to France, dying of influenza at the marine training base at Quantico, Virginia, on September 25, 1918. His mother, Mrs. Jesse Gallant, survived him. Gallant is buried in Woodlawn Cemetery in his hometown of Eastport.¹¹

Out of the 32,083 men from Maine who served in World War I, 518 were killed in combat deaths and another 15,555 were wounded. Accounting for additional mortality, primarily from disease, the total death count for 1917–1919 increases to 1,023. Taken one by one—sailor, soldier, marine, and coast guardsman—these files allow Maine’s current generation to personalize the sacrifice of their state in the Great War. Each individual man and woman has a story that should not to be lost in the necessary grand celebratory timeline, stories which might be particularly important for his or her decedents. Today, the state of Maine and the many historical societies that dot its map, preserve the memory of these soldiers, sailors, and marines by maintaining crucial archival collections that define the World War I experience for future generations.¹²

Floyd Gibbons and the Marines in World War I

Offering additional insight into the experiences of Maine marines in the Great War are the records and first-hand accounts left behind by more well-known participants and observers, such as war correspondent Floyd



French church near Belleau Wood used as American hospital.
WWI US Army Signal Corps Photographs Collection,
US Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, PA.

Gibbons. On June 6, 1918, Gibbons, who was embedded with the marines fighting on the front lines, was pinned down in the wheat field surrounding Belleau Wood in the midst of the same battle that claimed the lives of Sergeant Miles H. Dodge, First Sergeant John Grant, Private Edmund J. La Bonte, Corporal Gordon S. O'Donnell, Private Donald J. Sutherland, and Private Wells B. Cummings, all of whom were Mainers. Machine-gun bullets ripped through the air above the wheat field, searching for the American marines flattened to the earth, hidden beneath the golden waves of wheat. "Perfectly withering volleys of lead swept the tops of the oats just above us," Gibbons recalled.¹³

Gibbons, at the time, was attached to the headquarters group of Major Benjamin S. Berry's 3rd Battalion, 6th Marines and witnessed a bullet strike the major's left arm at the elbow, "tearing away muscles and nerves of the forearm, lodging itself in the palm of his hand." He described Berry's pain as "excruciating," recounting that the major had bellowed, "My hand is gone," and tried to get up while Gibbons told him stay down. "I did not know the extent of his injuries at that time," Gibbons recalled, "but I did know he was courting death every minute he stood up." A bullet then

struck Gibbons's left arm, leaving a sensation of the heat of a burning cigarette. "It just felt like a sudden burn and nothing worse," he remembered, adding, "no feeling as to aches or pains." Another sensation of pain erupted from his left shoulder, again with the same burning feeling as before. "Then," said Gibbons, "came a crash. It sounded to me like someone had dropped a glass bottle into a porcelain bathtub." Gibbons later wrote, "it seemed that everything in the world turned white." The impact stunned the correspondent, but he never lost consciousness. Gibbons touched his face, his fingers "resting on something soft and wet." Gibbons recalled, "I withdrew my hand and looked at it. It was covered in blood." A bullet struck his left cheekbone after ricocheting off the ground, destroying his eye and exiting through his forehead, finally tearing a hole through his helmet. Gibbons remained still, waiting for darkness to halt the rain of bullets.¹⁴

How did an American journalist find himself in such a predicament, especially during a time in which war-time censorship actively discouraged detailed reporting of military activity? What might have convinced Gibbons, a civilian, to deliberately put himself in harm's way? Looking more closely at the details of Gibbons's life prior to the war provides some context for the series of events that unfolded around the harrowing ordeal at the Battle of Belleau Wood. It also provides insight into the evolution of journalism in the United States during the war years, thanks in part to Gibbons's unique contributions.

Gibbons was born July 16, 1887, in Washington DC, where his family emigrated in 1856 from Ireland. He grew up in the Georgetown section of the city before moving with his family to Des Moines, Iowa, in 1898 and then, in 1901, to Minneapolis, Minnesota. Gibbons returned to Washington to attend Georgetown University, joining the freshman class of 1905. Although a member of the freshman crew team, he soon found that structured education clashed with his already developing free spirit. The Jesuit priests found little humor in his participation in a dormitory protest, in which students tossed all of the china, wash basins, and pitchers into a central courtyard, and then deployed the fire hose to flood the second floor of the hall. The resulting \$250 bill did nothing to curb Gibbons's enthusiasm, who ran naked three times around Dahlgren Chapel as part of a hazing stunt.¹⁵

The act of rebellion ending his reign of misadventures involved flypaper, which he and a companion in crime spread behind the swinging doors of the dining hall. The duo made a noise to attract two Jesuit fathers who came rushing into the room only to find themselves mired in the flypaper, worsened with every attempt to free themselves of the tacky adhesive. The

young students might have escaped notice except for their laughter, which drew the authorities to their hiding place. The result of the flypaper tape was expulsion from university, along with the crime of shooting dice on school grounds.¹⁶

Gibbons's return to Minneapolis was less than triumphant, taking his first post-university employment shoveling coal and stacking wood for a local businessman. He also worked part time with the city weekly newspaper, helping with the press run. The obvious choice between newspaper work and manual labor brought Gibbons into his true calling, a position of reporter for the *Minneapolis Daily News*, at seven dollars a week. "My first thrill was seeing my byline for the first time," Gibbons related, "when I found the story, it had been boiled down to seven lines, but it was my first byline."¹⁷

Many of Gibbons's first assignments were small human-interest pieces, but the young reporter took to this genre and made it his own. A second job at a local burlesque house provided an unvarnished education into human nature, which would pay dividends for the rest of his career. He also used the alias Kate Dean to pen some of his stories that were of a more ignoble nature. In 1909, Gibbons's salary doubled, but he still felt a higher calling. He moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, to become a police reporter for the city paper there, which introduced him to more sensational crime journalism.

Now seasoned and exhilarated by his new mode of expression, Gibbons transferred back to the *Minneapolis Tribune*, where he maintained the police beat. The coverage required him to enter the shady sections of the city, prowling the police stations, courts, and shantytowns for his stories. In doing so, he developed his own style of writing, avoiding the more traditional reporting style and opting instead for a first-person point of view, as if the reader were actually on the scene listening to the reporter as he wrote his stories. Gibbons also provided realistic details and inserted a wry humor where possible.

Throughout his career, Gibbons maintained his ability to reach out to readers in a personal way, and his gritty reporting style, which required him to venture into dangerous situations, and at times put him in grave mortal danger. In 1910, this mode of authentic journalism gained Gibbons the national spotlight and earned him an early reputation for aggressive reporting. As a result, his editor at the *Minneapolis Tribune* dispatched him to cover the infamous standoff between farmer John F. Dietz and local sheriffs over Dietz's right to collect tolls from logging companies using the dam he maintained on his property. The so-called "Battle of Cameron Dam" became a national story, with Gibbons competing for headlines with

twenty-five reporters from across the nation. Gibbons was soon arrested for climbing a telegraph pole to cut the wire, attempting to make certain his story was filed first. The newspaper came to his defense, providing both legal representation and money to free him from the local jail. This kind of gumption attracted attention from the larger national papers and, in 1912, Gibbons left Minnesota for the *Chicago Tribune*.¹⁸

Opportunity soon came knocking with advent of World War I. The advent of war around the world placed new importance on the fighting in Mexico, particularly in view of the large oil reserve south of the border. Warring nations on both sides also saw the events surrounding the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) as an opportunity to discourage the United States from intervening in the war. In December 1914, Gibbons journeyed to the Mexican border to cover the unrest building between Mexico and the United States related to a bloody civil war that erupted during the course of the revolution. While at the border, Gibbons received a telegram from his employer at the *Chicago Tribune* requesting that he travel into Mexico, where foreigners—particularly Americans—did so at significant risk, so that he might provide a first-person account of the fighting. There, for the first time, Gibbons observed military conflict as the Mexican government battled the rebel forces, led by Pancho Villa. In his typical daring manner, Gibbons found a way directly into the headquarters of Villa, despite death threats against American newspapermen, and was able to perform an extensive one-on-one interview with Villa inside his infamous headquarters boxcar. Soon Gibbons had his own private car, labeled “The Chicago Tribune—Special Correspondent,” and traveled with Villa as he moved across Mexico, filing reports on the battles from his incredibly precarious location.¹⁹

The national notoriety Gibbons gained from his coverage of the Mexican Civil War launched his career and provided opportunities for choice assignments, such as covering President Woodrow Wilson’s wedding and honeymoon, and then in 1916 joining the Punitive Expedition into Mexico led by General John J. Pershing. Gibbons’s personal relationship with Pershing would be rewarded in France the following year, when he would put to use the experience he had gained in Mexico and elsewhere to cover the biggest story in his career, the First World War.²⁰

In February 1917, Germany declared unrestricted warfare on the high seas, giving their submarines the right to sink any ship entering the war zone in Europe. The *Chicago Tribune* quickly dispatched Gibbons to Europe to cover the Great War, as all indications pointed toward the United States entering the conflict once American lives were inevitably lost at sea. His editors dispatched him to London to cover the impending crisis. He

took passage on the RMS *Laconia*, choosing to court danger instead of boarding a safer ship, which had been carrying the German ambassador home. Eight days later, German torpedoes struck the ship two hundred miles from the Irish Coast. The ship quickly sank, and Gibbons found himself living his next greatest story, survival in a lifeboat on the open sea. Luckily, the survivors were rescued, allowing Gibbons to begin his report only thirty minutes after reaching the shore. This riveting first-person account mesmerized readers in the United States, making Gibbons the most popular newspaper reporter in the country. When the United States entered the war in April 1917, he was in a perfect position to cover the American entry into the conflict, using his personal friendship with General Pershing to accompany him to France and report on the fledgling American Expeditionary Forces (AEF).²¹

One of the very first orders passed down by Pershing was to establish a strict censorship policy on the AEF as well as the American and Allied reporters that covered the rapidly arriving American forces. The detailed reports of the first American convoy to France infuriated Pershing, as they could only help the German intelligence effort and U-Boat threat. "It was impressed upon our forces and upon the correspondents that any person who, either willingly or inadvertently disclosed facts of military value thus gave the enemy an advantage," Pershing wrote, "and that such person, if in the army, might actually be responsible for the unnecessary sacrifice of his own comrades."²²

Secretary of War Newton D. Baker formally accepted the censorship policy as standard practice for all army affairs, as did Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels. Even before Pershing created his own lockdown on newspaper reporters, President Woodrow Wilson created a Committee on Public Information on April 14, 1917, to maintain security over the domestic wartime flow of information, including books, magazines, movies, and newspaper dispatches, as well as to produce positive information for the American war aims in defeating Germany.²³

In October 1917, Wilson further extended censorship within the United States, creating a board, composed of the War and Navy Departments, the Post Office, the War Trade Board, and the Committee on Public Information, to regulate mail, cables, and radio messages from France. The tight censorship rules indicated the level of seriousness felt by the American civilian and military leadership, and they intended to make certain that all representatives of the media obeyed their guidelines or suffer immediate consequences.²⁴

The restrictions meant little to Gibbons, who continued to file his stories with occasional brushes with the Committee on Public Information.

In March 1918, Gibbons and Heywood Braun were chastised by Adjutant General of the Army Henry P. McCain for one of their reports on arriving American soldiers in France, stating the article was “about as far from the truth as anything which has appeared of late.” Gibbons persisted in reporting his personal way, testing the limits of censorship with his bylines in the *Chicago Tribune*, while some of the American public were continually surprised that his reporting escaped the red pen of the censor office. The reporter also continued to place himself close to and in the front lines to capture the stories when no one else would, such as reporting on the first American shots of World War I fired by an artillery battery on October 23, 1917. No reporters were allowed to witness the event, but Gibbons and a reporter from a Philadelphia newspaper outwitted their handlers to provide a first-person account of this historic event. They were, however, arrested two days later.²⁵

As Gibbons covered the American army’s introduction to battle, the overall situation on the Western Front reached a stage of crisis that portended disaster for the Allied cause. The fall of the Tsar in Russia in the autumn of 1917 released the German forces on the Eastern Front to France, providing an opportunity to end the conflict before the influx of American troops swayed the war to Allied victory. On March 21, 1918, the Germans opened their first offensive of the year on the Western Front, crushing the British and Allied forces in Picardy on a front of fifty miles, advancing to Amiens. In April, the Germans struck again in Flanders, once again pushing back the Allies to Armentieres. The fighting temporarily ceased as the Germans prepared to make yet another attack and as Allied morale became more tenuous. The Germans appeared poised to take the upper hand and win the war after so much bloodshed on both sides in the years since 1914. The major question both sides focused on was the Americans; would they arrive in time to help restore the Allied fortunes? Most importantly, would the inexperienced American forces be ready to take on the Germans and make the sacrifices necessary for victory?²⁶

With the knowledge that American forces would soon be engaged in their first intense combat, Pershing’s headquarters ordered new restrictions on the press. Correspondents were free to accompany soldiers into battle, but he required them to submit their stories to the AEF Headquarters, or to the Field Army Headquarters. They could not identify individual designations or types of units, such as National Guard, regular army, or even marines. “There will never be identification by numbers or organization,” the rules plainly stated, “During this war we have only one army—The United States Army.” This new policy forbade the identification of indi-

vidual units or branches of service, instead requiring that correspondents refer to the army and marines as American forces only, without further distinction. If newspaper articles passed initial review by the Army censorship board in Paris, officials then forwarded them to the Department of War in Washington, DC, which, in turn, issued them to the newspapers and newspaper bureaus in the United States. The smaller local newspapers in the United States picked up stories from the major newspapers and newspaper associations, ensuring all of the military information coming from France was strictly controlled.²⁷

On May 27, the Germans opened their next offensive, this time in a quiet sector on the Aisne River. The assault broke through the British and French defenders, and quickly advanced south toward the Marne River, threatening the city of Reims and the main road from that city to Paris. The Allied nations waited anxiously for news from the Western Front, reading each day of the German tide advancing nearer the French capital. By the end of May, the Germans advanced within fifty miles of Paris. Marshal Ferdinand Foch immediately called on Pershing to release American units to shore up the broken Allied line. Pershing dispatched two divisions to Foch, who sent them into the critical area of battle, defending the Marne River line and holding the road from Paris to Reims. Floyd Gibbons launched himself into the maelstrom of the Second Battle of the Marne, determined to be there with the American forces as they entered the fight.²⁸

Gibbons first joined the American 3rd Division, which made its stand on the south bank of the Marne, just across the river from Chateau Thierry. The army machine gunners and infantry halted the German attacks with Gibbons in their midst, writing up his story about American bravery. He then ventured to the 2nd Division Sector, spending time with the 4th Marine Brigade near Belleau Wood. The Brigade consisted of the 5th and 6th Marines and 6th Machine Gun Battalion, totaling about 8,000 marines. This single brigade of marines was a small percentage of the AEF, and the mere fact they were in France was a small miracle, only accomplished with the perseverance of the marine commandant George Barnett, Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels, and an executive order by President Woodrow Wilson himself.²⁹

Pershing had no need for marines except for guard duty along the line of supply. "Its uniform, certain features of supply, inability to meet hospital expenses, and this odd replacement organization do not assimilate with Army organization. . . . If marines can be spared from the customary duties for which maintained," he wrote, "it is believed that their force thus surplus should become part of the army and that no more marines be sent to

France.” Pershing grudgingly accepted the marines into the 2nd Division, and now chance placed them in the center of the storm of the German offensive, only forty miles from Paris.³⁰

After working with the marines for several days, Gibbons then returned to Paris to file his reports to the *Chicago Tribune*. On the morning of June 6, he learned about a successful attack by the 4th Marine Brigade at daylight that morning. Gibbons quickly left Paris by car for Belleau Wood, accompanied by United States Army Lieutenant Oscar Hartzell, a former reporter for the *New York Times*. He passed line after line of trucks carrying American soldiers headed for the front, along with others transporting shells and ammunition. He also saw on the right side of the road “an endless stream of ambulances and other motor trucks bringing back wounded. Dense clouds of dust hung like a pall over the length of the road,” Gibbons wrote later, adding that “the day was hot, the dust was stifling.” He reached 2nd Division Headquarters at Montreuil-aux-Lions where officers, using the desks and blackboard of the local school to plan the next assault, briefed him. Despite German shelling of the roads leading to the front, Gibbons and Hartzell plunged forward to Colonel Wendell “Buck” Neville’s 5th Marine Headquarters closer to the front line at La Voie du Chatel. The marine colonel gladly updated the correspondent on his assault at 5:00 p.m., which Gibbons quickly asked to join. “Go as far as you like,” Neville replied, “but I want to tell you it’s damn hot up there.” Undeterred, the two correspondents moved forward on foot, threatened by moments of intense shelling before reaching the woods near the town of Lucy le Bocage. Gibbons and Hartzell joined the 3rd Battalion, 5th Marines as they prepared for the assault. Gibbons noticed strange scrap piles of paper scattered through the woods. “I could not account for their presence, until I examined several of them,” he later wrote, “and found that these were letters from American mothers and wives and sweethearts—letters—whole packages of them, which the tired dog-weary marines had been forced to remove from their packs and destroy.” One of the platoon commanders approached Gibbons to find out who he was and why he was there. When Gibbons explained, the lieutenant replied, “If you want to see some action, stick around. We advance in five minutes.”³¹

The order soon came to attack, and the marines and their two guests moved out of the woods into a flat field, immediately taking fire from the Germans. “There was no bugle call, no sword waving, no dramatic enunciation of catchy commands, no theatrics,” Gibbons observed, “it’s just get up and go over.” Gibbons soon encountered a marine runner who guided them to the battalion commander, Major Ben Berry, who they asked if they

could join his advance. Berry agreed, and the party moved into the fateful wheat field ahead, with Belleau Wood just beyond.³²

Just before Gibbons joined the marine attack, he directed his driver back to Paris with a note containing his last dispatch: "I am up at the front and entering Belleau Wood with the U.S. Marines." The note contained instructions to deliver the story to the United States Press Bureau "at all costs." He also appealed to the censor that his words go through unchanged, for "the people of the United States as a special recognition for the work so well done." The driver was caught in the traffic returning from the front and, after slowly navigating the road to Paris, arrived at the censorship office after nightfall. The censor on duty was an old friend of Gibbons, who had just reviewed the first casualty reports from Belleau Wood, which included the notation, "Floyd Gibbons, War Correspondent, shot through the head." The censor immediately assumed that Gibbons was dead. When he began to review the last dispatch from the fallen correspondent, he first drew his blue pencil over the word "marine," but then determined that this last dispatch would go through with every word unchanged, just as Gibbons had written it. "Poor Old Gibbons," he was reported to say, adding, "it's the last news he will ever send in from the front, and just for the sake of old times, I'll let it go through." The story went through the office untouched.³³

On the same day, only hours after as he was wounded, the first American newspaper headlines from Belleau Wood appeared in the Gibbons's own *Chicago Tribune*, declaring victory in a headline that read, "U.S. Marines Smash Huns." Other newspapers picked up the story as early as June 7, 1918, only one day after the attack across the wheat fields. Newspapers large and small celebrated the news of American victory, with New York's *The Evening World* posting the bold headline, "American Marines Repulse Repeated Counter Attacks," adding exaggerated accounts of the marines going into "battle singing and whistling Yankee Doodle." Other newspapers printed headlines featuring the marines as well. For example, an article bearing the title, "Many Tales Told of Heroism of American Marines in Fighting at Chateau Thierry," appeared in the *Arizona Star* on June 8. It included accounts of the fighting and praise for the valor of the marines. "The marines everywhere have declined to take a backward step . . . close pressed, the marines have given the Germans a taste of cold steel, even in the face of machine gun fire," it trumpeted, while other accounts detailed the wounds of Gibbons himself.³⁴

Gibbons had no idea of the commotion his dispatch generated. After three hours, he was evacuated out of the wheat field and was taken to a



“Floyd P. Gibbons, War Correspondent, After Being Wounded” by Harris & Ewing, 1918. Library of Congress. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print>, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2016869466/>, accessed 22 November 2017.

field hospital where his wounds were dressed and then evacuated to a hospital on the outskirts of Paris. As he rode away from the battlefield, he looked up at the dark sky, illuminated by bright stars. “That gave me something to think about,” he recalled, adding, “After all, how insignificant is one life.”³⁵

Gibbons survived his wounds, making his way to the American Base Hospital in Neuilly-sur-Marne, but lost the sight in his left eye. He dictated a letter to his mother on June 11, describing the Americans around him in the “Chicago” ward. “In this ward there are many brave fellows. Some have lost legs, some have lost arms, and some are paralyzed and some are pitted shrapnel . . . they are fine company, Mother—Irishmen, Jews, Poles, Italians. But my god, what men!” he voiced, proclaiming, “They are the new Americans born in the hell of combat.” The *Chicago Tribune* made sure the parents of Gibbons were able to send a message to the hospital.³⁶ “Thank Goodness for your right eye,” his father wrote, adding, “Thousands of Gibbonses and millions of other Americans are with you. Up and at them. Your mother is with me, Mother says you are her hero. Speedy recovery, Love from all, Dad.” The staff of the *Chicago Tribune* sent their own letter, with a nationwide clippings file of the coverage of his exploits, stat-

ing, "One eye's good enough to see the Kaiser's finish. Love. Congratulations. Tribune Bunch." Gibbons answered as soon as the removal of his bandages allowed, stating on July 1, "the receipt of them made me speechless."³⁷

While Gibbons recovered from his wounds, the news of the marines at Belleau Wood reverberated around the world. The British newspapers were more guarded with smaller articles initially. "American regiments of marines just arrived at the front, attacked today on the Marne front," the *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported on June 7, along with, "The Americans led a most brilliant bayonet charge, capturing 300 prisoners." The newspaper also acknowledged that the Americans showed "the highest military qualities." The following day, the *Liverpool Daily Post* published a small story, but with the title, "American Marines in Action, Brilliant Bayonet Charge." By June 10, more articles appeared but were buried deep in the war news. One such article in the *Dundee Courier* reported on the success of the marines exciting the American public, who were standing in line to enlist, overwhelming the Marine Corps recruiters. The article also added wryly, "The fact that the marines were used as shock troops appeals to the imagination."³⁸

Canadian newspapers ran with the Belleau Wood attack as early as June 7, devoting considerable complementary coverage to the American marines, as did the Australians, who published stories about the fighting qualities of the marines, in a report appropriately titled, "Victory for American Marines." The *Sydney Morning Herald* published an even more glowing account on June 10, reporting the marines "fighting like tigers," and their positive effect on the morale of the French people, "whose newspapers [were] filled with stories of American coolness, valor, and judgment." The newspaper reported that "three German divisions [had] been withdrawn because of losses sustained in fighting the Americans."³⁹

The headlines from the June 6 attack on Belleau Wood proved critical to the Allied cause, but not for the actual fighting on that day. After all, the actions of one marine brigade among all of the French and American forces on the Marne could not have, by itself, reversed the tide of the German offensive. In fact, combat continued for the marine brigade until June 26 when Belleau Wood would be securely in marine hands. However, the news of the June 6 attack, followed by continuous accounts of the fighting (even if the word "marine" could not be used again), reversed the tidal wave of news of German victories during the spring, uplifting the morale of the Allied nations. The public was able to seize upon the story of the marine battle and understand that the tide was indeed turning for the Al-



Marines at Belleau Wood with captured German Trench Mortar.
Image courtesy of the United States Marine Corps.

lied cause. The leaders of the Allied nations were quick to recognize the value of such a story and were quicker to exploit the news, rallying their nations to have faith in a final victory. Gibbon's initial story generated a resounding wave of optimistic accounts in the Allied newspapers that would continue for the rest of the war.

The French renamed Belleau Wood "Bois de la Brigade de Marine" and declared that the American Independence Day on July 4 would be celebrated as a French national holiday as well, with a huge parade in Paris highlighted by a small battalion of marines and soldiers directly from the battlefield. The marines were allowed to wash up for the first time, but still looked ragged in their battle-stained uniforms. However, the crowds of French people along the parade route were ecstatic at the sight of the victors of Belleau Wood. "You could not imagine the cheer that would go up as the French people would recognize the marine flag," wrote Lieutenant Clifton B. Cates, adding, "it was one continual shout—'Viva la Marines—la Marines,' etc. They literally covered us in roses . . . it was truly wonderful and made us marines feel very good as they gave us all the credit. Even

every little kid going to and from Paris would yell, 'Viva la Marines.'"⁴⁰

Recruits in training camps across the United States were also swept up in the enthusiasm of the newspaper headlines, and the *Marine Corps Gazette* recalled after the war, "towns and villages from Maine to California and from the Great Lake to the Rio Grande felt their spirits rise and their hopes burn brighter." The victory did not come without cost. The 4th Marine Brigade suffered 126 officers and 5,057 men killed or wounded during the battle. Pershing's headquarters suppressed the word marine in the American dispatches for three days, but the morale victory for the marines and the public around the world had changed by then. Confidence was restored in Allied victory, ending the German offensive success in the minds of the readers around the world.⁴¹

As a result of his dispatches, Gibbons became one of the more notable Americans in Europe and received more accolades from the Allied commanders, including the French decoration, Croix de Guerre with Palm, from Marshal Henri Petain for his bravery under fire at Belleau Wood. Once out of the hospital, Gibbons returned to reporting on the war, traveling to the British portion of the Western Front to cover the American forces in a joint attack near Amiens. During the offensive, he met British Prime Minister Lloyd George, who exclaimed, "I am sorry to see you have lost an eye." Gibbons replied, "Don't mind a bit . . . it only takes one eye, Mr. George, to see the Kaisers finish after this great day."⁴²

After covering the Allied attack on Soissons on July 18–19, Gibbons decided to return home for convalescent leave. The Allied commanders were well aware of the power of his reporting at Belleau on civilian morale and sought to use Gibbons for a speaking tour to rally the American population for the coming battles, which would prove to be even more costly. Pershing wrote him on July 17, reminding him of "the great opportunity [he would] have of giving [their] people of America a true picture of the work of the American soldier in France." On July 28, French Marshall Ferdinand Foch also sent a letter complimenting the reporter and the American forces, ending with a gesture to inform the public of French opinion. "If you can be thus be an echo of my opinion," Foch wrote, "I am sure you will serve a good purpose."⁴³

After returning to the United States on August 22, Gibbons embarked on a lecture tour, speaking to large crowds and small. He spoke to the Altoona, Pennsylvania, Kiwanis Club on September 11, in response to Pershing and Foch's requests to provide an accurate picture of the Allied seizure of the initiative on the Western Front, as well as knowledge of the fighting qualities of the American forces. In turn, the Marine Corps pro-

vided a color guard to meet Gibbons on the dock when he returned home and made him an honorary marine. The lecture tour, which included the delivery of twenty-one lectures over twenty-eight days in nine states, ended in October, and the war came to a close on November 11.⁴⁴

After the war, Gibbons continued to cover conflict, journeying to Northern Ireland and reporting on the Russo–Polish war in 1920 and Russian famine during the following year. Gibbons traveled the world, making his home in Paris while exploring Europe, Africa, and Australia. In 1925, he returned to Chicago and became an instant radio broadcast success on WGN, the new radio station of the *Chicago Tribune*. Despite his many career advancements, however, Gibbons continued to speak frequently about his experiences in the war. For example, on November 9, 1929, at 10:30 p.m., Gibbons reflected about the war ending eleven years before. “Hello folks,” he began, “Isn’t this a peach of a night? Moon hanging high—clean fresh air has a tingle in it . . . tonight my ears ring with the tune of ‘Hinky Dinky Parley Vous,’ and ‘Mademoiselle from Armentieres,’ and my thoughts are hopping back across the Atlantic to France . . . and just to recall those days of mud and hell and pain and heart-ache, far away on the other side of the world” he continued, “I thought I’d tell about the hospital I was in in Paris.” Gibbons then spoke of the men he met in the hospital, many still suffering from their wounds. Gibbons also turned to writing in book form, penning a biography of the famous World War I German fighter pilot Manfred von Richthofen, in a book titled, *The Red Knight*, which also ran as a serial in *Liberty Magazine* for eighteen weeks. Most importantly, however, Gibbons spoke often to the American people, giving them a chance to feel connected to the outside world and to the major historical events that shaped their lives.⁴⁵

At the age of fifty-two, on September 29, 1939—twenty-one years after the end of the Great War—Floyd Gibbons died of a heart attack in Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania. Even in death, however, Gibbons’s relationship with the Marine Corps never wavered and continues today. “His name has become legend in our Corps,” wrote General Lemuel C. Shepherd, commandant of the Marine Corps and Belleau Wood Veteran, “as we always consider him one of us.” On permanent display in the World War I galleries of the National Museum of the Marine Corps is a life-size mannequin of Gibbons, forever leaning over his typewriter in a shell hole in Belleau Wood, banging out his latest dispatches. Every visitor to the museum is reminded of his place in Marine Corps history.⁴⁶

In turn, the legacy of Belleau Wood for the Marine Corps continues today, due in large part to Gibbon’s journalistic contributions. The com-

mandant or assistant commandant of the Marine Corps always travel to the American cemetery at Belleau Wood on Memorial Day to remember the fallen, acknowledging the contributions of the marines of World War I to those of today. “We gather to give words to their sacrifice. Every year we gather to summon the memories of the brave who fought and died for this ground. It is our solemn duty,” Commandant Robert B. Neller said at the ceremonies in 2016, continuing, “For Marines, this place holds a special, almost spiritual, significance. For it was here that the modern Marine Corps was born.” Without the dispatch written by Gibbons just before he was wounded, the world may have never known of the marine heroism at Belleau Wood.⁴⁷

In spite of his own fame, Gibbons during his lifetime continued to acknowledge the sacrifices of those who served, most of whom died in relative obscurity. In a July 1, 1918, tribute, which can be found in his papers in Orono, he wrote, “I had just come from the midst of so many fine fellows wounded far worse than I while performing duty more important than mine,” adding, “and the realization that my comparatively small hurt received such widespread recognition, while theirs, in so far as their names are concerned, go practically unnoticed—that realization makes me feel so undeserving.”⁴⁸

Conclusion

The circumstances that placed the veteran correspondent Floyd Gibbons and the marines from Maine in the wheat fields of France on June 6, 1918, and other battlefields in the final months of the war were momentous. However, much of the memory of the Great War has disappeared in the minds of the American public, eclipsed by World War II and relegated to the category of minor conflicts such as the Spanish American War. The 2017–2018 centennial of the war offers a fleeting historical window into critical events in the history of the United States that occurred one hundred years ago. It also offers Mainers numerous opportunities to connect to their state’s contributions to the war effort and to learn about the resources—many of them of national significance—which are available at many state and local archives. While this article has focused primarily on a few sources housed at the University of Maine and the Maine State Archives, it is important to note that the Maine Historical Society, the Maine Centennial page on the United States World War One Centennial Commission website, the Maine World War I Memorial Inventory at the University of Southern

Maine, the Maine State Museum, and many other organizations maintain collections from which professional researchers and hobbyists alike can gather additional information on significant players in World War I as well as Maine's role in the Great War. The latter is, in many ways ripe for further scholarly exploration and perhaps, a bit overdue.

This article represents one small effort at bridging the gap between the recollections of famous and influential figures in the war and the humanity and heroism of so many anonymous Mainers who sacrificed their lives in its service. Together, the personnel records of the individual marines who served and the detailed recollections of Floyd Gibbons provide a unique window into the past, which can be used to preserve the memory of their sacrifice for the future. Each offers a more personal approach to the past based on understanding and reflection, with Gibbons's story presenting a dual lens through which to view the large-scale planning perspectives of powerful decisionmakers alongside the harrowing experiences of those on the front lines, among them Maine marines hailing from towns and cities like Isleboro, Wiscasset, Naples, and Portland. An inscription on a state monument in Augusta, Maine, offers the following tribute to those who sacrificed their lives: "To the Memory of Our Heroic Dead for the Liberty of Humanity, 1917–1919." We honor that memory and those heroic sacrifices by researching, sharing, and remembering the stories of all who served.

NOTES

1. Letter, Adjutant General of the Army to Maine Adjutant General, 24 May 1920, *Adjutant General's Correspondence* (hereafter referred to as *AGC*), Maine State Archives (hereafter referred to as *MSA*), Augusta, ME.

2. Jim Byrnes, "Floyd Gibbons, Trailblazer in a Trenchcoat," *Maine Alumnus* 7, no. 1, 1975.

3. The United States Marine Corps (hereafter referred to as *USMC*) of 1917–1918 initially did not enlist women or minorities. However, at least 277 women became part of the *USMC* for the first time to fill bureaucratic jobs in Washington, DC.

4. Edwin N. McClellan, *The United States Marines Corps in the World War* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 16; These numbers should be regarded as indicators and require further study. The accounting of deaths at *MSA* lists only ten fatalities. Six more marines were found with my more thorough study. The fact that Mainers who already were marines prior to 1917 are included not in these twenty-four enlistees indicates higher numbers of Maine marines in spite of the fact that they were not tallied by the *USMC* or the Maine adjutant general in the 1920s. Dispute also arose with other states over men who enlisted

while away but were actually born in Maine. Until further scrutiny, the official number remains twenty-four.

5. American Battlefield Monuments Commission, "Miles Harris Dodge," accessed 13 June 2018, <https://www.abmc.gov/node/501285#.WvsTnnIh28p>; Letter, Adjutant General of the Army to Maine Adjutant General, 24 May 1920, AGC, MSA; Find a Grave, "Sgt Miles Harrison Dodge," accessed 13 June 2018, <https://old.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=DODge&GSfn=Miles&GSmn=H&GSbyrel=all&GSdy=1918&GSdyrel=in&GSob=n&GRid=36134490&df=all&>.

6. Harry R. Stringer, ed., *Heroes All* (Washington, DC: Facet Publishing Company, 1919), 168; Find a Grave, "John Grant," accessed 13 June 2018, www.findagrave.com/memorial/70700957/john-grant; Edmund J. LeBonte, June 1918 Muster Roll, 49th Company, 5th Marines, *US Marine Corps Muster Rolls, 1893–1958* (hereafter referred to as *USMCMR*), Microfilm Publication T977 (460 rolls), ARC ID: 922159, Records of the US Marine Corps, RG 127 (hereafter referred to as RUSMC127), National Archives of the United States (hereafter referred to as National Archives), Washington, DC; Unless otherwise noted, the information on units and date of death comes from the unit muster rolls cited above; Gordon S. O'Donnell, undated memorandum to Evening Express Publishing Company, AGC, MSA; The Record for O'Donnell mistakenly lists his death as June 7; "New England Men Aided in Big Drive," *Boston Post*, 20 June 1918; "List of Deaths," 30 December 1920, AGC, MSA; Gordon S. O'Donnell, Muster Roll, June 1918, 47th Company, 5th Marines, *USMCMR*, RUSMC127, National Archives; Digital Maine Repository, "Record of Deaths in World War I," accessed 13 June 2018, http://digitalmaine.com/wwI_personnel.

7. "Boy Well Known in Portland Killed in Action on June 18," *The Oregon Daily Journal*, 1 September 1918.

8. John A. Harrisburg, US Census, 1900, Lewiston, Androscoggin, Maine, district 0017, available via subscription from ancestry.com (hereafter referred to as ANC).

9. List of Deaths, 30 December 1920, AGC, MSA; Second Division (Regulars), American Expeditionary Forces, Germany, General Orders, Names and Deeds, undated, AGC, MSA (quotation); James W. Hanson, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Maine for the Period of the World War, 1917–1919*, vol. 1 (Augusta, ME: Adjutant General's Office, 1929), 178; Find a Grave, "Frank N. Gower," accessed 13 June 2018, <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/110830577>.

10. Herbert B. Paine, May 1918 Muster Roll, Headquarters Company, 5th Marines, *USMCMR*, RUSMC127, National Archives.

11. Alfred J. Gallant, Certificate of Death, 27 September 1918, Commonwealth of Virginia, Vital Death Records, 1912–2014, accessed 18 November 2017, available via subscription from ANC; AGC Death List, Dec 30, 1918.

12. *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Maine for the Period of the World War, 1917–1919*, vol. 2, (Augusta, ME: Adjutant General's Office, 1929), 100; Letter, Adjutant General to Charles H. Atkins, 24 May 1924, AGC, MSA; Adjutant General of the Army, *A Summary of Casualties Among Members of the American Expeditionary Force During the World War* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Of-

fice, 1920), 9. These are the contemporary numbers from the World War I era. The numbers must certainly have changed slightly as corrections and additions have been made in the intervening years.

13. Floyd Gibbons to Lieutenant Colonel McCabe, 12 July 1918, Box 99a, *Gibbons (Floyd Phillips) Papers, 1900–1940* (hereafter referred to as *Gibbons Papers*), Special Collections of the Raymond H. Folger Library (hereafter referred to as SCRHFL), University of Maine, Orono, ME, and the published version, Floyd Gibbons, *And They Thought We Wouldn't Fight* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), 311–320 (quotation p. 311); United States Marine Corps regiments are properly identified by their number and the word regiment, i.e., “6th Marines.”

14. *Ibid.* (first through fifth quotations, p. 311; sixth and seventh quotations p. 312; eighth through tenth quotations p. 313; eleventh and twelfth quotations p. 314; thirteenth quotation p. 311).

15. “Lake Minnetonka,” *The Minneapolis Journal*, 27 August 1904; Edward Gibbons and Floyd Gibbons, *Your Headline Hunter* (New York: Exposition Press, 1953), 20–21.

16. Gibbons and Gibbons, *Headline Hunter*, 20–21.

17. *Ibid.*, 32–34 (quotation p. 34).

18. “The Tribune Representative Arrested in Winter,” *Star Tribune*, Minneapolis, 8 October 1910; “Rates on Railroads Promised this Week,” *Star Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), 11 February 1912; “Editor Re-Arrested on Eve of Trial,” *The Labor World* (Duluth, MN), 12 September 1914.

19. “Pancho Villa,” Floyd Gibbon’s Newspaper Stories, Box 99b, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL.

20. John J. Pershing Correspondence, Box 99b, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL; The Punitive Expedition is also known as the Mexican Expedition.

21. Robert P. McCormick (*Chicago Tribune*) to Secretary of State Robert Lansing, 8 February 1917, in Floyd Gibbons Passport Application, 13 February 1917, *US Passport Applications, 1795–1925*, National Archives; “Laconia, Sinking of the Laconia,” Box 120 and “Headline Hunter Yarn #1, Sinking of the Laconia, 8 July 1929,” Box 110, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL.

22. John J. Pershing, *My Experiences in the World War*, vol. (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1931), 89.

23. Michael McCarthy, “Committee on Public Information,” Anne Cipriano Venzon, ed., *The United States in the First World War* (New York: Garland, 1995) 162–163.

24. “Censorship is Now Extended,” *El Paso Herald*, 15 October 1917.

25. “Not Decoded,” *New York Tribune*, 2 March 1918 (quotation); Gibbons, *And They Thought*, 151–157.

26. Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. 2, 26–31; Michael S. Neiberg, *The Second Battle of the Marne* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), 185–190.

27. “US Troops March Gaily to the Front,” *The Wheeling Intelligencer* (West Virginia), 27 May 1918 (quotation); “War Censorship on Stricter Lines by the War Department,” *Pittston Gazette* (Pittston, PA), 5 July 1917.

28. Neiberg, *Second Battle*, 39–44.
29. “Rain of Bullets Fail to Check Engineer Units,” *Chicago Tribune*, 6 June 1918; Peter Owen, *To the Limit of Endurance, A Battalion of Marines in the Great War* (College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 2007), 1–2.
30. John J. Pershing to ACWAR, 31 August 1917, “Use of Marines,” *US Army in the World War*, vol. 10 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1989), 35.
31. Gibbons, *And They Thought*, 306–307 (first through fourth quotations), 308 (fifth and sixth quotations); Gibbons and Gibbons, *Headline Hunter*, 87 (seventh quotation).
32. Gibbons, *And They Thought*, 309.
33. “How the News Came Through,” *Marine Corps Gazette* (Washington, DC), March 1926, 47–48.
34. “US Marines Smash Huns,” *Chicago Tribune*, 6 June 1918; “American Marines Repulse Repeated Counter Attacks,” *The Evening World* (New York), 7 June 1918; “Many Tales Told of Heroism of American Marines in Fighting at Chateau Thierry,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, 8 June 1918 (quotation).
35. Gibbons, *And They Thought*, 330; The full account of Gibbons’s ordeal in the wheat field is completely documented in his papers in SCRHFL, including his personal memories.
36. Gibbons and Gibbons, *Headline Hunter*, 105–106.
37. “Cherrio,” *The Chicago Tribune*, 9 June 1918; Gibbons to Guy F. Lee, 1 July 1918, Box 99b, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL.
38. “Franco-American Attack,” *Yorkshire Evening Post* (UK), 7 June 1918 (first and second quotations); “American Marines in Action, Brilliant Bayonet Charge,” *Liverpool Daily Post* (UK), 8 June 1918; “Recruits Swarm to Join US Marines,” *Dundee Courier* (UK), 10 June 1918 (third quotation).
39. “Americans Capture One More Village,” *The Ottawa Journal*, 7 June 1918; “Victory for American Marines,” *The Age* (Melbourne, AU), 10 June 1918; “Fighting Like Tigers,” *The Sydney Morning Herald* (AU), 10 June 1918 (first through third quotations).
40. Clifton B. Cates to Mother and Sister, 13 July 1918, *Clifton B. Cates Personal Papers* (hereafter referred to as *Cates Papers*), Archives Branch of the Marine Corps History Division (hereafter referred to as ABMCHD), Quantico, VA; Robert Asprey, *At Belleau Wood* (New York: Putnam, 1965), 321–326.
41. “How the News Came Through,” 46 (quotation); Asprey, *At Belleau Wood*, 328–332; Richard S. Faulkner, *Pershing’s Crusaders, The American Soldier in World War I* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 631–633.
42. “Croix de Guerre for War Correspondent,” *The Stars and Stripes*, 16 August 1918; “A Story about Floyd Gibbons Who come to Altoona,” *Altoona Times*, 5 September 1918 (first and second quotation).
43. Gibbons and Gibbons, *Headline Hunter*, 112; John J. Pershing to Floyd Gibbons, 17 July 1918, Box 99b, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL (first quotation); Ferdinand Foch to Floyd Gibbons, 28 July 1918, Box 108, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL (second quotation).

44. Itinerary of Lecture of Floyd Gibbons, September 1918, Box 105, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL.
45. Headline Hunter Series, Box 100, 113, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL. "The Armistice," Radio Address (transcript), 9 November 1929, Box 100, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL (first through third quotations); Floyd Gibbons, Emergency Passport, 22 November 1924, Volume 001, New Zealand, Emergency Passport Applications 1917–1925, National Archives.
46. Floyd Gibbons, Emergency Passport, 22 November 1924, Volume 001, New Zealand, Emergency Passport Applications 1917–1925, National Archives; Gibbons and Gibbons, *Headline Hunter*, jacket notes (quotation).
47. Robert B. Neller, "Memorial Day Speech," May 2016, Reference Section, ABM-CHD.
48. Floyd Gibbons to Guy F. Lee, 1 July 1918, *Gibbons Papers*, SCRHFL.