The education and training of seven African American U.S. Army officers for World War I and its aftermath

by

Bernard F. Harris, Jr.

B.S., Tuskegee University, 1987
M.S., Florida Institute of Technology, 1995

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Educational Leadership
College of Education

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

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Abstract

This historical research study examines how seven African Americans used their civilian education and military training to prepare themselves for combat, execute combat operations in France, and later make lasting contributions to American society. The knowledge constructed in this study derives from an exhaustive review of primary and secondary source material from archives, museums, and libraries around the United States and France. The study examines the legal foundation of the segregationist system the seven endured and compares the civilian higher education institutions they attended before their military careers. The study adds to existing scholarship in the depth of detail provided in examining their military training at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, and other locations in the United States, and France during the war. The study argues that civilian education was not enough in America for African American men referenced as Black American men in the study to overcome the status quo of White hegemony in a segregated society. These men needed the opportunity to scaffold their civilian education onto military training to become successful military and later civilian leaders, earning enough social capital to personify W. E. B. Du Bois's touted Talented Tenth concept. The study also provides an aggregated comparison of similar experiences of other nationalities to underscore the relevance of the information presented. The need for this study became apparent after the 100th commemoration of the end of World War I exposed the limited information available on the topic.

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Society; Kansas State University Library; Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota; Lincoln Illinois Public Library; Morgan State University Library and Archives; National World War I Museum and Memorial and its Edward Jones Research Center Archives; New York Public Library in Manhattan; Prairie View A&M University Library; Southern University and A&M College Library; State Historical Society of Iowa and its museum; Texas State Library and Archives Commission; Tuskegee University Library; United States Library of Congress; United States Military Academy at West Point Archives and Special Collections; United States National Archives in Virginia and Missouri; and the World War I museums and monuments in and around Verdun, France.

Dedication

I humbly dedicate this dissertation to my family, especially my wife, Opal. Her support over the last thirty-plus years of marriage is beyond invaluable! The only two people in the same category as Opal are my mother Patricia and grandmother Moselle. Again, without these three people comforting me and pushing me when needed, none of this would have happened. Thank you all for everything. A final member of my family I wish to dedicate this dissertation is my cousin Shirley, who helped me immeasurably over the years. As for friends, only two come to mind, Wayne and his wife Bernadette. Thank you both for listening to me drone on about this degree and helping me make it all a reality.

I dedicate this dissertation to the most influential people—the seven gentlemen featured in this research study: John Brother Cade, Earl Burrus Dickerson, William Holmes Dyer, Charles Hamilton Houston, George Washington Lee, James Brad Morris, and Louis Thompkins Wright. As a retired African American U.S. Army officer, I consider myself standing on your shoulders—the shoulders of giants. You did all the heavy lifting, so others like me could have successful military careers and a better life in America. Therefore, I humbly stand at attention and salute you all for what I consider a job well done. Rest in peace, gentlemen! To the families and friends of these seven men I thank you as well, because without your dedication in preserving their historical artifacts and records, this research study would not possible.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

…forewarned is forearmed….

—Charles H. Houston, "Saving the World for Democracy"

An icy chill hung in the air as the rays of a rapidly fading late fall sunset crossed the horizon, occasionally disturbed by the rattling sound of machine-guns and the rumble of distant artillery explosions. Shell craters dot the rain-soaked landscape, disorganizing the formerly orderly zigzagged trench lines, barbed wire emplacements, and communications wire that stretch for miles in either direction. Half-buried human bodies, hideous reminders of past carnage in uniforms so smeared with mud the country of origin is unrecognizable, lay scattered across the landscape, completing the image of devastation. In this hostile environment, tree trunks stand like stripped sentinels on the edge of a formerly thick forest in eastern France called the Bois de la Voivrotte woods, south of the German-occupied town Bouxieres-sous-Froidmont (Cade, 1929). At the foot of one of these tree trunks was a former German machine gun position with a single mud-covered U.S. Army Infantry officer laying inside, Second Lieutenant John Brother Cade (Cade, 1929).

Cade was still alive, but barely, as the occasional machine-gun bullet kicked up mud near his position. He drifted in and out of consciousness, unaware of the historical role he and thousands of other African American soldiers known as Black American soldiers for this study and White American soldiers serving in a segregated Army played in this latest allied offensive. Nor was he cognizant of his German opponent's anticipation of this offensive and their orderly withdrawal to better defensive positions (Ward, 1919). Cade was only mindful of the poison gas tactics the Germans were using in their retreat. His intimate knowledge came from the lingering faint odor of burned garlic from mustard gas that remained in his nostrils, made worse by the gas

mask covering his face. The explosion of a German artillery shell earlier that afternoon depositing its deadly cargo of yellowish misery in the air, forced him to put on his gas mask. The same shell rained metal shards of its outer casing down upon Cade and his colleagues. Luckily, Cade escaped life-threatening injuries, but the shell claimed the lives of several other Black American soldiers he knew and served with, right before his eyes. He immediately reacted to the explosion, ran a short distance to his current location, and survived the rest of the artillery bombardment. Few could imagine the symptoms of shell shock, later known as post-traumatic stress disorder, which ran through his mind and body after this harrowing brush with death.

His weeks of living in the muddy wintery conditions of a trench on the western front did not improve his mental and physical wellbeing. The stress of combat command added to this burden, where a single word from his lips as a Black American U.S. Army officer could send a subordinate Soldier to their death. In his current situation, made all too real when a bullet struck and killed a fat rat running nearby, he may have allowed his thoughts to wander back to a less stressful time. He may have recalled Fort Des Moines, Iowa, when he first learned the profession of arms and became a commissioned U.S. Army officer. During World War I (WWI), becoming a commissioned officer was a significant achievement. A commission meant an individual held authority over others of lower rank based on the President of the United States' permission (Moss, 1917). Federal recognition of this magnitude placed an officer in an elite group called the Regular Army.

The U.S. Army also commissioned Reserve Corps officers to serve alongside Regular Army officers for a national crisis. Reserve Corps officers served on active duty only for the conflict's duration, which included all the Fort Des Moines graduates like Cade (Scott, 1919). In contrast, militia, or National Guard officers did not receive federal recognition because state

governors commissioned them for duty within their respective state. In a national crisis like WWI, the Federal Government permitted these National Guard officers to operate outside their state's boundaries. In comparison, a noncommissioned officer or NCO does not receive a commission and can only "exercise a limited amount of authority" over lower-ranking enlisted soldiers called privates (Moss, 1917, p. 59).

Cade was a federally recognized Reserve Corps officer, but at that moment lying there in the mud, Fort Des Moines may have seemed a millennia ago when it was only less than 13 months prior, in October 1917. If he momentarily reflected beyond Fort Des Moines, Cade could have realized his survival came from not only his military training but also from growing up as a Black American in the United States. As a Black American, the reality of federally recognized segregation meant a constant fight against the power of White American hegemonic oppression. He could have reflected further on how his early upbringing coalesced with his undergraduate education and his U.S. Army training to save his life. He may have realized his entire life experience to this point provided the muscle memory to don his gas mask and dash to a less exposed position long before his brain realized what he was doing. Sadly, he must have also noticed his quick reaction gained from his prior military training combined with a split second of luck saved his life, but not the lives of his friends and subordinates. Fortunately for Cade, his dire situation and reflection while lying in a foxhole were short. Fate would not write his name on an American Expeditionary Force (AEF) gravestone in an American WWI cemetery in France on November 10, 1918, ironically only 24 hours before the end of the war. Instead, Cade would return to the United States, became a college staff and faculty member, and published one of the three memoirs used in this historical research study (Cade, 1929).

Research Purpose

This research study focuses on seven Black Americans, including Second Lieutenant Cade, to illustrate how they used their civilian education and military training to prepare themselves for combat, execute combat operations in France, and later make lasting contributions to American society. This research contributes to the scholarship of the era by observing civilian education and military training through the eyes of these men to provide a deeper understanding of the challenges facing minorities during this period. The seven are John Brother Cade, Earl Burrus Dickerson, William Holmes Dyer, Charles Hamilton Houston, George Washington Lee, James Brad Morris, and Louis Thompkins Wright. These seven gentlemen were selected due to numerous surviving historical artifacts concerning their activities before, during, and after the war. The analysis focuses on how U.S. Army training received during WWI changed their lives and disproved societal racial beliefs of inferiority. The research study's argument is that by building upon or scaffolding their U.S. Army training on their prior college education, these seven could overcome the power of oppression existing in America and become successful U.S. Army officers and influential community leaders after the war, personifying W. E. B. Du Bois' touted Talented Tenth concept.

Research Question

The research question for this study is: What were the experiences of these seven Black Americans for WWI and its aftermath? This research question subdivides into four parts:

- What were their experiences before Fort Des Moines?
- What were their experiences at Fort Des Moines?
- What were their experiences after Fort Des Moines in the war?
- What were their experiences post-war?

To begin the analysis of answering this question, and its subordinate parts, the study explains the theoretical framework and methodology used in compiling the information and discuss the research artifacts available to study this era.

Theoretical Framework

The research presented is a study of American civilian education and military training before and during WWI. First, the study examines the proposed argument's philosophical foundation. The foundational focus is on empiricism and its epistemological behaviorist underpinnings promoted by B. F. Skinner (McDonald et al., 2005; Murphy, 2010). An empiricist approach is the preferred course of action because the knowledge gained in this study originated from the seven featured Black Americans lived sensory experiences. For example, none of the seven had any 'a priori' knowledge required for a rationalist approach to military operations before their training (Murphy, 2010). Aware of this lack of knowledge, the U.S. Army developed a behaviorist-based program of instruction proposed by B. F. Skinner to change their behavior from a civilian to a military perspective through a gradually constructed sensory experience of handling physical material objects (McDonald et al., 2005).

For example, learning how to put on a gas mask in seconds is not a natural skill ingrained in civilian life, even though some civilian occupations study how to handle gas masks in academic education. This study found no evidence to show any of the featured men held any a priori or prior knowledge of this skill before attending Fort Des Moines. Therefore, a person must undergo enough training to change their behavior to develop muscle memory to execute the skill instinctively without conscious thought. In the life-or-death situation experienced by Cade, thinking about what to do wastes precious seconds, a point further emphasized later in this research study. This attention to detail corresponding with the ability to react quickly to changing

situations is an invaluable military skill that paid dividends later in life for all seven men as they become civilian community leaders. The examination also describes key events in their lives, especially their training at Fort Des Moines. This description is necessary to understand the scaffolding of their civilian education with their military training, and its impact on their lives and eventually American society (Qutoshi, 2018). This study defines scaffolding as "a process that enables a novice to solve a task or achieve a goal that would be beyond his or her unassisted efforts" (Fisher & Frey, 2010, p. 2).

This research study utilizes the German philosopher and historian Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's idea of a constructivist approach to knowledge as a "…process of trial and error consisting of grasping whatever information provided in conscious experience..." (Tucker, 2009, p. 475). The approach focuses on a belief that learners construct their knowledge from their experience in contrast to an agreed-upon verifiable truth used in objectively based positivism (Altman, 2009; Fraser, 2014). An example of learners constructing knowledge through constructivism to be discussed in detail later in this research study is how Dr. Charles Houston, one of the seven men featured in this study, viewed education in his duties as the Vice Dean of Howard University Law school after the war. Houston paid attention to how his law students perceived the practice of law by revising the curriculum to reflect everyday life situations in the Black community. This change in curriculum empowered his students by improving their legal skills through constructing knowledge gained from the experience of practicing their profession in real-life situations (Altman, 2009; Poch, 2020).

The study also highlights the theories of two philosophers, Michel Foucault, and Karl Marx. Understanding the French postmodernist philosopher Foucault's concepts of power of oppression, self-surveillance, and resistance to the power of oppression is essential to understand

the experiences of the seven and how they constructed their knowledge. Foucault observed how human knowledge and practice develop through discourse and how this discourse can become problematic over time (Agger, 1991). A discourse is an "identifiable collection of utterances governed by rules of construction and evaluation, which determine within some thematic area what may be said, by whom, in what context and with what effect." (Foucault, 2000, p. xvi). By observing changes to discourses over time, Foucault argues power relationships can develop everywhere and live in the hands of both the oppressor and the oppressed (Agger, 1991). In Foucault's words, "…power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday life…" (Brookfield, 2001, p. 3). Therefore, for this research study, "…power exists only as exercised by some on others…when it is put into action…" (Foucault, 2000, p. 340). To illustrate this point, the research study utilizes the *Plessy v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision as an example of an action taken by the majority White community against the minority Black community.

When examining Foucault's ideas of power from the Black American perspective through the discourse and practices they experienced, one can also observe how exercising power can be invisible (Agger, 1991; Foucault, 2000). Invisibility occurs through self-surveillance, meaning the oppressed can, unfortunately, monitor themselves to ensure no one steps out of line. Keeping everyone in line means all oppressed people watch each other to avoid causing a situation that may offend the oppressor, similar to prisoners in a panopticon prison, ensuring no one does anything wrong that may offend the guards (Brookfield, 2001; Foucault, 2000). An example of this self-surveillance, explained later in this study, is how student officers

attempted to pressure Louis Wright to conform to the rules in the Medical Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines (Hayden, 2003).

Resistance against the power of oppression illustrates how Foucault's ideas on power come into balance because, "… as soon as there is a power relation, there is the possibility of resistance…" (Heller, 1996, p. 102). Therefore, "…Foucault insist on the correlativity of power and resistance..." (Heller, 1996, p. 100). An example of power and resistance documented in detail later in this study is the Black communities drive to commission more Black officers to serve as commanders of Black soldiers in resistance to War Department prevailing attitude that only White officers are capable of commanding Black troops. Power and resistance are also different names for the same ability to create social change (Heller, 1996). An example of social change, demonstrated later in this research study is when Charles Houston built the groundwork of resistance to segregation in American schools, culminating in the successful *Brown v Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that ended school segregation in America (Heller, 1996).

Karl Marx's ideas on alienation are applicable to this research study. Marx's saw alienation as the separation of the worker from the product of his labor (Marx, 1884). Marx's emphasized this point when he stated, "…whatever the product of his labor is, he is not. Therefore, the greater this product, the less is he himself…" (Marx, 1884, p. 29). This research study will use Marx's ideas of alienation to illustrate how Black Americans were alienated from the products of their labors in American society. An example that will be discussed later in this research study is when Black students like Dickerson paid tuition to attend the University of Illinois, a predominately White institution but were excluded by the university administration from using all of the facilities available on campus because of his race. Dickerson's experience highlights why Black students who desired a more inclusive college environment were more

inclined to attend Black segregated colleges and avoid the alienation experienced on White campuses (Gasman & Geiger, 2012).

Methodology

The historical methodology used in this study derives from the philosophical perspective of a nominalist and not a realist. This means the information gathered does not determine a universal truth realists attempt to discover, but instead looks at the past as ever changing and indeterminate (Tucker, 2009). Therefore, the information subscribes to a historical narrative format proposed by German historian Leopold von Ranke. Ranke showed how a narrative is a preferred method in showing change over time as a sequence of events with a beginning and an end instead of a structuralist historical approach focused on one unchanging event in time (Ranke, 1909; Tucker, 2009). The narrative for this study begins in 1896 and spans 90 years to 1986 when the last gentleman discussed in this research study, Earl Dickerson, passed away. The narrative for this study does not claim to be complete or comprehensive but based on constructivist experiences of the seven men. Future research can and should revise this study's narrative perspective as more information becomes available.

The basis of analysis for this study is over 100 primary source historical artifacts reinforced by over 120 secondary sources. For this manuscript's purposes, a historical artifact is an original document or photograph from the period preserved in an archive, library, or museum. Examples of archival records for this study are newspapers like *The Bystander* from the American Library of Congress; university catalogues for Harvard and Howard Universities from 1916 maintained by Hathi Trust; WWI draft registration cards from the American National Archives, and YMCA information held in the Kautz Family YMCA Archives at the University of Minnesota. Library artifacts include the Dyer memoir from the public library in Lincoln,

Illinois; NAACP chairman of the board Joel Spingarn's personal papers at the New York Public Library in Manhattan, New York; and information on Colonel Ballou's graduation records held at the United States Military Academy at West Point, along with 92nd and 93rd Division information, stored at the Ike Skelton Combined Arms Research Library at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Museum artifacts include books like the 88th Division unit history and photographs of WWI Black officers—all located at the National World War I Museum and Memorial in Kansas City, Missouri.

Using historical artifacts has inherent strengths and limitations. The teachings of German historian Leopold von Ranke (1909) show the strength of using historical artifacts. His pioneering efforts revolutionized archival research by encouraging historians to thoroughly research their topics and use primary archival source material to base their conclusions (Ranke, 1909). This study demonstrates the strength of Ranke's methods. For example, this research study compared the draft registration cards for Charles Houston and Babe Ruth, which are historical artifacts maintained in the National Archives. Both cards are stark examples of the U.S. Army's use of the power of oppression against Blacks for the first of three American WWI drafts to raise manpower for the war.

A limitation of using artifacts is a lack of time to research, locate, obtain, or even view the artifact. A more significant limitation of using artifacts is the authenticity of the artifact, but once established, the next critical piece is to examine the efficiency of the preservation techniques used to preserve the artifact for future researchers. For example, some paper documents used in this study are in a poor state of preservation and crumbled to the touch. Over time, these documents continue to succumb to age, leaving future generations unable to use them if they are not digitized through proper archival methods. The significant difference from Ranke

in this analysis is the glimpse provided into the past is not proposed to direct the reader to universal truth or any fixed thematic realities, like Ranke was trying to find (Tucker, 2009). Determining a universal truth is impossible because archival collection archivists may show bias toward which artifacts they collect and intentionally or unintentionally present only one side of a historical event. Therefore, this study's truth is constructed, as previously discussed, and could change based on future research.

Research Artifacts

Civilian Education

The purpose of this literature review of research artifacts is to discuss relevant sources of information that provided the best insight into the civilian education and military training experienced by the seven featured Black Americans over 100 years ago. For a quick overview of the most pertinent primary and secondary civilian sources, see Table 1 and Table 2. The review begins with a historical analysis of civilian higher education in America. The literature available for this period is extensive, but some of the material found covers higher education in general terms. This study's challenge is to narrow the focus to the relevant information to satisfy the proposed argument and research question. The following books, catalogues, and articles provided the desired information.

The first, and one of the oldest, primary sources is by Abraham Flexner. Flexner wrote a report in 1910 that provides an exhaustive study of medical education in the United States and Canada. Sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, Flexner's mission was to inspect all the medical faculties educating medical providers and recommend which institutions are worthy of funding and which were inefficient and needed to close (Flexner, 1910). The report is invaluable to this study because two of the seven featured Black Americans attended medical schools mentioned in

Flexner's report. Both doctors also lived through the impact of Flexner's recommendations executed by the American Medical Association that resulted in the closure of many White medical schools and five of the seven Black medical schools in the United States (Flexner, 1910).

A secondary source that contributed significantly to this study's research was by Henry Bullock (1967). Bullock's work provided critical statistical insight into Black elementary, high school, and college educational attendance from the late 19th century through the first decade of the 20th century. He also presents a basis for why Black Americans felt so strongly about higher education (Bullock, 1967). James Anderson (1988) wrote another beneficial perspective on Black education. His work provided additional statistical insight to support Bullock's work and provided a glimpse into the financial and accreditation challenges facing Black southern institutions of higher learning. Andersons's work received a fair book review assessment from Fox-Genovese (1989) of Emory University, who pointed out a few flaws but complimented his book for making a persuasive argument about Black education. Contemporary secondary source works produced by authors like Diane Ravitch (2000) furnished additional information into issues facing teachers during this study's period of focus. She examined the importance American society placed on elementary, high school, and college education to include invaluable insight into John Dewey's ideas on progressive education, a leading philosophical perspective at the time. Her book received a favorable review by Arthur Zilversmit (2000), who complimented her as an excellent historian with high regard for education. Derrick Alridge (2008) adds to the statistical analysis of the era, but his essential contribution to this study is providing insight into one of the prominent Black educational philosophers of the 20th century, W. E. B. Du Bois. Alridge's (2008) information is critical to understanding why Du Bois' "Talented Tenth" concept

played a vital role in the thinking of one featured individual, Earl Dickerson, discussed later in the study (p. 63). Alridge received a positive review by Holly Fisher (2009) from Washington Adventist University, who praised his book in a prominent journal.

Two of the last secondary source books in this civilian literature review share the same editor, Marybeth Gasman. The first book, by Gasman and Geiger (2012), is crucial because it provides a window into the thinking of Booker T. Washington, whose initial philosophical ideas catalyzed Du Bois' opposition to the direction of Black education in America. Gasman and Geiger's book received a positive review from the University of Pittsburgh historian Richard Altenbaugh (2014). Gasman's second work published with Bieze in 2012 serves as an excellent companion piece in understanding the gradual development of Booker T. Washington's ideas on Black education (Bieze & Gasman, 2012).

This study also needed to gain a deeper understanding of the academic rigor experienced during this period. Therefore, the analysis turned to primary sources, such as turn of the century course catalogues given to students, parents, and faculty of the institutions the seven attended. The narrow focus is necessary to understand the learning environment and compare the education provided by predominantly Black and White institutions in a segregated society. A few catalogues that provide invaluable information concerning predominately Black civilian higher education are Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College—George Washington Lee's alma mater—and Howard University, where Charles Hamilton Houston taught English (Alcorn, 1912; Howard, 1915). Both catalogues illustrated the challenges faced by predominantly Black institutions and served as a good comparison of Black education in different parts of the country. Two of the predominately White institutions featured in this examination are Amherst College and Harvard University. These two prestigious northeastern institutions, which Charles Hamilton

Houston and Louis Tompkins Wright attended respectively, highlight what a robust academic curriculum looks like if assisted by a wealthy community support system (Amherst, 1916; Harvard, 1916). Further comparing these four institutions—Alcorn, Howard, Amherst, and Harvard—and other schools' side by side and against each other provided invaluable insights into this study's research question.

The study's civilian education analysis also relies on many secondary source articles to provide background information to support its primary source documents. Two of the more informative articles offer insight into the educational philosophy and racial attitude of the famous American educational reformer and philosopher John Dewey. The first article, written by Aliya Sikandar, illustrated how Dewey wanted students to learn from the experience of doing something with their hands instead of memorizing facts (Sikandar, 2015). The hands-on aspect of Dewey's work and his other teachings influenced both Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois in their attitudes concerning Black American education (Sikandar, 2015). The second article, by Andrey Cohan and Charles Howlett, delved deeper into Dewey's developing ideas on race. The article discusses Dewey's early involvement in helping to form the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (Cohan & Howlett, 2017). The article also documents a personal confrontation Dewey and his family experienced with racial prejudice against Black Americans in 1913 to be discussed later in this study (Cohan & Howlett, 2017).

Table 1.

Civilian Education Primary Source Historical Artifacts

Author/Published	Title	Information Provided for Study
Abraham Flexner 1910	*Medical education in the United States and Canada: A report to the Carnegie Foundation for the advancement of teaching.*	Describes medical education in the United States; invaluable to this study as two attended schools Flexner evaluates.
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College 1912	*General Catalogue 1911/1912.*	Provides information on Lee's undergraduate experience before Fort Des Moines.
Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College 1917	*General Catalogue 1916/1917.*	Provides information on Lee's undergraduate experience before Fort Des Moines.
Amherst College 1916	*Catalogue 1911/12-1915/16.*	Provides information on Houston's undergraduate experience before Fort Des Moines.
Atlanta University 1917	*Catalogue of the officers and students of Atlanta 1916/1917.*	Provides information on Cade's undergraduate experience before Fort Des Moines.
Harvard University 1916	*The Harvard University catalogue 1915-16.*	Provides information on Wright's medical school experience before Fort Des Moines.
Howard University 1915	*Catalogue of the officers and students of Howard University.*	Provides information on Morris' law school experience and Houston's academic experience as an English teacher.
Howard University 1917	*Catalogue of the officers and students of Howard University.*	Provides information on Morris' law school experience and Houston's academic experience as an English teacher.
University of Illinois 1915	*Annual Register 1914/15.*	Provides information on Dickerson's undergraduate education.
Walden University 1915	*Meharry Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Colleges.*	Provides information on Black medical education and training.

Note. This table lists those primary sources that provided the most information for the study.

Table 2.

Civilian Education Secondary Sources

Author/Published	Title	Information Provided for Study
Derrick P. Alridge 2008	*The Educational Thought of W.E.B. Du Bois.*	Critical information to understand why Du Bois' Talented Tenth concept played a vital role in Dickerson's thinking.
James Anderson 1988	*The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935.*	Provides a glimpse into the financial reality of Black southern education and accreditation challenges facing Black institutions of higher learning.
Michael Scott Bieze & Marybeth Gasman 2012	*Booker T. Washington Rediscovered.*	An excellent source to understand the gradual development of Washington's ideas on Black education.
Robert J. Blakely & Marcus Shepard 2006	*Earl B. Dickerson: A Voice for Freedom and Equality.*	Biography about Dickerson's life accomplishments. Referenced for both his civilian and military experiences.
Henry Bullock 1967	*A History of Negro Education in the South from 1619 to the Present.*	Provides statistical insight into Black elementary, high school, and college attendance from the late 19th century through first decade of 20th century.
Andrey Cohan & Charles F. Howlett 2017	*John Dewey and his Evolving Perception of Race Issues in American Democracy.*	Discusses Dewey's early involvement in helping form NAACP.
Robert C. Hayden 2003	*Mr. Harlem Hospital: Dr. Louis Wright, a Biography.*	Biography about Wright's life accomplishments. Referenced for both his civilian and military experiences.
Marybeth Gasman & Roger L. Geiger 2012	*Higher Education for African Americans before the Civil Rights Era 1900-1964.*	Crucial information provides glimpse into Washington's thinking, whose initial philosophical ideas catalyzed Du Bois' opposition to the direction of Black education in America.
Robert V. Morris 1999	*Tradition and Valor: A Family Journey.*	Biography of Morris' life accomplishments. Referenced for both his civilian and military experiences.
Diane Ravitch 2000	*Left Back, A Century of Failed School Reforms.*	Examines importance American society placed on education. Invaluable insights into Dewey's ideas on progressive education, a leading philosophy of the time.

Aliya Sikander 2015	*John Dewey and his Philosophy of Education.*	Illustrates how Dewey wanted students to learn from hands-on experience instead of rote memory.
David M. Tucker 1971	*Lieutenant Lee of Beale Street.*	Biography about Lee's life accomplishments. Referenced for both his civilian and military experience.

Note. This table lists those secondary sources that provided the most information for the study.

Military Training

The following works are essential to this study's literature review of historical artifacts concerning the military training experienced by the seven featured Black Americans in their evolution from civilians into U.S. Army commissioned officers. For a quick overview of the more pertinent primary and secondary military sources, see Table 3 and Table 4. The first and one of the oldest primary source artifacts used in this study is by Emmett Scott, the Special Assistant to Secretary of War Newton D. Baker (Scott, 1919). Baker presided over the War Department during WWI, currently known as the Department of Defense. Scott's book is critical to beginning a serious examination of the military environment experienced by the featured men. Scott reached prominence working as the secretary and second in command of Tuskegee Institute under Booker T. Washington. A prolific writer like Washington, he was deeply involved in the Black American community, which Secretary of War Baker recognized when selecting him to assist the War Department in monitoring the pulse of the Black community during the war. Scott's book, published a few months after the war, reflects the detailed insight he gained from his special assistant position related to Fort Des Moines and Black soldiers in general. The most significant contribution of Scott's (1919) work is the by-name roster of Fort Des Moines Infantry Officer Training Camp graduates in October 1917. Two criticisms of his work regarding this research study are the minimal amount of information concerning follow-on military training received by these infantry officers after leaving Fort Des Moines and the limited information

regarding the Medical Officer Training Camp, which operated concurrently alongside the infantry camp at Fort Des Moines.

Another work available for a detailed analysis of Black officers during WWI, initially known as the Great War, is by Arthur Barbeau and Florette Henri (1996). The information provided in this secondary source work is heavy on the power of oppression exerted on Black officers by White senior officers in the War Department and White American society in general. The book is invaluable for this study because it provides additional details on Black officers' activities in the 92nd and 93rd Divisions (Barbeau & Henri, 1996). Another book is by Chad Williams (2010), a leading historian in Black WWI studies. His work is a frequently cited secondary source of excellent information regarding Black officers. Williams divides his book into two parts. The first part discusses the overall situation concerning Black soldiers, to include the development and execution of the segregated Black Officer Training Camp program at Fort Des Moines. The second part provides one of the best discussions of the activities of former Black officers along with other Black military personnel after the war as civilians in the fight against the power of oppressive segregation (Williams, 2010). In a book review by Christopher Parker (2011), Williams is favorably recognized for illuminating the war's impact on the broader context of the Black American struggle for equality.

A more recently published secondary source work is by Adam Wilson (2015). Wilson devotes a chapter to the overall struggle between the NAACP and the War Department concerning the need for an Officer Training Camp to train Black civilians to become commissioned officers. His second chapter pulls information from newspapers and other sources to examine candidate trainee life at Fort Des Moines learning the profession of arms (Wilson,

2015). Like Williams, Wilson also examines the experiences of the Fort Des Moines graduates and other Black veterans after the war and their impact on American segregationist society.

All the above books primarily study the men who became Infantry officers while assigned to the Infantry Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines in 1917. Only one readily available secondary source book by W. Douglas Fisher and Joann Buckley (2016), examines the second Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines that trained medical officers. The Fisher and Buckley work is a biographical manuscript chronicling the lives of the 104 former civilian doctors who graduated from the Medical Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines. Each doctor became a commissioned U.S. Army Medical Reserve Corps officer as they applied their healing arts on AEF soldiers in the United States and overseas in France during the war. The book also follows the surviving doctors' return to the United States and medical practices back in the Black community. The only minor criticism of the book for this research study is it only documents the dentists' names who learned their military trade at Fort Des Moines and does not provide any details of their civilian or military careers, like their 104 medical doctor colleagues (Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

These books and articles are good initial entry sources of information concerning the military training of Black officers for WWI and provide general details into the activities at Fort Des Moines but have limited information about follow-on military training in France. This research study needed to used primary source historical artifacts left by the people who lived the experience and secondary source material to back up the primary source information to find a deeper level of detail into follow-on military training. For this study, the seven featured men left historical artifacts in the form of personally written memoirs and dictated autobiographies to

document their military training experiences in the United States and France. The study found no information to contradict the accuracy and validity of these accounts.

The first primary source memoir to consider in this analysis is by John Brother Cade (1929). This research study's introduction featured a portion of Cade's wartime experience. Cade developed his memoir from his wartime notes and published his manuscript in 1929. His manuscript is not an autobiography because it does not cover his entire life, but it does provide a detailed account of his life from college through his wartime exploits ranging from his military training in the Infantry Training Camp at Fort Des Moines through follow-on training in France to the caldron of the trenches and return to the United States. He mentions the reason he wrote his memoir was a desire to spark public interest in the historical study of the 92nd and 93rd Divisions (Cade, 1929).

The next primary source memoir to consider in this analysis is the unpublished handwritten work by medical doctor William Holmes Dyer (1918). The document is not an autobiography because it does not cover his entire life, but it does provide details about his wartime activities as a physician in uniform (Dyer, 1918). This study could not find any information on why Dyer maintained his handwritten notes with photographs other than what appears to be a scrapbook to remember his experience. Dyer's memoir does not provide information on the specific medical training he received at Fort Des Moines. However, it offers little-known information on what happened when the Medical Officer Training Camp closed in November 1917 from his perspective as one of the camp's last trainees. The memoir also provides invaluable information on Dyer's extraordinary travels in France during the war (Dyer, 1918).

The third and final primary source memoir is by Charles Hamilton Houston. He documented his WWI experience in a series of newspaper articles, published in *The Pittsburgh Courier* newspaper from July 20-October 12, 1940 (Houston, 1940a; Houston, 1940l). The articles are not an autobiography because they do not cover his entire life. The articles do discuss specific details of his wartime exploits to include his military training at Fort Des Moines and follow up training at various camps around the United States, and France. Houston stated he published his memoir for public consumption for two reasons. First, to inform his fellow White American citizens that Blacks are their equal. Second, to open the eyes of young Black Americans concerning the reality of war and to prepare them for the looming Second World War because in his mind, "forewarned is forearmed" (Houston, 1940a, p. 13).

Houston acknowledged he wrote his series of articles 23 years after the events described and from memory without notes. He mentioned that he hoped his old comrades in arms could fix any errors (Houston, 1940a). A memoir written from memory long after the events occurred could be a severe limitation. However, by 1940, Houston was already an accomplished lawyer and former Vice-Dean of Howard Law School armed with an incredible memory. Research for this study revealed no corrections to date concerning the accuracy of his information. A secondary source biographical work encompassing his entire life by Genna McNeil is an excellent accompaniment to his memoir. Her work chronicles Houston's activities from his young formative years through each of his significant life accomplishments, including WWI (McNeil, 1983). A book review written by Lee Sartain (2013) of the University of Portsmouth praised her work as the best material available on Houston's life.

The secondary source biographies of the remaining four are worthy documents to include in any examination of the activities at Fort Des Moines and follow-on Black community

activities after the war. The first secondary source biography is by David Tucker (1971). In this work, Tucker follows George Washington Lee's life from Alcorn College in Mississippi through Fort Des Moines. The biography includes details about Lee's experience in the war and his political career back in the United States after the conflict. Tucker based his work on many conversations with Lee and detailed research to validate the information (Tucker, 1971). The next secondary source biography is a family affair written by Robert V. Morris, the grandson of James Brad Morris Sr, a Fort Des Moines Infantry Training Camp graduate (Morris, 1999). The book chronicles senior Morris's civilian education culminating in becoming a lawyer. It also includes his military life beginning at Fort Des Moines, through his war experiences, and back in the United States fighting for equal rights. The book is based on family stories discussed through the years and checked by the author for accuracy (Morris, 1999).

A third secondary source biography used in this study is about another medical doctor, Louis Thompkins Wright, written by Robert Hayden (2003). Hayden wrote his book using meticulously collected and categorized material preserved by Wright's widow, Corinne, and additional information provided by over eighty other family and friends who knew, loved, and respected Wright. The work chronicles Wright's fascinating life, from his education at Harvard Medical School to his medical practice with his father in the South. It discusses his experience in the Fort Des Moines Medical Officer Training Camp and his exploits in the war in command of the surgery section of a U.S. Army field hospital. The book also explains Wright's life after the war with service in the NAACP and his medical practice in Harlem, New York (Hayden, 2003). The final and more recently published secondary source biography is by authors Robert Blakely and Marcus Shepard. Their book examines Earl Burrus Dickerson's life from his fight to get into law school through his attendance at Fort Des Moines Infantry Training Camp (Blakely &

Shepard, 2006). It also covers his wartime experiences and his contributions to the fight for civil rights back in the United States. The authors based their information on numerous conversations with Dickerson before the end of his life and detailed research to corroborate Dickerson's recollections (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

Table 3.

Military Training Primary Source Historical Artifacts

Author/Published	Title	Information Provided for Study
Charles Clarendon Ballou 1917	*Post Returns of Fort Des Moines, Iowa.*	As the Fort Des Moines commander, Ballou signed monthly reports sent to the War Department from June, July, and August—all used in this study.
John Brother Cade 1929	*Twenty-Two Months with Uncle Sam: Being the Experiences and Observations of a Negro Student who Volunteered for Military Service against the Central Powers from June 1917 to April 1919.*	Cade wrote and published his memoir after the war.
William Holmes Dyer 1918	*War Time Diary of Dr. William Holmes Dyer.*	Dyer wrote his unpublished memoir and after the war, gave it to the Lincoln Public Library for preservation.
Charles Hamilton Houston 1940	*Saving the World for Democracy.*	Houston's memoir was serially published in twelve editions of *The Pittsburgh Courier* from July thru October.
Henry J. Hunt 1917	*Post Returns of Fort Des Moines, Iowa.*	As the Fort Des Moines commander, Hunt signed monthly reports sent to the War Department from September, October, and November—all used in this study.
Emmett J. Scott 1919	*Scott's Official History of the American Negro in the World War.*	The by-name roster of Fort Des Moines Infantry Officer Training Camp graduates in October 1917 is the work's significant contributions.

Note. This table lists those primary sources that provided the most information for the study.

Table 4.

Military Training Secondary Sources

Author/Published	Title	Information Provided for Study
Arthur E. Barbeau & Florette Henri 1996	*The Unknown Soldiers, African American Troops in World War I.*	Provides invaluable details on the 92nd and 93rd Divisions' officers' activities after their training at Fort Des Moines Infantry and Medical Officer Training Camps.
W. Douglas Fisher & Joann H. Buckley 2016	*African American Doctors of World War 1: The Lives of 104 Volunteers*.	Chronicles the lives of 104 civilian doctors that graduated from the MOTC as commissioned U.S. Army Medical Reserve Corps officers applying their healing abilities in the United States and overseas in France for the war. Follows the surviving doctors' return to the United States and medical practices in the Black community.
Chad L. Williams 2010	*Torchbearers of Democracy, African American Soldiers in the World War I Era.*	Gives an overall situation concerning Black troops, to include the development and execution of the segregated Infantry Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines. Provides one of the best discussions of the activities of former Black officers along with other Black military personnel after the war as civilians fighting against the power of oppressive segregation.
Adam P. Wilson 2015	*African American Army Officers of World War I, A Vanguard for Equality in War and Beyond*.	Discusses the overall struggle between the NAACP and the War Department concerning the need for an Officer Training Camp to train Black civilians as commissioned officers. Pulls information from newspapers and other sources to examine candidate trainee life at Fort Des Moines. Examines the impact of the Fort Des Moines graduates and other Black veterans after the war on American segregationist society.

Note. This table lists those secondary sources that provided the most information for the study. The Dickerson, Lee, Morris, and Wright biographies are also listed under civilian secondary sources.

Summary

The chapter introduces this historical research study and discusses how the study contributes to the scholarship of the era. The study opens by using primary source artifacts along with secondary source information to illustrate the last hours in combat of one of the seven Black

American U.S. Army officers featured in this analysis, firmly establishing WWI as a significant focus of the study. Attention shifts to the research questions to include the theoretical framework with applicable theorists Foucault and Marx and the methodology used to construct meaning from the collected artifacts. The chapter introduces the civilian education and military training aspects of the study and how primary and secondary source materials illustrate the adult education of the seven gentlemen. Finally, the chapter discusses the primary and secondary sources used to chronicle the lives of each of the seven featured men in the study.

Chapter 2 - Stage Setter

> Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by Blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to White persons…. in my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. (Thomas, 1997a, p. 22)

This research study uses historical artifacts to write a narrative spanning from 1896 through 1986. The analysis begins with the sequence of events that set the stage for its change-over-time narrative with the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v Ferguson*. Understanding *Plessy* provides three critical benefits for this narrative. First, a detailed examination of *Plessy* assists in answering the first subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences before Fort Des Moines? Second, the *Plessy* case set the legal foundation for the seven gentlemen's life experiences before their military service at Fort Des Moines. Third, understanding the *Plessy* repercussions explains why this research study's seven featured men made their life-changing decisions at critical moments in this narrative.

The *Plessy vs. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision is infamous for ushering in over 50 years of legalized racism (Thomas, 1997a). The decision unambiguously removed all doubts that separate but equal was firmly a part of American law as it related to the U.S. Constitution (Lofgren, 1987). The decision further provided the legal foundation for two Americas—one for Black Americans and another for White Americans. In the mind of Associate Justice Henry Billings Brown, who wrote the majority opinion in the 1896 Supreme Court *Plessy* case, the division between the two groups was fair because the decision "upheld the Fourteenth Amendment's commitment to enforce racial equality before the law" (Steinecke & Terrell, 2010, p. 236). In the details of the ruling, the Supreme Court also removed the power of enforcement at

the federal level when Brown's opinion further stated, "…in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either" (Steinecke & Terrell, 2010, p. 236). The following will illustrate why the *Plessy* decision is an example of Michel Foucault's idea of the power of oppression exerted against the Black community (Foucault, 2000).

The *Plessy* case originated in Louisiana because of the Louisiana legislature's passage of the Separate Car Act that forced segregation on all railway travel in the state. A local shoemaker named Homer Adolph Plessy backed by others in the New Orleans Committee of Citizens decided to challenge the law (Bishop, 1977; Scott, 2007). This challenge was not an isolated action. It was born from an ideology of equal rights in public places for people of color, dating back to the 18th century and the French and Haitian revolutions (Scott, 2007). The migration of people of color from Saint Domingue to France searching for work exposed them and their families to French Republican ideas of universal manhood suffrage (Scott, 2007). These ideas eventually spread to Louisiana and created cross-racial and cross-ethnic electoral alliances that passed laws after the Civil War in the late 1860s, giving everyone equal access to public accommodations and public transport (Scott, 2007). The end of Reconstruction in the South in the early 1870s and the rise in White supremacist legislation reversed these equality gains. The result by 1879 was that Louisiana steamboat and tavern owners could discriminate without fear of legal repercussions (Scott, 2007).

The 1890 Separate Car Act required "separate but equal" accommodations based on race in railroad cars (Thomas, 1997a, p. 16). The Act gave railroad employees authorization to assign passengers to cars based on race, and railroads could refuse without fear of legal reprisal to carry

anyone who failed to comply with their assignment. Employees who made incorrect assignments and traveling passengers who refused to sit in assigned seats could face a maximum fine of 25 dollars, a substantial sum during this period and spend 20 days in jail. The only exception was nurses attending to children of another race (Thomas, 1997a). These nurses were almost exclusively Black nurses with White children. When the 1890 Separate Car Act became law, opposition to a further reversal of rights in the Black community grew. Many people of color rallied around Homer Plessy's challenge to the Act along with many other New Orleans organizations such as the Ladies of Determination Benevolent Mutual Aid Association. These organizations particularly saw the challenge to the Separate Car Act as an opportunity to enunciate their support for equal rights for all in public spaces. Plessy and his fellow challengers went further by sketching a broad image of citizenship concerning individual dignity and the state's responsibility to guarantee non-discriminatory treatment in public places.

Homer Plessy's lead attorney from the beginning was Albion Tourgee. Tourgee grew up in Ohio and Massachusetts as an ardent abolitionist. A White former Union Army lieutenant, Tourgee was also a former North Carolina Superior Court judge, Republican lawyer, novelist, and lifelong advocate for equal rights for all people in America. His book *A Fool's Errand* blamed stubborn racism by a few elements in the southern states and cowardice in the northern states for reconstruction's failure after the Civil War (Tourgee, 1961). A second lawyer on the case with Tourgee was James C. Walker, who handled the Louisiana portion of the trial. A third lawyer, Samuel L. Phillips, assisted Tourgee in the courtroom for the Supreme Court case (Thomas, 1997a). Tourgee accepted the *Plessy* case pro bono and knew he would have a tough fight if the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court. He based his assumption of a tough fight on how the court gradually established a trend of discriminatory rulings by invalidating both the Ku

Klux Klan (KKK) Act of 1871 and the Civil Rights Act of 1875. He also noted how the court stood by and allowed a lower court to permit separate but equal facilities and allow individual states to exercise their police power to enforce segregation and disregard Black Americans' civil rights (Thomas, 1997a).

The Louisiana Separate Car Act challenge began in June 1892 when Homer Plessy purchased a ticket on the East Louisiana Railroad traveling from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. Homer Plessy boarded the train and attempted to sit in a White-only railcar, resulting in his arrest (Thomas, 1997a). The *Plessy* case eventually passed through the Louisiana court system and, as Tourgee feared, arrived on the steps of the U.S. Supreme Court. Tourgee braced for the fight as he argued before the court the Louisiana law was arbitrary, irrational, and unconstitutional for requiring racial separation in violation of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. This separation, Tourgee continued, put a badge of servitude on Homer Plessy by perpetuating the distinction of race, which is obnoxious to national citizenship principles for all United States citizens (Thomas, 1997a). The United States Supreme Court disagreed with Tourgee and Justice Brown further stated:

> We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the Act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. (Thomas, 1997a, p. 18)

The Supreme Court's decision against Homer Plessy reinterpreted the claim to equal rights like an uninvited guest forcing himself on others attending a party. This reinterpretation formalized an aggressive program of state-imposed restrictions on people of color claimed to be justified by a long tradition of local customs (Scott, 2007). For example, if it was not customary to invite Blacks to an event before, why should they attend now if someone in the White majority

did not want them present? Criminal charges against Homer Plessy began immediately after the Supreme Court ruled against him, with a fine of 25 dollars, but no incarceration. The time constraints of this research study did not allow for accumulation of any additional information on Homer Plessy after the court's decision, except that he passed away in 1925 and his remains rest in the St. Louis Cemetery in New Orleans (Thomas, 1997a).

Roberts' Influence

The Supreme Court agreed to hear the *Plessy* case because it had never examined the Fourteenth Amendment's constitutionality regarding racially segregated transportation (Bernstein, 1962). The justices examined numerous judicial cases looking for a legal precedent for the *Plessy* case and settled on 46 to use in the ruling. Fourteen came from previous U.S. Supreme Court decisions, five from lower federal court cases, two from interstate commerce commission decisions, and the final 25 were state court opinions (Bishop, 1977). One of the lower court cases was the *Roberts v. City of Boston* case of 1849. The *Roberts* case centered on the activities of Black community leader Benjamin Roberts. Roberts retained attorney Charles Sumner, a White abolitionist and future United States Senator, and Robert Morris, a young Black attorney, to argue before Chief Justice Shaw's Massachusetts Supreme Court in an attempt to abolish segregated primary school education in Boston (Levy & Philips, 1951). Roberts initially felt he had the law on his side because of a prior Massachusetts legal ruling stating children had to attend a school closest to their home (Horton & Moresi, 2001). This same ruling provided a provision for Roberts to file a complaint and ask for damages under the belief his daughter's exclusion from school was illegal (Horton & Moresi, 2001). The reasoning was Roberts's young daughter Sarah could only attend a Black school solely because of her skin color, despite five other primary schools with White students closer to her home (Ficker, 1999).

Ironically, over 50 years before, in 1798, Black citizens of Boston requested a separate all-Black school to educate their children because the oppressive power of discrimination excluded their children from attending any other school in the city. The segregated Black school operated on private funds in a private home until approximately 1820, when the city began subsidizing the separate school for Black elementary school education (Levy & Philips, 1951). The city provided funds, but not enough to meet growing expenses, and over time the Black school fell into disrepair. Abolitionists like Edmund Jackson petitioned the primary school committee to abolish the Black school and allow the Black children to attend other White schools in the area. In essence, Jackson was asking to integrate all area schools. Additional arguments for integration centered on a growing belief that segregation strengthened prejudice rather than weakening it, and integrated schools provided Black children a better education (Ficker, 1999).

The school committee rejected the petition, "…The distinction is one which the Almighty has seen fit to establish, and it is found deep in the physical, mental, and moral natures of the two races. No legislation, no social customs, can efface this distinction" (Levy & Philips, 1951, p. 511). Most of the committee felt segregated education was "not only legal and just but is best adapted to promote the education of that class of our population" (Levy & Philips, 1951, p. 511). The committee members used race as the sole reason to reject all attempts to integrate the schools. The committee vote to exclude Blacks was not unanimous. A few committee members in a published minority report wrote segregation gave Whites "…a false sense of superiority by legitimizing personal judgments through one's skin color" (Ficker, 1999, p. 303). They accused the committee of cowardice by not leading change, instead choosing to hide behind other states' delusional segregationist attitudes against Black equality (Ficker, 1999).

In the *Roberts* case, Sumner argued numerous points before the Massachusetts Supreme Court. First, he stated how the law should be equal for all, "which way so ever we turn, we are brought back to one single proposition the equality of men before the law" (Levy & Philips, 1951, p. 513). His next point was the state constitution gave no provisions for segregation in the public school system. He argued the constitution did not mention segregation because public schools are by design required to serve the entire community. Third, Sumner discussed the role of power in the community stating, "…the majority did not have the power to deprive the minority of privileges….and stigmatize them as inferior…" (Levy & Philips, 1951, p. 513). Sumner argued this power was illegal, and by welding it in this situation, the committee placed themselves above the state constitution. Sumner's fourth point was the stigma of inferiority. Separate schools give the impression Blacks are inferior and fit the criteria of a second-class citizen. Blacks could avoid this stigma by attending integrated schools and allow the schools to fulfill their mission of educating the entire community (Ficker, 1999; Levy & Philips, 1951). A fifth point was how segregation also injures White children who, despite being told the law and constitution are equal, easily see it is not, which breeds prejudice (Levy & Philips, 1951).

Despite Sumner's arguments, Chief Justice Shaw delivered a unanimous decision by the Massachusetts Supreme Court against Roberts. He stated the court found the committee decided not to accept Sarah Roberts based on dishonesty or discrimination but used reason and experience to reach their decision, so they did not violate any laws. Shaw contented himself with the erroneous notion prejudice was not created by law and cannot be changed by law (Levy & Philips, 1951). Therefore, if a community wished to remain separate and not admit another race, they did not violate any laws. The ruling gave government bodies within the state of Massachusetts the power to arrange the legal rights of citizens based on race and upheld a

separate but equal doctrine already informally practiced within the state (Levy & Philips, 1951). The *Roberts* case officially allowed state-level alienation as advocated by Karl Marx. The Black community who worked within the greater Boston area were alienated from enjoying the product of their labor the education of their children at the same stand of education as White Boston children because of race (Marx, 1884). Not until 1855 did abolitionists gain enough power to end state-sponsored segregation in Massachusetts schools. Unfortunately for Black Americans, the Shaw ruling continued to be cited by other states like New York, Arkansas, Missouri, Louisiana, West Virginia, Kansas, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Oregon as legal precedent to allow segregation in their school systems before, during, and long after the Civil War (Ficker, 1999; Levy & Philips, 1951).

The Great Dissenter

After examining all the legal precedents to include the Shaw ruling in the *Roberts* case, the 1896 U.S. Supreme Court determined a state could segregate the races and this segregation applies to public places, including railroad cars per established usage, customs, and traditions of the people (Bernstein, 1962; McLaughlin-Stonham, 2020). In his majority opinion against Homer Plessy, Justice Brown accused Blacks of racial oversensitivity and their allegations of a devious purpose behind Jim Crow as paranoia (Hutchison, 2015). As previously mentioned, but to reinforce the point of paranoia, Brown stated if Blacks contend separation marks them with a "badge of inferiority…that is because the colored race puts that construction upon it" (Horton & Moresi, 2001, p. 16).

Justice John Marshall Harlan, the lone dissenter in the *Plessy v Ferguson* case, grew up in Kentucky, became a lawyer in 1853, and later served as a Union Army lieutenant colonel in the Civil War. He was a slave owner before the war and opposed emancipation. After the war,

Harlan was against voting rights for former slaves, against federal programs to help former slaves, opposed integrated schools, and fought against the Civil Rights Act of 1875 integrated public accommodations clause. He also had a mulatto half-brother, Robert Harlan, whom he never recognized as part of the family. Despite all this hostile activity against Blacks, once Harlan arrived at the Supreme Court, his attitude appeared to change in allowing Blacks more equality before the law (Thomas, 1997a). However, Harlan did not change because he still maintained a belief that Whites were the dominant race socially, but legally he believed the U.S. Constitution was color-blind and did not allow a dominant race to exist in America (Hutchison, 2015). Harlan declared his position when he wrote, "Whites may wield greater wealth and power, but this gave them no license to trespass upon the legal, civil rights of blacks, making them unequal before the law" (Hutchison, 2015, p. 432).

Harlan's beliefs turned into action as he slowly earned the title the "Great Dissenter" (Hutchison, 2015, p. 144). He began his dissent career with the Civil Rights Cases of 1883 and intentionally used the same pen and inkwell Chief Justice Roger B. Taney used in the *Dred Scott* case to write his opinion (Hutchison, 2015; Thomas, 1997a). The *Dred Scott* case revolved around the slave Dred Scott and his bid for freedom. Scott was the manservant of U.S. Army surgeon John Emerson. In the 1840s, Scott accompanied the doctor to numerous U.S. Army installations in Missouri, a slavery territory, and the free states of Illinois and Wisconsin (Griffen, 2019). Scott never left his master's side despite living for years in two free states. In 1846, Emerson and Scott were back in Missouri when the doctor passed away. Scott found himself, like a piece of furniture, now under the control of the doctor's wife, Mrs. Emerson. The idea of continued servitude did not appeal to Scott, so he sued for his freedom with the help of abolitionist friends based on his time living in free states. His case appeared before lower courts

in 1847 and again in 1850. A lower court awarded Scott his freedom, but on appeal, the case made it to the Missouri Supreme Court in 1857. The Missouri Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger Taney was a former slave owner from Maryland, who reasoned since Scott was born a slave, he was property. As property, Scott could not own property of his own like a White man and therefore could not receive the same civil rights as a citizen of the United States like a White man, regardless of Scott having lived in a free state (Griffen, 2019).

Taney specifically stated the status of Black people in the human family was not "fixed and universal" in the civilized world (Jaffa, 2008, p. 204). Coalescing behind Taney's oppressive power views against Blacks, the Missouri Supreme Court ruled against Scott, and he and his family remained in bondage (Konig et al., 2010). Taney's ruling cemented the opinion for many White Americans that Blacks, whether slave or free, were inherently inferior, rendering them unfit for citizenship (Austin, 2004). Fortunately, everyone in the United States did not believe Taney made the correct decision. One of the people who opposed Taney was Abraham Lincoln. The future president used the *Dred Scott* case and Taney's role in the case as part of his now famous 1858 "House Divided" speech (Jaffa, 2008, p. 209). In the speech, Lincoln accused Taney of trying to spread slavery into new territories and into already free states. The citizenship issue for Black Americans continued into the Civil War, with many Black Union soldiers writing letters stating they were fighting to show they deserved citizenship and full equality (Redkey, 1992).

Over 30 years later, in the 1896 *Plessy* ruling, citizenship appeared to be questioned again. Justice Harlan, in his most quoted dissent in the annals of the Supreme Court, argued against allowing a state to regulate the enjoyment of its citizens based on race (Hutchison, 2015):

> Everyone knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by Blacks, as to exclude colored

> people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons…in my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. (Thomas, 1997a, p. 22)

Harlan could see how the Supreme Court's support of the "separate but equal" laws delineated Blacks as second-class citizens (Thomas, 2010, p. 308). Harlan saw Jim Crow's legal inequality as a seed of Foucault's power of oppression that could grow into racial resentment and hatred, thereby harming the entire country domestically and damaging its international image of freedom and democracy overseas (Foucault, 2000; Hutchison, 2015).

Harlan's fear became reality a few years later because the *Plessy* decision sent two clear signals. The first signal was that individual states could claim the separation of the races promoted the public good. Second, Blacks would find little support in the federal judiciary to overturn such claims (Thomas, 1997). These signals played a role in forming the NAACP in 1909 to overturn legal separation laws (Thomas, 1997). Internationally, the American image of being a leading democracy while discriminating against a portion of its own population was indeed damaging. For example, Blakely and Shepard noted in Earl Burrus Dickerson's biography that he witnessed the German attempt to exploit discrimination in America by waging an aggressive propaganda campaign directed at Black American soldiers on the front lines of WWI. The German intent was to entice Black U.S. Army soldiers to leave their positions on the battlefield and cross over to the German side and receive the respect America refused to give them back in the United States (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

The Impacts of Plessy on the Seven

To highlight how the state segregationist Jim Crow laws, reinforced by *Plessy*, affected late 19th century professional college-educated Black man, the study uses William Houston as an example. William Houston is the father of Charles Hamilton Houston, a featured individual

discussed later in this research study (Kluger, 2004). William Houston completed Howard University School of Law attending night classes and passed the bar in 1892. Upon graduation, he practiced law in Washington, D.C., but the stigma of segregation ensured he could not earn a living practicing law on a full-time basis. Segregation only allowed him to practice law in the Black community and not in the larger White community. Therefore, to support his family, he maintained his old job as a clerk at the Record and Pension Office during the day, but this provided little professional development to maintain his legal skills (McNeil, 1983).

Despite living in a Black middle-class environment, the segregationist system ensured that even if William Houston could get an education to improve his living standard, few venues would be open to him to practice his newly gained skills. Over time, with no further stimulation or improvement, his skills could, like many other professional Black men, atrophy, resulting in no lasting improvement in his life, thereby maintaining the segregationist White hegemonic status quo. William Houston resisted the power of this status quo oppression by staying current in his profession through teaching part-time back at Howard University School of Law (Kluger, 2004). However, hiring graduates is not necessarily the best way to infuse the Howard University curriculum with new ideas, as illustrated later in this research study with Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College practices. Another example of segregationist power of oppression regarding *Plessy* is the experience of Louis Thompkins Wright, another featured person in this research study. Wright experienced the same treatment as William Houston. In 1915 Wright, a newly graduated Harvard University Medical School-trained surgeon, experienced repeated rejections from northern hospitals based on his skin color. Like William Houston, he had to accept work in the Black community, specifically a Black hospital in Washington, D.C., to maintain his proficiency (Hayden, 2003).

Plessy ushered in a federal approach of non-interference in many societal harassment issues that plagued the Black community and affected the seven men in this research study and their families. The first of these issues discussed in more detail later this research study is lynching and its constant exercise of power over Black Americans. Lynching is racially motivated domestic violence designed to keep Blacks in their place (Jansen, 2014). The *Plessy* decision all but guaranteed no federal involvement in prosecuting perpetrators of lynching against the Black community. Despite federal refusal to intervene, courageous Black educators and journalists like Ida B. Wells raised the issue repeatedly from the 1880s through the 1930s. Her work shed light on a crime many wished to ignore (Tucker, 1971a).

WWI exacerbated negative racial attitudes and fueled White oppression and Black resistance, reinforced by *Plessy*. However, this research study uncovered one ironic item concerning how Black railroad workers experienced a boost in on-the-job rights when the U.S. Government assumed control of the nation's railroad for WWI (Taillon, 2014). The irony was Blacks could use the new Federal laws to force local compliance with equal treatment and equal pay for the same work, thereby removing the stigma of second-class citizen status for Black workers (Taillon, 2014). Unfortunately, the Wilson Administration, known for re-segregating the government after years of integration, did not develop these laws to help Blacks achieve equal rights (Dunn, 1993; Taillon, 2014). The government's aim was solely pragmatic and designed to improve operations for the efficiency of the war effort. Their improvements and enforcement of their new rules had the unintentional benefit of improving the working conditions for Black railroad workers. After the war, all these relatively minor victories evaporated. However, Black Americans did not forget this moment of equality and would use it in their future battles for full citizenship rights and equal pay (Taillon, 2014).

Another social harassment issue *Plessy* informally sanctioned by refusing federal interference was southern vagrancy laws. These laws made it a crime in some southern states for Black workers to leave employers without permission. If a sheriff caught a person without the proper authorization to be absent from work or was unemployed, the sheriff could arrest them. Later in court, the judge could imprison them and literally sell them to local businesses, such as coal mines, to be worked to death doing hard labor with few prospects for release (Blackmon, 2008). Vagrancy laws are another example of Foucault's power of oppression because these laws rarely applied to White people (Foucault, 2000). It was a control mechanism designed to keep Black people under control and provide cheap unpaid labor for White businesses (Blackmon, 2008).

These discriminatory acts of oppressive power, including a lack of educational opportunities, especially in the South, caused a massive migration of Blacks at the turn of the 20th century from the sharecropper fields of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia northward to industrial cities like Chicago, New York, Memphis, and East St Louis. This mass migration made the national headlines of the day—for example, Du Bois documented the migration in his role as the editor of the NAACP periodical *The Crisis*. In a July 1917 issue, he stated Georgia Blacks noticed that despite making up much of the agricultural labor force, their tax dollars were not educating Blacks on new farming techniques but were educating Whites. According to Du Bois, Blacks were leaving Georgia and heading to northern cities for better lives with less harassment and increased educational opportunities (Du Bois, 1917).

Summary

This chapter sets the stage for the research study by addressing the legalities that established federally recognized segregation in America during this historical period. The legal

catalyst identified for this research study is the *Plessy v Ferguson* U.S. Supreme Court decision that ushered in federally recognized Jim Crow segregationist laws across the country. The chapter also delves into the other lower court cases like *Roberts v. City of Boston* and *Dred Scott* that provided part of the precedent for the *Plessy* decision and addressed Black citizenship. The *Roberts* case highlighted Karl Marx's idea of alienation because the state of Massachusetts allowed the alienation of Black parents from the product of their labor the education of their children to the same standards as White children in the Boston area based only on race (Marx, 1884). Attention turned to the dissent of Justice John Harlan in *Plessy* and how his opinion foreshadowed the country's future struggle with the power of oppression advocated by Foucault that could grow resistance within the country and harm the United States' image internationally (Foucault, 2000). Additional examples provide a window into the harassment of the wider Black community, such as lynching, vagrancy laws, and inequality in education leading to the great migration of Black labor from the southern states to northern cities.

Chapter 3 - Civilian Education

> …It was the inspiration and influence of the University of Illinois that led me into the study of law. It was here that I made the lone dissent by Justice John M. Harlan in *Plessy v. Ferguson* my cause celebre... (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 19-20)

To better understand the Black American drive for a better life through education as noted by Du Bois, this chapter's focus shifts to examining civilian higher education experienced by each of the seven featured gentlemen. Understanding their experience is essential if one wants to grasp how the *Plessy* case affected their civilian education before Fort Des Moines and answer the first subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences before Fort Des Moines? An additional benefit of analyzing their higher education experience provides an opportunity to introduce three of the great adult education philosophers of the 19th and 20th centuries: John Dewey, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois. Their teachings affect the civilian educational foundation of the seven featured gentlemen.

Late 19th and Early 20th Century Civilian Education

Educational opportunities for Black Americans in 19th century America were a challenge. In the South, clandestine schools existed, but slave laws made their existence hazardous for both teachers and students (Alridge, 2015). In the northern United States, Black schooling was not as clandestine. However, many northern communities placed severe restrictions on how they operated, as illustrated in the *Roberts* court case (Alridge, 2015). Fortunately, hazards and restrictions did not diminish the desire for Black education. After emancipation in the 1860s, Black parents recognized the benefits of a good education and its chance at a better life, and this led to an escalation in Black elementary school enrollment. To illustrate this point, in the South, one-fourth of school-aged Black children in 1870 or 10% of school-aged populations attended school, compared to over 50% of White southern children

(Alridge, 2015; Bullock, 1967). By 1890, this figure jumped to almost 40% of all Black southern children aged ten and older, compared to a fluctuating percentage of White southern students above and below 60% (Alridge, 2015; Bullock, 1967). Unfortunately, in the South, Black enrollment in elementary schools plateaued and dropped from the 1890s highs to lows of less than 30% by 1910 compared to a steady climb of White students to 70% (Bullock, 1967). This decrease in enrollment resulted from a post-reconstruction surge in racial discrimination quietly invading southern school administrations, making it harder for Black children to attend school (Bullock, 1967).

Despite fluctuating enrollment, Blacks who made it to class faced another challenge: their teachers were not well trained to teach. By the early 1900s, few American teachers received formal pedagogical training. The lack of training ensured that time-tested rote memorization and recitation direct from textbooks was commonplace in the classroom (Ravitch, 2000). Teachers relied on memorization because they argued students should study things they disliked, and some thought this method trained young minds to build mental discipline through hard work. For example, some argued that learning languages like Latin was suitable for mental gymnastics to train the mind (Ravitch, 2000). Teachers and communities proposed mental exercise in elementary school was necessary to "…promote sufficient learning and self-discipline so people in a democratic society could be good citizens, read the newspapers, get a job, make their way in an individualistic and competitive society, and contribute to their community's well-being" (Ravitch, 2000, p. 25). To help students with recitation, teachers encouraged participation in public speaking classes because they discovered students did not understand the meaning behind the facts they memorized (Ravitch, 2000). Public speaking classes and later public and private

speaking competitions encouraged students to talk among themselves and construct their own knowledge of the meaning behind the facts.

Concerning higher education, less than 5% attended high school and fewer attended college in 1890, which was true of both Black and White student populations (Ravitch, 2000). A significant cause for this low turnout in higher education was concentration on elementary schools. By 1900, most communities owned an elementary school, but few possessed a high school. The lack of high schools and college opportunities was not a detriment at the time because jobs were plentiful for those who could read and write. An elementary school education filled this requirement. The higher the competency in "reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic," the better the job prospects for a graduating elementary school student (Ravitch, 2000, p. 469). Only professional jobs in law, ministry, or medicine required higher education like a high school or college diploma. To highlight this point in 1900, Du Bois conducted a survey and found, of the 1,252 Black college graduates who responded, about 54% were teachers in various professional fields and 17% were clergy (Cremin, 1988). Within the first decade of the 20th century, Black enrollment in higher education increased by over 40% (Anderson, 1988; Gasman & Geiger, 2012). Unfortunately, as enrollment increased, the financial support for higher education from previously reliable institutions like churches and missionary organizations ran low, which restricted the number of Black institutions offering higher education beyond elementary school.

Despite these challenges, the Black community refused to surrender the "belief in learning and self-improvement as a means to individual and collective dignity" and continued to push education in the hope it would provide a better future (Anderson, 1988, p. 285; Gasman & Geiger, 2012). The hope was based on a promise made by White educators and documented by the federal government in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* separate but equal ruling that "...Black schools

would be equal to those provided for Whites" (Bullock, 1967, p. 167). Many Blacks and Whites also embraced an extension of this promise:

> ...a free ballot would be forthcoming for those who gained literacy and the status of property owners, that occupational fitness and economic security would come to those who became industrially trained... would produce a kind of moral and social stability with which Black Americans could become socially acceptable as members of the larger society. (Bullock, 1967, p. 167)

Despite this hope, by 1910 the challenge was still enormous, with Blacks comprising less than 1% of all American college students (Gasman & Geiger, 2012). At this critical point, three social science giants emerged with different philosophical viewpoints on the future of education. John Dewey ushered in progressive education, with Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois slightly modifying Dewey's theories by applying them to specifically Black education. In addition, Washington and Du Bois' views appeared different on the surface, but this research study demonstrates how they converged to form part of the philosophical underpinnings of Black education.

John Dewey

Dewey was born in 1859 and earned his Doctor of Philosophy from Johns Hopkins University in 1884 (Martin, 2002). He developed his world-famous ideas on progressive education after years of teaching high school through college courses at various northern institutions from the University of Michigan, University of Minnesota, Columbia University, and a laboratory school at the University of Chicago (Ravitch, 2000). The key points of his progressive education philosophy revolved around applying social sciences and psychology to education. The school in his mind must represent the student's life. Therefore, school subjects should focus more on students' social activities rather than on science, history, literature, and geography—making school "a continuing reconstruction of experience" (Ravitch, 2000, p. 57).

A student's ability to understand what they learned is key to Dewey's teachings and was a corrective action for recitation and rote memory work. For example, Dewey wanted students to plant a seed and gain experience about biology while caring for the plant as it grew out of the seed instead of only memorizing biology's technical aspects. The knowledge gained from this biology activity made the student an active participant in sharing in the social event. Dewey supported experiential learning that embraced his hands-on education (Sikandar, 2015). He also endorsed collaborative education between the student and teacher or between the students themselves (Sikandar, 2015). In his mind, the collaboration sparks curiosity in the student, giving them a purpose to carry out school activities and construct their own knowledge. Dewey also saw school as a place of social reform and social progress connected to the community and not operating outside of the community. Dewey argued school curriculum should cause social reform. He also disliked mental discipline and argued constructing knowledge and understanding were more important than mental gymnastics (Ravitch, 2000).

Private and public schools interpreted Dewey's theories differently. Private schools focused on the student's activities and interests as the basis of their curriculum. Public schools focused on vocational education to train students to work on farms, factories, and homes as domestics in the idea that vocational training was socially efficient. Social efficiency was the identification of societal needs and students trained to fill those needs (Dewey, 1931; Ravitch, 2000). A criticism waged against Dewey was that his ideas only applied to private schools by teaching the skill and social facts and relationships surrounding the skill and his theories did not apply to public vocational school. In vocational schools, students only received training on performing a trade skill like laundry work, which comprised washing and pressing clothes, but these schools did not have the additional time or expertise to teach the social facts and

relationships underpinning the importance of laundry work (Ravitch, 2000). Others criticized Dewey for starting the science of education through his progressive teachings, meaning science could calculate education and intelligence by using a mental test (Ravitch, 2000; Thorndike, 1924).

Progressive colleagues like educational psychologist Edward L. Thorndike used cognitive testing to measure intelligence in elementary and high school students from 1901 through the 1920s and determined, based on his analysis, the smart students always learned more than other less intelligent students (Ravitch, 2000; Thorndike, 1924a). Unfortunately, Thorndike's intelligence test administrators appeared to not use the test to determine challenges that, if addressed, could improve the test recipients' abilities. Instead, administrators appeared to have allowed the tests to fulfill preconceived assumptions with little thought of focusing on ways and means of improving student scores. One such assumption was that Blacks are inferior, so their scores should be below average. So, when Blacks received low scores, few educators appeared to have considered factors related to why they scored poorly, like their economic background or substandard academic education. If educators reviewed these factors and took steps to mitigate these issues, Black scores may have improved. However, during this era, acknowledging these issues could have upset the White hegemonic status quo and many Whites, especially in the South, would have found this unacceptable because it opened the door to possible racial equality. Interestingly, WWI advanced cognitive testing, to be discussed later in this research study, by applying it on a national scale to many U. S. Army personnel in the United States before they deployed to France. Unfortunately, the same preconceived assumptions about Black inferiority appeared to be the result of this testing (Ravitch, 2000; Yerkes, 1921).

Two additional side notes of interest revolve around John Dewey's racial beliefs. He argued prejudice should not be a part of American democracy. He saw a true democracy as an entity that would not deny a portion of its population their equal rights (Cohan & Howlett, 2017). In that regard, the first item of interest is the speech he gave at a conference in 1908 sponsored by Oswald Garrison, the grandson of the famous abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In his speech, he proclaimed, "…there is no 'inferior race,' and the members of a race so-called should each have the same opportunities of social environment and personality as those of a more favored race" (Cohan & Howlett, 2017, p. 17). Dewey's speech received the approval of Du Bois, a conference attendee (Cohan & Howlett, 2017). A direct outcome of this conference was the founding of the NAACP a year later in 1909. The second item of interest occurred in 1913, when Dewey faced his own encounter with prejudicial race relations. He and his wife Alice were renting an apartment in New York City. The women's suffrage movement was gaining popularity, and his wife encouraged more Black women to join the movement by holding meetings in their apartment. When the White landlord discovered the integrated meetings, he threatened action against the Dewey's if additional integrated meetings took place in their residence (Cohan & Howlett, 2017).

Plessy v. Ferguson set the stage for federally recognized segregation in America in all things, including education. In this research study, the seven men lived this separate but equal post-*Plessy* reality while receiving their collegiate undergraduate, legal, and medical educations from 1912 to 1917. This research study briefly examines the two major Black educational philosophers, Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, whose philosophies underpinned the featured individuals' college years. The following is not a comprehensive study of the two great minds in Black adult education at the beginning of the 20th century, only an introduction to the

philosophical ideas they promoted. Understanding these ideas allows the reader to appreciate the academic rigor each of the featured seven men experienced that served as the basis for scaffolding their future U.S. Army training.

Booker T. Washington

Washington was a controversial figure (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). Some Black people called him the Moses of the race, while others vilified him as a symbol of the worst kind of Uncle Tom Negro. Washington's opposition to Du Bois added to this controversy and, combined with the Renaissance in Harlem after his death in 1915, further pushed Washington's genuine contributions into obscurity. However, many argue Washington deserves a deeper look into his lasting contributions (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). For this research study's purpose, the focus concentrated on Washington's contributions to education and his work at Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in Alabama.

Washington was deeply committed to education, an attribute recognized by many prestigious institutions. For example, Harvard University awarded him an honorary Master of Arts in 1896 and Dartmouth College awarded him an honorary Doctor of Laws degree in 1901 because of his educational accomplishments ("The Watchman", 1901; Washington, 1901; "The Journal", 2021; Yale, 2008). Washington's educational ideas also resonated with White philanthropic organizations like the Carnegie Foundation, which wanted to help the Black community but did not wish to challenge the prevailing White hegemony (Gasman & Geiger, 2012). Washington did not develop his successful ideas on education in a vacuum. He followed the leading educational theories of his day, especially those promoted by John Dewey. He agreed with Dewey's educational ideas developed inductively from the social environment, and he agreed education has an essential piece in the fabric of American social and political democracy.

Washington's deviation from Dewey was a heavier attachment of race to the fabric of American society to highlight the importance of education for Black Americans to achieve a better life (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). An example of the importance he placed on education for Black Americans is found in the speech he gave in 1884 at a national teachers' convention when he said, "Brains, property, and character for the Negro will settle the question of civil rights" (Bieze & Gasman, 2012, p. 68).

According to Washington (1906), Tuskegee Institute's mission was to fight against the perception of Black inferiority, establish networking channels, and foster community development (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). Washington worked to uplift both Black and White communities. For Blacks, he wanted them to learn basic skills to make them employable, help them become self-sufficient, and motivate them to teach in the community. For Whites, Washington saw education as a means of social and political advancement. He saw education as a link to the friendship between the races, and this friendship through mutual respect was better than an outside agency pushing legislative changes (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). Washington ran Tuskegee with the idea that change began at the bottom. In transforming into increasingly self-sufficient hard-working Christians, he saw Blacks providing more and more services Whites needed, which could reduce racial tension and more friendship (Bieze & Gasman, 2012).

Washington initially developed his ideas about education while a student at Hampton Institute, listening to his mentor General Samuel Armstrong Chapman. Chapman championed the phrase "head, heart and hand," which meant using applied knowledge to build Christian character (Bieze & Gasman, 2012, p. 69). Washington embraced this phrase and used it to develop his philosophical ideas, termed the "Tuskegee Model," which later became the Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy to improve Black workers' marketability through self-reliance

industrial training (Cremin, 1988; Dunn, 1993). For Washington, the Black educational experience needed a commonsense approach, both pragmatic and resilient, enabling students to use their academic expertise to handle difficulties as they developed (Dunn, 1993). Washington documented his ideas when he wrote about the students erecting the buildings destined to become part of the Tuskegee Institute campus:

> Almost from the first, I determined to have the students do practically all the work of putting up the buildings... the lesson of self-help would be more valuable to them in the long run than if they were put into a building which had been wholly the creation of the generosity of someone else. (Dunn, 1993, p. 27)

Washington held little faith in a liberal arts education and derided it as an abstraction lacking a grounding in application. In a practice he called "dovetailing," Washington argued academic theory should not be advanced to an end but provide concepts applicable in various trades in real-life scenarios (Bieze & Gasman, 2012, p. 68). For him, it was more important for a Tuskegee student to write a paper about how to grow potatoes instead of an abstract topic about something in the air, similar to Dewey's biology example of growing a plant (Bieze & Gasman, 2012).

His former students personified the persuasiveness of Washington's ideas. Students like Frank Reid and his brother Dow, who both attended Tuskegee and, after returning home, changed their outlook on life, stopped renting, and instead became local land and business owners (Washington, 1906). Washington was not naïve to the benefits of liberal arts. He often stated a liberal arts education was the eventual goal of his program, and he allowed liberal arts classes at Tuskegee. He also served as a Howard University trustee and worked hard to raise funds for the Howard University liberal arts program because he knew many of his Tuskegee faculty received training from this program (Bieze & Gasman, 2012). Washington's views on

liberal arts allowed one of the seven gentlemen in this research study, Earl Dickerson, to be hired for a year to teach at Tuskegee before the war.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Du Bois' commitment to education at the turn of the century was already noteworthy, from his distinction as the first Black American to earn a PhD from Harvard University in 1895 to his assumption of duties as the editor of the new NAACP publication *The Crisis*. Du Bois embraced the progressivism proposed by John Dewey, which advocated that existing higher education institutions should push for social change. Du Bois adapted this progressivism to address Black social, political, and economic issues referred to at the time as the "Negro Problem" (Alridge, 2008, p. 35). Du Bois' famous opponent to progressivism was Booker T. Washington. Washington stood as an accused far-right conservative, the epitome of the old attitude of Negro submission (Alridge, 2008; Bieze & Gasman, 2012; Provenzo, 2002). Du Bois, specifically disagreed with Washington's advocacy for the accumulation of wealth by Blacks through industrial education, while delaying an immediate push for more civil rights, political power, and higher education (Alridge, 2008). By not striving for higher education first, Du Bois argued Washington wanted Blacks to "accept the alleged inferiority of the Negro race," and put the burden of the Negro problem on the shoulders of Black people with White people serving as pessimistic spectators (Alridge, 2008, p. 53). Du Bois articulated his feelings when he wrote:

> The Black men of America have a duty to perform. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privileged and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effects of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds... we must increasingly and firmly oppose them. (Dunn, 1993, p. 28)

Despite their public disagreements, the two remained in contact, and years after Washington's death, some criticized Du Bois for adopting some of Washington's ideas. One of

those ideas was voluntary segregation from Whites as an economic strategy for advancement (Alridge, 2008). Many of Du Bois' critics specifically pointed to this separation similarity when Du Bois declared, "what the negro needs, therefore, of the world and civilization, he must largely teach himself; what he learns of social organization and efficiency, he must learn from his people" (Alridge, 2015, p. 477). In another similarity to Washington, Du Bois followed John Dewey's ideas, and periodically corresponded with Dewey (Alridge, 2008). Du Bois agreed with Dewey's belief that education ushers in a more democratic society, and that education needs to be constantly updated to address changes in a democratic society (Alridge, 2008). Du Bois' specific ideas on education advocated for Black youth to receive schooling on a broad understanding of life, culture, and civilization. He strove for the "Talented Tenth" or the top 10% of Black Americans to be the priority for this liberal arts-focused education (Alridge, 2008, p. 63-64). He argued that armed with this knowledge, the Black men and women of the Talented Tenth would serve as the "aristocratic" leaders for the entire Black community in America and lead them all forward to greater prosperity (Alridge, 2008, p. 63). Du Bois joined college—based organizations that embodied his Talented Tenth ideas, such as the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity in 1909 and the Sigma Pi Phi fraternity in 1912 (Alridge, 2008).

Du Bois, like Washington, was also not naïve about education. He recognized not all Blacks in the existing society could attend college, so he saw a need for Washington's vocational trade-type schools like Tuskegee to meet a physical labor requirement in society. He argued a broad liberal arts education that developed the whole person with limited vocational training was better suited to prepare the race for challenges in the larger society and adequately deal with the modern industrial age's technological challenges (Alridge, 2008). Du Bois argued knowledge of liberal arts, history, and culture gave Blacks a frame of reference to resist the psychic

disequilibrium caused by the drumbeat of White supremacists' claims of Black inferiority and ignorance (Alridge, 2008). To further his social activist goals, to include education of the Talented Tenth, Du Bois helped establish both "The Niagara Movement" and its later transformation into the NAACP in 1909 (Alridge, 2008, p. 50). One event that propelled Du Bois' ideas above Washington's was the Atlanta race riots of 1906. Angered and tricked by a race-baiting gubernatorial campaign and racist newspapers' claims of Blacks taking part in multiple rapes of White women combined with jealous anger over growing Black economic empowerment, a White mob conducted a deadly attack against the Black business district of Atlanta. In the aftermath, many in the Black community questioned the value of putting economic improvement above civil rights like Washington was advocating and instead turned to a civil-rights-first agenda championed by Du Bois (Library of Congress, 2021; Mixon & Kuhn, 2005).

The Higher Education of the Seven

The focus now turns to those institutions attended by the seven individuals in this research study. This focus is essential to understand the educational environment these seven experienced before their U.S. Army training and give the reader an idea of the administration of education under a separate but equal policy established by federal law in *Plessy*.

One point is that all seven did not fit the stereotype by attending racially segregated Black colleges and universities. A few like Charles Houston attended predominantly White undergraduate institutions. By invalidating this stereotype, this research study overcomes any incorrect assumptions about what school's Black students attended during this period. An examination of these predominantly White undergraduate institutions' historical primary source records revealed the price paid by Black students attending these institutions because none of the

White institutions in this research study appeared to have made any considerations for their students of color. These White institutions accepted Black student tuition but restricted access to college life's essential amenities such as social events and on-campus housing (Gasman & Geiger, 2012). For example, Earl Dickerson along with other Black students could not participate in contact sports or swimming on the University of Illinois campus (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). In addition, little evidence exists that these schools supported Black students' off-campus resistance to local Jim Crow segregationist practices in the surrounding community. Again, using Earl Dickerson as an example, he could only find one place to eat off-campus during his time at the University of Illinois (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson's experience is an example of alienation advocated by Karl Marx because the institution denied one group of students the product of their labor to enjoy all of the facilities on campus that they paid tuition to use like all of the other White students (Marx, 1884). The desire for an inclusive college social life and access to campus activities was why many Blacks choose to attend Black segregated colleges and avoid the isolation and alienation (Gasman & Geiger, 2012).

Predominately Black Institutions

Selection of predominately Black institutions, today known as historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU), in this research study is based on attendance by at least one of the seven featured gentlemen. Each college or university primary source catalog along with supporting secondary source material received an extensive review. Cade attended Atlanta University in Georgia, Lee attended Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College in Mississippi, and Morris attended Howard University in Washington, D.C.

John Brother Cade

Cade attended Atlanta University, until the spring of 1917, when he left as a sophomore to join the Army and attend the Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines, Iowa (Atlanta University, 1917). He returned to his university after the war and completed his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1921. Of note is years before Cade entered Atlanta University, Du Bois was a faculty member serving as a Professor of Sociology from 1898 to 1910 (Lewis, 1993). Du Bois is even credited with sitting on the steps of Atlanta University's South Hall with a shotgun in his hands ready to defend his family against the White mob in the 1906 Atlanta race riots (Lewis, 1993). Based on available time, little else could be found concerning Cade's experience at Atlanta University for this research study.

George Washington Lee

George Washington Lee's mother pushed him to attend college, and this research study found him enrolled in Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College junior college preparatory course in the fall of 1912 (Alcorn, 1912). Five years later, in the spring of 1917, he is in the Alcorn catalogue again as a junior, but this time attending actual college classes. In June 1917, he left Alcorn to volunteer and attend the Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines and received a U.S. Army commission in October 1917 (Alcorn, 1917; Tucker, 1971). According to Tucker's biography, Lee earned enough credits between his college time and his military service at Fort Des Moines to graduate, but neither his biography nor the Alcorn catalogue records the specific degree Lee earned (Tucker, 1971). Alcorn invited him to attend the spring 1918 graduation ceremony. Unfortunately, his unit, the 368th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division, received orders to deploy to France and he could not attend. Lee did not receive his diploma until his discharge from the Army after the war (Tucker, 1971). According to Lee's biography, Alcorn

was not an authentic university or liberal arts college. In the Southern mindset at the time, Alcorn served as a Black land grant institution with the specific purpose to train Black Americans in practical industrial courses and not in the higher education liberal arts courses. According to the U.S. Bureau of Education Assessment, Alcorn's entire academic program was the equivalent of a good high school program (Tucker, 1971).

James Brad Morris

Morris completed his undergraduate degree at Hampton Institute. After being impressed by the Black lawyers of Baltimore, Maryland, he dreamed of becoming a lawyer. In pursuit of his dream, Morris enrolled in Howard University School of Law and graduated in 1915. Howard University was a HBCU dedicated to the higher education of the Negro (Howard, 1917). However, Howard welcomed students from other races, such as Native Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Europeans of several nationalities (Howard, 1917). In law school, Morris commented how he met ambitious Black men—he credited them as "the cream of the crop," the very essence of who Du Bois called the Talented Tenth—who, like Morris, wanted to make America a better place (Morris, 1999, p. 9). One of these men was Isaiah Sloan Blocker, a fellow Howard law student who became one of Morris' close friends and played a key role in saving his life in combat near the end of WWI (Morris, 1999). While meeting lifelong friends, Morris also met and fell in love with Georgine Crowe at Howard University. They continued their relationship and married after Morris's graduation from military training at Fort Des Moines in 1917 (Morris, 1999).

Predominately White Institutions

Selection of predominately White institutions, known as non-HBCU in this research study, is based on attendance by at least one of the seven featured gentlemen. Each college or

university primary source catalogue along with supporting secondary source material received an extensive review. Dickerson attended the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign, Illinois. Dyer attended Lincoln College and the University of Illinois Medical School. Houston attended Amherst College and Wright attended Harvard University Medical School; both Amherst and Harvard are in Massachusetts.

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Dickerson's undergraduate education was a mix of different institutions. He enrolled as a freshman in 1909 at Northwestern University, a non-HBCU located 12 miles north of Chicago, but had to discontinue classes after three semesters because of financial constraints (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Undeterred, he worked odd jobs to raise money and even applied to other colleges like Harvard University, from which he received a favorable response. However, funding continued to plague his academic aspirations. His situation finally improved in 1911 when he saved enough money to enroll in another non-HBCU, the University of Illinois. As an enrollment bonus, the University of Illinois allowed him to transfer credits he earned at Northwestern University. Dickerson described his experience at the University of Illinois:

> I first met those great minds of antiquity that shaped Western philosophy and laid the groundwork for all democratic societies. It was at the University of Illinois through the study of Latin, Greek, and French that my intellectual pathways were formulated. It was the University of Illinois through the study of political science, history, and economics that I received the stimulus that set-in motion my struggle for equality and justice that remains unabated to this day. It was the inspiration and influence of the University of Illinois that led me into the study of law. It was here that I made the lone dissent by Justice John M. Harlan in *Plessy v. Ferguson* my cause. (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 19-20)

Dickerson's initial academic goal was to become a physician, so he attended numerous classes in biology, zoology, and calculus. After taking an elective in public speaking and having

a persuasive discussion with a visiting Harvard instructor, he decided to become a lawyer. He saw the field of law as a means to achieve his growing ambition to directly affect social justice. Dickerson pushed himself into his studies, often the only Black student in his classes. In his last year at the University of Illinois, he finally turned to classes that prepared him for law school and enrolled in liberal arts courses in psychology, sociology, education, and took part in university-sponsored trips to local hospitals and prisons.

Besides his academic studies, Dickerson found time to marry Inez Moss in 1912 and maintained an active role in Black student organizations on campus, culminating in his election as the first president for the Beta chapter of Kappa Alpha Nu in 1913 (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Organized in 1911, Kappa Alpha Nu became the first undergraduate college fraternity incorporated by Black Americans on a national level (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Kappa Alpha Nu gained increased renown later when it changed its name to Kappa Alpha Psi (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Thompson, 1917). An interesting note about the name change is that in 1915, White students were overheard using a racial slur in the organization's name, calling it "Kappa Alpha Nig," (Gasman & Geiger, 2012, p. 63). The name changed soon afterward. Dickerson completed his course requirements but did not graduate. He received a teaching certificate in 1913, assisted by his prior Northwestern University credits.

No clear reason for Dickerson's departure from the University of Illinois is currently available for this research study, but he applied for a teaching position at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. After passing his interview with Booker T. Washington, he taught English, debate, and mathematics for the academic year 1913-1914. Dickerson then returned to the University of Illinois in 1914 and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree (University, 1915). His biography describes how emotional he was at graduation, looking at his mother in the audience and

realizing she had sent him a dollar a week from her meager three-dollars-a-week salary to help with his university education (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Unfortunately, shortly after graduation, his mother passed away. His old nemesis of limited funds overcame his ambition to become a lawyer, forcing him to accept a school principal position at an elementary school in Vincennes, Indiana, for the academic year 1914-1915. His role as school principal in a Black community permitted him to experience firsthand the challenges of a segregated school system with its profound lack of resources and lack of opportunity to gain resources from books to building maintenance material (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). His salary as a principal did allow him to raise enough money to enroll in the University of Chicago Law School program in the fall of 1915, but he left his studies in 1917 to join the Army (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

William Holmes Dyer

William Holmes Dyer also known as Billy Dyer was 24 years old when he started his undergraduate studies in 1910 at Lincoln College, a private liberal arts college in Lincoln, Illinois (Cleaveland, 2004; Lincoln, 2021). He graduated in 1912 with grades ranging from a 91 in science to a 75 in German (Cleaveland, 2004). He continued his interest in science and molded it into a medical career by attending and graduating from the non-HBCU University of Illinois College of Medicine in 1916 at age 30 (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). He left Illinois soon after graduation and traveled to Kansas City where he completed his internship at the Old General Hospital in Kansas City (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Completing his internship he returned to his hometown of Lincoln, Illinois, and opened a general practice (Cleaveland, 2004). He soon became captivated with the war and decided to volunteer. Due to time limitations for this research study, little additional information could be found to further describe Dyer's early educational experience.

Charles Hamilton Houston

Charles Hamilton Houston graduated from the male-only, non-HBCU, Amherst College in 1915 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English (Amherst, 1916). Houston held a grade point average of 90% or an A in English at the end of his senior year. In recognition of his academic achievement, Houston graduated magna cum laude on June 30, 1915 (Amherst, 1916). He received honors for his academic achievement from the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but his ultimate honor was his selection as one of the top fifteen graduating students allowed to speak on Commencement Day based on his recognized literary and oratorical achievements (Amherst, 1916). Houston went on to be an English instructor at the Howard University Commercial College in 1917 before he joined the Army later that year (Houston, 1940a; Howard, 1917).

Louis Tompkins Wright

Harboring a deep desire to follow his father and stepfather's medical careers, Wright leveraged his high grades as an undergraduate at Clark University in Atlanta, to earn the right to enroll in non-HBCU Harvard University Medical School in 1911. Wright faced the power of oppression advocated by Foucault almost immediately in the admission process to Harvard but successfully resisted this oppression by passing an oral examination given personally by the internationally famous biochemist Dr. Otto Folin, culminating in his admission in the fall of 1911 (Foucault, 2000; Hayden, 2003). The oppressive power Wright had to overcome was being given a separate admission test one on one with a prominent White professor only because of his race. Wright was one of two Black students attending Harvard Medical School in the projected graduating class of 1915. Before Wright's enrollment, only three other Black students had successfully graduated: Dr. William A. Hinton from Harvard Medical School in 1911 and Doctors Robert T. Freeman and George Grant from Harvard Dental School in 1869 and 1870,

respectively. Wright did not dwell on their legacy, but instead immersed himself in a world of books, lectures, and laboratories dealing with the human body (Hayden, 2003). He did manage to relax occasionally and, despite a limited budget, frequented the movies, vaudeville shows, the Boston Public Library, and the Boston Museum of Art. Whenever his friends and family visited, he took them to see the 54th Massachusetts Regiment Memorial in honor of Black American Civil War veterans and the Crispus Attucks Monument, both on the Common in downtown Boston (Hayden, 2003).

In class, Wright enjoyed his studies, and credited two professors for influencing his future professional career: Dr. Folin, who administered his entrance exam, and Dr. Cannon. Wright enjoyed Dr. Folin's classes because he was famous for presenting concise lectures but challenged his students to gain practical knowledge from hands-on work in the laboratory (Hayden, 2003). Walter B. Cannon was a physiologist, best known as the author of the term "flight or fight response" in humans (Hayden, 2003, p. 25). Wright enjoyed Cannon's classes and credited the physiologist with inspiring his lifelong scientific curiosity and skills as a physician (Hayden, 2003). Cannon, in return, was so impressed with Wright's work that he helped motivate the young student to begin work on his first scientific paper, published years later, after Wright's graduation and return from the war, in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* on November 2, 1919 (Hayden, 2003).

In January 1913, Wright found the power of oppressive discrimination still existed in Harvard when he discovered he could not take his summer internship in obstetrics with his fellow White students at Boston Lying-in Hospital. Wright's only option was to work with another prominent Black physician, Dr. Samuel Courtney, in Boston. The only reason given for this separation from his fellow students was Harvard's fear of patient complaints because of the

color of his skin. Wright resisted this oppression by angrily refusing separation from his classmates, even earning the support of some of his White classmates to remain with them. He threatened to sue the school and stated he expected equal treatment since he paid his tuition.

Wright won his fight and reported to Boston Lying-In Hospital with his classmates. After delivering about 150 babies with no complaints about his race, his actions eliminated the color barrier in obstetrical training for other medical students coming after him at Harvard Medical School (Hayden, 2003). Unfortunately, racism continued to plague Wright. For example, during his senior year in 1915, the prestigious Alpha Omega Alpha Keys Award committee refused to recognize him for academic excellence despite his excellent academic record and standing as the fourth highest-ranking student in his class. A classmate investigated the situation and allegedly discovered a Jewish member of the award committee from Memphis, Tennessee, voted against him (Hayden, 2003). Another racist situation occurred when Wright heard about the planned protests of the 1915 release of the movie *Birth of a Nation*. Wright took part in the protest and, fortunately, escaped arrest in the resulting clash with police. He sat through all the court trials of the arrested protestors and attended all the legislative and NAACP strategy meetings to petition Governor Walsh to ban the film (Hayden, 2003). The film was edited, but not banned. A positive outcome from Wright's perspective was Governor Walsh's initiative to establish a state board of censors for motion pictures. Wright recalled with pride attending the governor's signing ceremony approving the board (Hayden, 2003). The NAACP did receive local community support to ban the film in theaters in other parts of the country such as Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1918 (Gasman & Geiger, 2012).

Wright graduated from Harvard Medical School on May 25, 1915, as a trained surgeon. Unfortunately, his education was not enough to overcome the continued power of oppressive

segregation. His applications to intern in leading White research hospitals like Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston City Hospital, and Peter Bent Brigham Hospital were all rejected because of his race. Limited funding kept him from furthering his academic pursuits overseas. Despite misgivings of working in a historically under-funded and inadequately resourced all-Black hospital or clinic, he found himself with no choice but to intern at Freedman's Hospital in Washington, D. C., a Black community hospital which had a formal association with Howard University School of Medicine (Hayden, 2003). Howard University School of Medicine was one of only two Black medical schools to survive the Flexner Report to be discussed later in this analysis. Wright again immersed himself in his work and learned to respect the Freedman Hospital doctors as they fought to overcome their resource limitations. Wright contributed to their work in the Black community by publishing a medical article dealing with the Schick test's usefulness in identifying natural immunity to diphtheria. Before his article's documented evidence, Black people did not receive the Schick test. Many doctors thought the pigment of Black skin defeated how the test changed a patient's skin color to detect their immunity (Hayden, 2003). Wright's experiments proved skin color did not negatively affect reading the test results so that Black patients could receive the test (Hayden, 2003). When not working at the hospital, Wright established a few lasting personal friendships in the Washington D.C. area. One such friendship was with Charles Hamilton Houston, who was teaching English at Howard University and later served with Wright at Fort Des Moines (Hayden, 2003).

Wright completed his internship in June 1916. However, based on his stepfather's poor financial circumstances, Wright agreed to return to Atlanta temporarily to join his stepfather's medical practice. In Atlanta, Wright found discrimination even within the Black medical community. The issue was the ability to perform surgery. Meharry Medical College-trained

Black physicians could not perform many different types of surgery and had to rely on White surgeons. Northern-trained Black doctors like Wright did not have to rely on White doctors because they received enough surgical training. Instigated by jealously, the Meharry doctors maintained a propaganda campaign against all northern medical school-trained Black doctors (Hayden, 2003). This research study cannot specify the surgeries Wright could administer and the Meharry doctors could not. No specific information was found in Wright's biography, and a detailed search of the Meharry course catalogue could not clarify the situation, because it did not delineate the specific surgery training Meharry medical students received (Walden, 1915). On a positive note, Wright's time in Atlanta proved to be very productive in the fight for racial equality because he joined his stepfather in supporting the establishment of the Atlanta chapter of the NAACP (Hayden, 2003).

To provide more background into Wright's challenges with Meharry doctors, one must review the Flexner Report. The author of the report, Abraham Flexner, inspected all the medical institutions of higher learning in the United States and Canada at the behest of the Carnegie Foundation (Flexner, 1910). Published in 1910, the American Medical Association used the report's findings to determine the programs worthy of funding to remain open and those that needed to close. The result was an over 45% decrease in the number of medical programs in the United States from 161 to 74 (Flexner, 1910). This loss of medical teaching facilities was further divided into 154 White medical programs closing and only 72 remaining open. Of the seven Black medical schools inspected, five schools closed leaving only two recommended by Flexner to remain open. Black medical education, therefore, suffered the highest percentage of loss at 71% (Flexner, 1910).

The loss of educational opportunities meant fewer Black aspiring physicians received training to practice medicine in America for decades to come. The five unfortunate Black schools to close were Flint Medical College of New Orleans University, Louisiana; Leonard Medical School of Shaw University, North Carolina; Knoxville Medical College, Tennessee; Louisville National Medical College, Kentucky; and University of West Tennessee College of Medicine and Surgery, Tennessee (Flexner, 1910). The reduction put pressure on the two remaining Black programs in the country, Howard and Meharry, to teach the bulk of aspiring Black medical students. Meharry appeared to take this as an honor and boasted in its 1915 catalogue half of the Black medical doctors in the South came from their institution (Walden, 1915).

The two White medical programs featured in this research study and in the Flexner Report—Harvard and the University of Illinois—received favorable ratings in the report and were recommended to remain open. Harvard received the highest honors and ranked first out of five medical programs in Massachusetts. The University of Illinois was third out of eighteen programs in the State of Illinois (Flexner, 1910). For comparison purposes, in the District of Columbia, Flexner ranked Howard third out of five, beating the U. S. Army Medical School, which ranked fourth in the district. Meanwhile, in Tennessee, Meharry ranked last out of nine medical programs in the state, but despite its low rating Flexner considered it worthy to remain open (Flexner, 1910).

The seven gentlemen featured in this analysis experienced a wide variety of academic rigor from the state-of-the-art curriculum experienced by Houston and Wright attending two of the North's wealthiest and prestigious institutions, Amherst College, and Harvard University. To the lowest state-of-the-art curriculum experienced by Cade and Lee, attending two of the least

financially stable institutions in the South, Atlanta University and Alcorn. Based on this comparison, an assumption can be made that Houston and Wright should have had an advantage acquiring employment and raising their standard of living after college. However, as argued and demonstrated in this research study, earning a college education was not enough for a Black male to succeed even if they attended wealthy schools because the segregated system was almost impossible to overcome. The trap of a lack of opportunity outside the Black community leading to skill atrophy was real and affected William Houston, his son Charles, and Louis Wright.

Summary

The intent of this chapter is to provide a glimpse into the civilian educational environment surrounding the seven featured men in this research study and highlight how Karl Marx's alienation concept connected with this environment. Dickerson's experience is an example of alienation with the restrictions he faced attending the University of Illinois (Marx, 1884). Analysis began with how the Black American population embraced the benefits of education in the 19th century. The examination continued into the teachings of the great educational philosophers of the 20th century—John Dewey, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois—and how their ideas differed and combined to form the underpinnings of the higher education received by each of the seven in this research study. Finally, this research study reviews each man's educational experience and places them in context with other historical events, such as the ranking of the medical institutions Dyer and Wright attended as determined by the Flexner Report. Foucault's idea of resistance to the power of oppression is exemplified in Wright's ability to pass a separate examination for admission to Harvard administered only because of his race (Heller, 1996). This analysis allows the reader to see the academic rigor each

of these men brought with them as they prepared to scaffold military training over their civilian education in their desire to become commissioned U. S. Army officers at Fort Des Moines.

Chapter 4 - Military Officer Training Before WWI

> It lifted me to the skies, close to my dreams. Here was an opportunity for me to take a direct part in the struggle to bring freedom and equality to the world—a world in which Blacks could take their rightful place as a result of this magnificent triumph. (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 24)

Understanding the U.S. Army training program before the war is essential to grasp how the *Plessy* case affected the seven featured gentlemen later at Fort Des Moines and further answer the first subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences before Fort Des Moines? To begin the analysis, the U.S. Army, from its inception, explored ways to establish and maintain schools of practice in the military arts and science (Reeves, 1914). The first school was the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York (Reeves, 1914; Kilroy, 2003). Founded in 1802, West Point accepted White cadets between the ages of 17 to 22 years old. The curriculum emphasized tactics, engineering, mathematics, chemistry, languages, and law designed to educate and commission federally recognized U.S. Army engineer, infantry, and cavalry officers (Reeves, 1914). Ten years later, the Army's poor performance in the War of 1812 identified a need for officers to receive additional formalized training after West Point to maintain their proficiency. To meet the need, the School of Artillery opened at Fort Monroe, Virginia in 1824, and the School of Infantry opened in 1826 at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri (Reeves, 1914).

The Civil War increased the need for more U.S. Army officers beyond the capabilities of the School of Artillery, School of Infantry, and West Point could produce. Demand in the Union Army was not only for officers to command White troops, but also for officers to command newly raised Black troops. One of the first new institutions designed to meet the requirement for Black troops was the Free Military School (Reeves, 1914, p. 23). The Free Military School

operated out of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania for the distinct purpose of training White Union officers to command what the Union Army called United States Colored Troop (USCT) units (Reeves, 1914). The school operated from December 1863 through September 1864 and graduated 484 White men to serve as officers in USCT units (Reeves, 1914). To graduate, each of the 484 candidates had to pass an oral board before a group of examiners chaired by a general officer. No definitive information exists on how many of the 484 candidates received permanent federally recognized Regular Army commissions allowing them to continue serving after the war. Fortunately, Army commissioning programs after the Civil War continued with Black and White colleges and universities establishing military training programs for their students to continue studying the art and science of war like West Point students (Reeves, 1914). For example, Wilberforce University, an HBCU, maintained a Department of Military Science and Tactics in the late 1800s complete with rifles, a cannon, and uniforms for students. The Department was a precursor to the 20th century Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) and fulfilled the mission of preparing America's youth for possible service in a future military conflict (Kilroy, 2003). An interesting side note about Wilberforce is that a youthful Charles Young, a recent West Point graduate and future senior-ranking Black officer in the U.S. Army in 1917, served in the late 1890s as a Wilberforce Professor of Military Science holding the rank of Regular Army first lieutenant (Kilroy, 2003).

By 1914, West Point curriculum remained the model for all entry-level U.S. Army officer military instruction to include college and university programs (Reeves, 1914). The West Point curriculum remained state of the art by receiving regular updates of the latest innovations in military thought from around the world. The goal remained the same: to commission engineer, infantry, and cavalry officers for the U.S. Army. Officer training after West Point for artillery

officers remained at the School of Artillery. The Infantry School changed its name to the Army Service Schools and moved to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Reeves, 1914). The curriculum at Fort Leavenworth remained heavy in the military studies of tactics, history, engineering, and law (Reeves, 1914). All instruction focused on applicatory methods with many practical exercises to challenge the students (Nenninger, 1978). A student needed to achieve a 75% out of a 100% maximum score to pass examinations.

The Army developed these challenging standards because it now saw war as a competition. To win in this competition, the Army needed to study the art and science of war in peacetime, so it could be ready to compete in wartime (Reeves, 1914). Technical and tactical knowledge attained through study and experience was now the key to military success. The intent of the new paradigm was not to stifle initiative or bind an officer to a rigid system. Instead, the Army wanted an officer corps with good general abilities as problem solvers (Nenninger, 1978). This new mindset caused a change in perspective. Regular Army officers and Reserve officers already possessed a problem-solving mentality based on the rigor of their military education. The War Department found militia officers did not share the same mentality. The realization of this gap caused a reexamination of military education (Nenninger, 1978). This reexamination was critical because the Army leadership realized a future conflict could grow beyond the capacity of Regular Army units to win. Therefore, a significant conflict may require militia units, later reorganized into National Guard units, to work alongside the Regular Army. The requirement to work together forced these new National Guard units and their officers to change their current training programs to receive additional training to bring them up to the same Regular Army proficiency and mentality (Nenninger, 1978). The additional training started at the state level because states like Massachusetts possessed their own state-level officer training

schools. These schools paralleled the Regular Army Service School training systems but needed recalibration to increase the proficiency of graduating officers through standardized training programs across all states.

Standardization of militia units into a new National Guard organization began in 1899 under Secretary of War Elihu Root. The Root reforms and the follow-on Dick Act of 1903 worked to mitigate deficiencies observed during the Spanish American War and bring the Regular Army and National Guard units more in line with each other (Coumbe, 2014). The new synchronization proved worthwhile later in WWI (Reeves, 1914; Willbanks, 2013). For example, the two commissioned Black infantry officers discussed later in this research study, Major Albert W. Ford, and Captain James E. Phillips, were both National Guard officers who served alongside their White commissioned Regular Army counterparts at Fort Des Moines Infantry Officer Training Camp for WWI (Ballou, 1917a; Brown, 1917). Another example of the Root reforms was a change in War Department policy on personnel rotations. The new policy allowed individual replacements to rotate in and out of units instead of wasting valuable time waiting for an entire unit like a regiment to rotate in and out of a larger organization like a division (Coumbe, 2014). Charles Houston served as a living example of this individual replacement program in France, discussed later in this research study.

For medical officers, the Army established the Army Medical School in Washington, D.C., in 1822. The school held annual courses focused on many topics, such as surgery, military hygiene, medical administration, tropical medicine, sanitary chemistry, radiology, and equitation (Reeves, 1914). The school accepted civilians and Regular Army officers aged 22 to 30 who graduated from a recognized medical school. Militia and soon-to-be National Guard officers between the ages of 22 to 35 could also apply (Reeves, 1914). To graduate, a student needed to

pass all assigned courses with an 80 out of 100%. For the final examination, students had to pass a physical, demonstrate clinical proficiency, and show a general aptitude for the service. Successful students received commissions in either the U.S. Army Medical Corps as Regular Army officers, or in the Medical Reserve Corps as reservists (Reeves, 1914).

Flexner inspected the school and featured it in his report. Ironically, Howard University's medical program, ranked third out of five institutions in Washington, D. C., and the Army Medical School ranked behind Howard as fourth out of five (Flexner, 1910). A result of this irony, a new Black medical doctor, graduating from Howard and later accepted into the Army Medical School, could receive a substandard medical education compared to the Howard medical program. The lower ranking of the U.S. Army Medical School could also call into question the academic rigor of the entire Army Medical Corps going into WWI and the efficiency of the training provided at the Fort Des Moines Medical Officer Training Camp.

War Department Attitude Toward Black Officers

Blacks served in the ranks of the U.S. Army for over 140 years before WWI with a long tradition of honorable service to the country, from Peter Salem as a member of the Massachusetts militia fighting at Bunker Hill in 1775, to Nero Hawley freezing at Valley Forge the winter of 1777-1778, to the First Rhode Island Regiment’s exploits at the Battle of Rhode Island in August 1778 (Burgan, 2015; Quarles, 1961). Black Americans answered the call to arms at the country’s most urgent moments. The War of 1812 continued the honorable service of Black Americans and even earned them the praise of General Andrew Jackson after the American victory in the Battle of New Orleans in 1815 (Nell, 1852).

Years of service gave credit to Black soldiers serving in the ranks but did not help any early notions of commissioning Black officers. Senior officers in the War Department continued

to embrace the premise that Blacks were inferior, whether enslaved before the Civil War or free after the Civil War (Kilroy, 2003). This inferiority meant Black American troops could only follow orders and were not intelligent enough to handle the difficulties of leading troops in peacetime or war time. This premise meant White officers had to provide supervision for Black units to accomplish assigned missions.

Two Black men broke this old paradigm of inferiority by becoming commissioned U.S. Army officers: Major Martin Delany of the 104th United States Colored Troops (USCT) in 1865 and Second Lieutenant Henry Flipper of the 10th U.S. Cavalry in 1877 (Kilroy, 2003; Rollin, 1883). Delany was a 53-year-old Black community leader commissioned in the last few months of the Civil War for propaganda purposes to motivate more Black involvement in the war (Kilroy, 2003; Rollin, 1883). A 21-year-old, Flipper was the first Black American to successfully graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point (Kilroy, 2003; Rollin, 1883). Flipper's experience to become a U.S. Army officer was the more challenging of the two. To achieve his commission, Flipper endured years of isolation and ridicule from his classmates and faculty, epitomizing Karl Marx ideas on alienation because the institution denied one student based on his race access to the products of his labor the freedom to socializing with other students and faculty to construct his learning (Marx, 1884). Delany and Flipper's accomplishment of receiving federal commissions are examples of the Black resistance to the U.S. Army's power of segregationist oppression. As the years advanced toward WWI, organizations like the NAACP saw the upcoming war in Europe as an excellent opportunity to exploit and widen this small break in the old paradigm represented by Delany and Flipper to push Black resistance to a higher level by getting more Black commissioned officers in the Army to command Black soldiers. Du Bois especially envisioned the new Black military leaders of this

World War generation as part of his Talented Tenth concept to lead the race out of oppression after the war (Alfred, 2009; Lewis, 1993).

The Dream

The Great War had been raging in Europe since 1914 (Watson, 2014). America remained officially on the sidelines with no direct involvement until April 6, 1917, when President Woodrow Wilson appealed to Congress to declare war on Germany. The news about the war, like everything else in segregated America, split along racial lines. In the Black press, opinions diverged to support or not support the American war effort. Media moguls like A. Philip Randolph, in his publication *The Messenger*, did not favor Black participation in the war and instead advocated more be done in the states for Black equality (Diamond, 2020).

Other organizations, like the NAACP, saw the war as an opportunity (Lewis, 1993). The NAACP chairman of the board, Joel Spingarn—a former Columbia University professor who was White and Jewish—believed Blacks should take part in the war because their involvement was critical to show Black patriotism, highlight the unfairness of second-class status, and promote respect for Blacks as full American citizens (Lewis, 1993). To achieve a portion of its civil rights agenda, the NAACP realized that once Congress agreed to war, Blacks faced the draft like Whites, which was the best time to change the old U.S. Army paradigm of White officers commanding Black soldiers. Howard University assisted the NAACP in its initiative to push for more Black Army officers by holding a series of fund-raising events to raise enough money to send its students to other universities in search of volunteers for a Black officer training camp (Howard, 1917). By finding volunteers, Howard students hoped to persuade the War Department that the Black community favored the NAACP initiative to support the war rather than oppose it.

Student emissaries from Howard University visited Fisk University in Tennessee, Atlanta University in Georgia, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, Talladega University in Alabama, and Wilberforce University in Ohio to raise awareness and recruit potential volunteers (Howard, 1917). It was a hard sell because laying aside the idea of supporting the war was one issue; it was another issue for Blacks to believe the U.S. Government would allow them to participate in an officer training camp (Cade, 1929). One reason for this attitude was the U.S. Army's refusal to allow Blacks to attend the prewar Plattsburg Officer Training camps from 1915 to 1916 in Plattsburg, New York, which trained many White civilians to become officers (Houston, 1940a; Barbeau & Henri, 1996). The Plattsburg camp restrictions against Black American attendance, thereby forcing Blacks to eventually attend segregated camps, provided another example of Foucault's power of oppression (Foucault, 2000).

On the military side, visionaries like Lieutenant Colonel Charles Young, the senior ranking U.S. Army Black American Regular Army officer on active duty in 1917, watched as the prospect of America's involvement in the war in Europe grew (Kilroy, 2003). Young was one of eight Black graduates from the United States Military Academy at West Point between 1866 and 1899 (Kilroy, 2003). Five of the graduates were chaplains and, based on their position, could not command troops. Only three graduates—Henry Flipper, John Alexander, and Young—received Regular Army commissions giving them the authority to command Black troops and possibly White troops if given the opportunity based on their rank (Kilroy, 2003). In anticipation of a future requirement for more U.S. Army officers to command the enormous force America could need for the war, Young, like the NAACP, saw an opportunity. Young decided to create his own Officer Training School in early 1917 at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, to prepare NCOs identified as having the ability to handle higher responsibility to become commissioned officers (Kilroy,

2003). Young's abilities were beyond question for his self-proclaimed mission having polished his skills as a Professor of Military Science and instructor at Wilberforce University in the 1890s and as an effective combat commander in the 10th Cavalry during the recent Mexican punitive expedition against Pancho Villa in 1916 (Kilroy, 2003). Young's six-week officer school proved popular and was important because it trained both Black and White NCOs for future commissions (Kilroy, 2003; Marchbanks, n.d.).

This research study could not find how many White NCOs attended Young's school, but *The New York Age* newspaper reported these men did received commissions ("Pass Examination", 1917). *The New York Age* also hinted these White NCOs may not have received any additional training at another White Officer Training Camp after the American declaration of war. Meanwhile the Black NCOs received additional physical and mental tests at Fort Huachuca, Arizona and eventually found themselves attending Fort Des Moines for more training in the Officer Training Camp before earning commissions. This research study found conflicting information on the number of Black NCOs attending Young's school who eventually received commissions at Fort Des Moines (Kilroy, 2003; "Pass Examinations", 1917). One estimate had 65 NCOs in Young's school with 62 receiving commissions at Fort Des Moines, but another had 52 NCOs attending Young's school and only 37 completing training at Fort Des Moines (Kilroy, 2003; "Pass Examinations", 1917).

The Dream Becomes Reality

On the surface, it looked like the pressure exerted by the NAACP and schools like Howard University encouraged President Wilson to approve Secretary of War Baker's plan on May 12, 1917, allowing the War Department to establish a Black Officer Training Camp (Mennell, 1999). Unfortunately, below the surface, the War Department's decision to allow the

of training black officers was political. The white supremacist Jim Crow American political system ironically needed Black votes to maintain their political power (Barbeau & Henri, 1996). President Wilson and Congress worried about the reaction of the Black community if no Black men received training to become officers and subsequently placed in command of newly drafted Black soldiers. Wilson, therefore, permitted the War Department to train Black officers, but allowed the War Department to emplace four key restrictions. First, only a maximum of 2% of officer candidates would be Black, despite 13% of all draftees for the war were Black. Second, out of the 2% of candidates less than 0.7% would ever receive commissions as officers. Third, out of the 0.7% of Black commissioned officers, all should be washed out as quickly as possible on charges of incompetence. Fourth, no Black officer should be allowed to serve above the rank of captain (Barbeau & Henri, 1996; Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

Shortly after America entered the war, the War Department published an initial 14-week Officer Training Camp schedule for training future White officer candidates called Special Regulation 49 (War Department, 1917; Wilson, 1917). The training schedule was a condensed version of a four-year education at West Point (Cade, 1929). The condensed schedule and resulting training course became the basis for the first provisional second lieutenant course administered at Fort Leavenworth in early 1917, which also pulled information from the British and Canadian officer courses given to newly-appointed British and Canadian officers (War Department, 1917). All this information went into the final development of the American Officer Training Camp curriculum administered to officer candidates at each of the approved White Officer Training Camps around the country (War Department, 1917). The course proposed a two-period training process with the first period from May 15-June 16, 1917, and the second period of training June 18-August 11, 1917 at the following locations: (1) Fort Ethan Allen

(Plattsburg Barracks replaced Fort Ethan Allen), (2) Plattsburg Barracks, (3) Madison Barracks, (4) Fort Niagara, (5) Fort Myer, (6) Fort Oglethorpe, (7) Fort McPherson, (8) Fort Benjamin Harrison, (9) Fort Sheridan, (10) Fort Logan, H. Roots, (11) Fort Snelling, (12) Fort Riley, (13) Leon Springs, and (14) the Presidio of San Francisco (War Department, 1917). Interestingly, Blacks applied to a number of these White camps like the one at Leon Springs, Texas only to be told the War Department did not provide any guidance for training Black officer candidates, so they could not be accepted into the course and had to wait for further instructions ("To Train", 1917).

The War Department decided to open the Black Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines on June 15, 1917, and newspapers stated the camp would operate the same as Fort Riley's White Officer Training Camp ("Negro Officers", 1917). The War Department had divided the country into six departments before the war and then assigned each department a quota to fill for eligible Black candidates to attend the Fort Des Moines Officer Training Camp. The Northeast quota was 40 eligible men, Eastern 240, Central 195, Southwestern 430, Western 20, and Southern 75 for a total of 1,000 civilian college graduates and professional men ("Negroes Applying", 1917). An additional 250 Regular Army NCOs from the four existing Black regiments—the 9th and 10th Cavalry, and the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments—were to be recruited to join the civilians for a War Department goal of 1,250 men to attend the course (Cade, 1929; Houston, 1940a; Morris, 1999).

The NCOs attended Officer Training Camps on detached service status, as a temporary assignment to the training camp (War Department, 1917). If an NCO passed training and became a commissioned officer, they received new orders reassigning them to a new unit. If the NCO failed to complete training, they returned to their parent unit. The civilians came from two

subgroups. The first consisted of college and university students. The second subgroup consisted of business and professional men (Cade, 1929). The college men came predominantly from Harvard, Howard, and Yale Universities and Tuskegee Institute (Morris, 1999). The War Department required a minimum age of 21 but wanted older, more mature men aged 25-40 for Fort Des Moines (Cade, 1929; Houston, 1940a). This research study could not find a definitive reason for the age discrepancy. If a civilian failed to complete the course they were released to go home. The following are the early impressions and requirements faced by the seven featured men in this research study concerning the Fort Des Moines Officer Training Camp.

John Brother Cade

John Brother Cade was a sophomore at Atlanta University when he heard about the Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines from a visiting Howard University student, Charles Thompson, in May 1917. Cade volunteered to attend the camp soon after talking to Thompson along with over 20 other students (Cade, 1929). Later, he received physical and oral examinations by a Regular Army officer like his White officer candidate counterparts around the country. Candidates had to undergo the physical exam in the nude. The oral examination comprised a series of questions the potential candidate had to answer dealing with various subjects ranging from history, geography, civics, math, and grammar. Based on a candidate's answers, they received grades ranging from Excellent AA, Excellent A, Good, Fair, or Poor.

Only candidates with an overall grade of Good or better on the oral examination who also passed the physical received permission to attend camp. Candidates who scored Fair could only participate in the camp if not enough Good graded candidates received nominations (Cade, 1929). Cade received an Excellent AA grade for his oral examination and passed his physical.

Cade's parents were very enthusiastic about the opportunity for their son to be selected to attend the Black Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines (Cade, 1929).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

When the United States entered WWI, Dickerson was a second-year law student at the University of Chicago Law School. He read President Wilson's message to Congress asking for a declaration of war on Germany while sitting in the Law School smoking room (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). President Wilson said:

> We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the right and liberties of small nations, for all universal dominion of right by a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 24)

Dickerson's reaction to President Wilson's message was immediate and deeply moving:

> It lifted me to the skies, close to my dreams. Here was an opportunity for me to take a direct part in the struggle to bring freedom and equality to the world—a world in which Blacks could take their rightful place as a result of this magnificent triumph. (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 24)

Shortly after reading President Wilson's speech, Dickerson and his classmates received the same telegram from the War Department. They were all informed they could apply to attend the Officer Training Camp at Fort Sheridan, Illinois. Dickerson's enthusiasm ran high, and he was one of the first to apply and pass his physical examination, making him eligible for military service. With confirmation of his fitness, the War Department sent him and his fellow qualified classmates a second telegram instructing them all to report to Fort Sheridan (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Unfortunately, Dickerson's enthusiasm was about to suffer its first of many blows because he received a third telegram countermanding his previous second telegram orders.

Instead of going to Fort Sheridan with his classmates, he was heading to the segregated Black Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, on June 15, 1917. Dickerson did not take his new orders well. His biography records his anger and surprise that President Wilson's speech about fighting for freedom and democracy allowed American Blacks to remain second-class citizens and suffer the injustice of segregation (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). The government's actions exemplify Foucault's power of oppression (Foucault, 2000). One assumes the War Department thought Dickerson was White when they sent him the first two telegrams since he received the same telegram message as his White classmates. When the War Department discovered his race, they immediately corrected his orders in a third telegram that sent him to a segregated camp, leading to Dickerson's anger. Despite his inner misgivings, Dickerson did not resist the power of oppression in this situation. He instead followed orders and bid farewell to law school by boarding a train bound for Fort Des Moines, Iowa.

William Holmes Dyer

In the spring of 1917, after America joined the allied war effort, Dyer mentioned in his memoir how every day he heard the call for young Black men between the ages of 21-31 to join the Army (Dyer, 1918). Dyer, a fit 31-year-old, also stated his determination to do his part to make the world safe for democracy by placing his life as a sacrifice on the altar of the United States in its fight against autocracy. This determination meant he would not worry about personal comforts or personal gains once he was in the service and wearing the uniform (Dyer, 1918).

Dyer discussed how word spread quickly throughout his hometown of Lincoln, Illinois, that he was going into the Army, and his parents, as well as some three hundred neighbors and friends, bid him farewell at the train station. Dyer physically represented several accomplishments for his hometown: he was the first Black man offered up to the war from

Lincoln and the first Black man to accept the challenge of becoming an U.S. Army officer from Lincoln (Dyer, 1918).

Charles Hamilton Houston

In May 1917, Charles Houston was a single 21-year-old with no dependents. He volunteered to earn a commission for a few reasons. First, he calculated his high probability of being drafted. Second, he already led the Howard University Publicity Committee of the Central Committee of Negro College Men and already spent long hours campaigning to create a Black Officer Training Camp. His third reason was a burning desire to have something to say about the governing of the country. He felt if he took part in the current crisis, he would earn the right to have his voice heard (Houston, 1940i).

In his enthusiasm to join, Houston did not question the information he heard about the Black Officer Training Camp. First, the camp would be three months long and the first month consisted of basic instruction and the last two months provided specialized instruction in a specific branch of service the candidates selected. Houston found this intriguing and signed up for specialized instruction in field artillery. Second, he heard candidates could compete for commissions for the rank of second lieutenant through major (Houston, 1940a). All this information later proved false and dampened Houston's impression of the Army.

To begin the process, Houston registered with the draft board as required but immediately confronted prejudicial treatment. The War Department required draft cards to ask a draftee's race in question ten of a twelve-question questionnaire on the card. It also stipulated the draft board member receiving the completed card from the draftee must cut the left corner of the card for each recruit identified as Black, Negro, or Colored ("World War", 1917).

The requirement to cut the corner satisfied a political grievance of southern White politicians to maintain segregation by allowing a quick administrative sorting of cards along racial lines, a practice that reinforced *Plessy* and understandably angered the Black community ("World War", 1917). In comparison to other notable persons who filled out a draft card, Babe Ruth's card was not cut because he did not refer to himself as a Black American on the card. An example of the anger and resistance to segregationist power resulting from cutting the corner occurred when the Boston branch of the National Equal Rights League Race Discrimination Committee published an article in the *Boston Sunday Post* newspaper in May 1917, discussing a letter they wrote to Secretary of War Baker protesting the cutting of the corner ("Protest Segregation", 1917). Cutting off the corner could be an example of Karl Marx's alienation because the U.S. Army denied Black Americans from the product of their labor of reporting for the draft by mutilating their paperwork to sort them in a separate pile from other drafted soldiers (Marx, 1884). It is unclear if Houston was aware of the controversy over cutting the corner because he had a more pressing concern. The Army informed him he was too young to be an officer. Fortunately, another man selected to attend Fort Des Moines Officer Training Camp dropped out, and Houston received an exception to the minimum age policy, which allowed him to take the other man's place (Houston, 1940a). Upon completing his oral and medical examinations, he noted in his memoir how the people of Washington, D.C. held ceremonies and parties celebrating the good fortune of their men selected to attend the Fort Des Moines camp (Houston, 1940a).

George Washington Lee

When George Lee heard about Fort Des Moines, he was excited about the new opportunity. His excitement waned when he read in Nashville's *The Tennessean* newspaper that

applicants needed to be 30-44 years of age. No definitive reasons for the age differences across the country were found for this research study. Fortunately, the age issue did not deter Lee's motivation and determination and he asked his former Alcorn professor—A. E. Perkins—and the Alcorn college president Rowan for letters of recommendation (Tucker, 1971). Later, Lee read in the paper that Regular Army Captain Allen J. Greer was examining Black men at the Colored YMCA in Nashville, Tennessee (Tucker, 1971). The YMCA was segregated like other American institutions and the Colored YMCAs provided a convenient location for the U.S. Army to administer oral and physical examinations for Fort Des Moines potential candidates across the country from Denver to Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and Cincinnati ("Training Camp", 1917). Once Lee had his letters of recommendation, he reported nervously to Captain Greer in room 125 of the YMCA building in Nashville (Tucker, 1971). Lee surprised himself by excelling in the oral and physical portions of the examination and received orders of his acceptance to the Fort Des Moines Officer Training Camp. Shortly after, he and other successful candidates received an invitation to meet with the Governor of Tennessee, who wished them all good luck (Tucker, 1971). Interestingly, Regular Army Captain Allen J. Greer, who administered the oral and physical examination to Lee, became a lieutenant colonel and served as the 92nd Division Chief of Staff. Unfortunately, many Black officers in the division developed an unfavorable opinion of him due to an impression of prejudice surrounding his actions toward them during the war (Houston, 1940d).

James Brad Morris

By 1915 Morris had completed Howard University School of Law. Instead of staying on the east coast, he decided to seek his fortune out west, and he worked his way across the western United States as a train dining car waiter and ended up in Salt Lake City, Utah. While in Salt

Lake City, he received a letter from a friend, Charles Woodson, with an offer to practice law in Des Moines, Iowa. Accepting the offer, he arrived in Des Moines, studied hard with the help of his friend Woodson, and passed the Iowa state bar exam. However, before he began his formal law practice, he became engrossed in the war and dreamed of wearing a handsome uniform filled with medals earned by killing Germans. He decided the best way to fulfil his dream was to volunteer to attend the Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines (Morris, 1999). In his reasoning as an officer, he could become a leader of men and finally be a "bad ass," who not only took orders but could, more importantly, give orders (Morris, 1999, p. 27). Shortly after his acceptance to Fort Des Moines Officer Training Camp into what he called the "cream of the crop," he found an old acquaintance from Howard University School of Law, Isaiah "Block" Blocker, in the candidate ranks, and the two quickly agreed to help each other get through their future Army careers (Morris, 1999, p. 27-28).

According to Morris' biography, the Black community entered the war with a positive attitude. However, many allowed their enthusiasm to cloud their judgment and did not ask the critical question about the exact role Black soldiers would play in the coming conflict, a question not lost on one of Morris's friends, Charles Woodson (Morris, 1999). An 1896 Howard University School of Law graduate and a prominent black lawyer in Des Moines, Iowa, Woodson, a former infantry soldier in the 25th Infantry Regiment, knew the back-breaking, non-glamorous work Black soldiers performed. He also knew the racial hostility they would face because of his years of service, including duty at Fort Des Moines in 1903 (Morris, 1999).

For Morris, a young man with no prior military experience caught up in the excitement like the rest of the Black community, he assured his friend, Woodson, with youthful naivety things would be different this time. Morris reasoned the war held a unique opportunity for

revenge. He felt Black men would finally receive permission to legally fight and kill White men and avenge a lifetime of humiliation. Regardless of the nationality being German and not American, just the thought of killing White men held a seductive appeal for Morris and allowed him to release his pent-up rage against the trauma of being Black in segregationist Jim Crow America (Morris, 1999).

Louis Thompkins Wright

In early April 1917, shortly after the declaration of war, Wright was in Tuskegee, Alabama attending a medical conference at Tuskegee Institute. After the conference, he did not return to Atlanta; instead, he boarded a train for Fort McPherson, Georgia. At Fort McPherson, he applied for and received an examination to serve as a Medical Reserve Corps surgeon with the commissioned rank of first lieutenant in the U.S. Army. He passed the test with a high score and received his first lieutenant commission after a successful interview with Colonel T. S. Bratton, the U.S. Army Southeastern Division surgeon (Hayden, 2003). Wright returned to Atlanta and continued to work with his stepfather. During this time, he also corresponded with his friend from Washington, Charles Houston, and they discussed the effort to create an Officer Training Camp for Black officers in Iowa. On May 18, 1917, after the Selective Service Act passed, Wright received orders to appear before the draft board. Wright presented himself and informed the board he was already a commissioned officer, but the board did not believe him until he produced documentation signed by Colonel Bratton as proof. Wright soon received a telegram from the War Department telling him to report to the Fort Des Moines Medical Officer Training Camp on August 20, 1917 (Hayden, 2003). In his reflections after the war, Dr. Wright wrote, "…The war came. I went…It was just that simple. I was an American. I would do my part…war

for me [was] a chance to put my strength against the Kaiser. I welcomed it" (Hayden, 2003, p. 51).

Summary

This chapter introduced the military environment of the seven featured gentlemen in this research study. The study examines U.S. Army officer training before the war by describing its evolution from West Point in 1802 through the Civil War and leading up to WWI. The focus of the chapter later narrowed to examine the U.S. Army's attitude toward Black officers and the power of oppression to keep them segregated. Discussion centered on the premise of Black inferiority and how it led many to believe White officers needed to oversee Black troops. The chapter highlights how the actions of early-commissioned Black officers during and after the Civil War slowly dispelled this premise. The analysis continues with the NAACP and Black colleges' efforts to push forward the dream of building on the momentum of earlier Black officers to get more Black men commissioned for the upcoming conflict. An example of the U.S. Army procedure to cut the corner of Black American draft cards highlighted Karl Marx's alienation of the Black community during the first draft for the war (Marx, 1884). Another example demonstrated Foucault's power of oppression concerning Dickerson's telegram situation when he received two similar telegrams as his White classmates. He later received a third telegram redirecting him to a segregated camp only because of his race (Foucault, 2000). The chapter concludes with the dream becoming reality with the War Department establishing the segregated Black Officer Training Camps at Fort Des Moines, to include how each of the seven became personally involved with the camps.

Chapter 5 - Infantry Training at Fort Des Moines

> The curriculum at Fort Des Moines was tough. Both academics and physical training demanded a maximum effort... (Morris, 1999, p 36)

This chapter focuses on the activities and significant events surrounding the Infantry Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines in 1917. Understanding what happened in the infantry camp assists in answering the second subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences at Fort Des Moines? The analysis begins with the initial War Department plans and concludes with what happened on the ground, based on the memoirs and biographies of five of the seven featured men who attended the infantry camp. Their perspective is essential in gaining a better awareness of how Black Americans experienced the war effort. However, it is important to keep an open mind and examine all aspects of the camp's activities to avoid jumping to the same conclusion as the five did at the time. The modern reader has a wealth of information the five did not possess, so this research study takes advantage of this modern information to provide a more detailed glimpse into their world while serving at Fort Des Moines.

The War Department Plan

This analysis begins with the War Department's initial plans for raising more officers to command a growing U.S. Army. As stated earlier, the primary method was to create a series of Officer Training Camps across the country to train and commission White infantry, cavalry, artillery, and engineer officers along with Medical Officer Training Camps (MOTC) to train White medical officers. Again, this research study found no evidence the War Department conducted any pre-war planning to train Black officers in the infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineer, or medical branches. This planning omission and other planning shortfalls to be

discussed later highlight a lack of attention to detail in the development of an adequate Army mobilization plan before the war. The lack of planning is surprising because before America entered the war, senior leaders foresaw challenges with mobilization if world events forced active American participation in hostilities. Senior leaders, like Major General Leonard Wood, predicted in 1913 that the Army was not ready for full mobilization. The general feared the sudden realization of a need for thousands of new officers would create a rushed and confused atmosphere in the initial stages of mobilization (Faulkner, 2012). His opinion mattered because he and John J. Pershing were among the final four contenders for command of the expeditionary force the United States built and eventually sent to France to fight the Germans (Palmer, 1931).

Secretary of War Baker appointed Pershing the AEF commander, but Leonard Wood's prediction did not disappear. It resurfaced four years later, in April 1917, when President Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany. This presidential order found the War Department unprepared for a quick mobilization of the entire Army, including the expansion of the officer corps. The War Department was specifically scrambling to develop a system to find civilians with the required education and physical stamina to train to become commissioned officers (Faulkner, 2012).

The lack of prior planning is even more surprising given two national events that followed Leonard Wood's prediction. Those two events were the sinking of the Lusitania in 1915 and the Zimmerman telegram in 1917 (Library, 2021a; Library 2021b). The sinking of the Lusitania occurred on May 7, 1915. The sinking was a consequence of Germany's wartime declaration of unrestricted warfare around England. On that day, a German submarine torpedoed and sank the S.S. Lusitania without warning off the coast of southern England, killing 123

Americans on board (Library, 2021a). This event was the turning point for many Americans and led to an increasingly hostile attitude toward Germany (Library, 2021a).

The Zimmerman situation occurred in January 1917, shortly after the U.S. Army returned from its foray in Mexico chasing Pancho Villa (Library, 2021b). The situation began when British military intelligence cryptographers intercepted a message between Germany and Mexico—the Zimmerman telegram (Library, 2021b). In the telegram, Germany announced a willingness to form an alliance with Mexico and possibly subsidize a Mexican invasion of the United States to seize control of Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas. The Zimmerman telegram was one of the final German actions that helped push many Americans from a hostile attitude toward Germany to an active call for war (National, 2021a).

Faced with a possible renewed threat from Mexico and President Wilson's demand for action against Germany, the War Department finally appeared to realize the gravity of the situation and began the detailed planning process for mobilizing the Army. However, the lack of prior planning caused everything to function in an atmosphere of haste and confusion (Faulkner, 2012; Fisher and Buckley, 2015), fulfilling Major General Wood's prediction, especially as it pertained to the commissioning of more Black U.S. Army officers (Faulkner, 2012).

As previously mentioned, the War Department's initial plans to train a larger officer corps culminated in Special Regulation 49. The specific guidance in this regulation published in May 1917 stated the purpose of the Officer Training Camp was to train eligible candidates to become commissioned reserve officers for the current national emergency. Once these officers completed training, they filled positions within a U.S. Army division or cavalry regiment (War Department, 1917). Each camp was three months or 14 weeks long and had a maximum attendance of 2,500 men divided into 15 companies for the first month of training. The first

month covered common core training and emphasized how an infantry officer performs his duties to include the theoretical basis for the tactically employing of his troops (Faulkner, 2012). The second and third months comprised additional infantry, cavalry, artillery, or engineer training. Under Special Regulation 49, the candidates' last two months of training divided them into nine infantry companies, two cavalry troops, three artillery batteries with an additional coastal artillery company, and one engineer company (War Department, 1917). This guidance placed a severe logistical burden on the supply system to get equipment to each of the Officer Training Camps, contributing to several reorganizations of Officer Training Camps in the United States as the war progressed. For example, supplying field artillery equipment to each camp for the candidates to receive artillery training proved inefficient. The War Department later realized its error and in the spirit of hasty planning consolidated all field artillery training into one Officer Training Camp at Camp Taylor, Kentucky, in 1918. The consolidation accomplished the mission by vastly reducing the logistical burden on the supply system by sending all the artillery training equipment to only one location and not fourteen different locations (Houston, 1940h).

Special Regulation 49 further prescribed a weekly schedule of activities fixed on a minimum ten-hour day with five hours of training in the morning, three hours in the afternoon, and a final two hours in the evening to study prescribed subjects. Training was conducted Monday-Friday with five hours on Saturday devoted to make-up training in case of weather or other unforeseen interruptions from the previous week. Camp commanders had latitude to adjust their training schedules (War Department, 1917). The primary training unit on each camp was a provisional training regiment and each regiment's subordinate companies were to consist of candidates of the same rank, age, and experience as much as practical. These candidate company assignments could change as the candidate progresses through training (War Department, 1917).

Regular Army or reserve commissioned officers were assigned to command each company administratively and serve as instructors. Instructors observed and maintained notes on each candidate in the company to assist in conducting examination boards. Candidates with special expertise were assigned as assistant instructors, who made observations and provided evaluation feedback to primary instructors on fellow candidates (War Department, 1917). Allowing candidates serving as assistant instructors to provide feedback to primary instructors on other candidates in their same company had the potential to cause ethical issues of favoritism or revenge. Fortunately, none of the five featured men in this research study mentioned any of this occurring in their memoirs or biographies.

The minimum number of instructors for each training camp were nine for the infantry, three for the field artillery, two for the cavalry, one for engineer, and one for coastal artillery (War Department, 1917). Out of these instructors, one served as the senior instructor and advised the camp commander on the abilities of the other faculty. Instructors created and maintained a roster giving each candidate equal time in leadership positions within the company. Instructors informed candidates of the importance of forgetting previous rank while in school to instill a spirit of cordial cooperation in an Army Service School environment because rank was not important in school. Once a candidate is no longer a member of a training school, their rank is returned to paramount importance for the good of the service (War Department, 1917). Camp instruction was challenging and focused on training candidates to become instructors, managers, and leaders (Faulkner, 2012). To be instructors, candidates were subjected to the same drills, rigid discipline, and attention to detail their future Soldiers were required to perform. To be managers, candidates needed to understand the proper procedures for the supply, administration,

discipline, and care of their men. To be leaders, candidates had to understand and practice employing their men tactically on the battlefield (Faulkner, 2012; War Department, 1917).

Candidates found guilty of misconduct or found unfit through habit, inefficiency, or lack of character were subject to disciplinary action by the camp commander. The camp commander convened a board of officers to determine the correctness of the report against the candidate and made recommendations on corrective actions if applicable. For instructors, the War Department's disciplinary guidance was like that for candidates. Instructors found unfit faced disciplinary action from the camp commander. The difference between candidates and instructors was the senior instructor's opinion carried additional weight in determining corrective or disciplinary action against instructors (War Department, 1917). Camp commanders were obligated to keep the War Department informed of the situation, but the camp commanders' decisions were final as they related to candidates or instructors. Camp commanders possessed a wide range of disciplinary corrective actions for candidates from restrictions to stay in camp to ending a candidate's military career with elimination from the training camp. For instructors, camp commanders could involuntarily rotate them out of a teaching position (War Department, 1917).

17th Provisional Training Regiment

The Faculty

The War Department designated the Fort Des Moines Infantry Black Officer Training Camp as the Seventeenth Provisional Training Regiment (17th PTR) (Cade, 1929). The commanding officer, Colonel Charles Clarendon Ballou, a White West Point commissioned officer, arrived at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, on June 4, 1917, assumed command of the entire installation or, in Army terminology, post on June 5, and command of the 17th PTR on June 11

(Ballou, 1917a; “United States Military”, 1886). As the new commander, he immediately organized the training camp using White soldiers from the current resident units, the 1st Iowa National Guard Infantry Regiment, and Company A, Iowa National Guard Engineers. He released the National Guard units gradually as his cadre of West Point-commissioned Regular Army White officers and Regular Army NCOs, from the predominately Black 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and 10th Cavalry, began arriving and assuming their administrative and instructor duties (Ballou, 1917a). This research study could not determine the number of NCOs assigned to support the 17th PTR. As mentioned, the War Department identified 250 of the eventually assigned NCOs as qualified to pursue commissions alongside the civilian candidates (Morris, 1999). Based on their years of prior military service, most NCOs assumed assistant instructor positions to help educate the civilian candidates.

This research study could determine the number and names of the Regular Army instructors for the 17th PTR based on information provided in the historical artifacts known as the post returns. A post return was a monthly report signed by the post commander that provided details about the activities on post during the prior 30 days (Ballou, 1917a). However, the post returns cannot provide a reason why a White Regular Army officer would want to serve in a Black unit. One reason was not all White officers were prejudicial against Black soldiers. Officers like Colonel Benjamin Grierson, a former Civil War cavalry commander and later frontier Army commander during the 1870s and 1880s, was well known for his support of Black troops (Welsh, 1996). Upon graduation from West Point, Second Lieutenant Henry Flipper served as one of Grierson’s junior leaders at Fort Sill, Oklahoma in 1877 (Welsh, 1996).

However, another reason Regular Army White officers served in Black units was not that they liked or supported Black soldiers, but purely for the chance of rapid promotion. A White

officer had less competition for open vacancies in Black units. These vacancies resulted from the prevailing White racial views stigmatizing service in Black units and the prevailing incorrect assumption among some White officers that serving in a Black unit could end their military career. Proof of the fallacy of this assumption serving in a Black unit could end one's military career was easily demonstrated by the 17th PTR commander and some of his instructors.

Colonel Ballou, the 17th PTR commander, served with the 25th Infantry Regiment, a Black unit, before his assignment to Fort Des Moines (Astor, 1998; Morris, 1999). Colonel Ballou graduated from West Point in 1886. Interestingly, he graduated in the same class as his future boss, John J. Pershing, who became the AEF commanding general. In their 1886 class, Pershing ranked 30th, and Ballou was 63rd out of a class of 77 ("United States Military", 1886). As stated, Ballou became the post commander and senior ranking officer assigned to Fort Des Moines to include serving as the 17th PTR commander (Ballou, 1917a). By August 1917, he was promoted to brigadier general (one star) but remained post commander, senior ranking officer on post and the 17th PTR commander (Ballou, 1917c). In September 1917, Ballou received orders to report to Camp Dodge, Iowa less than 15 miles north of Des Moines, to assume new duties. By January 1918, he was promoted to major general (two stars) and placed in command of the 92nd Division (Hunt, 1917a; Scott, 1919).

Ballou rose two ranks from colonel to two-star major general in six months from August 1917 to January 1918. Three more examples of 17th PTR White Regular Army officers receiving two rank promotions while serving at Fort Des Moines are Major Castle, Captain Sturtevant, and Captain Ragsdale. Major Castle rose from major to lieutenant colonel then colonel from July to August 1917 (Ballou, 1917b; Ballou, 1917c). Captain Sturtevant rose from captain to major and finally lieutenant colonel within weeks during August 1917 (Ballou, 1917c). Captain Ragsdale's

career progressed rapidly near the end of camp when he rose from captain to major and finally lieutenant colonel within weeks during October 1917 (Hunt, 1917b). Appendix A provides additional information on each of these officers to include details on the remaining 17th PTR instructors as documented in the Fort Des Moines post returns from June to November 1917.

An interesting point about two other commissioned officers, previously mentioned that worked for Colonel Ballou's 17th PTR was they were both Black Americans: Major Albert W. Ford and Captain James E. Phillips. *The Bystander* newspaper published a featured article discussing both officers in the June 15, 1917, edition (Brown, 1917). Both officers may have been volunteers who took advantage of the War Department's directive in May 1917 to recruit 300,000 National Guard soldiers before the federalization of the National Guard in late summer 1917 (Cooper, 1997). They may also have received orders to Fort Des Moines based on the War Department's desire for all non-West Point commissioned officers like National Guard officers to attend an Officer Training Camp. The segregated officer system guaranteed they received orders to attend the only Black Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines (Faulkner, 2012).

Major Ford was a member of the 8th Illinois National Guard. The 8th Illinois was the only entirely Black regiment in the United States National Guard before the war (Cooper, 1997). Even more remarkable was the 8th Illinois possessed an all-Black officer cadre from Colonel Denison to Lieutenant Ward (Scott, 1919). After federalization, meaning the unit received federal authorization to operate outside of the Illinois state lines, the 8th Illinois was redesignated the 370th Infantry Regiment and later earned fame in France serving in the 93rd Division under French command (Scott, 1919).

Major Ford was an Infantry Reserve Corps officer mentioned by name along with the other White officers in the June through September 1917 Fort Des Moines post return reports

(Ballou, 1917a; Ballou, 1917b). Interestingly, Ford was listed by-name as a student and not as an instructor like the other White officers. None of the other 17th PTR civilian or NCO candidates were listed by-name in the monthly reports. *The Bystander* newspaper further explained Ford was one of the distinguished colored officers who oversaw the training camp at Fort Des Moines (Thompson, 1917a).

Major Ford was not a West Point graduate; he earned his commission and rank through the National Guard practice of popularity and passing 8th Illinois-centric exams (Cooper, 1997; Thompson, 1917a). Ford may have served as an assistant instructor in the 17th PTR even though he was not mentioned serving in that capacity in the post returns. Holding an assistant instructor position is a reasonable assumption since he possessed a wealth of knowledge after serving as a commissioned officer in the 8th Illinois from 1910-1917 (Thompson, 1917a). If nothing else, his presence on post may have allowed him to provide invaluable mentorship to the other candidates. This research study could not find a reason, but his career was cut short when he received an honorable discharge from service on October 13, 1917, the day before the actual graduation of the 17th PTR candidates (Hunt, 1917b). A possible reason for his discharge could have been to maintain the War Department guidance of limiting the number of Black commissioned officers above the rank of captain, so his discharge may have been involuntary.

The June post return report has Captain Joseph Phillips signing into the 17th PTR on June 5 and serving as a candidate until June 24 (Ballou, 1917a). On June 25, the return notes he was ordered to active duty but then listed him by name as a student, or candidate, for the rest of the month. He remained in this status in all subsequent post returns from July through October 1917 (Ballou, 1917a; Hunt, 1917b). In contrast to the monthly returns, *The Bystander* newspaper June 22 edition mentioned Captain Phillips as one of the instructors at Fort Des Moines (“Captain

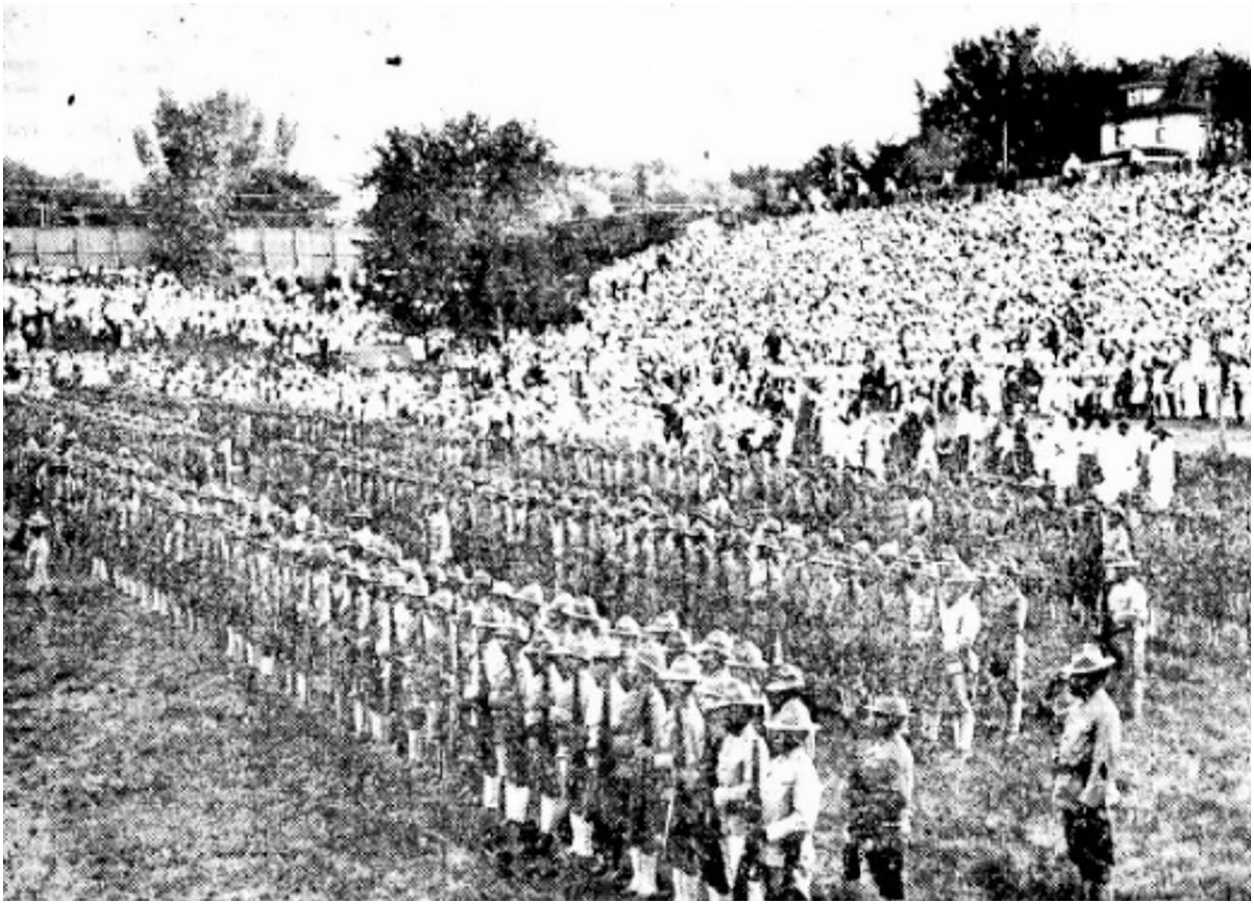
Joseph", 1917). The paper also stated he was originally from Georgia with 18 years of service with the 9th Cavalry, served in the Philippines and participated in several engagements on the Mexican border. At the end of the 17th PTR course, Captain Philips left camp on October 15 like other White officers for a follow-on assignment after 17th PTR graduation (Hunt, 1917b). It is beyond the scope of this research study to ascertain his service during the rest of the war.

The Schedule

The officer and NCO faculty of the 17th PTR only had a few days to assume control from the initial resident Iowa National Guard units on post and finish preparations for the arrival of hundreds of new civilian candidates. Opening day was Sunday, June 17, 1917, with formal training to begin the next day Monday, June 18 (Thompson, 1917b). The substantial administrative burden to open the camp included arranging for money to reimburse travel expenses of all candidates arriving with proper notification orders, and the receipt, storage and issuing of all necessary candidate training equipment. The equipment ranged from publications such as military regulations the candidates used as textbooks to old khaki tan and new green wool infantry uniforms (National, 2021b; War Department, 1917). Older khaki tan uniforms appear white in contemporary black and white photographs like the image published in *The Bystander* newspaper (see Figure 1). *The Bystander* image documented the White Sparrow exhibition to be discussed later in this research study (Thompson, 1917c). The older khaki uniforms were a result of the Army's rush to mobilize and not having enough of the new green wool uniforms on hand for the growing Army. Other pieces of equipment issued to 17th PTR candidates were U.S. Training Camp (U.S.T.C.) badges worn on the left arm of their uniform and Springfield rifles stored with cosmoline oil to prevent rust, which the candidates had to remove before firing (Cade, 1929; War Department, 1917).

Figure 1.

Example of Older Khaki Uniforms Appearing White in Contemporary Photographs



Note. This image is from the 17th PTR White Sparrow Patriotic Service conducted at Drake University stadium. This image is in the public domain and cropped from original. (Thompson, 1917c https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85049804/1917-07-27/ed-1/seq-3/)

Besides equipment, each barracks needed to be cleaned and prepared to receive up to 150 men each. The barracks buildings contained toilets, bath facilities, and iron bunks, but a few iron bunks were missing, so some men slept on wooden cots (Cade, 1929). Mess facilities also needed to be established to begin feeding the men upon arrival. Fortunately, the local community provided contract cooks, who quickly assumed responsibility. In the words of candidate Cade,

only the strenuous exercise he endured every day kept him from getting fat from the great food he received (Cade, 1929; “Carrizal Heros”, 1917). For example, according to Cade, he received something sweet at every meal, like pies, cake, or pudding, to include Boston baked beans, canned corn, white potatoes, jelly, bread, and coffee (Cade, 1929). *The Davenport Democrat* newspaper reported a typical dinner meal as roast loin of pork with brown gravy, lima beans, radishes, onions, fruit, iced tea, bread, and butter (“$16,000 Worth”, 1917).

The exact training schedule used at Fort Des Moines for the 17th PTR could not be found for this research study. However, this research study could determine an approximate training schedule using information gathered from historical artifacts like Special Regulation 49, newspaper articles, a 1917 calendar, and information provided by the five featured gentlemen to make a possible determination of how events may have unfolded at Fort Des Moines, Iowa, between June-October 1917 (see Table 5) (Howard, 1917; War Department, 1917).

Table 5.

An Approximate Training Schedule (Howard, 1917: War Department, 1917)

First period		Events
Week	Dates	
Week 1	June 18-22	June 17, the 17th PTR official opening ceremony.
Week 2	June 25-29	
Week 3	July 2-6	July 1-3, East St. Louis, Missouri race riots.
Week 4	July 9-13	
Week 5	July 16-20	July 22, White Sparrow exhibition at Drake University.
Second Period		Continued infantry training without cavalry, artillery, and engineer specialty training like the 14 other White Officer Training Camps around the country
Week	Dates	
Week 6	July 23-27	
Week 7	July 30-August 3	
Week 8	August 6-10	
Week 9	August 13-17	
Week 10	August 20-24	August 24, Camp Logan, Texas racial unrest between the predominately Black 24th Infantry regiment and local authorities.
Week 11	August 27-31	
Week 12	September 3-7	
Week 13	September 10-14	September 15, initially planned but postponed graduation.
Week 14	September 17-21	
Week 15	September 24-28	
Week 16	October 1-5	
Week 17	October 8-12	October 14, actual graduation.

Note. This table lists the events that may have occurred at Fort Des Moines.

The following sections provide a month-by-month detailed summary of events that occurred in the 17th PTR. The summary is not a comprehensive listing of events but an approximation to provide a glimpse into the significant activities that happened during the camp's operation. This information gives a better idea of the training pace and grit required to complete the course as demonstrated by Cade, Dickerson, Houston, Lee, and Morris.

Activities in June

The oath of enlistment ceremony officially opening the 17th PTR occurred on Sunday, June 17. According to *The Bystander* newspaper published 12 days after the ceremony, Colonel Ballou administered the oath to 1,000 Black officer candidates (Thompson, 1917b). According to another newspaper, *The Des Moines Register* June 6 edition, approximately 150 NCOs present on post served as both candidates and assistant instructors to train the new civilian arrivals this month ("Negro Soldiers", 1917). This research study assumes these 150 NCOs were part of the 1,000 candidates who received the oath of enlistment. However, keep in mind the number 1,000 was short of the 1,250 War Department stated goal and the figure used by some sources like Emmett Scott's book to denote how many Soldiers stood on the parade field to receive the oath (Cade, 1929; Morris, 1999, Scott, 1919). The oath of enlistment the candidates received was explicitly for training in the 17th PTR training camp at Fort Des Moines and did not officially bring any of these men on active duty. They had to complete the 17th PTR training course and receive orders to units before they were considered commissioned reserve officers on active duty. It is worth noting thousands of people witnessed the oath of enlistment and heard Colonel Ballou's opening remarks:

> I desire further to impress every candidate here present with the fact that this is a momentous hour, and that the establishment of this camp is an epochal and unprecedented event in the history of the colored race. You have been summoned here to demonstrate your fitness for citizenship by your ability to learn to discharge the highest and most important duty of that citizenship the defense of the rights and liberties of your country. I would impress upon each and every one of you the serious reflection on your race that will necessarily follow your failure in this crucial test, and the far-reaching results that will flow from your success. Your race is on trial, with you as its representatives, during the existence of this training camp, and to succeed there will be required of you strong bodies, keen intelligence, absolute obedience to orders, unflagging

> industry, exemplary conduct, and character of the highest order. In striving for the success, you will be fulfilling your obligation to yourselves, to the colored race, and above all, to our beloved country. (Thompson, 1917b, p 2)

It is unknown how much Colonel Ballou understood the direct link he made to the Black citizenship question dating back to the 1850s *Dred Scott* case or more recent *Plessy v. Ferguson* ruling. Colonel Ballou was attuned to Black issues in society through his connection to Black soldiers in his previous Army assignments. The challenge for him was how his words affected the candidates under his current command. Some may have found his words encouraging, but many in the 17th PTR standing on the parade field did not consider them very favorable, to be discussed later in this research study.

Formal classes began the following day, June 18, 1917. It is unknown exactly what the classroom environment in the 17th PTR looked like, but U.S. Army films produced during the period provide an idea. These silent black and white films document White soldiers sitting inside-buildings with paper and pencil, intently looking at the instructor for all commands, to include when to pick up the pencil and when to write something (National, 1918a; Stewart, 2007). One easily imagines the first few weeks of 17th PTR training looking the same way since most civilian candidates had no prior knowledge of how the U.S. Army functioned.

According to the June 28, 1917, edition of *The New York Age* newspaper, 82 NCOs from the 25th Infantry Regiment reported into the 17th PTR from their overseas assignment in Hawaii after the oath ceremony (“Win Promotion”, 1917). The article stated these Regular Army NCOs served as assistant instructors and candidates themselves and had the opportunity to compete for commissioning. Despite arriving late to camp, these newly arrived NCOs armed with years of experience quickly caught up to the other candidates’ level of instruction. The arrival of these 82

men added to the 150 NCO candidates already on post and brought the total number of NCOs competing for commissions up to 232, closer to the War Department stated goal of 250.

John Brother Cade

Cade was 22 years old when he reported for training at the 17th PTR. One of the first things he documented in his memoir was receiving a second medical examination, complete with vaccinations and inoculations (Cade, 1929). Cade reported into the 7th Company. The men in the company were all from Georgia like himself; many were lawyers, medical doctors, schoolteachers, school principals, letter carriers, insurance workers, ex-soldiers, office workers, and students (Cade, 1929). Interestingly, the doctors served in the 17th PTR as infantry candidates until the Medical Officer Training Camp at Fort Des Moines opened its doors the following month. By June 18, Cade stated his 7th Company training consisted of waking up at 5:30 am and going to bed at 9:30 pm and in between conducting marching drills, semaphore signal training, calisthenics, and a three-and-a-half-mile hike with no equipment (Cade, 1929). In modern U.S. Army vernacular, a hike is called a road march, consisting of Soldiers marching on the road or on either side of the road. On June 29, his company participated in rifle bayonet drills from 7 am to 9:45 am and calisthenics from 9:45 to 10:40 am (Cade, 1929). To get an idea of the intricacies of bayonet drill, the 1918 Army training films are again, a good source of information. One silent black and white film called *Bayonet Instruction 1918* demonstrates what a Soldier had to do on the outdoor bayonet course (National, 1918b; Stewart, 2007). The film shows a single instructor demonstrating how to properly employ a bayonet in hand-to-hand combat using techniques such as the short guard, short thrust, and withdrawal. Cade documented a full day of activities on June 29 because he had bayonet drill in the morning and participated in his first gunnery target practice with Springfield rifles that afternoon. Cade stated none of these weapons

used the prescribed .30-06 ammunition, instead they used less powerful .22 caliber ammunition. Using less powerful ammunition is a reasonable training standard given this may have been the first time Cade or other candidates fired a weapon. The 7th Company had to divide the candidates into eight-man rifle squads with two rifles per squad due to a shortage of rifles. Each man fired at least 22 rounds (Cade, 1929).

According to Cade, after a long day of training, he and his fellow candidates turned to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) tent (Cade, 1929). The YMCA tent was a large tent staked to the ground providing overhead cover, tables, benches, and side flaps that are rolled up or down depending on the weather. The YMCA staff officially opened the tent to serve the candidates the same day the camp opened and provided a place for the candidates to meet, relax, read, and write letters. Dr. Hanson, a Princeton University graduate, gave one of the first speeches in the YMCA tent, titled "Power Under Control," to motivate the 17th PTR candidates (Cade, 1929, p 19). Cade also stated Mr. Robert B Frantz oversaw the YMCA tent assisted by Mr. W. H. J. Beckett, Dr. George W. Cabaniss, and Mr. De France (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Cade, 1929). Frantz was the secretary of the YMCA in Kansas City before taking over at Fort Des Moines ("Director", 1917). Cade found Dr. George W. Cabaniss helpful and credited him with helping to create the camp with the NAACP (Cade, 1929). The Fort Des Moines YMCA, like the White Officer Training Camp YMCAs, sponsored sporting events like baseball, basketball, and boxing for the candidates' entertainment and stress relief ("Amusement Provided", 1917).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Dickerson was 25 years old when he started the 17th PTR training course (Blakely, & Shepard, 2006). Based on the limited time available, this research study could not determine what Dickerson thought about the early part of his 17th PTR training.

Charles Hamilton Houston

Houston was 21 years old when he stood before the reception NCO and presented his credentials to begin training at Fort Des Moines (Houston, 1940b). According to Houston, morale was high when the 17th PTR opened its doors. The candidates embraced the seriousness of the opportunity to become leaders in the U.S. Army (Houston, 1940b). The Regular Army NCOs assumed control and began training the candidates in the routines of barracks life and close order drill (Houston, 1940b). Houston stated that training to become infantry officers filled the first month at Fort Des Moines (Houston, 1940b). However, infantry officer training troubled Houston. He recorded in his memoir how he and his fellow Howard University applicants were never told by the War Department, before selection as candidates, there were limitations on Black officers serving in other branches of service like the cavalry or field artillery. The War Department only told them their chances of acceptance to be candidates at Fort Des Moines were higher if they selected infantry, but applicants could sign up for other branches. Many like Houston signed up for field artillery (Houston, 1940a). By the end of June, the candidates expected to receive specialized training like White candidates in other Officer Training Camps in cavalry, artillery, and engineers. When this specialized training failed to occur, many began to question the Army's true intentions (Houston, 1940b).

George Washington Lee

Lee was 23 years old when he reported into the 17th PTR on June 17, the same day as the oath ceremonies (Tucker, 1971). For Lee, his just-in-time arrival increased his anxiety. First, he felt enormous pressure to catch up, and second, he found the material being taught hard to understand. He quickly realized he needed more time to study, but the tight training schedule allowed only one option; he had to get up an hour early every morning to study (Tucker 1971).

James Brad Morris

Morris was 26 years old when he reported into the reception NCO at the 17th PTR (Morris, 1999). Morris commented that shortly after the 17th PTR opened, commander Ballou told the candidates he would not tolerate discrimination against them by the civilian population of Des Moines. Despite a feeling of reassurance from this statement, the candidates like Morris, still suspected Ballou to be a racist and proceeded cautiously in their activities. Many like Morris were even more suspect of Ballou's intentions when they heard rumor Lieutenant Colonel Charles Young was supposed to be the commander instead of Ballou (Morris, 1999). Morris went on to confirm, "The curriculum at Fort Des Moines was tough. Both academics and physical training demanded a maximum effort…" (Morris, 1999, p. 36). Regarding physical training, Morris stated some candidates teetered on the point of exhaustion from all the physical exercise during the first three weeks of camp (Cade, 1929).

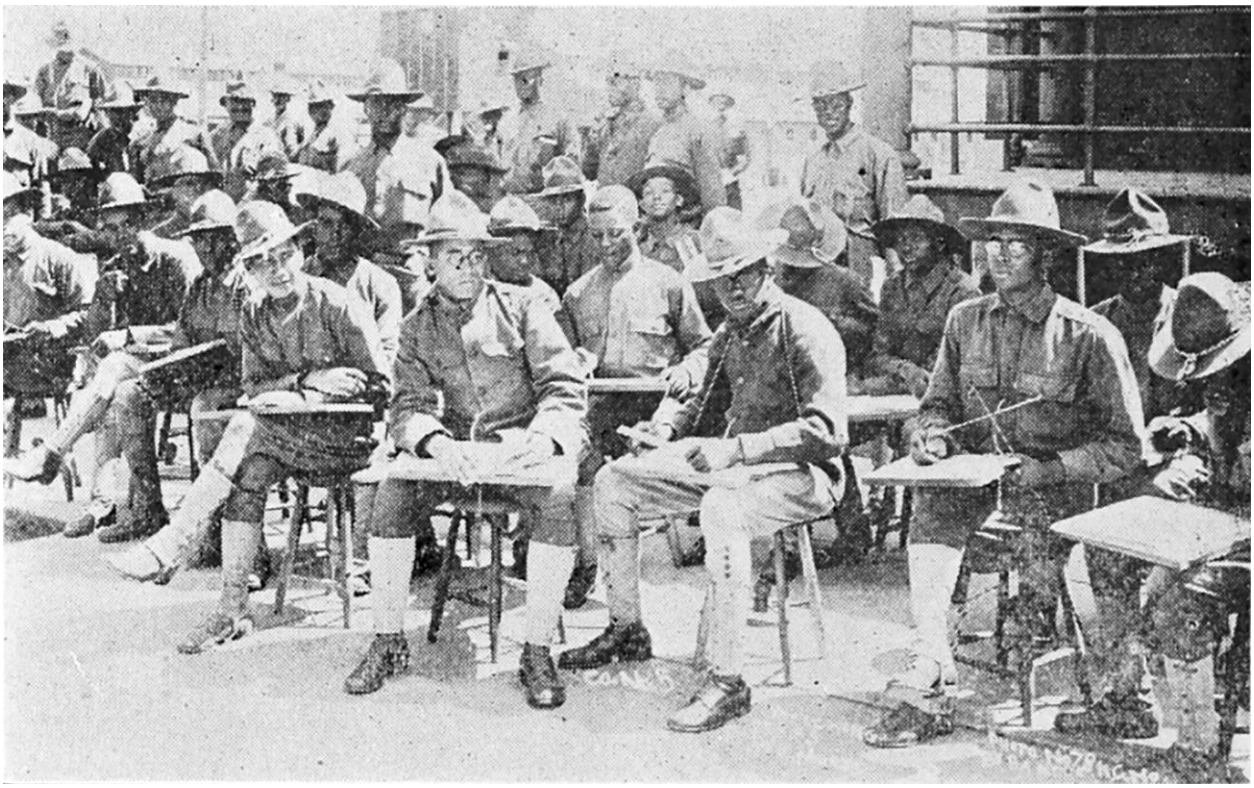
Activities in July

As stated earlier, images of actual 17th PTR candidates attending class are rare. One image this research study found shows a group of candidates sitting outside on stools with boards in their laps with strings attached to the board wrapped behind their necks (Thompson, 1917). The photograph does not provide a date or description of what is happening, but the boards

appear to be sketch boards (see Figure 2). According to the proposed War Department Special Regulation 49 training schedule the candidates should have received classes in sketching battle position maps during week six, which for the 17th PTR may have been in July. If this was a sketch class, these candidates learned how to draw platoon positions with paper and pencil on the sketch board. The string wrapped around the back of their neck holds the board in front of them as a temporary table when they stand up or on their lap sitting down. Each platoon sketch became part of a larger company sketch of the company area of operation. Consolidated company sketches became part of a larger battalion, regiment, and an eventual division sketch map (Turner & Fulmer, 1917).

Figure 2.

17th PTR Candidates Attending an Outdoor Class Sketching Battle Position Maps



Note. This image appears to depict a group of 17th PTR candidates participating in an outdoor classroom environment. This image is in the public domain. (Thompson, 1917, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/emu.010001036369)

17th PTR instructors reviewed candidate sketch maps for accuracy to ensure the candidates learned and executed the correct techniques. However, the feedback provided was verbal because the candidates received no written grades to compare themselves or establish a candidate rank order for the training course. Based on Colonel Ballou's guidance, the reasoning was to reduce any animosity among the candidates (Wilson, 2015). The animosity could come from college-educated civilians repeatedly scoring higher than the Regular Army NCOs with less academic education. Colonel Ballou wanted the civilians and NCOs to get along because he

wanted the NCOs to not only be assistant instructors, but also to coach and mentor the civilians as they became Soldiers. Ballou reasoned this coaching could not happen if the NCOs felt threatened by civilian candidates consistently scoring higher and receiving a higher-class ranking. However, some animosity did exist between the two groups because all the candidates knew they were competing for commissions ranging from second lieutenant through first lieutenant to captain (Wilson, 2015). The NCOs understandably wanted the captain rank and loathed the thought that civilians with little military experience could beat them. This undercurrent of animosity caused a few civilian candidates to avoid the NCOs known as "old timers" to not upset them (Wilson, 2015, p. 58).

With procedures in place to reduce some animosity in camp, Ballou turned his attention to ways of reducing racial tension outside of camp because the news headlines for the month of July did not favor positive race relations. A race riot occurred in East St. Louis, Missouri, which none of the featured five gentlemen but approximately nine other candidates claimed as home; additional unrest erupted at Camp MacArthur in Waco, Texas; and local business discrimination against candidates in the city of Des Moines convinced Colonel Ballou he needed to act (Morris, 1999; Scott, 1919; Wilson, 2015). He decided to introduce the entire 17th PTR to the local Des Moines community. He reasoned that by parading the 17th PTR in front of the public and demonstrating their soldierly discipline he could calm animosity between the locals and his candidates. The event received billing as the White Sparrow Patriotic Exhibition, and Colonel Ballou interrupted the Infantry Camp training schedule to take all the 17th PTR candidates to Drake University Stadium on Sunday, July 22 (see Figure 1). During the ceremony, Ballou instructed the candidates to maneuver, drill, and sing popular songs like "Swing Low Sweet Chariot" and "Tipperary" before a crowd of approximately 10,000 spectators (Crews, 1917;

Morris, 1999, p. 28; Wilson, 2015, p. 63). The ceremony was a success, and afterward, the candidates experienced less animosity from locals in and around the city, easing tensions on both sides.

On July 17, 1917, the candidates received a surprise visit from Lieutenant Colonel Charles Young, who spoke to them the next day with words of encouragement to finish their training (Scott, 1917). Young was traveling from the Presidio in San Francisco, California, where he underwent a complete medical examination to determine his continued fitness to serve on active duty. He was on orders to travel from California to Ohio and once in Ohio, begin training state National Guard troops. Unfortunately, Young, who passed his promotion examinations to colonel weeks before, received word after he left Fort Des Moines that he failed his Presidio physical and was medically retired from active duty by the end of July 1917. He pinned on his new rank of colonel the day of his retirement but was not allowed to participate in the war in Europe (Kilroy, 2003).

Young's retirement angered the 17th PTR candidates and many in the Black community (Kilroy, 2003). A possible reason for Young's unceremonious departure from active duty could be that as a lieutenant colonel, he could command Black troops. However, as a colonel, he would be eligible to command Black and White soldiers in the coming war, which was unacceptable to President Woodrow Wilson's Administration (Kilroy, 2003).

Later that month, *The Bystander* newspaper July 27 edition reported three key events. The first was the arrival of 25 NCOs into camp from the 9th Cavalry coming from the Philippines to assume duties as assistant instructors and candidates to receive commissions ("More Recruits", 1917). The arrival of these NCOs added to the 232 NCOs who were already in the course seeking commissions, bringing the total number of NCOs to 257. However, this

number is based on historical artifacts. The actual number of involuntarily released NCOs could not be determined for this research study, so the War Department may not have realized its goal of 250 NCOs competing for commissions. The second event was the failure of approximately 80 candidates—one of the first recorded mass failures. One can only speculate about the various reasons why they involuntarily left camp, varying from academic failures to physical injury to possible misconduct ("More Recruits", 1917). Some of those released could have also been NCOs as mentioned earlier. The third event was Colonel Ballou's speech at the YMCA tent. Colonel Ballou told the candidates how proud he was of their progress and encouraged them to continue in their hard work. He assured them his discipline methods may seem severe but were necessary to produce results. He also told them the War Department had taken notice of their good progress and declared the course a success ("Ballou Address", 1917). Given Colonel Young's retirement announcement occurred around the same time as Colonel Ballou's speech, the speech may have served as a technique to ease anger among the candidates.

John Brother Cade

According to candidate Cade on July 1, Colonel Ballou informed the 17th PTR he recommended to the War Department that Fort Des Moines candidates should only receive infantry officer training and none of the additional specialized training the White Officers Training Camps received (Cade, 1929). Ballou's reasoning was none of the Black draftees the 17th PTR candidates would command in the future would be allowed into these other branches, so this additional training was unnecessary. This reasoning corresponded to Secretary of War Baker's intent to have one Black Infantry regiment attached to each White division (Wilson, 2015). The White Division provided its own organic artillery and machine-gun unit support, officered by White officers who previously gained experience at White Officer Training Camps.

Ballou's announcement caused some candidates to question their continued support for the 17th PTR (Cade, 1929). Based on this announcement, candidates who did not want to become infantry officers received permission to resign (Cade, 1929). An unwillingness among some candidates to settle for an infantry commission combined with an announced nonpunitive opportunity to resign launched the first large-scale voluntary departure from camp. This research study could not determine a definitive number of candidates who voluntarily resigned from the course this month or in any month of the 17th PTR existence. This research study consulted the post returns from June through October, but no number was listed for solely candidates on post only a number composed of a conglomeration of civilians, Regular Army NCOs from the 9th and 10th Cavalry and 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments, and members of other Army organizations probably providing administrative support for the camp. These other organizations included personnel from the 13th Cavalry, 36th Infantry, 5th Infantry, and 56th Infantry Regiments; an ordnance contingent who probably handled the weapons and ammunition; and finally, a quartermaster element to handle other supplies (Ballou, 1917c).

Fortunately, many candidates decided to stay. These remaining candidates reasoned it was better to be infantry officers than receive draft notices assigning them as privates in a labor battalion (Cade, 1929, Houston, 1940b). According to Houston, his 5th Company lost so many candidates it merged with 2nd Company (Houston, 1940c). Along with voluntary dismissals, there were also monthly candidate involuntary eliminations from camp ranging from physical fitness, personal conduct, and academic failures. Academic oral board failures were a major issue and are discussed later in this research study. When the Infantry camp opened, there were 13 companies, each with less than 90 men. As time passed, the attrition rate grew and reduced the number of companies to 12, and each of these dropped to about 65 men each (Cade, 1929).

Ballou's reasoning for infantry training proved incorrect and haunted him and the candidates who voluntarily resigned from the camp because the War Department changed its wartime mobilization plan for Black troops. The new plan rejected the one Black Infantry regiment per White division concept and instead created two predominately Black divisions, the 92nd and 93rd (Wilson, 2015). This massive change of direction could point back to the lack of prior planning before the war mentioned earlier. Proper pre-war planning may have addressed this issue and mitigated its effects, reducing confusion once wartime mobilization began. Based on the new plan, both predominately Black divisions assumed the same organizational structure as their White divisional counterparts, which entailed a need for Black officers trained in the artillery branch (Scott, 1919). Ballou immediately faced the impact of the War Department's decision when he assumed command of his new unit, the 92nd Division. The artillery officer requirement forced Ballou to request White artillery officers to fill empty slots in his artillery units until 17th PTR infantry officer graduates relinquished their infantry commissions to attend artillery school to become commissioned artillery officers. This requirement meant 17th PTR graduates literally had to attend two Officer Training Camps within the first year of the war.

George Washington Lee

Lee found himself in fierce competition with all the candidates at Fort Des Moines to succeed and receive a commission. The pressure only intensified when he heard a rumor the Army would only commission half of the men in the training camp. In Tucker's 1971 biography, Lee stated falling into self-doubt and possibly depression because of the intimidation—comparing his Alcon College education against what others received from the famed Howard University—reinforced by watching other candidates fail the course every day. He further stated how his depression turned to thoughts of suicide if he was unable to graduate and receive a

commission (Cade, 1929; Tucker, 1971). Despite his initial feelings of inadequacy, he pushed on; his pride overcame his fear of failure and allowed him to gain more confidence in his abilities (Tucker, 1971). He pushed himself into his studies and, on the weekends, was known to go into town with his colleagues but instead of relaxing and drinking a beer, would turn around and get on the next available streetcar back to post to study (Tucker, 1971). Lee's competition concerns were well-founded because 5th Company, Houston's assignment, was primarily composed of men from Washington, DC—prior graduates of the Washington High School Cadet Corps who knew close order drill. These former high school cadets prided themselves so much on their close order drill skills, they set out from the beginning of the 17th PTR course to become the best-drilled company at Fort Des Moines (Houston, 1940b).

Activities in August

As candidates involuntarily left the course, Colonel Ballou became aware of a stigma of failure attached to these men when they arrived back home. To address this issue, the August 18 edition of *The Kansas City Sun* recorded him stating:

> …it is, therefore, only reasonable to expect that a large number of those who enter Officers' Training Camps will find after a few weeks trial that they were not destine by nature for the duties and responsibilities of military command. This fact should involve no reproach…and…is not evidence that the rejected ones are not good men, brave men or patriotic men. ("Officers' Training," 1917, p. 3)

Unfortunately, this feeling of Black men as good, brave, and patriotic did not extend to all communities in the United States, especially in the South where racial animosity and discrimination existed in all aspects of life. One incident of racial tension in the South that left a lasting impact on 17th PTR candidates occurred on August 24, in Houston, Texas. Many Southerners felt armed Black troops did not belong in the South. They feared Black soldiers would menace the local population and disrupt law and order (Scott, 1919). The U.S. Army took

these concerns under advisement but sent Black troops into the South regardless; many of these troops found themselves the target of discrimination and harassment.

According to *The Crisis*, an NAACP publication edited by Du Bois, the August 24 incident revolved around Black troops from the 24th Infantry Regiment stationed at Camp Logan, near Houston, Texas (Gruening, 1917). According to Du Bois, these troops endured constant harassment by local civilian authorities since their arrival. The situation exploded when the troops heard a false rumor that local authorities murdered Corporal Baltimore, a popular Soldier in the unit (Gruening, 1917). Disobeying orders to remain in camp, the troops went into the city seeking revenge armed with their military weapons. Before calm returned to the city, 17 people lay dead (Gruening, 1917). Ironically, the next day on August 25 in another community goodwill event hundreds of miles north, the 17th PTR drilled and maneuvered in front of over 20,000 spectators at the Iowa State Fair ("Negro Troops", 1917). This research study could not find any additional information about the impact on the approximately five 17th PTR candidates who claimed Houston, TX as their residence (Scott, 1919). Fortunately, none of the five featured gentlemen in the study listed Texas as their home.

The August 24 incident reinforced White fears, especially in the South, of future incidents if armed Black troops remained stationed in the South. The fear generated political pressure in Washington, and the War Department gave into the pressure. The result was three new planning considerations: first, the War Department decided to reevaluate its ideas on where they planned to house and train Black draftees around the country (Houston, 1940c). Second, if finding new locations for these Black draftees caused a delay in their draft, then the 17th PTR graduates, who were to command these troops, needed to be delayed from graduating (Houston, 1940c). Third, if the early plans to create two Black divisions, the 92nd and 93rd, became a

reality, neither division could assemble in one location like other White divisions (Fisher & Buckley, 2016; Houston, 1940c). The 17th PTR candidates, like many outside the War Department, were completely oblivious of these behind-the-scenes developments and were destined to only endure the aftermath.

John Brother Cade

According to Cade's memoir, on August 1, his 7th Company marched to the rifle range three miles east of Fort Des Moines to fire their Springfield rifles (Cade, 1929). This research study could not determine if the candidates continued to fire 22 caliber ammunition or started to fire wartime service .30-06 ammunition. Many qualified as Marksmen, and a few attained the higher qualification of Sharpshooter (Cade, 1929). His company also received practical experience to identify the different parts of a trench by digging practice trenches, and many candidates, unfamiliar with manual labor, developed blisters on their hands in the hot Iowa sun. Interestingly, Cade wrote that the company dug trenches on the side of a hill and attracted civilian visitors who were interested in what the candidates were doing (Cade, 1929). Later in the month, Cade described his company conducting daily maneuvers on post with candidates serving in command positions at the squad, platoon, and company level.

His company also conducted daylight mock battles with fixed bayonets, including night operations with blanks, giving the candidates a simulated feeling for real warfare (Cade, 1929). It is interesting to note neither Cade nor any of the other featured men in this research study mentioned barbed wire or battle drills associated with reacting to an enemy machine gun or artillery fire. All these items were significant components of a WWI battlefield (Faulkner, 2012). The omission of these items puts into question the quality of the training given to these men before they went into real combat months later. Some of the training the 17th PTR received was

old and outdated compared to current European battlefield tactics (Faulkner, 2012). A case in point is signal flag training. The candidates received instruction on how to control troop movement on the ground using flag signals the same way ships at sea signaled each other. Using flags proved deadly on the modern European battlefield where German snipers targeted anyone waving a flag; therefore, flags were only used outside of direct visibility of the enemy (Faulkner, 2012; Turner & Fulmer, 1917). Due to time constraints, this research study could not establish for comparison if White Officer Training Camps trained on a more realistic battlefield training environment during this same period in 1917.

According to Cade, 7th Company had three men transfer to the MOTC in August: Doctors Arthur David Brown, Raymond Holmes Carter, and Raymond Nathaniel Jackson. Dr. Jackson became a student instructor in the Medical Camp and graduated as a first lieutenant. He later earned a promotion to captain in December 1917. Dr. Brown, also known as Browne, and Dr. Carter both graduated as first lieutenants. Carter also earned a promotion to captain before the war was over (Cade, 1929; Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

George Washington Lee

Candidate Lee mentions the Inspector General came to Fort Des Moines in August. Candidates were assembled in formation on the parade ground, called forward one at a time, and administered a check on learning called an oral board. Examiners focused on subjects discussed in camp (Tucker, 1971). Lee was one of the last candidates called forward and his subsequent anxiety caused him several sleepless nights worrying about the oral board. His fear only increased as he slowly watched 17 of the 20 men, who came with him from Memphis, Tennessee, eliminated from the course. Lee even discussed his elimination concerns with his White West Point instructor Captain Ragsdale, who was also from Tennessee. The captain told

him not to worry about the board; this was good advice because when Lee was finally called forward, he successfully answered each question (Tucker, 1971).

Activities in September

The War Department completed its plans for both the call up of Black draftees and the creation of the 92nd and 93rd Divisions in September 1917. Black draftees received draft notices after September 22, and those designated for the 92nd Division reported to different posts across the Northern United States to start their basic training. The 93rd Division is outside the scope of this research study, but it never fully formed in the States before it deployed to France (Scott, 1919). Back at Fort Des Moines, Colonel Ballou was promoted to brigadier general but remained in command of Fort Des Moines and the 17th PTR until the last day of the month before reporting to his next assignment at Camp Dodge, Iowa. Once Ballou departed, Lieutenant Colonel Henry J. Hunt assumed command of the post and the 17th PTR (Hunt, 1917a). The candidates continued to progress in their training and moved from demonstrating proficiency in their Soldier tasks to assuming the responsibility of serving as an instructor. Civilian candidates were purposely placed in command positions to lead exercises and drills (Cade, 1929). Upon graduation, all candidates received rank based on their proficiency while in charge of a squad or platoon performing company drills, maneuvers, and calisthenics (Cade, 1929).

As stated, the Black candidates attending Fort Des Moines dug trenches and fought mock battles, but none of the featured men mentioned using training aids like smoke. Smoke could simulate another significant item on a WWI battlefield, poison gas. If accurate, the lack of gas training was a major oversight since gas warfare had been underway on European battlefields for years. The War Department's prescribed Special Regulation 49 training schedule mentions gas classes, but these classes may have been familiarization classes to become acquainted with gas

protective equipment like using gas masks (War Department, 1917). The Army does not appear to have been serious about gas training for its officer corps until after September 1917. To illustrate this point, an article in *The Kansas City Star* newspaper dated October 20, discussed the opening of a gas department during the second rotation of the White Medical Officers Training Camp begun in September 1917 at Camp Funston on Fort Riley, Kansas ("Poison Gas", 1917). This new department aimed to teach medical officers how to treat gas patients, build gas chambers to train Soldiers on how to use gas masks, and develop new gases to be used on the battlefield. The article announced the 89th Division received its gas masks and soon began its gas training—the same training Second Lieutenant Cade received a few months later after his time at Fort Des Moines ("Poison Gas", 1917). Unfortunately, neither Dyer nor Wright, the two medical officers featured in this research study, mentioned receiving any gas training.

In August, the 17th PTR candidates paraded weekly, but this changed to parades conducted three times a week in September. Each parade consisted of the entire regiment in formation on the parade field formed by subordinate battalions and companies. Each parade ended with the regiment marching past the reviewing officer. The Iowa National Guard band played for the parades during August, but in September, the band left for France with the Rainbow Division. Therefore, in September, the candidates made their own music and kept in step singing songs like the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "Marching Through Georgia" as they passed in review (Cade, 1929, p. 21-22; "Fort Des", 1917).

The War Department's earlier decision to push back the draft of Black soldiers until after September 22 caused a delay in the need for 17th PTR graduates. Apparently, the War Department did not want officers sitting idle for weeks without troops to command. Therefore, they decided to push back the 17th PTR September 15 graduation by 30 days (Cade, 1929). The

delay in graduation appeared to place Black officers in line with their graduating White Officer Training Camp counterparts. For example, Fort Riley's first Officer Training Camp opened on May 8 and graduated its first class in mid-August ("Reserves", 1917). These newly commissioned White officers joined their new White draftee troops on September 1, after troops arrived in their stateside pre-deployment training camps. The 17th PTR graduates fell into a similar pattern: an October 15 graduation allowed them to join their arriving Black draftee troops on November 1.

The 17th PTR candidates knew nothing of the possibility of this delay. They considered this 30-day graduation delay announcement, delivered just days before the scheduled graduation on September 15, a heavy blow. Many candidates felt the U.S. Government had no intention to give Blacks a fair chance to become officers. Other candidates argued if they quit now, they would feed into the hands of prejudicial White officers who wanted them to fail (Houston, 1940c). Regardless of the appearance of feeding into the hands of prejudicial White officers, candidates who no longer felt enthusiastic about the 17th PTR resigned and left camp, causing the second-largest voluntary departure from camp. Over 600 candidates decided to remain through the 30-day extension (Cade, 1929; Houston, 1940c). On a brighter note, the remaining candidates decided not to cancel any of the farewell banquets already planned, and each company event proceeded as scheduled with decorations, family, and friends (Thompson, 1917d). The War Department's decision to push back graduation could be an example of Karl Marx alienation. The candidates were denied the product of their labors a promised graduation date and received no explanation for the postponement (Marx, 1884).

John Brother Cade

According to Cade, amid all this activity in camp during September, candidates found time to attend meetings with and talk to many visiting academic dignitaries, many sponsored by the YMCA, who offered words of encouragement throughout the course. Dignitaries like William Pickens, Dean of Morgan College; Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University; Dr. R. R. Moton, Principal of Tuskegee Institute; Dr. Hubbard of Meharry Medical College; Professor John Hope, President, Morehouse College; and Professor Gustafson, Atlanta University. The candidates also enjoyed the YMCA-sponsored performances by the Fisk Jubilee Singers of Fisk University and the Roger Williams Quartette of Roger Williams College (Cade, 1929; "Lt. I. E. Moore", 1917).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Dickerson also reported the U.S. Army did not explain the delay in graduation. This decision by the Army caused him great distress because his White friends in other training camps did not experience graduation delays (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson, like many, felt insulted with a stigma of not being good enough to graduate and needing more training (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson was told he would receive a commission in September; however, his anger over the delay in graduation caused complete disenchantment with the Army. The result was he voluntarily discharged himself from the Army and returned to Chicago to complete his third year of law school. In making this rash decision, Dickerson unknowingly assisted the Army to reach its goal of eliminating as many Black candidates as possible (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Fortunately, soon after arriving in Chicago, Dickerson changed his mind about the Army. He could not forget President Wilson's war message that inspired him earlier in April 1917. He

quickly found himself back on a train to Fort Des Moines and, in early October, working as a civilian employee of the 17th PTR YMCA tent under Mr. De France (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Houston, in his memoir, also stated the War Department's apparent lack of a reason for the graduation delay. In his memoir, he stated the last 30 days of training at Fort Des Moines was, in his opinion, a waste of time (Houston, 1940c).

James Bard Morris

Morris mentioned how infantry candidates like himself, who were also lawyers, had a natural professional attraction to the MOTC student officers and formed many friendships. Morris became friends with Dr. Urbane Bass. Bass was a 37-year-old native of Virginia, married with four children, and a 1906 graduate of Leonard Medical School in Raleigh, North Carolina. Morris mentioned how impressed he was with the dedication Bass displayed to sacrifice his own life to save others (Morris, 1999).

Activities in October

Approximately 639 remaining candidates graduated on October 14, 1917, and the Honorable Emmett J. Scott presented their commission certificates in front of hundreds of friends and families (Cade, 1929; Scott, 1919). Scott received his appointment to be the Special Assistant to Secretary of War Baker on October 5, 1917 (Scott, 1919). Scott's specific duty was to serve as the "confidential advisor in matters…affecting the ten million African Americans in the United States and the part they are to play in connection with the present war" (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 28). Scott earned respect within the Black community before his appointment by serving as the confidential secretary to Booker T. Washington for eighteen years, as the

secretary to the Negro Business League, and finally as the secretary-treasurer of Howard University (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Scott, 1919).

This research study was unable to determine a definitive number of candidates who graduated from the course and received commissions. Emmett Scott's book provided a by-name roster of 639 total commissioned officers composed of 204 second lieutenants, 329 first lieutenants, and 106 captains (Scott, 1919). Scott's number of 639 appears to be the popular number for many sources concerning the number of graduates (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Barbeau & Henri, 1996; Morris, 1999; Scott, 1919). Other sources like *The Bystander* newspaper, which published an article two days before graduation on October 12, 1917, claiming the latest semi-official information, stated only 625 men received commissions out of the 900 men remaining in the 17th PTR ("Our Colored", 1917). *The Kansas City Sun* newspaper published in November 1917 and *The Kansas City Times* newspaper published December 1917 also report the same 625 receiving commissions split between 199 second lieutenants, 320 first lieutenants, and 106 captains ("Colored Troops", 1917; Pierce, 1917; Scott, 1919). Another source published by Sweeney, the editor of *The Chicago Defender* newspaper, had a different figure from all the other sources. Sweeney lists 624 graduates composed of 198 second lieutenants, 320 first lieutenants, and 106 captains (Sweeney, 1919). Despite the discrepancies if comparing the popular opening day figure of 1,250 candidates to the popular 639 graduation figure, the completion percentage for the course was only 49% leaving a failure rate of 51%. Therefore, even if this completion percentage was inaccurate, one can still reasonably conclude that the War Department's stated May 1917 goal to only to allow a small percentage of candidates to graduate and receive commissions was accomplished (Barbeau & Henri, 1996; Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

Most of the 17th PTR graduates were assigned to the 92nd Division. However, due to the Houston, Texas incident and to placate Southern fears, the division never fully assembled on one installation in the United States like other AEF White Divisions. The reasoning, according to infantry candidate Charles Houston, was for each camp to have a 6-to-1 ratio of White soldiers to Black soldiers, so if any racial situation developed, the White soldiers could quickly surround and restrain the Black soldiers by weight of number (Houston, 1940c). The War Department's decision to split the 92nd Division among seven different locations undermined the division's effectiveness from the very beginning. If the entire division assembled in one location like White divisions, it would have been possible to move men around to units and duties without delay or expense to better suit their temperaments and skills. Spread hundreds of miles apart across the northern United States, the division could not transfer personnel or develop any morale, battle efficiency, or teamwork philosophy. The lack of unity caused the men and units within the 92nd Division to be strangers, a condition which did not exist in White divisions allowed to assemble on one post (Houston, 1940c). The splitting of the 92nd Division due to racist attitudes in the U.S. Army resulted in the unit's lack of efficiency and bred resentment in Black officers like Houston, illustrating Foucault's concept of resistance that spawned from resentment against the power of perceived oppression (Heller, 1996).

The newly commissioned former 17th PTR Infantry officers officially received 15 days of leave from October 15 to November 1 before reporting to one of the seven different 92nd Division mobilization camps (Cade, 1929, Scott, 1919). Interestingly, newly promoted Second Lieutenant Charles Houston stated in his memoir that he and his fellow 17th PTR graduates predominately received orders to report to a camp near their homes (see Table 6) (Houston, 1940c).

Table 6.

92nd Division Camps Where the Seven Reported (Scott, 1919)

Camp	State	92nd Division Unit Assigned	Assignment of the Seven
Camp Dix	New Jersey	349th Field Artillery and 350th Field Artillery	None
Camp Dodge	Iowa	366th Infantry Regiment	Both Second Lieutenants Cade and Morris assigned
Camp Funston	Kansas	Division Headquarters, Headquarters Troop, Division Trains	First Lieutenant Dyer assigned to the Division Trains
Camp Grant	Illinois	365th Infantry Regiment and 350th Machine Gun Battalion	Second Lieutenant Dickerson assigned to the 365th Infantry Regiment
Camp Meade	Maryland	368th Infantry Regiment and 351st Field Artillery	Both Second Lieutenants Houston and Lee assigned to the 368th Infantry Regiment
Camp Sherman	Ohio	317th Engineers and Engineer Trains and 325th Signal Battalion	None
Camp Upton	New York	367th Infantry Regiment and 351st Machine Gun Battalion	First Lieutenant Wright assigned to the 367th Infantry Regiment

Note. This table lists all 92nd Division camps and their distribution around the country.

The *Des Moines Register* newspaper reported trucks took all the equipment and paperwork associated with the 17th PTR after it closed to Camp Dodge where Brigadier General Ballou initially served before his promotion to major general and transfer to Camp Funston to take over the 92nd Division. The 17th PTR equipment was repurposed and used in the third series of White Officer Training Camps beginning in January 1918 (“Camp Dodge”, 1917). During WWI, the U.S. Army did not use Fort Des Moines for any additional Officer Training Camps for Black or White officers.

Earl Burrus Dickerson

By October, Dickerson was not content as a YMCA employee and wanted to get back into uniform and finish his training. The challenge facing Dickerson was a lack of time. The new

graduation date was October 15, and he had weeks to somehow get back into the course. At this point, he decided to contact Emmett J. Scott, the former secretary of Tuskegee Institute, who he respected and knew casually from his time teaching at Tuskegee years ago. Scott was in Washington, DC serving as the secretary-treasurer for Howard University and pending appointment as the Special Assistant to Secretary of War Baker. Fortunately for Dickerson, Scott received his request in time and helped him withdraw his resignation, graduate with his colleagues, and receive his second lieutenant commission from the Fort Des Moines Infantry Officer Training Camp (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson discovered he would have received a first lieutenant commission if he had not initially resigned and left camp. A curious item was discovered in researching information on Dickerson: neither Scott nor Sweeney mentioned him in either of their books by-name graduation rosters (Scott, 1919; Sweeney, 1919). However, Dickerson's name may have been an oversight in Scott's work because other errors exist in Scott's by-name roster. For example, First Lieutenant William L. Lee was not under "L" in alphabetical order alongside his peers but listed instead with other officers whose last names began with "G" (Scott, 1919, p. 474). This research study found no explanation why Dickerson was missing from Sweeney's book.

James Brad Morris

By early October 1917, Morris became suspicious of the War Department's intentions to commission Black officers. He made plans like Dickerson to return to civilian life, marry, and open a law firm partnership with his friend George Woodson (Morris, 1999). He was pleasantly surprised when the paperwork finally arrived; he received his commission to second lieutenant on his birthday, October 15. His friend Isaiah Blocker received a first lieutenant commission.

Both men received assignments to the 366th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division. Morris was not excited to find out the 92nd Division was under his former training camp commander Ballou. Apparently, Morris kept his negative opinion of Ballou; the latest rumor stated Ballou already called his new command the “Rapist Division” (Morris, 1999, p. 36). Derogatory names like this further reinforced the false stereotype in White America that Black American males wanted to rape White women (Morris, 1999).

Summary

The chapter analyzed the War Department’s initial plans for the 14 Officer Training Camps. The Fort Des Moines Infantry Officer Training Camp was placed into perspective within this plan and examples demonstrated how it operated the same as the White officer camps. The chapter delved into the candidates’ experience, from the formation of the 17th PTR through its internal operations and public relations activities to ensure positive community relations. However, the chapter uses the postponed graduation as an example of Karl Marx's alienation in how it denied the candidates the product of their labors a promised graduation (Marx, 1884). Finally, the chapter provided a look into the emotional highs and lows of the entire experience from the candidates’ perspectives and how that experience, in the case of Houston, bred negative Foucault type resistance to the power of oppression because of the breakup of the 92nd Division training camps across the country (Heller, 1996).

Chapter 6 - Medical Training at Fort Des Moines

> …here was the best blood of the nation in that great school of the soldier, fitting themselves to become leaders of men in the Army of our Nation...
>
> —William Holmes Dyer, *War time diary of Dr. William Holmes Dyer*

The chapter focuses on the second Officer Training Camp on Fort Des Moines—the Medical Officer Training Camp (MOTC) and its mission to turn Black civilian doctors and dentists into U.S. Army Medical Corps Reserve officers. Understanding what happened in the medical camp provides the final piece to answer the second subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences at Fort Des Moines? In a similar fashion to the infantry camp analysis, this research study examines the War Department's initial plans on paper, finalized and executed by the U.S. Army Medical Department for all MOTCs. Next, this research study focuses on how those plans evolved at Fort Des Moines through the experience of Dyer and Wright, the two medical doctors featured in this research study. Again, it is crucial to maintain an open mind and consider events from the perspective of an Army in a rush to mobilize with little planning for Black officers.

U.S. Army Medical Department Plan

The War Department controlled the entire military war effort but delegated the responsibility of developing and executing the medical plan for the U.S. Army to the Surgeon General of the Army, Major General William Gorges, who commanded the U.S. Army Medical Department from 1914-1918 (AMEDD Center, 2021). The Medical Department's original plan created four MOTCs for White officers at Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia; Leon Springs, Texas; Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana; and Fort Riley, Kansas (Bispham, 1927). Interestingly, each medical training camp deviated from the 14 White Officer Training Camps around the country

by calling their officer trainees student officers, and not candidates ("Medical Training", 1917). Each camp was authorized 10-12 Regular Army medical officers as instructor faculty and each officer was to possess a particular expertise in a medical field. The instructor's responsibility was to train 600 student officers per course (Bispham, 1927). On paper, each camp had an instructor student ratio of 1 to 50, but this ratio was never achieved due to an acute shortage of qualified instructors. The situation was so severe that the Leon Springs MOTC never opened. This redirected student officers to the other three MOTCs, increasing their headcounts to approximately 1,000 student officers per course or an instructor-student ratio of approximately 1 to 80 (Bispham, 1927). Despite instructor shortages, the purpose of each MOTC remained the same: to train reserve medical officers for the current crisis. However, the following quote from the Fort Riley MOTC Yearbook clearly stated how the U.S. Army Medical Department knew a short MOTC course was not enough time to produce qualified medical officers:

> …was only intended to give ground work upon which was to be built the through instruction of the officers before they went to the battle front, it being recognized by the authorities that three months of even intensive instruction was not sufficient to make of them finished products. (Year book, 1918, p. 9)

Therefore, the initial intent was to provide only the basic information to each student officer in a formal academic environment in camp. After graduation, the Medical Department expected each officer to scaffold new information in an informal educational environment as they progressed in their wartime military careers with their assigned units. The 17th PTR candidates experienced the same scaffolding of additional skills after graduation from Fort Des Moines, but they received additional formal training in follow-on schools in the United States and France. Neither Dyer nor Wright, the doctors featured in this research study, documented receiving any additional formal medical training after MOTC graduation.

The Medical Department retained responsibility for developing the operational procedures for each MOTC, but delegated responsibility for supply and administration of each camp to the camp commander along with instructor allocations (Bispham, 1927). The Medical Department allowed MOTC commanders to mitigate instructor shortages by using student officer instructors. Student officer instructors were selected based on the need for specific medical skills their Regular Army MOTC instructors did not possess. Student officer instructors received special permission to provide examination input to the Regular Army instructors concerning fellow student officer performance (Bispham, 1927). As previously stated, the 17th PTR participated in the same ethically problematic practice with its Regular Army NCOs. Fortunately, like the 17th PTR candidates, neither Dyer nor Wright expressed any problems with this practice.

The overall lack of MOTC instructors also manifested after graduation for many of these student officers, both Black and White. The low number of senior experienced medical officers in the U.S. Army during this period caused many graduates to have few direct medical supervisors and mentors to provide advice and guidance. Therefore, training they received in camp needed to prepare student officers to work independently without experienced higher ranking medical officers or subordinate qualified noncommissioned officers. Therefore, training was meant to be intense because these future officers also had to assume the role of primary trainers for their subordinate officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted medical personnel (Bispham, 1927). The Medical Department also encouraged the MOTC commanders to establish and maintain agreements with other on post organizations to teach topics such as map reading and tactical operations to their medical student officers. In return, medical student officers gave hygiene and first aid classes to personnel of other on-post organizations (Bispham, 1927).

Student officer MOTC instruction consisted of recitation because many senior medical officers felt lectures did not convey enough detailed information. Instructors believed recitation provided more opportunities for checks on learning and quick feedback. Instructors were responsible for making training practical and behavioristic to allow student officers to learn through seeing and doing, echoing John Dewey and B. F. Skinner's teachings. To this end, the camp administration was to ensure the availability and serviceability of all required training materials such as regulations, stretchers, splints, and related blank forms (Bispham, 1927).

For example, MOTC student officers received personal copies of publications used as textbooks: (1) Field Physical Training of Soldier, by Koshler; (2) Manual of Physical Training, by Koshler; (3) Technical Military Dictionary (English-French and French-English), by Willcox; (4) Manual for Noncommissioned Officers and Privates of Infantry, 1917; (5) Medical Service in Campaign, by Straub; (6) Elements of Military Hygiene, by Ashburn; (7) Military Hygiene, by Havard; (8) Gunshot Injuries, by LaGarde; (9) Military Surgery, by Penhallow; and (10) Merton's life-sized first-aid charts (Bispham, 1927). Quizzes provided check on learning assessments to ensure student officers were grounded in theory and competent in the acquired methods and outlined principles (Bispham, 1927). Interestingly, the Medical Department expected the MOTC commanders to provide written and oral feedback to their student officers unlike the 17th PTR. A reason for this may have been the medical doctors did not have a wide divide in their formal academic education like the 17th PTR civilian college educated and non-college educated NCO candidates. Dental and veterinary officers also attended MOTC training, but it is beyond the scope of this research study to discuss their specific training requirements.

The Surgeon General directed all Medical Corps personnel to receive instruction on sanitary service duties and responsibilities regardless of their specialty. Understanding the

sanitary service duties was essential because this was the first line of treatment available to Soldiers in an AEF regiment for WWI (Bispham, 1927). The regimental sanitary service medical unit consisted of one major, one or two dental surgeons, six captains or lieutenants, and 48 enlisted men. Sanitary service personnel received assistance from other Soldiers who served as hand litter stretcher-bearers if the casualty situation became overwhelming. This augmentation came from the regimental band or personnel from each regimental company. Prisoners of war could also augment as litter bearers in extreme emergencies (Bispham, 1927). A regimental sanitary service medical unit had a 12-bed infirmary and, in combat, operated an aid station to render first aid to the wounded, preferably in a sheltered area away from enemy fire and observation. Medical services provided at the regimental level were primarily controlling bleeding, applying surgical dressings and splints, treating for shock, and managing pain.

Hand-litter stretcher bearers brought wounded from the point of injury on the front line back to the aid station. The standard for stretcher bearers was, "…on an average, one hour for four stretcher-bearers to transport a wounded man 1,000 yards and return a closed litter to the starting point…" (Bispham, 1927, p. 831). In a regimental attack, sanitary service personnel were required to go over the top in the last wave to quickly treat and evacuate the wounded. If a regimental retreat occurred, severely wounded Soldiers could be left behind for the enemy to collect. Medical personnel were required to remain with the wounded during a retreat unless competent civilians could care for the wounded after friendly forces left the area (Bispham, 1927). After the litter bearers delivered a casualty to the aid station, a horse-drawn or motor ambulance took the wounded further back to the field hospitals, if required (Bispham, 1927). Field or mobile hospitals could have over 200 beds and operate four to five miles behind the line, but they were not the definitive surgery location (Bispham, 1927). Instead, field hospitals served

as the primary lightly wounded station, rest areas, special gas hospitals, and scabies and delousing stations. Each division had three motorized and one animal-drawn field hospital. If required, the wounded were evacuated by rail from the field hospitals back to evacuation hospitals for definitive surgical treatment ten to 15 miles behind the lines (Bispham, 1927). Under this system, a Soldier requiring surgery may have waited hours or days to receive the medical attention required for their injuries.

The Surgeon General not only retained responsibility for the operational procedures, but also the training schedule at each MOTC (Bispham, 1927). The schedule consisted of three one-month periods. The purpose of the first period was to familiarize the student officer with the duties of his future enlisted subordinates. The second period focused on the student officer's duties as an officer. The third period further reinforced the second period's training (Bispham, 1927). Classes ran Monday-Friday, Saturday afternoon was for rest, and Sunday was allocated for equestrian tactical rides. Student officers were to use evenings for study (Bispham, 1927). The Surgeon General gave camp commanders some discretion on modifying their training schedules to meet specific local requirements (Bispham, 1927). The following was a daily schedule recommended by the Surgeon General for the first 30 days of MOTC training (see Table 7) (Bispham, 1927).

Table 7.

Surgeon General's Recommended Daily Schedule-First 30 Days of MOTC Training (Bispham, 1927)

Morning	
Time	Activity
6:00 AM	Reveille
6:15-6:30 AM	Setting-up exercises
6:35-7:25 AM	Breakfast; police of quarters
7:30-8:25 AM	Drill (marching)
8:30-9:25 AM	Drill (special)
9:30-10:25 AM	Quiz or lecture
10:30-11:25 AM	Quiz or lecture
11:30-12:55 AM	Dinner; rest, etc.
Afternoon	
Time	Activity
1:00-1:55 PM	Quiz or lecture
2:00-2:55 PM	Quiz or lecture
3:00-4:25 PM	Equestrian
4:30-5:55 PM	Care of animals, supper, rest, etc.
6:00 PM	Retreat

Note. This table illustrates the recommended physical and academic pace the Surgeon General wanted for MOTC training.

The Fort Des Moines MOTC

The Fort Des Moines MOTC opened on July 26, 1917, and closed on November 13, 1917. In comparison, the first MOTC course for White officers opened on June 1, 1917, and three months later graduated its assigned student officers on August 27 (Bispham, 1927). The Fort Des Moines MOTC only performed its training mission once and did not continue to train more medical officers during the war like the remaining three White MOTCs. Overall, the Fort

Des Moines MOTC was an experiment not just along racial lines as the first time to train Black men to be commissioned officers, but also as an experiment to train so many Black civilian doctors to become U.S. Army medical officers (Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

The Faculty

Appendix B lists the ten White Regular Army Medical officers who served as instructors and administered the Fort Des Moines MOTC training schedule. None of these medical officers experienced the same rapid two-rank promotions as their 17th PTR counterparts, but two received single rank promotions. The first was the MOTC commander Major Ernest G. Bingham, promoted to lieutenant colonel in August 1917, and the second was Captain Maddox, an instructor promoted to major in September 1917 (Ballou, 1917c; Hunt, 1917a; Hunt, 1917b).

The Local Schedule

The focus now shifts from the Medical Department plan to how the Fort Des Moines MOTC may have conducted operations. The complete training schedule used for the Fort Des Moines MOTC is not available. However, an approximate local training schedule is possible based on the information gathered from official records, newspaper articles, memoirs, and biographies. Like the 17th PTR, this approximate schedule provides a brief glimpse into the medical camp events at Fort Des Moines during the summer and fall of 1917 (see Table 8).

Table 8.

The Three Period MOTC Schedule

Period	Date	Activity
1. Pre-instruction period	July 26-31	Camp prepared to receive students (Bispham, 1927).
2. Part-time instruction period	August 1-20	Camp conducted little instruction as it constantly received students and possessed few instructors (Bispham, 1927).
3. Active and intensive instruction period	August 27-November 13	According to Lieutenant Colonel Bingham, Fort Des Moines MOTC commander, this third period was the most satisfactory period for all concerned because it constituted the primary training period for the entire MOTC (Bispham, 1927; Fisher & Buckley, 2016).
The third period of active and intense instruction overlaid on a 1917 calendar (Howard, 1917)		
Week 1	August 27-31	
Week 2	September 3-7	
Week 3	September 10-14	
Week 4	September 17-21	
Week 5	September 24-28	
Week 6	October 1-5	Ten-mile march to State Fairground from October 3-6 (Fisher & Buckley, 2016)
Week 7	October 8-12	
Week 8	October 15-19	
Week 9	October 22-26	
Week 10	October 29-November 2	Majority of student officers were reassigned to their follow-on units on October 31. Dyer and a few other student officers continued until November 11-13 (Dyer, 1918; Hunt 1917c).

Note. This table illustrates the approximate 100 days of activities conducted at the Fort Des Moines MOTC.

The Fort Des Moines MOTC's official capacity was to train 125 student officers and 1,000 enlisted men as medics (Bispham, 1927). The capacity of the camp later increased to train 200 medical officers and 1,020 enlisted. Therefore, the Fort Des Moines MOTC became three

schools: one for student officers, one for enlisted men training to be medics, and one for enlisted men training to be noncommissioned officers (Bispham, 1927). The MOTC commandant Major Bingham ensured work for each school was closely coordinated. For example, he had student officers serve as instructors for specific medical topics in both schools for NCOs and enlisted men. The training provided by the student officers must have been exceptional because out of the 1,020 enlisted men training, 948 graduated and received assignments to other organizations, achieving a 93% pass rate (Bispham, 1927). In addition, each student officer received a 20-enlisted-men detachment under his direct command. Student officers also received evaluations on how well they instructed their detachments (Bispham, 1927). Having enlisted men assigned to each student officer was a primary difference between the MOTC and the 17th PTR. The immediate responsibility for subordinates may have contributed to the motivation of Dyer and Wright and their colleagues to remain in the MOTC course and not voluntarily leave the course like 17th PTR candidates.

The following sections provide a month-by-month summary of events that occurred in the MOTC. The summary is not a comprehensive listing of events but an approximation to provide an idea of the significant activities that happened during the camp's operation. This information provides a better picture of the training pace and grit required to complete the course demonstrated by Dyer and Wright and the rest of the Fort Des Moines MOTC student officers.

Activities in July

The MOTC opened on July 26, 1917, a day before the first 50 civilian doctors arrived to begin training (Fisher & Buckley, 2016; "More Recruits", 1917). However, the July post return report for Fort Des Moines signed by the post commander Colonel Ballou did not mention the establishment of a MOTC on the post this month (Ballou, 1917b). Additionally, Major Ernest G.

Bingham, the future MOTC commander, arrived the following month; it is unknown who commanded the MOTC until his arrival. A reasonable assumption can be made that Captain George W. Cook, the senior Regular Army Medical Corps officer on post who served as the post surgeon, took temporary command and with the assistance of the Fort Des Moines post commander Colonel Ballou, arranged for the reception, feeding, and billeting of these fist student officers (Ballou, 1917b). However, it is unclear what these student officers did from July 26 until August 20, when Bingham arrived to officially take command of the MOTC (Ballou, 1917c). They may have trained with the 17th PTR candidates.

Activities in August

The Fort Des Moines MOTC officially opened on August 20th, per the August post return report sent to the War Department, and newly promoted Regular Army Medical Corps officer Lieutenant Colonel Bingham assumed command (Ballou, 1917c; Fisher & Buckley, 2016). In assessing his new command, Bingham quickly found his training operations and resources inadequate, with only two instructors present for duty: Major Keene, a Medical Reserve Corps officer, and First Lieutenant Braniger, a Dental Reserve Corps officer. Both officers arrived less than seven days before Bingham (Ballou, 1917c). Fortunately for Bingham, a third officer, First Lieutenant Siefert, another Dental Reserve Corps officer, arrived on August 21 (Ballou, 1917c). To mitigate his instructor shortage, Bingham turned to the Surgeon General's guidance and found four student officers with the required expertise to assign as his first assistant instructors (Bispham, 1927; Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Student officer Louis Wright may have been one of these assistant instructors, but more about him later in this research study.

Bingham's challenges compounded when he realized his student officers did not have enough housing, mess, or sanitary facilities, so he moved as quickly as possible to improve the

situation (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Bingham put both student officers, NCOs, and enlisted men in quickly converted horse stables on post (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Bingham also commandeered abandoned National Guard equipment to create four fly-proof screened kitchens for food preparation to provide mess facilities. Still, the men had to eat outside because he could not find enough tents to provide overhead cover (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Finally, Bingham solicited 17th PTR support to share the showers in the barracks to avoid disease from a lack of access to proper shower facilities in the medical camp (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). One also speculates that Bingham followed the Surgeon General's guidance and had his student officers provide hygiene and first aid classes to the 17th PTR in exchange for the use of their shower facilities. The Fort Des Moines situation was not unique. The Army Medical Department experienced a lack of facilities at each of the White MOTCs (Bispham, 1927).

The total number of Black medical student officers receiving training this month was 53—all listed by name on the post return report as first lieutenants (Ballou, 1917c). Because they had not completed the course yet, these men were not officially commissioned and held temporary ranks for training. In addition, the 17th PTR released 14 former infantry candidates to become MOTC medical student officers this month. These new medical student officers received discharges from the Infantry to accept commissions in the Medical Reserve Corps; all became additional assistant instructors due to their expertise in curriculum required medical fields (Ballou, 1917c). One dental and six additional medical student officers also became assistant instructors (Ballou, 1917c). The 32 remaining student officers participated in the month's training activities (Ballou, 1917c). Events in Houston, Texas, affected Dyer and Wright like the 17th PTR because they both reported to the scattered 92nd Division camps after MOTC training (Dyer, 1918; Hayden, 2003).

Louis Thompkins Wright

A 26-year-old Wright arrived at Fort Des Moines MOTC on August 20, the same day as Lieutenant Colonel Bingham (Hayden, 2003). Shortly after Bingham arrived, he looked for assistant instructors, and Wright became one of these assistant instructors (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). However, Wright's attitude about confronting disrespect in the civilian world followed him into the military. He confronted Major Mattuck, one of his White Regular Army instructors, who yelled at him and other student officers to get into formation two days after training began. Wright found Major Mattuck's behavior disrespectful, especially since Wright was already a commissioned officer (Hayden, 2003). Major Mattuck complained to his chain of command about Wright and accused him of possibly hurting the entire program if he did not follow orders. That evening other student officers approached and informed Wright he was hurting all of them and the race (Hayden, 2003). Apparently, Wright did not let his fellow student officers or instructors distract him from continuing his one-man campaign to demand respect. The treatment Wright received from his fellow student officers is an example of Foucault's self-surveillance, how the oppressed try to ensure no one in their group offends the oppressor (Brookfield, 2001; Foucault, 2000). Unfortunately, the cumulative effect of his one-man campaign hurt Wright when he completed his MOTC training.

Activities in September

The MOTC headcount grew, as more student officers and enlisted men arrived almost daily. *The Des Moines Register* newspaper September 4th edition reported 550 enlisted men began training this month, and some enlisted men were former successful civilian medical doctors ("Fort Des", 1917). By the end of the month, *The Tennessean* newspaper reported 90 medical doctors and dentists in training on post (Berry, 1917). Due to the need for an in-depth

understanding of military administrative activities and the complexity of adjusting to military procedures, Bingham deviated from the Surgeon General's guidelines slightly by increasing the time devoted to fill out paperwork and study the various medical regulations (Bispham, 1927; Fisher & Buckley, 2016). He specifically designated two hours, three nights a week for student officers to do practical paperwork exercises. Student officers filled out forms like the Return of Military Property Form 17, the Report of Dental Work Form 57, and Form 37 to request more blank forms (Wolfe, 1928). The advantage of preparing so many forms was the repetition ensured the student officers understood the material and the instructors had more opportunities to provide feedback (Bispham, 1927). Student officers' training also included instruction in running infirmaries, supervising medics, organizing mobile medical hospitals, and tracking supplies while caring for the health of their assigned enlisted detachments (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). The lack of instructors and skilled NCOs was a challenge. Still, the student officers made the most of their situation by using their study skills developed in college and medical school to quickly scaffold on their new military training.

The total number of Black medical student officers on the post this month receiving training increased to 104. The post return report continued to count them as first lieutenants (Hunt, 1917a). Sixteen medical doctors and one dentist student officer served as assistant instructors; the remaining 84 medical doctors and three dentists received training (Hunt, 1917a). The increase in MOTC enlisted men had an unexpected benefit of increasing the musical talent on the post. Soon a well-equipped band played for the men during YMCA-sponsored baseball and football games. The band and the sports activities helped create a feeling of loyalty, union, and friendly competition within the MOTC personnel, like a college spirit (Bispham, 1927). This

research study found no information on whether the MOTC and the 17th PTR competed in YMCA-sponsored sports activities with or against each other.

William Holmes Dyer

A 31-year-old William Dyer passed his examinations administered in Springfield, Illinois, and joined the Army in July 1917. However, he did not receive orders to report the Fort Des Moines MOTC for training until September 1917 (Dyer, 1918; Fisher & Buckley, 2016). When Dyer reported to the reception NCO at Fort Des Moines on September 25, 1917, the reality of his new austere military life soon became apparent when he was assigned a cot inside a converted horse stable (Dyer, 1918). Initially unaware he was a late arrival, his non-voluntary tardiness later caused him challenges as the course slowly closed around him. Despite his living conditions, his motivation remained high as he circulated among the young men like himself, who answered the Nation's call to duty. In his handwritten memoir, he wrote, "…here was the best blood of the nation in that great school of the soldier, fitting themselves to become leaders of men in the Army of our Nation" (Dyer, 1918, p. 8). His motivation and civilian medical expertise were both recognized in the September Post return with an annotation of his selection as an assistant instructor (Hunt, 1917a).

As a civilian with no prior military experience, Dyer did not initially understand why medical officers needed to understand military drills consisting of marching and saluting, but he quickly discovered drill was the backbone of the Army. He soon embraced the training and educational routine of four hours of daily drill followed by four hours of formal classroom instruction on how the Army handled administrative paperwork (Dyer, 1918). A portion of Dyer's training at Fort Des Moines MOTC consisted of litter bearer drill (Dyer, 1918). Since Black and White MOTCs all trained the same, it is probable the Black Fort Des Moines litter

bearers received the same words of caution as their White counterparts at other MOTCs like Fort Riley, "…hold the litter a little straighter…every jar and jolt means…more pain…imagine there is a man lying on it with leg shot off or a torn shoulder, or something else the matter with him…carry the litter accordingly" ("Must Carry," 1917, p. 8). This research study found no definitive information on the actual formal academic environment experienced in an MOTC classroom. Still, given the evidence presented for the 17th PTR, one could reasonably assume that student officers paid strict attention to the instructor for all information, especially at the beginning of the course.

Activities in October

The entire MOTC participated in a practice ten-mile road march and three-day field encampment living in tents from October 3-6. Student officers received training in regimental administration, camp sanitation, infirmary work, litter bearer work, and packing and unpacking equipment (Bispham, 1927). The total number of Black medical student officers on post this month grew to 121 (Hunt, 1917b). The number of medical student officers serving as assistant instructors decreased to only three.

Louis Thompkins Wright

Wright spent over ten weeks training in the MOTC and left Fort Des Moines on October 31 (Hunt, 1917c). Despite receiving a perfect score of 100% on all examinations, his instructors branded him as insubordinate because of his constant demand for respect. Bingham, who initially recommended Wright receive a captain's commission, bowed to pressure, and Wright remained a first lieutenant after completing MOTC (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Wright's rank situation can be seen as another example of Karl Marx's alienation because the institution in the form of Wright's commander Bingham alienated him from the product of his labors higher rank (Marx, 1884).

After his assignment at Fort Des Moines, Wright received orders to report to the 367th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division, located at Camp Upton, Long Island, NY.

Activities in November

November found the remaining student officers training and attending lectures such as Major Martin's series on military surgery (Moore, 1917). However, looking beyond the training aspects of the MOTC, this research study found no information on whether MOTC personnel relocated into the barracks or mess hall facilities recently vacated by the 17th PTR. With the approach of colder winter weather, MOTC personnel likely moved into at least a few of these buildings. Failure to occupy these buildings would have caused unnecessary health risks for personnel living in converted horse stables and eating outdoors in field conductions.

The total number of Black medical officers in the MOTC reached its highest point this month, with 129 student officers in training (Hunt, 1917c). One hundred and four student officers went on to complete the course this month along with 11 dentists (Fisher & Buckley, 2016; Hunt, 1917c). Neither Dyer nor Wright mentioned a graduation date or ceremony. This month's post return only stated that student officers received orders to leave camp October 31-November 14, 1917 (Hunt, 1917c). The MOTC student officers received their official first lieutenant commissions and follow-on orders like the 17th PTR members to one of seven 92nd Division pre-deployment locations around the country. The monthly post return report also listed nine student officers placed on inactive status and not given follow-on assignments and an additional five men honorably discharged from service (Hunt, 1917c). The discipline of the MOTC officers and enlisted students received high marks with no difficulties in camp or in the city of Des Moines (Bispham, 1927). By not causing trouble like the incident in Houston, Texas, the MOTC received praise as a success by senior medical leaders (Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

These accolades were important because, again, the MOTC was an experiment like the 17th PTR, and opponents would have quickly tried to stop any attempt in the future to train Black medical officers. This research study found no information about any medical student officers voluntarily leaving the course during its operation like some 17th PTR candidates.

Other comparisons with the 17th PTR are the retention and completion rates. If no student officer left the camp voluntarily or involuntarily during the camp's operation, this meant all student officers who started the course remained in the course until completion of their required curriculum. There could be two possible reasons MOTC student officers remained in the course compared to 17th PTR candidates. First, the immediate responsibility for enlisted subordinates given to each student officer may have contributed to their motivation to remain in the course and not voluntarily leave. Second, MOTC student officers already possessed higher analytical problem-solving abilities developed in medical school, and more importantly, the doctors had less unfamiliar information to comprehend—they were already health care providers, so they only needed to understand how the U.S. Army administrative and operational procedures functioned, such as how the Army did paperwork. In comparison, Lee in the 17th PTR found all the information he received new and hard to understand.

Once the doctors understood how the U.S. Army functioned, basic health care may have appeared exactly like civilian health care. The only exceptions were the increased number of military mass casualty events and the different types of military-specific injuries like gas poisoning. Armed with less information to learn, the MOTC student officers' motivation may have been higher than for 17th PTR candidates. In a final comparison, the MOTC completion rate was 104 doctors and 11 dentists totaling 113 out of 129 in the course for an 88% completion rate compared to the 17th PTR popularly accepted 1,250 down to 639, or 49% completion rate.

By achieving a higher completion rate, the MOTC proved to be the biggest success story of the entire Fort Des Moines experiment. However, the War Department did also succeed in its overall mission to keep the total number of Black officer's low. They only ordered a small percentage of civilian Black medical doctors to attend the Fort Des Moines camp. Remember, on paper, each White MOTC could train 1,000 officers per course, and each MOTC ran multiple courses throughout the war. The Fort Des Moines MOTC, at its highest headcount, only taught one course of 129 student officers. This research study could not determine why the War Department did not call up more Black civilian medical doctors.

The newly minted Fort Des Moines MOTC officers faced a massive mission. Medical personnel from the allied armies, especially the British who had been fighting for over three years, advised the Americans that a typical division of over 24,000 men like the 92nd Division could expect division casualty rates of 5-25% after each battle (Goodwin, 1917; American Battle, 1944). For planning purposes, the killed-to-wounded ratio was for every man killed, four were wounded (Goodwin, 1917). The wounded percentage further sliced into 20% walking wounded, 35% needing to sit down often, and a further 45% needing accommodations to lie down. The good news was 60-75% of the wounded could recover and return to duty. The allies even provided planning factors for the types of wounds these doctors may encounter, with 75% resulting from exploding artillery shells and 20% from rifle and machine-gun bullets. A typical group of 100 casualties could consist of 10-20 head wounds, 5-10 chest wounds, six abdominal wounds, and 60 wounds of the extremities, with 20-25 of these extremity injuries resulting from fractures (Goodwin, 1917). To add to these stark figures, the U.S. Army Medical Department developed its own estimates and determined they needed a minimum of 3,000 medical officers; a total of 500 Dental, Sanitary, Veterinary Corps officers; and 35,000 enlisted men constantly in

training in MOTCs to provide enough medical personnel to the front lines to meet the needs of the war (Bispham, 1927). Unfortunately, the number of Black and White medical personnel in the MOTCs or on the front lines never met the projected Medical Department minimum requirements for the war (Bispham, 1927).

William Holmes Dyer

On November 2, the MOTC officially closed, and the newly commissioned officers and their trained NCOs and enlisted soldiers went to follow-on assignments, many with the 92nd Division (Dyer, 1918; Howard, 1917). Unfortunately, Dr. Dyer was not one of them. Along with 21 other student officers who started training late, he received orders to remain at Fort Des Moines and continue training. Understandably, Dr. Dyer and his classmates worried they would not receive assignments as rumor spread that the 92nd Division medical units were quickly filled (Dyer, 1918). In total, Dyer spent seven weeks training in the MOTC and completed his training on November 11. He soon received follow-on assignment orders to the 92nd Division logistical support unit known as the 317th Sanitary Train stationed at Fort Riley's Camp Funston (Dyer, 1918; Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

Summary

The chapter examined the Medical Department's training plan for each of its Medical Officer Training Camps and placed the Fort Des Moines MOTC in context with the plan. Analysis continued with the formation of the camp, gathering its faculty, the arrival of student officers, and the execution of a possible training schedule. The chapter also demonstrated how each of the research study's two featured medical doctors, Dyer and Wright, viewed events occurring within the MOTC and dealt with its challenges. In addition, Wright's experience can highlight Foucault's self-surveillance and Karl Marx's alienation. Self-surveillance stands out

when peers tell Wright to conform to the rules of the oppressors (Brookfield, 2001; Foucault, 2000). Alienation stands out when Wright did not receive the product of his labors higher rank (Marx, 1884). Finally, the chapter provides a glimpse of the overall future burden of required health care each doctor faced in combat after leaving Fort Des Moines and Dyer's situation as the MOTC began to cease operations.

Chapter 7 - Pre-deployment Training

Twice as fast and twice as good...

—Charles H. Houston, “Saving the World for Democracy”

This chapter’s analysis focuses on the featured men taking some time off to visit family and friends before assuming their duties as commissioned U.S. Army officers. Understanding their experiences after leaving Iowa assists in answering the third subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences after Fort Des Moines in the war? The chapter’s focus is to frame their new military lives with some of their early struggles and challenges and the pre-deployment training they received after Fort Des Moines, ranging from gas protective measures to field artillery training. Two 92nd Division premobilization camps, Camp Dix and Camp Sherman, are not addressed in this chapter’s analysis because none of the seven featured gentlemen served at either camp. However, Camp Taylor, which was not a 92nd Division predeployment camp, is explored because Charles Houston attended this camp for additional predeployment training.

Camp Dodge

Camp Dodge was located approximately 11 miles northwest of the city of Des Moines, Iowa. The post served as an Iowa National Guard training area. After the declaration of war, the post’s role changed to the primary training post for the new White draftees for the 88th Division. In June 1917, the installation grew from a small 150 building post into a large 1,500 building complex spread out over 5,000 acres (Vogt, 2017).

John Brother Cade

Second Lieutenant Cade used his 15 days of leave to visit family and friends, including a return visit to Atlanta University, where he received a warm welcome (Cade, 1929). Cade did not

mention if he traveled in uniform, but it was likely because he reported in his memoir meeting many supportive and enthusiastic Black Americans at the train stations as he traveled back and forth from Iowa (Cade, 1929). On November 1, he was back in Iowa, standing before the gates of Camp Dodge to report to his new unit: Company F, 2nd Battalion, 366th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division. He soon found himself working with his regiment's new draftee arrivals. His job was to turn these men into Soldiers. The challenge was many of these draftees only recently left the cotton or coalfields of Alabama; one-fourth could not read or write their own name (Cade, 1929). The high illiteracy rate among draftees troubled not only Cade, but also the War Department because it increased the time required to train these men. Whether Black or White, illiterate Soldiers needed everything explained to them orally and required more time for hands-on instruction in comparison to literate Soldiers. The additional training time was not beneficial to an Army in a rush to mobilize that also possessed new mechanical equipment like tanks, trucks, automobiles, motorcycles, wire telephones, and aircraft. Fortunately for Cade, the YMCA at Camp Dodge quickly recognized the challenge and moved forward to assist.

The Black YMCA General Secretary L. W. Tucker and his staff of five male workers assumed control of a building on the south side of the post in early November 1917 and turned it into the Camp Dodge YMCA for Black soldiers ("Camp Dodge", 1917). They immediately helped the Alabama draftees write letters home and taught a few the basics of reading and writing. This number grew to over 200 Soldiers attending classes and writing letters home but soon this number would explode into the thousands ("Big Task", 1917). According to the *Trench and Camp*, the Camp Dodge YMCA weekly newspaper, the reason for this rapid growth was a spark in interest among the Black troops on post to gain the necessary skills to read and write their own language. The spark is credited to have come from English language leaflets left in the

barracks by foreign-language-speaking White American draftees, who were learning English for the first time and previously occupied the barracks ("Army Brings", 1917). The Alabama men found these leaflets and decided to take advantage of an opportunity not available to them back home. The YMCA suddenly had to surge to accommodate the growing interest because the men no longer wanted someone to write their letters home; they wanted to write their own letters home. The YMCA staff requisitioned the necessary pencils and paper, and by Christmas, troops wrote and mailed over 5,000 letters home under the guidance of the YMCA staff ("Army Brings", 1917).

YMCA personnel soon recognized a deficiency in their teaching methods. The men could write and sign their names in English using a pencil, but the Soldiers needed to sign their names with an ink pen every pay period. To sign one's name in ink may seem a simple task, but it proved exceedingly difficult for someone who had never used an ink pen before, like these men. To remedy this deficiency, the YMCA ordered 1,000 penholders, 1,000 bottles of ink, and 2,000 pen points and taught the men how to sign their names in ink. The Camp Dodge *Trench and Camp* reported how many of the men using a pen for the first time covered themselves in ink, but with patience and practice soon acquired the skill to write effectively with either a pen or pencil ("Army Brings", 1917). The Camp Dodge YMCA eventually provided reading and writing classes for each company of the 366th Infantry Regiment (Cade, 1929). These new skills soon led these Alabama men to ask for more YMCA educational classes ("Army Brings", 1917). The YMCA situation was a prime example of how once realized, an educational challenge can be overcome with proper instruction. The reward for these men was priceless—the ability to write letters home and sign their names in pencil or ink pen. Unfortunately, the U.S. Army drew different conclusions concerning the deficiency of academic skills and combined this with

psychological evaluations to develop an overall view that Black troops were less intelligent and, therefore, inferior to White troops.

The plan to psychologically evaluate all U.S. Army draftees developed during the summer of 1917. However, the Surgeon General did not finalize his plans until November 1917. He ordered psychologist Major Robert M. Yerkes, a native of Pennsylvania, to organize a team of psychologists to conduct surveys. These surveys became known as intelligence examinations and were administered to Black and White soldiers regardless of rank before they shipped over to France (Yerkes, 1921). It is beyond the scope of this research study to delve into the reasons for conducting these examinations. For this research study, the interpretation of the results made the most significant impact on the seven featured men because Yerkes' team made a close correlation between intelligence examination scores and a Soldier's worth to the Army. To highlight this point at Camp Dodge, the Chief of Staff of the 19th Division and the depot commander both used examination scores to determine a White officer's assignment within their organizations (Yerkes, 1921). This research study could not find if any 92nd Division officers moved or changed positions because of the Yerkes examinations. However, Yerkes' overall assessment of all Black troops is what cast a doubtful light on the future worth of Black soldiers to the U.S. Army. In his final report, Yerkes only mentioned one group of Black officers stationed at Camp Dix received his examination, but he concluded Black officers were inferior to White officers in intelligence but were superior to Black enlisted soldiers in intelligence (Yerkes, 1921). For Black enlisted soldiers, he stated less than 2% possessed an A intelligence score and 25% held D and E scores based on his parameters (Yerkes, 1921):

A—Very Superior. Equal to good White sergeant or to White officer material.

B—Superior. Level of good White sergeant.

C—Level of good White private; the large average group of the White draft.

D—Inferior. Only just good enough to make a satisfactory Soldier.

E—Very Inferior. Too poor to make a satisfactory Soldier.

Overall, Yerkes found Black soldiers' examination scores lower than their White counterparts, so in his opinion, Black soldiers should be considered inferior in their value to the military. He further explained the views of White supervisors of black troops supported his scores when he reported:

> …all officers without exception agree that the negro lacks initiative, displays little or no leadership, and cannot accept responsibility. Some point out that these defects are greater in the southern negro. All officers seem further to agree that the negro is a cheerful, willing soldier, naturally subservient. These qualities make for immediate obedience, although not necessarily for good discipline, since petty thieving and venereal disease are commoner than with White troops. (Yerkes, 1921, p. 742)

Yerkes and his team of psychologists representing the institution of the U.S. Army appear to have allowed the opinion of other White officers outside their team to cloud their judgment. Yerkes findings, therefore, continued the idea of alienation advocated by Karl Marx against Black officers and Black soldiers in general concerning their worthiness to the U.S. Army. The alienation occurred when Yerkes denied giving Blacks a fair assessment based on the product of their abilities and instead allowed opinions to infiltrate his official report (Marx, 1884). In addition, Yerkes' intelligence examinations appeared to be a one-time examination of Black troops to include those assigned to the 92nd Division with no recommendations for improving scores.

This research study found no provisions in Yerkes' work for follow-up examinations of previously tested military personnel. Reexaminations at Camp Dodge may have shed light on how much test scores could improve given adequate instruction like the Black soldiers received

at the Camp Dodge YMCA. A plausible answer for no reexaminations on Black or White troops was probably a lack of time. The 92nd Division, for example, did not remain in their camps long after Yerkes' examination teams finished their work in early May 1918. The division was on its way overseas by the end of the month and the war ended six months later.

Besides working with their assigned Soldiers, additional military training occurred at Camp Dodge for Black officers in the 366th Infantry Regiment, especially for Second Lieutenant Cade. The training was under the tutelage of another Camp Dodge tenant unit, the 88th Division, and began in early November for Black and White officers. These courses were important because they incorporated the input of British and French liaison officers who had been in combat with the Germans in the trenches of Europe. These courses included how to prepare field fortifications, use trench mortars, conduct signal operations, use hand grenades, and gather intelligence ("The 88th Division", 1919). Second Lieutenant Cade began his 88th Division training in January 1918 and completed the School of Gas, the School of the Bayonet, and the School of Small Arms, which included an introduction to the newest American infantry weapon, the Browning automatic rifle (Cade, 1929). The gas school consisted of Soldiers putting on their gas masks and going into a gas chamber to gain confidence in the mask; the bayonet school taught the latest in close quarters bayonet tactics ("The 88th Division", 1919). In addition to the 88th Division schools, Cade also commented in his memoir how his 366th Regimental commander, Lieutenant Colonel Parrott, a White Regular Army officer, held frequent regimental officer meetings. Parrott emphasized many topics to include how an officer must be honest, thrifty, courageous, and exercise initiative (Cade, 1929). Unknown to Cade, Parrott was trying to keep him out of trouble because Pershing, the newly assigned AEF commander, realized the rush his Army was in and rushing caused lapses in discipline. To ensure officers maintained their

discipline, bearing, and training knowledge, Pershing issued General Order 62 dated November 16, 1917, establishing the creation of local efficiency boards to examine any officer, Black or White, who demonstrated unfitness (Faulkner, 2012). Efficiency boards became the bane of Cade and his fellow Black officers' existence because it was a direct threat to their continued careers as Army officers (Cade, 1929).

One interesting point Cade made in his memoir was the existence of a second Officer Training Camp for Black Officers begun at Camp Dodge in May 1918 with an instructor complement of all Black officers. Some of these instructors came from Cade's own unit, the 366th Infantry Regiment, such as Captain Charles G. Kelly; First Lieutenants Clarence W. Harding, Jones A. Coltrane, Elbert L. Booker, and Harrison J. Pinkett; and Second Lieutenant Charles S. Parker. All these officers were 17th PTR graduates. The 366th Infantry Regiment also provided two men with leadership potential the opportunity to attend the Officer Training Camp as candidates to seek commissions: Private Aaron McCrary and First Sergeant Molton H. Gray. Both men earned commissions as second lieutenants and rejoined the 92nd Division in France shortly after the signing of the armistice. The Camp Dodge Black Officer Training Camp eventually relocated to Camp Sherman in Ohio, but not all instructors transferred to the new location. For example, First Lieutenant Clarence W. Harding returned to the 366th Infantry Regiment and deployed to France with the regiment (Cade, 1929; Scott, 1919).

By mid-May 1918, rumors of a future deployment became a reality when Cade and the rest of the 366th Infantry Regiment received orders to settle all public and private debts and pack for overseas deployment. By June 2, 1918, the regiment was on a train pulling out of Camp Dodge heading to Camp Upton, New York. Cade recorded in his memoir how patriotic citizens assembled at each stop and wished the men well. The 366th Infantry Regiment arrived at Camp

Upton two days later on June 4; shortly after arrival, they received 24 barely trained men to mold into regimental Soldiers (Cade, 1929). At Camp Upton, Cade documented a visit with one of his old university professors, Edger H. Webster of Atlanta University. Webster was an ardent supporter of Black officers commanding Black troops and encouraged Cade to do his best in his new military occupation (Cade, 1929). Cade was reminded of how important it was for him to maintain high standards when the specter of an efficiency board emerged at Camp Uptown. Cade saw three of his former Fort Des Moines colleagues—Second Lieutenants Edward L. Goodlett, James E. Ivey, and William H. Brooks—brought before the board. All three remained behind when the 366th Infantry Regiment boarded a ship for France. All three received exoneration, known as "Beat the Board," and rejoined the regiment later in France (Cade, 1929, p. 43). Cade reported in his memoir that they all provided valuable service to the regiment later in combat against the Germans (Cade, 1929). Cade and the 366th Infantry Regiment left Camp Upton on June 13 without the regimental band and boarded the former passenger ship Vauban, bound for France (Cade, 1929). The Vauban was a British ship with a British crew, augmented by American Navy liaison personnel. It was part of a 14-ship convoy transporting AEF troops and equipment, protected by four U.S. Navy destroyers, when it left New York Harbor on June 14 (Cade, 1929; Gleaves, 1921)

James Brad Morris

Second Lieutenant Morris did not provide much information concerning his travels after leaving Fort Des Moines. His narrative picked up after his approximately 15 days of leave when he reported for duty with the 3rd Battalion, 366th Infantry Regiment at Camp Dodge in early November 1917. Along with Cade, he soon found himself working with his unit's new Alabama draftees. His new charges left a poor impression on him; he provided a very descriptive picture

of his early days at Camp Dodge dealing with these men in his biography. He documented how they fought among themselves for everything from socks to cigarettes and how he found it hard to understand what they were saying because of their thick Alabama accent (Morris, 1999). This lack of education and rough mannerisms did not endear these draftees to the local White population of Des Moines. As a result, when the men traveled into town, they faced a more racist and discriminatory environment than the reception given the 17th PTR candidates weeks before them (Morris, 1999). The poor impression left Morris wondering if he made the correct decision to become an officer because he may never transform these men into a fighting force to lead against the Germans (Morris, 1999). While he contemplated his future with these men, his thoughts quickly returned to his girlfriend Georgine, who traveled from Washington, D.C. to be with him in Des Moines. The couple married on April 6, 1918, but only spent a short time together before Morris deployed to France. Unknown to Morris, his new wife became pregnant during their short time together (Morris, 1999). Morris did not see his son James Brad Morris Jr. until he returned from France the following year (Morris, 1999). By early May, Morris was looking out the window of a crowded troop train leaving Camp Dodge on its way to Camp Upton on Long Island, New York. By June 10, Morris stood on the deck of a crowded troop ship with his friend Isaiah Blocker heading for France. Both men contemplated their fate on the doorstep of death or glory (Morris, 1999). Neither Morris nor Cade mentioned any interaction between them in their wartime narratives even though they both served in the 366th Infantry Regiment.

Camp Funston

Camp Funston was located inside the larger Fort Riley military installation near Junction City, Kansas. Unlike Camp Dodge in Iowa, Camp Funston did not exist before the declaration of war. The camp became one of 16 cantonment areas specifically built around the country to train

draftees for WWI. Construction began in July 1917 and the post grew into a complex of approximately 4,000 buildings to house and train White draftees for the 89th Division (Kansas, 2018).

William Holmes Dyer

First Lieutenant Dyer only received three days off, all spent in his first leadership role. Dyer assumed command of a small detachment of 21 newly commissioned officers like himself heading for assignments in the 92nd Division. Dyer was responsible for ensuring everyone arrived safely at Camp Funston, part of Fort Riley, Kansas (Dyer, 1918). En route to Camp Funston, Dyer noticed his travels would take him through Kansas City, so he arranged a short layover in Kansas City for his small command to visit the Old General Hospital, where he interned less than a year before. Everyone arrived in Kansas City without incident and received a tour of the hospital wards, visiting the sick and injured. Other Black doctors in Kansas City soon heard about the newly commissioned officers in town. These doctors picked—up Dyer and the detachment from the hospital and gave them all a tour of the city, followed by an evening of dinner and dancing (Dyer, 1918). Sleeping on the train the next day, Dyer and his detachment finally arrived safely at Camp Funston on November 14. Dyer reported in his memoir that he completed his first detachment command without incident. Undoubtedly, he acquired a few valuable troop leading skills, such as accountability and Soldier safety that proved beneficial later in his military career. Shortly after arriving at Camp Funston, Dyer found himself assigned to the 368th Ambulance Company, 317th Sanitary Train, 92nd Division. The 368th Ambulance Company was under the command of Captain Henry Harvey Walker, a respected former MOTC classmate of Dyer's (Dyer, 1918). Before MOTC, Walker was a National Guard first sergeant in the State Militia of Tennessee and a practicing civilian medical doctor. Walker's prior military

knowledge and superior performance in camp earned him a rare MOTC captain commission (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). At Camp Funston, Dyer assumed his role as a teacher and coach for the enlisted men of the 368th Ambulance Company and led them in daily drills and lectures. On December 1, 1917, Dyer received orders to report to the 317th Ammunition Train of the 92nd Division and assume new duties in the train's infirmary. Dyer officially took control of the infirmary on December 4 and came to enjoy his new responsibilities because it suspended him from all drills and he could finally concentrate solely on practicing medicine (Dyer, 1918).

The 317th Ammunition Train was the equivalent of a regiment within the 92nd Division. The train consisted of two horse and wagon sections and two motorized truck sections to conduct its resupply mission of hauling ammunition from the supply point to the division guns (Scott, 1919). From a medical perspective, animal-drawn wagons within the division proved their worth later in France because they could reach wounded Soldiers in rugged combat-scarred terrain where motorized vehicles could not travel (Lynch et al., 1925). The infirmary where Dyer worked consisted of his boss—a major—and four other captains and lieutenants like himself, with up to 48 enlisted medics to treat the sick and injured ammunition train Soldiers. Officially, his infirmary held up to 12 beds, but unofficially, they could accommodate far more casualties. Dyer later discovered that his infirmary turned into a forward aid station in combat. The injured arrived as walking wounded or on stretchers carried by medics or members of the regimental band performing their secondary duty of caring for the wounded (Bispham, 1927). Dyer's specific mission in combat was to stabilize the severely wounded as much as possible and release them to additional stretcher bearers for movement from his aid station to an ambulance dressing station an additional 1,000-3,000 yards away depending on the situation. The dressing station

prepared the seriously injured for horse or motor transport to a base hospital miles behind the lines (Bispham, 1927).

For Dyer, those aid station duties remained theoretical and far in the future because, in January 1918, his immediate concern turned toward the worse epidemic of cerebrospinal meningitis to hit Kansas in years. Dyer found himself on the front lines of this epidemic, treating sick Soldiers who contracted this highly infectious and fatal disease. Dyer spent the next two months, until the epidemic subsided in March 1918, quarantining division personnel (Dyer, 1918). The procedure Dyer followed to identify infected personnel was to obtain nasopharynx samples using nose swabs, like 21st century COVID-19 tests, and not release those identified as infected from quarantine until two swab tests returned negative (Goodwin, 1917). Dyer continued his work at the infirmary through the spring of 1918, but he also found time to fall in love and marry Bessie Bradley. However, like Morris, his early married life was short and interrupted in May when the 317th Ammunition Train received orders along with the rest of the 92nd Division to report to Camp Upton, New York for transport to France and the war (Dyer, 1918; Fischer & Buckley, 2016). Dyer commented in his diary that as the 317th Ammunition Train, 92nd Division was moving by rail from Camp Funston to Camp Upton, they passed through Kansas City and large crowds of Black people came out to wish them well (Dyer, 1918).

Camp Grant

Camp Grant was located over 90 miles northwest of Chicago, Illinois. Like Camp Funston in Kansas, the post did not exist before the declaration of war. The camp became one of 16 cantonment areas specifically built around the country to train draftees for WWI. Construction began in June 1917, and by September 1917, over 1,000 buildings spread out over

5,000 acres were ready to receive White draftees for the 86th Infantry Division (U.S. Army, n.d; Midway, n.d.; Living, n.d.)

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Second Lieutenant Dickerson did not provide much information about his travels after graduating from Fort Des Moines. His narrative picked up approximately 15 days later when he signed into Company E, Second Battalion, 365th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division, located at Camp Grant, Illinois. Dickerson assisted in training new draftees until February 1918, when he heard about a request for officers who could speak French. Dickerson's long days and nights studying French at the University of Illinois proved beneficial when he volunteered for the assignment and passed the proficiency examination. He became one of only eight Black officers selected to accompany the 92nd Division Commander Major General Ballou's advanced party to France (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

Camp Meade

Camp Meade was located less than 30 miles northeast of Washington, DC. One of 16 cantonment areas, like Camp Funston and Camp Grant, specifically built around the country to train draftees for WWI. Construction began in June 1917, and by the end of the war, over 400,000 Soldiers passed through its gates, to include units from three infantry divisions (The United States, n.d.).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Second Lieutenant Houston did not provide much information on his travels after leaving the 17th PTR. His narrative started approximately 15 days later at Camp Meade, Maryland in November (Houston, 1940d). The camp was the primary training area for the entire 79th Division, and as mentioned earlier, two units of the predominately Black 92nd Division: 351st

Field Artillery and 368th Infantry Regiment. The 351st Field Artillery and the 368th Infantry Regiment physically occupied one edge of the camp, with the 368th on the perimeter and the 351st Field Artillery sandwiched between the 368th Infantry Regiment and the White troops of the 79th Division. The 368th Infantry Regiment, to which Houston belonged, had Black officers from Fort Des Moines, but the 351st Field Artillery had White officers except for the Black chaplain and two Black medical officers. The Black and White officers did not share quarters and slept in different locations within their unit areas (Houston, 1940d). The two medical officers for the 351st Field Artillery were First Lieutenants William James Howard Jr and Oscar Wilson DeVaughn, both graduates of the Fort Des Moines MOTC. Howard deployed to France with the 351st Field Artillery and served in the 1st Battalion, while DeVaughn did not deploy to France due to a physical disability, which may have occurred at Camp Meade, resulting in his discharge from the service in June 1918 (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Race relations at Camp Meade, according to Houston, were uneventful; both sides stayed mainly to themselves. Only a few minor incidents occurred, but Colonel Cole, the 351st Field Artillery commander, told his men they could defend themselves if attacked. This vote of confidence and support endeared the colonel to his men (Houston, 1940d).

The U.S. Army's lack of efficiency in the educational distribution of its troops was very apparent to Houston at Camp Meade. He observed the enlisted draftees in the 368th Infantry Regiment had numerous high school and college-educated men in the ranks, while many draftees of the 351st Field Artillery Regiment lacked formal education, like the Alabama troops Cade and Morris worked with at Camp Dodge. According to Houston, the 92nd Division headquarters should have switched these men around, so the better educated served in the field artillery and the least educated moved into the infantry regiment (Houston, 1940d). Unfortunately, this switch

never occurred and the 351st Field Artillery was in jeopardy of reorganization as a labor battalion. What saved the 351st Field Artillery was an injection of 350 freshly recruited college-educated men and mechanics from Pittsburgh. These Pittsburgh men were the result of efforts by the 351st Field Artillery noncommissioned officers who were allowed to go to Pittsburgh and use the local Black YMCA to recruit men to join the unit. These 350 men saved the 351st Field Artillery and helped turn it into a functioning field artillery regiment (Houston, 1940d).

Houston's major complaint with the officer corps at Camp Meade was a lack of any injection of pride in the 92nd Division as a whole. Case in point, he observed no officer calls between the officers of the 368th Infantry Regiment and the 351st Field Artillery (Houston, 1940d). An officer's call was an opportunity for all the officers from both units to come together and discuss issues or to get to know each other. Houston stated in his memoir he did not witness any of the White senior officers in the rank of captain and above attempt to mentor or train their subordinate junior Black officers within their commands. The White officers just bossed the Black officers around, and worse, they gave the impression of being ashamed to serve in a division with Black officers (Houston, 1940e). Houston's comments about the 92nd Division are interesting because they provide specific examples of how the U.S. Army deliberately destroyed the efficiency of a combat unit to appease racial beliefs in American society.

A major event that shaped the rest of Houston's entire life occurred at Camp Meade. The event revolved around his appointment as one of four prosecutors or judge advocates in a military court proceeding to adjudicate an altercation between a White officer and a Black noncommissioned officer. Houston noted in his memoir he took his new responsibilities seriously, and despite not having studied law before in college, he investigated his first case as thoroughly as possible (Houston, 1940d). Unfortunately, Houston lost his first case and his

commander relieved him of further legal duties. Houston blamed his failings not on his failure to know the law but on the hidden agenda of his White commanding officer. He wrote in his memoir it was at this moment that he decided to become a lawyer "…and use his time to fight for those men who could not strike back" (Houston, 1940f, p. 13). His simple pledge to himself eventually reverberated across all America in the *Brown v Board of Education* Supreme Court case to be discussed later in this research study.

Interestingly, Houston noted in his memoir another chance for Black Americans to receive training to become commissioned officers (Houston, 1940g). This officer training camp was a similar opportunity as the camp mentioned by Cade at Camp Dodge. The opportunity occurred in the second iteration of officer training camps for the U.S. Army. The Army noted the advantages and disadvantages of the first series of officer training camps during the summer of 1917. To remedy some of these issues, the Army decided to create decentralized division officer training schools organized on each division's mobilization camp before deployment overseas. Black soldiers from the 368th Infantry and 351st Field Artillery regiments received orders to attend the 79th Division Officer Training School at Fort Meade. Houston recorded two men from the 351st Field Artillery Regiment, Austin W. Norris, and John Carter Robinson, attended and completed the 79th Division course and received commissions as second lieutenants in field artillery (Houston, 1940d). According to Houston, neither officer returned to the 351st Field Artillery Regiment; instead, they received orders to depot units at Camp Jackson, South Carolina, nor did Houston mention any knowledge of their follow-on assignments for the war (Houston, 1940g).

During his time at Camp Meade, Houston continued his own quest to become a field artillery officer based on his original request back at Howard University before Fort Des Moines.

Houston's tenacity paid off when Emmett J. Scott, the Special Assistant to the Secretary of War, the same person who handed out commissions at Fort Des Moines, demanded Black officers from Fort Des Moines receive formal artillery training (Houston, 1940g). The Special Assistant appears to have heard the complaints of former 17th PTR Black officers brought before efficiency boards for lacking knowledge in field artillery. The Black officers complained they lacked knowledge because they received no formal training. As a result, in the spring of 1918, the Army established a Field Artillery School for Black soldiers at Camp Meade. Houston received his orders to report to the artillery school days before his unit, the 368th Infantry Regiment shipped off to France (Houston, 1940g). Houston found himself the only commissioned officer among the Black officer candidates in the new school. The rest were former enlisted men. Houston's status meant if he wore his officers' uniform, he would not be able to mingle with his fellow candidates, so he decided to wear the candidate's uniform.

Houston soon developed respect for his new artillery training battery commander, who was an old thirty-year veteran of the Coastal Artillery. His commander was a strict disciplinarian but was fair with his Black candidates and ensured his charges received respect from fellow White soldiers. In the middle of Houston's training, the Army changed its officer training policy for the third time, abandoned decentralized training, and consolidated all its officer training camps into centralized camps. Each centralized camp, called a Central Officers' Training School, concentrated on one specific branch of service, so Houston's Field Artillery Officer Training Camp at Camp Meade relocated to Camp Taylor, Kentucky, outside Louisville. As mentioned earlier, Camp Taylor was not a post used by any 92nd Division units. Houston's new training unit became the 22nd Training Battalion with over 4,000 candidates, and his new training battery consisted of about 97 Black officer candidates (Houston, 1940g; Houston, 1940h).

George Washington Lee

Before reporting for duty at Camp Meade, Second Lieutenant Lee decided to use his leave to maximize his time to visit to see his mother and friends back at Alcorn. Lee saw his mother first in Memphis, Tennessee, and then proceeded south to Mississippi, where he expected a warm congratulations for completing the 17th PTR. However, an overnight layover in Vicksburg, Mississippi almost ended his entire career (Tucker, 1971). Tucker's biography related Lee's excitement over his accomplishment of becoming an officer. His excitement would not allow him to simply remain in the room he found in a Black boarding house for his overnight stay. He decided to take a walk, show off his new officer uniform, and talk to curious Blacks he encountered about his new life in the U.S. Army along with the new role Blacks were about to play in the war (Tucker, 1971). His initial plan worked, and people came up and asked him questions. Things changed when he heard a unit of the Mississippi National Guard was in town, and they heard a young Black officer was walking around. Later that evening, as he walked to the local segregated movie theater, he encountered several enlisted White National Guard soldiers walking toward him in uniform. As they passed, instead of issuing a salute to him as per regulation, they instead gave a rebel yell. Lee did not stop and correct them continuing on his way, content in knowing they were jealous of his uniform and rank (Tucker, 1971).

While watching a movie at the theater, the situation soon escalated when Lee noticed all the Black patrons leaving the theater before the movie ended. Soon it was only him and the janitor, and when he asked the janitor what was going on, the janitor told him White men were outside waiting to throw him in the river. Lee knew that meant lynching. When Lee questioned the janitor as to why these men wanted to hurt him, the janitor said there was a rumor he forced a White soldier to salute him until the Soldier fell faint in the street. Lee thought about it and

decided to calmly leave the theater because his training dictated officers should not allow themselves to be intimidated. Fortunately, two uniformed White officers met him as he left the theater. Both officers encouraged him to retire for the evening because they might not be able to keep their Soldiers from harming him (Tucker, 1971). Lee returned to the boarding house without incident, but a few hours later, Joe Smith, a local Black wagoneer who hauled supplies around the city, paid him an unannounced visit. No evidence exists that Lee knew Joe, but Joe proceeded to tell Lee that he should leave town that night. It is unknown if Joe was encouraged to get Lee outside by the White vigilantes, but Lee again assessed the situation and decided the most prudent course of action was to stay inside and not run the risk of being captured on the open road. Joe left without incident and Lee spent the rest of the evening in anxious anticipation looking out the window of his room. The following day Lee boarded a train for Alcon and was relieved to leave Vicksburg behind. Later that day, in a far friendlier environment, he was welcomed as a returning hero to Alcon and allowed to give a well-received speech to students and faculty on the future of Black people in the war. The opportunity to be received as a hero at Alcon was a dream Lee harbored since leaving the school in early 1917 (Tucker, 1971).

Lee reported to Camp Meade, Maryland, on November 8, over 20 days after graduating the 17th PTR. It was not clear why Lee received, or needed, the additional time off. A possible answer could be travel congestion caused by rail movements of troops across the country caused him additional layovers (Tucker, 1971). Lee became one of five officers, all Fort Des Moines graduates, assigned to Company C, 368th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division. As mentioned earlier, Charles Houston was also a member of the 368th Infantry Regiment. Lee's company commander was Captain Elijah Reynolds. Reynolds was one of the five 17th PTR graduates, but at Fort Des Moines, he was considered an old-timer because before Des Moines he was a

noncommissioned officer. Unfortunately, Reynolds was one of the people many of the college men at Fort Des Moines avoided because Reynolds was jealous of their college education. This research study found no information about whether Lee served in Reynold's training company at Fort Des Moines. Therefore, this research study cannot prove if Reynolds, serving as an assistant instructor, had the opportunity to provide any feedback to Regular Army primary instructors on Lee's performance at Fort Des Moines which could have caused the animosity issues mentioned earlier. If Lee did not serve under Reynolds at Fort Des Moines, this was no longer the case at Camp Meade and Lee found himself constantly bullied by Reynolds (Tucker, 1971). Despite Reynolds's attempts to make Lee's life miserable from November 1917 to June 1918, Lee immersed himself in training the company's Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C draftee recruits. Tucker's biography relates that Lee recorded one interesting event that happened on April 6, 1918, the 368th Infantry Regiment conducted a pass in review parade in front of President Woodrow Wilson (Tucker, 1971).

Camp Taylor

As mentioned, Camp Taylor was not a 92nd Division assembly area or training post, and members of the division only found themselves stationed here for field artillery training. Camp Taylor was located approximately eight miles southeast of Louisville, Kentucky. The post was home to the 84th Division. Like the other camps, the installation did not exist before the war, so construction began in 1917 and continued through 1918. By the end of the war, the installation held over 1,700 buildings covering 4,000 acres (The United States, n.d.a). The 22nd Training Battalion, where Charles Houston was assigned, divided its 4,000 men into batteries of 200 candidates each. Houston and his fellow candidates from Camp Meade had to do everything those 200 White candidates did but with only 97 men in a segregated battery. To maintain the

pace, Houston and his fellow candidates developed the motto, “Twice as fast and twice as good” (Houston, 1940h, p. 13).

As there were not enough Regular Army instructors to teach the officer candidates, each battery commander had to select candidates to serve as candidate instructors, like the Fort Des Moines MOTC commander Bingham did with Dyer (Houston, 1940h; Walter et al., 1919). Houston was one of five men picked to be a candidate instructor and concurrently earn his commission as a field artillery officer. The education and training Houston received mirrored the United States Military Academy at West Point. West Point regulations, including the honor and demerit systems, were adopted and modified to account for the limited time available.

According to Houston, candidate instructors, both Black and White, received instruction simultaneously in an integrated environment. Segregation was only enforced with Black and White student instructors sleeping and living in separate barracks (Houston, 1940h). Instruction consisted of hands-on exercises like riding the Trojan horse. The horse was a wooden frame replica with horse equipment for candidate instructors to acquire the necessary skills to teach their students the basics of mounted instruction before anyone rode real horses. Instruction was also outdoors whenever possible with candidates seated on semi-circular bleachers. The transition between classes was spent running to the next class, known in the U.S. Army as double time, to save time in their busy training schedule (Walter et al., 1919).

Candidate instructors were given information on teaching methods and supplied detailed directions on how to conduct recitation examinations of their candidate students. Motivation for candidate instructors stemmed from promises of promotions and the opportunity to eventually leave Camp Taylor for overseas service and not remain as instructors for follow-on classes (Walter et al., 1919). Daily bulletins also provided instructional updates and served to encourage

all instructors to teach to the same standard. Weekly meetings on Saturday morning between the Regular Army instructors and their candidate instructors ensured resolution of issues raised in the prior week's instruction and preparation for the following week of instruction. Candidate instructors rotated positions within the training battery to ensure they became familiar with all the duties within the battery. Unlike the 17th PTR, they also received formal grades based on their proficiency. Rivalry through competition was encouraged whenever possible to increase proficiency, and candidate instructors were encouraged to teach their future candidate students to sing popular songs as they marched to class every morning to instill school spirit and loyalty.

Candidate instructors, who received recognition as the best gun crew after gunnery examinations, received permission to wear a chevron ribbon on their uniform (Walter et al., 1919). Upon graduation from instructor school, Houston along with his fellow Black candidate instructors returned to their segregated Black batteries and provided the same training the White batteries received (Houston, 1940h).

The primary mission of the Artillery Training School was to take their untrained candidates and, in a few months, turn them into U.S. Army field artillery officers capable of commanding their assigned enlisted subordinates. Field Artillery School graduates needed to be sufficiently qualified in the fundamentals of the field artillery profession to serve as junior leaders within a battery or as a future battery commander (Walter et al., 1919). The actual course consisted of a two-to-four-week observation period to test the endurance of each candidate, especially older candidates, to see if they could handle the stress and strain of future training.

Candidates then began the actual course, consisting of 12 weeks of intensive training in heavy and light artillery. Each day consisted of eight hours of daily instruction and each week consisted of 43 hours of classwork and supervised study periods (Walter et al., 1919). The

curriculum consisted of physical fitness training, guard duty, signaling, using wired telephones, dismounted drill, pistol drill, gun squad drill, driving drill with automobiles and tractors, conduct of fire drills, reconnaissance, care and training of horses, horse riding, ballistic gunnery, artillery plotting, gun laying, fuse setting, topography, and anti-gas training. After 11 weeks of study, recitation type examinations, and classroom instruction called conferences, the last week of instruction turned to 20-mile marches and field training based on living in tents and conducting simulated combat operations (Walter et al., 1919).

The evaluation or grading of each candidate developed from an agreement between the U.S. Army Commissioned Personnel Branch of the General Staff, Lehigh University, and the American Association of Collegiate registrars. Each candidate received weekly technical skills scores and needed a 70% minimum average to pass the course. Each candidate also received monthly scores on five essential qualities as listed in Appendix C. The first four qualities used a Scott scale, similar to the modern 21st century Likert scale, consisting of five scores arranged from 15 as the highest to 12, 9, 6, and 3 as the lowest. The fifth and final officer quality score was a scaled numeric score ranging from a high of 40 to 32, 24, 16, and 8 as the lowest. A candidate had to achieve a qualities grade of at least 50 to graduate (Walter et al., 1919). The technical and officer qualities scores were averaged to determine overall class standing (Walter et al., 1919).

Houston graduated in late August 1918 and finally received his commission as a first lieutenant in field artillery. To receive his new field artillery commission, he had to surrender his infantry commission. Unfortunately, of the 97 Black candidates who started with him, only 33 completed the course and received commissions. On a brighter note, five of the 33 ranked among the top 15 graduates in the entire course. Houston recorded in his memoir these five Black

candidates, called honor students, presented themselves on the graduation platform in front of the entire class to receive their commissions and received a great round of applause (Houston, 1940h). To be considered an honor student in such a tough course held great prestige, but it is curious to note Houston failed to mention in his memoir that he was the best of those five Black honor graduates. His full name Charles H. Houston, with a legal residence in Washington, District of Columbia, is fourth on the overall graduation roster for his entire Black and White officer graduating class on August 31, 1918 (Walter et al., 1919). Houston's accomplishment is an example of Foucault's idea of resistance to the power of oppression stemming from the stereotype of Black inferiority prevalent in American society and the U.S. Army (Heller, 1996). A week after graduation on September 7, 1918, Houston reported to the depot brigade at the Field Artillery Replacement camp at Camp Jackson, SC. He was only on the ground a week before he received new orders sending him to France. Unfortunately, he did not ship over with a specific unit. Instead, he went overseas as a member of a replacement detachment consisting of 35 Black field artillery officers (Houston, 1940h).

Camp Upton

Camp Upton was in Yaphank, Long Island, New York, and served as the training post for the 77th Division. The camp was another of the 16 cantonment areas built to train draftees for WWI. Construction began during the summer of 1917. By the end of the war, over 40,000 troops passed through its gates (U.S. Army Center, n.d.a; About Brookhaven, n.d.)

Louis Thompkins Wright

First Lieutenant Wright's narrative was sparse concerning his travels after leaving Fort Des Moines but picked up nearly 30 days later when he arrived at Camp Upton, in Yaphank, Long Island, New York on November 17, 1917 (Hayden, 2003). This research study could not

determine why he received so much additional time off, but a possible answer could be transportation delays similar to Lee in Vicksburg. Upon his arrival at Camp Upton, Wright assumed duties within the 367th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division (Hayden, 2003). Due to his extraordinary medical skills, he was soon given responsibility well beyond his rank in handling direct medical care and medical administration. The work soon bored him, and he searched for a way to make his work more interesting. His search did not last long, as he found a way to improve the U.S. Army's smallpox vaccination procedures. Using the old techniques for inoculation, he found many Soldiers did not receive full immunization. He decided to experiment and soon found a new technique that almost eliminated the number of Soldiers who did not receive full immunization.

The U.S. Army Medical Department rewarded his efforts by immediately adopting his technique as standard practice across the entire service (Hayden, 2003). Wright later published his findings in the American Medical Association journal in 1918. It is doubtful if any White or Black doctors who used his technique knew Wright was a Black doctor because his journal article does not indicate his race (Wright, 1918). His article, filled with photographs documenting his procedures and findings, credited the New York Board of Health for their assistance in his study. This article was one of many in Wright's early medical career and confirmed the value of his clinical research skills (Hayden, 2003). Wright's articles also exemplify Foucault's resistance against the power of oppressive racial stereotypes of Black inferiority (Heller, 1996). Despite his article and continued high praise received for his work, he was repeatedly denied promotion to the rank of captain because of his continuing feuds with superior officers. Outside of his military career and medical research, Wright found time to socialize and went on a few trips to New York City, where he fell in love with Corinne M.

Cooke, a New York City schoolteacher. Their relationship grew and they married in Harlem on May 18, 1918. Unfortunately, like his fellow Fort Des Moines graduates Dyer and Morris, their love affair was interrupted because Wright found himself on a crowded troopship by June 18, 1918 heading to Europe along with other 92nd Division personnel (Hayden, 2003).

Summary

This chapter's narrative follows the activities of each newly commissioned officer in this research study by following their movements to and from each of the scattered 92nd Division pre-deployment training posts. The analysis provided a glimpse into the challenging mission each faced incorporating their newly scaffolded 17th PTR and MOTC skills upon their college education to serve as primary instructors for recently drafted, academically challenged Soldiers or candidate instructors for fellow candidate officers. Karl Marx's idea of alienation is discussed to highlight how the intelligence tests administered to U.S. Army denied Black soldiers a fair assessment and perpetuated the idea Blacks are naturally academically challenged, based on other White officer opinions (Marx, 1884). The chapter further illustrates how each of the seven officers rose to the challenge of oppression and outperformed other White officers. Candidates like Houston surpassed all obstacles to graduate in the top percentage of his Artillery class. Others like Wright overcame challenges to develop new medical procedures later adopted by the entire U.S. Army. By applying Foucault's idea of resistance, both Houston and Wright, each set an example for all to follow regardless of race and broke down inferiority stereotypes (Heller, 1996). The information presented is important to understand each man at a fundamental level before they embarked overseas, where many faced the extreme challenges of combat and U.S. Army prejudice in their continuing military careers.

Chapter 8 - Deployment Training

…to live or die to survive or perish…

—William Holmes Dyer, *War time diary of Dr. William Holmes Dyer*

This chapter focuses on each of the seven officers' experiences leading toward, but not including, their combat service. Understanding their experiences after leaving the United States assists in answering the third subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences after Fort Des Moines in the war? This focus allows for a glimpse into the new skills the featured officers learned before their ultimate test in the trenches, and, more importantly, how each school attended retrained them on the latest techniques to survive on the frontline. The chapter highlights the travels of each man from the United States to France and their interactions with French civilians, German prisoners, and fellow White American AEF soldiers and officers. The examination continues with a comparative look at how the French treated and trained their colonial officers from Algeria. The chapter ends when most officers arrive at the front, specifically the St. Die sector near the city of Baccarat, France shortly before the great American Argonne offensive.

The analysis begins with the first challenge of direct contact with the enemy, crossing the Atlantic. When Fort Des Moines opened in June 1917, crossing the Atlantic was a perilous endeavor, and ship crews lived with the constant tension of an unexpected German naval attack (Dallies-Labourdette, 2009). The specific threat was German submarines that patrolled the waters of the Atlantic to deny their enemies like Great Britain receiving supplies from other allied countries or colonies. By June 1917, the Germans sank approximately 132 ships of various types, from warships to cargo vessels, for a total of 687,000 tons of allied supplies (Dallies-Labourdette, 2009). Losses of this magnitude placed a significant strain on the allied war effort

to continue operations against Germany. However, a year later, in June 1918, the glory days of the German submarine menace were over. The reason was an improvement in allied convoy operations and America's material contributions to the allied war effort. The result was a 37% reduction in losses suffered from German action equating to only 49 ships or 158,000 tons of supplies lost in comparison to a year before (Dallies-Labourdette, 2009).

The reduction in losses did not mean American convoys, and specifically, troop ships carrying AEF soldiers could travel unmolested back and forth across the Atlantic. For example, the crossing of the AEF transport ship, Vauban, in June 1918 with Second Lieutenant Cade on board was in between the sinking of the first American troop transport, the USS President Lincoln, on May 31, 1918, and the sinking of the second American troop transport, the USS Covington, on July 1, 1918 (Dallies-Labourdette, 2009). The Lincoln set sail from Brest heading back to the United States with 789 souls on board, when a German submarine torpedoed and sank her with the loss of 26 U.S. Navy personnel. Miraculously, none of the hundreds of AEF soldiers on board died in the attack (Gleaves, 1921). The Covington was a former German ocean liner pressed into American service after hostilities broke out and was on her sixth voyage across the Atlantic. Like the Lincoln, she was sailing from Brest to New York when a German submarine attacked and sunk her, losing six out of 780 U.S. Navy and AEF personnel on board (Gleaves, 1921). The loss of life in both attacks was light, but the sudden loss of these great ships still contributed to the tension everyone felt aboard any vessel crossing the Atlantic at the time. The following sections give a glimpse into the crossing of each officer on their way to France.

Crossing the Atlantic

John Brother Cade

Second Lieutenant Cade and the rest of the AEF soldiers on the Vauban settled into their temporary home aboard ship and quickly embraced the tension of an Atlantic crossing. Sitting or walking around with little to do but think uncomfortable thoughts, talk, or play cards, they found their boredom only broken by daily abandon ship drills. These drills increased to twice a day as the ship cruised closer to the French coast and the possibility of a German attack increased. Cade recorded in his memoir a moment of great excitement on the afternoon of June 24, 1918, when he and the rest of the AEF troops heard the sudden report of the Vauban's deck guns in response to the crews' repeated shouting—they saw a submarine (Cade, 1929). The Vauban and other ships in the convoy were firing on an elusive target on the horizon. Cade never found out if the threat had been a real submarine or a floating surface mine (Cade, 1929).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Second Lieutenant Dickerson left the port of Hoboken, New Jersey and did not have a pleasant crossing. He reported in his memoir a constant state of alert in his convoy, and for good reason, as several ships in his convoy fell victim to enemy action and were sunk. He did not provide a date when he arrived in France other than early spring 1918 but reported taking part in abandon ship drills like Cade (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Abandon ship drills, otherwise known as drowning drills, were one of the first skills an AEF soldier acquired when boarding a transport ship about to cross the Atlantic (Gleaves, 1921). Every morning Soldiers assembled on deck, some vessels as early as three o'clock in the morning, like Dickerson, wearing their life jacket with a full canteen of water and remained on deck standing by their assigned lifeboat or raft station until dawn. All of this was in anticipation of a German submarine attack, which,

according to Dickerson, the Germans usually attempted early in the morning (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Gleaves, 1921).

William Holmes Dyer

First Lieutenant Dyer arrived at Camp Upton, Long Island, New York, on June 11, 1918, and after a few days in camp found himself in Hoboken, New Jersey, aboard the USS Covington. The Covington set sail on June 15 and made it to France, but on the return trip, as previously noted, met its fate at the bottom of the Atlantic due to a German submarine torpedo on July 1, 1918 (Dallies-Labourdette, 2009). The eventual loss of the ship is a shame because Dyer described the ship as a magnificent vessel with comfortable staterooms and large, spacious decks. His only negative comment was that the ship was full of over 800 Navy crew and 4,200 AEF soldiers (Dyer, 1918). In his memoir, Dyer also commented on the Covington observed military night discipline. No one was allowed to turn on lights that could be seen outside the ship to include lighting a cigarette for fear of detection by a German submarine. The result was he spent each night in the dark. The USS Covington was part of an approximately 20-ship convoy heading to France consisting of transport ships led by the USS George Washington. The convoy sailed in a zigzag pattern to confuse any German attack, surrounded by numerous battle cruisers, torpedo boats, and destroyers (Dyer, 1918).

Dyer further explained in his memoir that his unit travelled with other 92nd Division troops, specifically the 366th Infantry Regiment band and additional White AEF troops from the 115th National Guard (Dyer, 1918). Like his other Fort Des Moines colleagues, Dyer took part in the often-practiced abandon ship drills. His ship conducted drills at 1:30 pm daily, and all AEF soldiers put on their life preservers and reported to an assigned location on the ship for immediate departure (Dyer, 1918). He stated that every evening, the 366th Regimental Band

quartet entertained him and the rest of the crew and AEF soldiers with singing and buck and wing dancing, a form of tap dance (Dyer, 1918). Dyer's specific duties included writing a sanitary report twice a day to the ship's surgeon on the conditions in the front of the vessel and conducting regular health inspections on the 600 AEF soldiers onboard (Fischer & Buckley, 2016). As for segregationist treatment, Dyer chronicled Black officers could not use the same toilets on board the ship as White officers; specific hours were posted for Black and White officers to use the barbershop and gymnasium, so the two groups remained separate (Dyer, 1918). The segregationist treatment Black officers faced onboard ships is another example of Foucault's power of oppression (Foucault, 2000). Dyer arrived in Brest without any serious incident on June 27, 1918, 13 days after leaving New Jersey (Dyer, 1918).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Second Lieutenant Houston left Newport News, Virginia, on a troop ship heading to France on September 21, 1918. He is the last of the seven featured men to ship over to France. His small detachment of replacement artillery officers traveled with a White unit for the crossing and received good quarters and food but could not share any work with the White officers. He recorded his crossing as relaxing and uneventful (Houston, 1940h).

George Washington Lee

Second Lieutenant Lee and the rest of the 368th Infantry Regiment received orders to prepare for overseas service on June 12, 1918, and embarked on trains heading to the New Jersey coast for transport on the USS George Washington. Fortunately, Lee's crossing on the USS George Washington was uneventful, and he arrived safely in France on June 27, 1918. The USS George Washington was the lead ship in the return convoy when the unfortunate Covington was torpedoed and sank on July 1, 1918 (Gleaves, 1921).

Military Training in France

John Brother Cade

Cade was within sight of the French coast when his ship Vauban split off from the rest of the convoy. One can only imagine his possible confusion when he watched the rest of the convoy proceed in one direction as he went in a different direction. The other ships headed to Brest; he headed to the port of St. Nazaire. The Vauban reached St Nazaire under friendly anti-submarine aircraft surveillance on June 27, 1918, and the men of the 366th Infantry Regiment offloaded the next day. Cade spent his first night in France in a rear area base camp. An interesting feature of his time in camp was that his living quarters were close to a German prisoner of war barracks. His proximity allowed him the opportunity to observe real-life Germans up close for the first time (Cade, 1929). The Germans did not leave a strong impression on Cade or any other 366th Infantry Regiment soldiers who saw them. From their American perspective, the Germans were either extremely old or young with a slight stature. The Germans' physical appearance greatly contradicted everything Cade and the other 366th Infantry Regiment soldiers had read in the paper or heard from others about the Germans. The result was any fear the men of the 366th Infantry previously had about the enemy evaporated and was replaced with a new sense of confidence to take on the Germans, also known as the "Bosche." (Cade, 1929, p. 44).

This new feeling of confidence received reinforcement when Cade and his fellow 366th Infantry Regiment soldiers met members of the soon-to-be-famous predominately Black 369th Infantry Regiment, 93rd Division. The latter were convalescing from combat wounds in the rear area near Cade's location. The 369th Infantry became known as the Harlem Hell Fighters or Black Rattlers (Dalessandro & Torrence, 2009). The wounded men told Cade and his fellow new 366th Infantry Regiment arrivals that the front lines were more agreeable and better than training

in the rear areas and the Germans were naturally frightened of Black faces (Cade, 1929). Before the war, the 369th Infantry Regiment was the 15th New York National Guard Regiment out of Harlem, New York, and arrived in France in December 1917. By June 1918, when Cade met these wounded men, the 369th Infantry Regiment had already served in combat for a month but not under American command. The 369th and other 93rd Division Regiments—the 370th, 371st, and 372nd—fell under French command per an agreement between General Pershing and the French military (Dalessandro, & Torrence, 2009). The reason for this arrangement is beyond the scope of this research study.

An additional item of interest was by June 1918, the 369th Infantry Regiment had already produced one of the first American soldiers, Black or White, to win a French medal of honor known as the Croix de Guerre avec Palme, France's highest award for valor ("Medal", 2021). Private Henry Johnson, an enlisted soldier in the 369th Infantry Regiment, earned his award the evening of May 15, 1918, defending a two-person observation and listening post against a German raiding party of about 12 men who intended to capture prisoners to interrogate for information. Severely wounded in the action, Johnson continued to fight and kept the Germans from dragging away his wounded but now unconscious colleague Private Needham Roberts. Henry returned to the United States as a local hero but suffered lifelong trauma from shell shock and his other physical injuries. He passed away in July 1929 and was laid to rest in Arlington National Cemetery. After years of campaigning by family and friends for American recognition of his exploits, he was posthumously awarded the Purple Heart in 1996, the Distinguished Service Cross in 2002, and finally the American Medal of Honor in 2015 by President Barak Obama ("Medal", 2021).

Cade's experience among American troops turned out to be the same as Lee's experience in Vicksburg, Mississippi, with some Black officers not receiving the respect, in the form of a salute, they deserved by regulation from subordinate White American soldiers. One situation Cade mentioned in his memoir occurred to First Lieutenants Herman Butler, James C. Arnold, and Clarence W. Harding (Cade, 1929). All three officers confronted a White enlisted soldier who failed to salute them. The Soldier defended his actions by saying his southern heritage made it impossible to salute a Black officer. A crowd of other Soldiers soon gathered, and the incident ended when the White soldier saluted and departed the area (Cade, 1929).

The French, on the other hand, made a more favorable impression on Cade. He was especially touched when he left the rear area base camp known as Camp Number One en route to the front and witnessed some of the residents crying as he and the rest of the 366th Infantry Regiment left camp (Cade, 1929). Cade and his men traveled by train toward the front, and he noted how the primarily female American Red Cross workers provided coffee at intervals along the route (Cade, 1929). Three and a half days later, Cade disembarked the train and marched with the rest of the 366th Infantry Regiment into the small town of Senaide, four kilometers from the AEF supply base at Bourdonne-les-Bains on July 8, 1918. Cade described the population of Senaide as friendly but consisting of mostly women and older men since the younger men were all in the Army fighting the war (Cade, 1929). Cade appreciated Senaide because here he began his final front-line service preparations (Cade, 1929).

In Senaide, Cade recalled his daily schedule started at 6 am with reveille and infantry drill with weapons and equipment from 7:15 am-11:45 am, a break for lunch, and drill again from 1 pm-4:30 pm. His daily training focused on learning new warfare tactics outside of a trench using open order two rank formations. In the 17th PTR, open order formation was one

long rank with all men walking online toward the enemy. At Senaide, he was retrained in the new two-rank formation done at the double-quick or running toward the enemy. His reeducation from his prior training at Fort Des Moines continued with other topics like trench construction. In Senaide, he learned how to dig a real frontline trench from his French instructors and gained more experience in grenade throwing (Cade, 1929). Cade and the men of the 366th Infantry Regiment gained other practical skills, like how to utilize bugle calls to alert the men to danger. The buglers assumed a new responsibility of constantly scanning the sky for enemy aircraft. Positive identification of an enemy plane meant they sounded a note on the bugle. Everyone immediately took cover or immediately dropped to the ground if no cover was available (Cade, 1929). After dinner almost every day, Cade attended formal education classes from 7 to 8 pm on various topics of front-line combat.

The 366th Infantry Regiment training moved from individual to larger unit training in weekly maneuvers under French instructor guidance at the brigade and division level. Unfortunately, the entire 92nd Division could not be present for these maneuvers. To mitigate this lack of participation during the maneuvers, Soldiers became representatives of other companies, regiments, and battalions as living placeholders on the simulated battlefield (Cade, 1929). Ideally, it would have been better for the entire division to train together but having representatives for the other units was the next best solution given the circumstances. The benefit was the 366th Regimental commander could visually see how his regiment fit into the new division-level open warfare maneuvers then-advocated by General Pershing's desire to break out of the trenches. As previously noted, the 17th PTR graduates received the same training as their White counterparts. This training efficiently established one standard for everyone in a segregated U.S. Army to follow. For example, both Black and White AEF officers learned how

to maneuver, change formation, and place firepower on the enemy. They also learned the importance of thoroughly understanding their men and equipment so they could make decisions on the fly in combat and still accomplish the mission (Faulkner, 2012). AEF officers, both Black and White, received training in small unit tactics below the division level direct from regulations like *Small Problems for Infantry* (Bjornstad, 1917).

However, the proper combat-tested execution of tactics on the ground was what AEF officers lacked. For example, the mock battles at Fort Des Moines charging across open fields with fixed bayonets gave candidates a sense of offensive operations, but it was incomplete. The absence of barbed wire and smoke to simulate gas was a training deficiency. Near Senaide, Cade and his men faced for the first time the challenge of a realistically simulated battlefield of barbed wire, artillery shell craters, and gas under the guidance of Frenchmen who had experienced actual combat against a skilled German opponent (Faulkner, 2012). In addition to training at Senaide, Second Lieutenant Cade commented in his memoir about how some men like his fellow 17th PTR graduate First Lieutenant Clarence Harding received orders to attend additional training at the I Corps School at Gondrecourt. The school went into operation as a French and American training base in the fall of 1917 (Center, 1989; Huston, 1966). Harding's training was a few weeks long. He learned the latest techniques in trench warfare like his White American counterparts with hands-on practice using a bayonet and throwing hand grenades, all under French and American instructors ("American Troops", 2021; Cade, 1929). Harding rejoined the 366th Infantry Regiment after the unit entered the front-line trenches.

Unfortunately, Cade and his colleagues did not have enough time to stay in Senaide to absorb all the lessons learned the French were willing to share because shortly after Harding left, Cade found himself on the final leg of his journey to the front. Not having enough time to train

proved costly. The Germans soon ensured not only Cade and the 92nd Division, but all-American soldiers, regardless of skin color, paid a heavy price in casualties to gain the required experience necessary to survive on a WWI battlefield (Faulkner, 2012). The 366th Infantry Regiment finally arrived at the front near the French city of Baccarat in the St. Die sector on the evening of August 18, 1918. The St. Die sector was the first time the men of the 366th Infantry Regiment heard German artillery and machine gun fire. Fortunately, members of the 366th had time to talk to the men they were replacing about life "up" and not assume control over empty trenches (Cade, 1929, p. 54) The term up was used to denote living up on the front line (Cade, 1929). One of the first impressions on the troops of the 366th Infantry Regiment was the small number of allied troops coming back from the front lines as casualties. Witnessing a small number of casualties provided encouragement to Cade and his men, causing one enlisted soldier to exclaim, "…those Germans, I'll fix 'em; they are keeping me away from my wife…" (Cade, 1929, p. 54).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Second Lieutenant Dickerson arrived in Brest in the spring of 1918 as part of Major General Ballou's 92nd Division advanced party. His first night in the country set the tone for the rest of his time working directly for General Ballou and gave credence to Morris' earlier unfavorable comments about the general. The situation occurred when Dickerson and the other seven Black officers were not allowed to stay in the same hotel as the general and his entourage of fellow White officers. Instead, the Black officers were told they needed to seek accommodation in the "Old Napoleon." barracks (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 30). Unfortunately, the barracks only had accommodations for enlisted men and nothing for officers, so Dickerson and his colleagues found lodging in a second-class hotel. Dickerson mentioned that

an interesting conclusion to the activities of his first night in France occurred when the concierge in his second-class hotel recommended another first class-hotel restaurant for them to have their first dinner in France. Dickerson reported he joined his colleagues at the restaurant and the headwaiter sat them close to General Ballou's party. Dickerson found it funny to see the look of consternation on the general's face as he sat down to eat (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson's reaction is a result of the resentment he felt due to the power of oppression concerning his lodging situation and his resistance was the delight he felt in the look on the general's face.

Over the next few weeks, the entire 92nd Division assembled in France. Dickerson, assigned to the division headquarters, served as a French interpreter as the division trained in the St. Die sector and later moved into the Argonne Forest. While working closely with the French, Dickerson saw firsthand how White Americans spread lies about Black troops among the French population, telling the French that Black Americans were beasts and would rape French women. Fortunately, over time, the French recognized the lies as baseless and soon treated the Black Americans magnificently and, in a sign of hospitality, invited Black officers to social functions. On one occasion, Dickerson dined with the mayor of a French village and enjoyed the opportunity to hear the famous French pianist Claude Debussy's song *Clair de Lune* for the first time (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p 30).

William Holmes Dyer

First Lieutenant Dyer disembarked the USS Covington troop ship and marched several miles to Camp Pontanezen in Brest (Dyer, 1918). Dyer immediately noticed how the local French people were friendly and wore clothing made for comfort, but they also wore noisy, clumsy-looking wooden shoes. He also observed how the women appeared sad as if in mourning with many wearing black clothing, but on a happier note how the French children tried to teach

the Americans how to speak French and sang songs in perfect English like “Hail, Hail the Gang’s All Here” (Dyer, 1918, p. 23-25). Dyer moved by rail from Camp Pontanezen in Brest to the small city of Montmorillon, approximately 326 miles away. Disembarking, he joined his unit on a nine-mile march to Camp Cardonne in the St. Leomer region of France on July 5, 1918. His unit, the 317th Ammunition Train, conducted some of its most intense preparatory training at Camp Cardonne (Dyer, 1918).

Dyer mentioned in his memoir, while at Camp Cardonne, he interacted with the local French population and did not experience any color line prejudice. The people were friendly and tried to teach him the local songs and dance (Dyer, 1918). The “color line” was a phrase made famous by Du Bois years earlier in 1903 (Du Bois, 1994, p. iii). The phrase was a metaphor for segregation between the Black and White races (Du Bois, 1994). On July 22, 1918, Dyer received orders to accompany two companies’ worth of officers and men from the 317th Ammunition Train and proceed from Camp Cardonne to the docks of Marseilles in southern France over 450 miles away. The mission was to pick up recently arrived ammunition trucks at the port and drive the vehicles back to the division. Marseilles was an important heavy cargo port for the AEF (Huston, 1966).

Dyer left Camp Cardonne on July 23, 1918 and was allowed to travel in a nondiscriminatory first-class passenger coach rail car traveling through what he described as a picturesque French countryside (Dyer, 1918). He described in his memoir old and young French people working in the fields using ox teams because all the horses and young men were off fighting the war. He also mentioned observing numerous German prisoners of war working in the fields dressed in green uniforms with the large white letters P.G. on their back. The train stopped in Mont Lucon for a few hours. Dyer toured the city with an old English professor who

introduced Dyer to one of his French aristocrat pupils, a young woman who wished to learn how Americans spoke the English language (Dyer, 1918). After a wonderful time with the professor, Dyer continued south by train stopping in Lyons, Valence, and finally arriving in Marseilles on July 26, 1918. Dyer commented in his memoir that Marseilles was very cosmopolitan with a conglomeration of different races of people (Dyer, 1918). The city was also alive with Soldiers of many different nations, and Dyer observed French colonial troops from Algeria for the first time (Dyer, 1918).

These colonial troops are worth discussing because during WWI, the French drafted subjects from all their overseas colonies to fight in the Great War in Europe. These colonial troops came from Asia, West Africa, and the Middle East. The welcoming French reception experienced by Black Americans was not enjoyed by French colonial troops when they arrived in France. Americans, no matter the skin color, were considered "civilized" by the French, but in contrast, French colonial subjects were considered "primitive" and "savage" (Fogarty, 2008, p. 5). Algeria contributed between 120,000-125,000 troops to the European war effort from 1914-1918 and left approximately 25,000 dead on the battlefield (Fogarty, 2008).

The high causality rate was due to the French Army using the Algerians like their West African Senegalese counterparts as shock troops due to a perceived prejudicial stereotype of viewing Algerians and Africans as warriors. In this shock troop role, Algerians like the Senegalese were called tirailleur or skirmishers and were usually the first troops out of the trench charging toward the German machine gun bullets (Fogarty, 2008). The Algerian troops had Algerian officers in their ranks known as officers' indigenes to augment White French officers (Fogarty, 2008, p. 118). The French colonial authorities established a military training school at Miliana, Algeria, to train and commission mostly sons of Algerian nobles (Fogarty, 2008). Like

Black officers in the American army, racial prejudice haunted these indigenous Algerian officers because White Frenchmen never considered indigenous colonized people equal. For example, indigenous officers, including Algerians, found promotion slow to nonexistent and disagreements with French officers of the same rank always meant the indigenous officer was wrong. Even though indigenous officers received the same base pay as White French officers, the indigenous officer with a family did not receive the additional family allowance given to White French officers (Fogarty, 2008).

Dyer continued his travels in Marseilles and commented in his memoir how the French people were amicable, nonprejudicial, and regarded him and the rest of the officers of the 317th Ammunition Train with curiosity. He reasoned this curiosity stemmed from being the first Black American officers they had ever seen (Dyer, 1918). Dyer spent his off time in Marseilles with health care providers, curiously observing how the Red Cross assisted refugees from Belgium and how the city dealt with prostitution's venereal disease issue. Dyer spent seven days in Marseilles only to discover the ammunition trucks never arrived. He soon received orders with the rest of the men to return to the 92nd Division headquarters. Dyer left Marseilles by rail on August 2, 1918, for a two-day 340-mile trip to the advanced AEF supply base at Is-sur-Tille, just outside the city of Dijon (Dyer, 1918). After arriving at Is-sur-Tille, Dyer reported that he continued by rail an additional 60 miles to Bourbonne-les-Bains and arrived on August 5, 1918, where he finally reunited with many of his old friends from the MOTC and the rest of the 92nd Division (Dyer, 1918; Huston, 1966).

Dyer left Bourbonne-les-Bains on August 12, 1918, in a large truck convoy heading northeast toward the city of Bruyeres and the front. He commented in his memoir that during this

long jarring 21-hour road trip armed with only a pistol and limited personal baggage, he realized it was now up to him "…to live or die to survive or perish…" in this war (Dyer, 1918, p. 42). Dyer described Bruyeres as a pretty little French city situated between rolling wooded hills. The city served as a railhead for offloading supplies for both French and AEF divisions in the sector (Dyer, 1918). Bruyeres was also where Dyer saw and heard the enemy for the first time. Day and night, he witnessed German aircraft flying overhead and heard the allied anti-aircraft fire as they engaged these planes as they bombed the French city of Epinal, over 12 miles behind Dyer's position (Dyer, 1918). Dyer described feeling uneasy as he left Bruyeres by truck the evening of August 23 for an over 20-mile drive in the dark heading northeast to Raon-l'Etape. His uneasiness did not subside because he knew his truck, like so many other vehicles, could break down or worse, drive off the road into a ditch, because they were not allowed to turn on headlights this close to the front. His heart also went out for the weary 92nd Division soldiers marching or resting on the side of the road under the weight of their heavy packs. Looking beyond the marching Soldiers, he noticed the villages he passed were deathly still with destroyed buildings and desolation as far as he could see in the semi-darkness (Dyer, 1918).

Arriving in the severely damaged city of Raon-l'Etape, he noted German observation aircraft overhead with accompanying allied antiaircraft fire as he and his unit dismounted their vehicles and bivouacked in the woods north of the city. German aircraft returned and circled over the city for the next two days, and again they received allied anti-aircraft attention. The morning of the second day, he received a billet in the city. He took little notice of the additional German aircraft in the area that day until they dropped bombs on the woods, he occupied only hours before (Dyer, 1918). A few days later, in the city of St. Die, he attended a medical officer meeting, saw the desolation of the area in more detail, and found gravesites everywhere. He also

saw thick barbed wire obstacles marking the old trench lines dating back to 1914. German planes and observation balloon sightings were now a common occurrence for him. On September 16, 1918, he recorded in his memoir asking a colleague why someone did not shoot down a particular German observation balloon hovering not far from his position but just behind German lines. Ironically, he did not have to wait long before two French aircraft appeared. He watched in amazement as the two planes ducked and dodged German anti-aircraft fire, shot down the German balloon, and appearing unharmed by German antiaircraft fire, successfully escaped back to friendly lines (Dyer, 1918). However, Dyer sympathized with the general loss of life generated on both sides during the war when he witnessed the burial of two German pilots shot down inside allied lines. A combined French and 92nd Division burial detail laid the men to rest in a local cemetery in Raon-l'Etape, and Dyer could not help but feel for the mothers who had lost their sons. A happier point of interest from Dyer's front-line service in Raon-l'Etape was the enjoyment he received from the French family who provided him a place to stay. Officers typically received lodging from host nation families during this period. Dyer noted how the family treated him well and helped him learn French, and he tried to teach them English (Dyer, 1918).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Shortly after landing at St Nazaire, Second Lieutenant Houston, and his fellow detachment colleagues boarded a train heading south to a camp near Bordeaux. However, he did not remain there long and, within a few weeks, headed north again to Camp Mencou or Mencon over seven miles from the coastal town of Vannes (Houston, 1940h; Houston, 1940j). It is unclear why Houston's detachment did not become part of the 92nd Division when they arrived in France and serve on the division staff until called forward to replace someone in a battery. The

detachment's purpose appears to have been a pool of replacement Black field artillery officers for Black artillery units, so immediate assignment to the only Black divisions in the AEF with assigned artillery units sounds reasonable. Unfortunately, with no orders sending them forward to join the 92nd, the AEF staff decided to keep Houston and his colleagues current in their artillery skills by sending them to the field artillery training school at Camp Mencou. Houston hated his time at Mencou because he experienced his worse prejudicial treatment at the hands of White American soldiers on this installation. A possible reason this poor treatment occurred was that his detachment had no higher divisional headquarters like the 92nd to protect them.

The prejudicial treatment suffered by Houston manifested slowly over time. One of its first forms was the lack of an invitation to any officer's mess—neither Houston nor his colleagues ever received invitations to any officer's mess. The officer's mess was different from an officer's call Houston described earlier at Camp Meade. A mess was a place where all the officers in a unit could receive meals and socialize. It was common practice for officers from multiple units on one installation or post to invite each other to share a mess. The next form of prejudicial treatment was sharing barracks space for sleeping and eating with White enlisted men. The disrespectful living arrangement continued until the Black officers complained and finally received separate accommodations. According to Houston, the living arrangement with White enlisted men was intentional to humiliate the Black officers in front of the French instructors, German prisoners, and White enlisted soldiers (Houston, 1940h).

The additional artillery training at Camp Mencou was a combined operation with French and American instructors. The Black officers received the same training as their White American counterparts. The French were sympathetic and tried to be fair to the Black student officers in the classroom, but the American instructors repeatedly tried to humiliate them. For example, if a

White student officer missed a question in class, they received assistance from the White American instructor. However, if a Black student officer missed a question in class, they were singled out and ruthlessly drilled by the White American instructor. Other Black student officers were powerless to assist (Houston, 1940i). White American instructors also told Black student officers their answers were wrong and gave them poor grades, with barely a glance at their work. French instructors, who Black student officers asked for a second opinion of their work after class, would find the work above standard but were powerless to change the White American instructors' grades. Houston and his fellow officers were determined not to simply allow prejudicial instructors the satisfaction of failing them out of the course, so they took a risk and protested to the camp commander. Fortunately, the camp commander agreed with them, and as a result, two of the most prejudicial instructors received new assignments. The remaining instructors began to pay more attention to the Black student officers' classwork (Houston, 1940i). This situation highlights Houston's successful resistance to the power of oppression as advocated by Foucault (Heller, 1996).

Outside of camp, Houston, like Dickerson, witnessed prejudicial White officers spreading rumors about Black officers. For example, White officers told the French restaurant waitresses that White men needed to protect White women in France like they did in the United States. So, if any Black officer took advantage of them, they should scream, so White officers could come and save them. (Houston, 1940j). A racial discussion like this between White American officers and the French population is an example of Karl Marx's alienation. The White officers wanted to replicate Blacks as outsiders and second-class citizens in the French society as they did in American society back home. Treatment like this denied Black officers access to the product of their labors of working hard during the day fulfilling U.S. Army duties and not allowing them the

ability to enjoy French hospitality at night like other White officers (Marx, 1884). According to Houston in his memoir, the White American attempt at exclusion failed because Black officers held an advantage. They treated the French like ordinary people and respected their culture. It did not hurt that many of the Black officers were college graduates and could converse with the locals in their native French language. Like Dickerson's situation, Houston saw many French people start to doubt the rumors spread by White officers against Black officers. Houston also reported some White officers did not endear themselves to the French because they were arrogant and made fun of the French culture (Houston, 1940j). The French backlash against White officers resulted in more and more Black officers receiving invitations to dinner, thus expanding the Black officer network of acquaintances in town (Houston, 1940j).

George Washington Lee

Second Lieutenant Lee arrived in Brest on June 27, 1918, reportedly eager for the opportunity to fight White men in combat. Noted in Tucker's biography, Lee mentioned that the French people cheered as his regiment marched through the city of Brest for a week's stay at the ancient Pontanezen Barracks (Tucker, 1971). From Brest, the regiment entrained for the over five-hundred-mile ride to Bourbonne-les-Bains over six weeks before Dyer. At Bourbonne-les-Bains, Lee experienced an intense six weeks of additional training but despite the arduousness of the course, Lee's stay was very beneficial because he received up-to-date instruction in "penetrating barbed wire entanglements, throwing live hand grenades, patrolling, camouflage, combat signals, gas defense, and mock battalion attacks" (Tucker, 1971, p. 36). Unfortunately, Lee did not remain in Bourbonne-les-Bains long because Captain Reynolds volunteered him to attend aircraft liaison school. Lee blamed this sudden reassignment on Reynolds' continued jealousy, and as a result, he spent the next few weeks at the Lafayette Liaison School learning

how to signal friendly allied aircraft with colored panels. Unexpectedly, Lee discovered a twofold benefit from this assignment. First, while at school, he was free of Captain Reynolds. Second, upon his graduation and return, he was permanently reassigned to the regimental headquarters and never returned to Reynolds' company (Tucker, 1971).

Louis Thompkins Wright

In France, First Lieutenant Wright constantly served above his rank. On one occasion, he received orders to replace two Medical Corps captains because they failed to keep their Soldiers healthy. Wright complained about all this responsibility without the privilege of the appropriate rank, but was told his earlier disagreement with Colonel Boyer, the 92nd Division surgeon, caused the colonel to reject all of Wright's immediate supervisors' requests for his promotion (Hayden, 2003).

Summary

This chapter attempts to encapsulate the thoughts, fears, and activities of each of the featured officers as they moved forward from the United States to the front-line trenches of France. The analysis examined the tension of the Atlantic crossing and moved through the various training locations where each man received training and gives an example of the power of oppression and resistance they felt. For example, Houston's experience can exemplify Karl Marx's alienation in how Houston states White officers tried to get the French to view Black officers as outsiders to avoid (Marx, 1884). Dyer's experience aboard the ship is another example of Foucault's idea of the power of oppression (Foucault, 2000). Placing restrictions on when a person can get a haircut based on race demonstrates a minor but annoying form of constant oppression. The chapter also covers the types of training and retraining experienced and their thoughts about the treatment they received both from fellow White Americans and the

French people. All this information builds up to the ultimate test—of using their education and training to keep themselves and their men alive up on the front lines.

Chapter 9 - Application of Education and Training in Combat

> …have your platoon assembled here at Company P. C. at 2:30 p. m. with overtop equipment and packs, etc. Leave position vacant….
>
> —John Brother Cade, *Twenty-two months with "Uncle Sam*"

The chapter focuses on how each officer handled the ultimate test of military service—armed combat with a determined foe. Understanding their experiences as they entered combat assists in answering the third subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences after Fort Des Moines in the war? The analysis highlights how each dealt with the reality of war through their adherence to orders from the chain of command to the lifesaving information provided by French liaison officers working with them in the trenches. The analysis continues into last-minute schools attended before combat, along with a comparative look at the 92nd Division's German opponents and how they trained their officers. The chapter includes information concerning the impression the ceasefire left on them, along with their travels through formerly German-occupied territory and travels through France back to the ports. Injuries are also discussed ranging from poison gas to bullet wounds and hospital stays before eventual return to the United States.

A World at War with Killing on an Industrial Scale

The war that began in late 1914 with a cascade of alliances soon engulfed the entire world. By the beginning of 1915, the Central Powers, comprising Austria-Hungary, Germany, and the Ottoman Empire, stood united in a bitter struggle against the Allies of France, Great Britain, and Czarist Russia (Library, 2021c). The belligerents soon found the manpower requirements overwhelming, requiring them to draft troops from their overseas colonies. The result was the same as in the United States: troops with connections to the continent of Africa

soon found themselves engaged in combat. Algerians from French colonies in North Africa mentioned earlier now entered the trenches alongside Black French West African colonials called Tirailleurs Senegalais. Interestingly the West Africans wanted a decree stating "…veterans who had won both the Croix de Guerre and the Medaille Militaire to obtain French citizenship…" because French colonial people were not considered full French citizens (Fogarty, 2008, p. 241). Even the Germans brought their African colonial troops into the fight, but not on the battlefields of Europe.

The British Navy kept the German African colonial soldiers on the continent of Africa, so these Black troops fought under the control of their German colonizers in a series of actions against the allies in all three of the German West Africa colonies to keep them out of Allied hands. These German colonies were Togoland or the modern-day country of Togo, Cameroon or modern-day Cameroon, and an area known as South West Africa or the modern-day nation of Namibia (Farwell, 1986). The more renowned combat operations of the war in Africa occurred—in the German East Africa colony or the modern-day country of Tanzania where African troops known as "Askaris" fought under the command of German Lieutenant Colonel Paul Emil Von Lettow-Vorbeck against the British (Farwell, 1986, p. 107).

By late 1918, as the U.S. Army made its presence felt in the war alongside its British, French, and later Czarist Russian Allies, the war had already claimed millions. To show the scale of misery, the British Army lost over 57,000 men killed, captured, or wounded on a single day on July 1, 1916, during the Battle of the Somme (Graham, n.d.). This war was a new form of killing on an industrial scale, and the machine that caused the most causalities was the new mass-produced guns of the artillery. These massive instruments of war, capable of hurling shells miles in any direction like the German 15-centimeter heavy field howitzer and the 21-centimeter

mortar, soon laid waste to French towns and cities, like Verdun along the entire front line (Stone, 2015). Mass-produced machine guns capable of firing hundreds of rounds a minute and poison gas added to the deadly capabilities of both sides. These weapons quickly overpowered the lethality of the traditional direct fire cannon, rifle, and bayonet of previous wars. This newly industrialized world of death perfected over the last four years of fighting was the environment the seven featured gentlemen entered, armed only with their previous college education and newly scaffolded military training. The following examines their experiences in this world facing off against a war-weary but battle-hardened German Army in the front-line trenches of WWI.

John Brother Cade

The 366th Infantry Regiment moved deeper into the St. Die sector and closer to the German trenches on August 21, 1918. Cade's platoon marched on the right side of the road under noise and light discipline—no unnecessary talking or cigarette smoking. The left side of the road was for people leaving the front lines to include German prisoners heading to prison camp. When they arrived in St. Marguerite, two and a half miles southeast of the city of St. Die, Cade witnessed the nasty side of WWI for the first time. The so-called town was a ghost of itself. Lone chimneys marked the location of destroyed buildings intermingled with two-to-three-feet-deep craters formed by repeated artillery bombardment (Cade, 1929). Passing through St. Marguerite, Cade marched northeast for two miles and reached Vanifosse late on August 21. He and his men spent the rest of the night trying to sleep in underground dugouts. The distances between these towns may be short, but Cade and his platoon were not traveling alone. A mass of humanity was also moving around in the area consisting of numerous other American and French units. All these people were traveling over barely existent roads ripped and torn from shell explosions and interlaced with old, barbed wire obstacles.

The next day, August 22, Cade received billets in an old barn, which the troops called "the Soldiers Hotel" (Cade, 1929, p. 57). These barns were still intact only because they occupied the backside of a hill facing away from the Germans. The Germans could not directly observe the barns from the ground, but even if they could see them from the air using artillery spotter aircraft, their ground-based artillery could not acquire an attack angle to hit them.

German aircraft could bomb them, but usually more lucrative targets on the battlefield occupied the German aircraft's attention (Cade, 1929). The area around the barns was not as lucky and received constant German artillery attention. Cade discussed in his memoir how he and his men learned to distinguish incoming German artillery. He noted how they quickly discovered a 20-second delay between what sounded like distant thunder—the firing of the German guns—and a whistling sound overhead. The resulting explosion a few seconds later delivered a cloud of flying metal or the more insidious poison gas (Cade, 1929).

Cade's first opportunity to apply his acquired combat training occurred the evening of August 24 when he led a ten-man patrol into "No Man's Land," the area between the opposing allied and German trenches to gather intelligence on German operations (Cade, 1929, p. 58-60). His patrol began three kilometers from Vanifosse in the front line remains of Neuvillers and was in coordination with French troops in the area. Cade's patrol was unsuccessful in gaining much information on the enemy, but he brought his nine men back safely from the patrol (Cade, 1929). At this time, Cade was the platoon commander for Third Platoon, Company F, 366th Infantry Regiment, and he joined the rest of the regiment as they relieved the French 91st Regiment in the front-line trenches near Frapelle over a mile from Neuvillers on August 26. From Cade's perspective, the relief consisted of using a French interpreter to determine enemy positions and ammunition supplies on hand; identify hazardous no-go terrain due to enemy observation,

friendly units on his flanks, and observation posts; and learn hand signals for artillery support along with methods for getting food to his men. The French left one lieutenant and four noncommissioned officers as emergency liaisons. Looking out over his platoon's trench position in Frapelle, Cade could easily see Strasburg in the distance behind the German lines (Cade, 1929).

Cade's military training continued with a hands-on course in trench warfare routine. First, he discovered all war activities occurred at night, such as sending out patrols, trench repair or creation, and replacing observation post personnel. An observation post was where Private Henry Johnson earned his accolades months before. The observation post consisted of a two-person position surrounded by barbed wire and sandbags; the position is located between the antagonists' lines to provide early warning of enemy activity. Their mission and location made them natural attractions for enemy attention. For Cade and his troops in the trenches, nighttime also held ample opportunities for them to attract both enemy and friendly lethal attention.

German snipers were a constant threat, and friendly American or French troops could easily mistake an allied soldier as a German in the limited nighttime visibility (Cade, 1929). Cade's men also endured field rations, which usually arrived cold twice a day before sunrise and after sunset. During daylight hours, the men experienced enemy machine gun and artillery fire landing among their trench positions, including the occasional gas attack like chlorine or other forms of sneezing agents routinely employed by the Germans (Cade, 1929).

Company F, Cade's parent unit, experienced a hard lesson in maintaining standards when the Germans infiltrated their lines dressed in French uniforms. The Germans were successful because American sentries had become complacent in observing Frenchmen within their positions and did not alert the company commander or platoon commanders like Cade. This

lapse in standards allowed a German patrol to infiltrate company lines the next day on August 30 to capture Private William Hicks and kill Private A Smith. This incident may have contributed to Company F's commander, Captain Charles W. Owens, to suffer from shell shock, a debilitating mental illness known today as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). He was evacuated to the field hospital at St. Die after the incident. His short-term replacement was Captain Charles G. Kelly, another former 17th PTR graduate. Captain Owens rejoined Company F and resumed his duties as a company commander on September 8 (Cade, 1929). Owens learned his lesson from the German infiltration incident and strictly enforced standards dealing with the French. Any Frenchman observed in the company area was to be challenged and the company headquarters notified. If the supposed Frenchman's answers failed under scrutiny, they were escorted under guard to the battalion headquarters for further questioning (Cade, 1929).

On September 3, Cade applied his Fort Des Moines skills again when he led his platoon in an over-the-top attack against German positions 300 yards to his front after a 45-minute French-supporting artillery barrage. The attack was initially successful—Cade and his men reached their objective, but the promised follow-on engineer support failed to materialize. As a result, Cade and his men received orders to withdraw. Unfortunately, during the withdrawal, enemy fire killed Private George Ruffin and severely injured Private First Class Clincy. It is worth noting that despite Clincy's injuries, he managed to bring the mortally-wounded Ruffin back to friendly lines. Clincy received the Distinguished Service Cross for heroism (Cade, 1929). This research study could not determine the relationship between Ruffin and Clincy before September 3, but this act of courage pointed to comrades helping one another without regard for personal safety. Cade's platoon and the rest of Company F received orders on September 16 to move to the rear for refit after spending 22 days in the front lines. The company, specifically

Captain Owens, received an honorable mention in a brigade report sent up the chain of command discussing activities in their sector of responsibility (Cade, 1929). In the rest area near the little town of Granges, Cade and his men could finally relax and clean up (Cade, 1929). Cade and his men now became the old soldiers with war stories to pass on to replacements, having survived their first experience in combat.

Cade reached the Argonne Forest on September 24. He occupied positions with his men a few miles from Vienne le Chateau behind the AEF 28th Division. While his unit occupied this position in a reserve status, he was able to walk around and inspect his first allied tank up close. He called the tank a "Whipple" in his memoir, but the only allied vehicle with a similar name that matches his description was a British "Whippet" tank (Cade, 1929, p. 78; Adeney, 1918). The great Argonne offensive began for Cade after dark on Wednesday, September 25 with a huge, allied artillery bombardment of nearby German positions. The artillery fire continued for the next 37 hours. The 28th Division advanced in the middle of this bombardment on Thursday, September 26. Cade could hear exploding grenades and rifle and machine-gun fire mixed in with the artillery fire (Cade, 1929). Cade testified the Germans did not remain idle and absorb the onslaught. They countered with their own artillery fire raining shells down on allied positions. German infantry counter-attacked whenever possible, inflicting heavy allied casualties and taking allied prisoners. German aircraft also attacked ground targets and managed to set an allied observation balloon on fire in front of Cade's positions (Cade, 1929). Cade further stated that his company and the entire 366th Regiment received orders on September 26 to be prepared to move forward and assist the 28th Division if required. However, the order to move forward never arrived and Cade was told to stand down the next day. He witnessed the ambulance loads of

wounded and walking wounded coming back from the front and the columns of German prisoners heading to prison camps in the rear (Cade, 1929).

Cade received orders relieving him of his platoon commander responsibilities on Friday, September 27 and sending him for more training at the I Corps school at Gondrecourt, like his counterpart Clarence Harding did the previous summer. In school, Cade learned more about automatic rifles, gas, and grenades. He ended his four weeks of training on October 25 (Cade, 1929). When he returned from school and rejoined the regiment, his company was occupying the Marbache sector. This area featured better-prepared trenches and thick barbed wire obstacles in front of allied and German trenches. This sector was closer to the enemy on "The Big W" also known as the western front, than the St. Die sector for the Argonne Offensive, but curiously, Marbache was known as a quieter sector in comparison (Cade, 1929, p 81). On October 28, Cade used his recently acquired training in a daylight raid on Eply-sur Seille. Cade led a force of four squads, one armed with chauchauts, a French version of an automatic machine gun ("Ordnance-Types", 2021). Despite heavy enemy fire, the raid proved successful, and the raiders departed the area without suffering any casualties. Cade received praise for his conduct during the raid (Cade, 1929). Interestingly, during this period in the war, in early November 1918, Cade mentions the men had gone through a transformation. The transformation was due to acquiring the necessary skills to survive in combat, which turned them into warriors. The result was no shortage of volunteers for any patrol into "No Man's Land" (Cade, 1929, p. 89). The men had simply lost their fear of death or injury despite continuing casualties from ongoing patrols (Cade, 1929).

On November 9, Cade received a written order from the company commander, Captain Owens, stating, "…have your platoon assembled here at Company P. C. at 2:30 p. m. with overtop equipment and packs, etc…Leave position vacant…" (Cade, 1929, p. 91). This order set

in motion a series of events leading to Cade's final combat actions of the war, all occurring in the Bois de Voivrotte woods (Cade, 1929). Please note some of the following information is in chapter one's vignette for this research study. Cade and his platoon spent the rest of November 9 preparing themselves for the advance. The order came the next morning on November 10; Cade and his men moved forward into the woods. They quickly achieved their objective, but due to the sustained attention they received from the Germans, they were ordered to withdraw. Unfortunately, surviving the engagement did not complete his activities for the day and later that afternoon he was ordered forward once more into the woods (Cade, 1929). Cade thought it odd he was not ordered to move forward through the woods to attack Bouxieres, which lay north of the woods, to silence the German guns and stop this constant harassment, but he followed his orders.

The Germans renewed the intensity of their interests in Cade's movements and dropped high explosives along with gas shells on Cade's position. One overhead artillery shell burst killed several men around Cade, including his 17th PTR colleague First Lieutenant Guy W. Canady. Cade found himself alone and struggling to breathe from mustard gas (Lynch et al., 1925). He quickly regained his senses, put on his gas mask, and ran—still under artillery fire—until he found cover in an old German machine gun position. He remained there drifting in and out of consciousness until nightfall. That evening, he was weak, tired, and hungry with a burning sensation in his throat from the gas when he noticed Private Frank Penman beside him, also seeking cover from enemy fire. The two men managed to make their way back to friendly lines a short time later. This action ended Cade's final wartime mission on the evening of November 10. Upon his return, he was told his unit thought he perished with Canady and were thankful he managed to survive. For Cade, his survival was bittersweet because the news the war was about

to end the next day at eleven o'clock left him heartsick for the great loss of life, so close to the end. Cade was evacuated to the rear and finished the war at a field hospital near Belleville (Cade, 1929). In the 88th Division unit history, the 92nd Division received the following positive comment for its part in the final 2nd Army offensive on November 10-11, "…the 92nd and 7th Division were practically new to offensive employment but compared most favorably with the more experienced organizations…" ("The 88th Division," 1919, p. 66). As for Cade, he returned to duty in time to make the long trip back to Brest with the rest of his unit on board the R.M.S Aquitania for the voyage home on February 23, 1919. Landing in New York Harbor on March 1, he soon received orders sending him back to Camp Upton, New York, and eventually to Camp Gordon, Georgia, where he demobilized out of the Army on March 31, 1919 (Cade, 1929).

Until this point, this research study focused on Cade and the AEF, but let's change perspective for the moment and examine the German units Cade faced in his foray into the Bois de Voivrotte woods. These troops served with the German XVI Army Corps, headquartered in Metz, and their responsibility was to hold the occupied territories in Western Lorraine ("General Staff", 1918). Most of the men in the Corps came from predominately the Rhineland and Westphalia ("General Staff", 1918). The specific XVI Corps men facing Cade occupying Bouxieres were from the 47th Landwehr Regiment and 31st Landwehr Brigade (Cochrane, 1959). The German Army consisted of Active service units, Reserve units, Landwehr units, and Landsturm units. The Reserve, Landwehr, and Landsturm were all types of reserve units; their only distinction is the amount of training they received in peacetime.

In comparison with the Fort Des Moines candidates, the German Army received their aspiring officers for these units from various sources. In peacetime, 11 cadet schools, operating similarly to the United States Military Academy at West Point, educated and trained young

German men aspiring to become officers through a two-year educational/training program ("General Staff", 1918). Those with the highest grades received commissions immediately upon graduation. The rest of the class had to undergo an additional nine months of education and training at another series of schools called the War schools ("General Staff", 1918). However, even after graduating from their nine months of additional training, these cadets did not receive commissions. They reported to their new units and received recommendations from commissioned officers within their unit to finally become eligible for a commission.

Along with officer manpower from military schools, the German army officer ranks in peacetime received one-year volunteers who aspired to become Reserve or Landwehr officers, comparable to reserve corps officers like Cade ("General Staff", 1918). These men attended a one-year training course and underwent examinations at two additional annual training events. If these reservists passed all their requirements, they received commissions in the German Army Reserves or Landwehr and must attend three to eight weeks of annual training. A third source of officers for the German Army in peacetime was the commissioning of recommended noncommissioned officers. This practice was similar to the noncommissioned officers who received commissions after completing the 17th PTR course ("General Staff", 1918).

By 1918, the German Army drafted its population into military service like the United States, but the sources of manpower to become officers did not change. The cadet schools continued their programs, but like West Point, they could not produce the necessary number of officers, so the number of commissions increased for one-year volunteers and noncommissioned officers ("General Staff", 1918). Each German Army Corps, like the XVI Corps, maintained their depots and each depot contained a major training center. The centers' officer instructional program maintained a strict disciplinary code and ran for two to three months. Each school of

instruction was composed of 1,600-2,000 students taught by a faculty of commissioned officers, some convalescing from injuries sustained in combat. Student instruction consisted of theoretical and practical military knowledge. Theoretical training included lectures on tactics, solving practical exercises on maps, creating terrain sketches, and participating in live-fire ranges to develop familiarity with weapons like grenades and trench mortars. Officer cadets also studied the duties of an officer and had to pass examinations, similar to Lee's 17th PTR experience ("General Staff", 1918). To develop their practical military knowledge, the students underwent daily exercises in offensive and defensive tactics, physically walking the ground on different types of terrain, with each cadet assuming a variety of command positions within the company and platoon. Practical knowledge training also included medical procedures for treating and evacuating casualties, digging trenches, constructing bridging obstacles, and physical fitness. At the end of their training program, students must pass final oral and written examinations and a final inspection by the center commandant ("General Staff", 1918).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

As a 92nd Division interpreter, Second Lieutenant Dickerson witnessed the German psychological warfare efforts to target Black American soldier morale with aircraft-dropped leaflets. These leaflets asked Black troops why they were fighting for a country that provided them no democracy at home, only violence and injustice. The leaflets encouraged Black soldiers to desert and cross over into German lines to enjoy friendship and respect (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson did not comment, and it is beyond the scope of this research study to discuss the actual impact these leaflets made on Black troops during the war. Dickerson's two-year law school background also landed him legal work as a defense attorney on several courts-martials during his tenure on the division staff. Dickerson would finally return to troops as a platoon

commander in his old unit Company E, Second Battalion, 365th Infantry Regiment during the Argonne offensive. He did not participate in any of the fighting but continued to train with his unit in preparation for future operations. Dickerson's unit moved forward with the rest of the division after the Argonne offensive and participated in combat operations from September until the end of the war in November 1918. While serving as a platoon commander, Dickerson experienced the full weight of leading men in life and death situations, which left a lifelong impression on him. Dickerson noted this impression as the randomness of death—how an exploding shell kills one man and leaves another standing next to him untouched. He also commented on the constant feeling of death from a sniper's bullet or gas attack. All this tension had its toll, "…so that the rest of his life he would be fatalistic concerning death, emotionally if not intellectually…" (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 31).

Dickerson noted that regarding equality, he was only aware of one Black officer promoted during the entire war. Captain Adam E. Patterson, a fellow 17th PTR graduate, was promoted to major in early 1918 in the Judge Advocate General's Office. Dickerson recorded how the 92nd Division started with a Black officer population of 82%. However, due to various disciplinary actions, efficiency boards, and wartime casualties, the division ended the war with a Black officer population of 58% (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). The war dragged on for Dickerson and he was still in the trenches with his platoon on November 10, 1918. It was on this last full day of the war that Dickerson received orders to go over the top the next morning, November 11, in one final drive to take the Metz fortress. The next morning, Dickerson and his men went over the top and advanced behind an artillery barrage into the German trenches. Fortunately, the war ended at precisely eleven o'clock and Dickerson later reminisced how both sides stopped shooting and began jumping up and down for joy (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). One can only

imagine the emotional release of facing a German soldier in a trench with fixed-bayonet-tipped rifles, and the next second, hearing cheers up and down the lines announcing the end of the war. The emotional release of dropping one's weapon and hugging and yelling with the man you were about to kill must have been overwhelming.

Dickerson left the trenches, along with the rest of the 92nd Division, and headed west to Le Mans to wait for final orders directing him back to the United States. In Le Mans, he reunited with fellow Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity members and made plans for their future back in the United States. Later, while on leave walking down the Champs-Elysees in Paris, he heard about a meeting to form a veteran's organization after the war. He attended several of these meetings, and later noted his attendance led to his recognition as a founder of the American Legion (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). In France, he also heard numerous speeches by men like Robert R. Moton, the principal of Tuskegee Institute, who said they achieved a magnificent fighting record in France, but not to expect much change back in the United States. To Black soldiers returning from combat, Moton's speeches did not receive much support because these men were not in the mood to hear this status quo discussion (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). In March 1919, Dickerson departed France but experienced one last act of discrimination in uniform onboard ship. The rule was units in France the longest would get the best accommodations. Unfortunately, senior White officers did not apply this rule fairly concerning Black troops. Black protests on board achieved little but someone contacted the newspapers and reporters descended on the ship when it docked in New York, demanding an explanation resulting in articles reporting the injustice. His biography relates how Dickerson commented about the parades in New York and Chicago welcoming the troops home but does not mention if he participated. Additionally, he commented about being treated like royalty during this period. Dickerson received his demobilization orders

at Camp Grant near Rockford, Illinois, and returned to civilian life in Chicago in April 1919. His wartime experiences transformed him into a more mature person who was more aware of the limits of democracy and more determined to achieve equality for himself and his race (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

William Holmes Dyer

First Lieutenant Dyer and his unit, the 317th Ammunition Train, went into action while stationed near the French city of Raon-l'Etape. The Ammunition Train's mission was to ensure a steady stream of ammunition reached all the 92nd Division's units to include ammunition for supporting French artillery. The ammunition train trucks conducted their supply convoy operations at night because, during the day, German observers could see and call-in artillery on all the roads in and out of the city (Dyer, 1918). Despite limited visibility at night, the Germans still tried to disrupt the 317th Ammunition Train operations. Dyer heard of many harrowing escapes by 317th Ammunition Train personnel as they had to quickly exit their ammunition trucks and find cover in shell holes to avoid exploding German artillery shells and aircraft dropping bombs. The men distributing ammunition in the forward supply dump located in nearby woods fared no better, living in dugouts carved in the dirt seeking shelter from the occasional enemy activity in the area (Dyer, 1918).

Dyer remained in Raon-l'Etape a month and left in a truck convoy on September 22, 1918. After a two-day journey, he arrived in the Argonne Forest and bivouacked in the woods under constant aerial observations of German aircraft. From this position, he experienced the allied artillery bombardment that opened the Argonne offensive. He described in his memoir how the ground under his tent trembled like an earthquake. He also commented laying in his cot at night, watching the artillery muzzle flashes light up the inside of his tent for hours (Dyer,

1918). Reflecting on the intensity of the barrage, he was grateful he was not on the receiving end of these outgoing shells because he imagined men dying by the thousands under the weight of the onslaught. During the day, Dyer treated sick 317th Ammunition Train personnel who fell victim to the wet, damp conditions and occasionally visited an American evacuation hospital in the afternoon. At the hospital, he witnessed firsthand the full toll of war as a steady stream of ambulances shuttled back and forth delivering gravely wounded men along with vehicles filled with bloody corpses (Dyer, 1918). A few days later, on September 26, Dyer mentioned in his memoirs a bulletin arrived from the 92nd Division headquarters stating Black soldiers must handle allied mustard gas shells instead of White soldiers because Blacks were "less susceptible to mustard gas than whites" (Dyer, 1918, p. 56). A medical professional, Dyer, inquired about the evidence to back up this claim but never received any justification to this blatantly racist claim. This claim can be an example of Karl Marx's alienation. Alienation in the form of Blacks being denied the product of their labor the occasional relief from handling gas munitions, by White soldiers. Black soldiers handling hazardous gas munitions all the time denied them this hard-earned relief (Marx, 1884). On September 30, Dyer and the 317th Ammunition Train left the Argonne Forest by truck and proceeded to the city of St. Menehould (Dyer, 1918).

In St. Menehould, Dyer quartered on the fourth floor of an old French cavalry barracks on the tallest hill in the city with a commanding view of the front lines a few miles away. In his opinion, this position was too exposed, but it had a morbid advantage. He could easily watch the artillery duels between the armies, represented by exploding shells up and down the front lines. He also stated he managed to get some sleep despite the constant rumbling of artillery explosions and fear of death (Dyer, 1918). While serving in St. Menehould, Dyer recorded amid his primary duties that he managed to get a few moments on October 5 to visit and pay respects to a

cemetery near his quarters. The cemetery consisted of over 6,000 crosses representing French soldiers killed earlier in the war between 1915-1916. During his walk, he stopped at the gravesite of Miss Marion G. Crandell, an American YMCA worker from Iowa who died from wounds suffered from an exploding German artillery shell in March 1918. Her burial received full military honors only a few months before Dyer's arrival (Dyer, 1918; Swanger, 2018).

Dyer along with the rest of the 317th Ammunition Train left St. Menehould on October 7. He headed southeast by truck transport through the rain-soaked desolate wasteland of the St. Mihiel sector, which weeks earlier saw massive fighting between AEF and German troops. During this rain-soaked windy ride, Dyer sat in the open cab of a truck helping the driver stay on the road and not drive off into a ditch. The bumpy ride on war-torn roads was even more ominous with the constant flash and rumble of exploding artillery shells in the distance. His odyssey ended over 78 miles later when he arrived in the town of Belleville at approximately 4 am on October 8. Belleville was less than 20 miles north of the city of Nancy. Tired, wet, and hungry, Dyer recorded in his memoir thinking about his home back in the States for the first time since joining the Army (Dyer, 1918). Belleville is in a valley, so it was hard for the German artillery to hit the town directly. The towns of Marbache to the south and Dieulouard to the north were not as lucky and received constant German artillery attention. On October 9, the 92nd Division relieved the French 69th Division in the Marbache sector (Lynch et al., 1925). The 317th Ammunition Train immediately went into action, supporting the drive on the city of Metz over 25 miles to the north, which the Soldiers were calling the big western front pivot from heading east to heading north (Dyer, 1918).

Dyer set up his infirmary in a small electrical plant and tended to the growing numbers of sick soldiers again due to the cold and rainy weather in the sector (Dyer, 1918; Fisher &

Buckley, 2016). For the rest of the month, two things raised Dyer's spirits; first, he received praise from his commanding officer, Major Howard, who returned from a meeting with the Division Surgeon and complimented Dyer on receiving no negative complaints against his performance. The second was the continued spread of rumors among the troops the war would be over soon (Dyer, 1918). Dyer felt encouraged that autocracy, which he joined the military to fight against, would finally end and democracy would be allowed to reign supreme. The only thing to dampen his spirits was the poorly managed military execution of a young Black soldier accused of rape. Many, including Dyer, called the execution a lynching because of how badly it was handled (Dyer, 1918). On November 9, the big pivot offensive toward Metz began with a tremendous artillery barrage supporting the attacking infantry. The offensive continued through November 10, and into the morning of November 11, before the ceasefire ended the war. Dyer recorded how the bells rang, whistles blew, and everyone shouted the end of the greatest conflict on earth, and the right side had won (Dyer, 1918). As the war ended, Dyer and the rest of the 92nd Division were part of a larger AEF 2nd Army attack from the city of Pont-A-Mousson toward Bouxieres-Sous-Froidmont on the east side of the Moselle River from November 10-11 (Lynch et al., 1925).

A few weeks after the armistice, on December 6, Dyer toured the formerly occupied city of Metz. In his memoir, Dyer mentioned how the long German occupation influenced the city inhabitants and made them cold with little hospitality toward the allied troops. He also commented how they conversed almost extensively in German (Dyer, 1918). Dyer assisted in one more tragedy before leaving France. On December 15, his medical team received an emergency request to set up an aid station to treat wounded from a nearby train accident (Dyer, 1918). A passenger train and a troop train filled with returning French soldiers collided; the

resulting mass casualty event quickly overwhelmed local resources. He went and worked all night helping the injured. The following month, he caught influenza and suffered from frostbite on his feet from the cold winter conditions. He recovered from both ailments, spent time in Le Mans with the rest of the division, and finally reached Brest in February 1919. He treated sick fellow 92nd Division soldiers in Brest, who suffered from the continued poor weather, and finally boarded the R.M.S Aquitania for the trip home on February 22 (Dyer, 1918). Onboard, he conducted the same health inspection duties he carried out coming to France. The 366th Infantry Regiment, 92nd Division returned with him, and the chances were good he met Cade on the return trip, but he did not mention any direct contact in his memoir. Dyer arrived in New York Harbor and was soon on his way to Camp Upton with Cade and the other 92nd Division units and personnel. He spent 18 days at Camp Upton before being sent to Camp Dix, New Jersey. At Camp Dix, he waited for three days and finally, on March 23, 1919, received his Army discharge returning him to civilian life (Dyer, 1918).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Houston completed his artillery training at Camp Mencou, but he spent October through the end of the war in Mencou under constantly anticipating being called forward to enter the fighting. The impact of the daily drumbeat of racism he experienced at Mencou was made more acute because he did not have much to do in camp. For example, the constant promotion of false stereotypes about his race, from inferior intelligence to sexual prowess, took its toll as he realized a person's talent, character, and ability in the U.S. Army did not matter, only one's skin color (McNeil, 1983). This example provides insight into the toll Foucault's idea of the power of oppression takes on an individual in the oppressed group (Foucault, 2000). Shortly after the armistices on November 11, 1918, Houston finally received orders to leave Camp Mencou and

link up with the 92nd Division. Moving by rail, he soon arrived in Couterne, approximately 150 miles to the northeast, and finally assumed duties as a field artillery officer with the 351st Field Artillery (Houston, 1940k). The last time Houston saw any of these men was over six months ago, back at Camp Meade, Maryland. He was only in Couterne a short time before the 351st Field Artillery was back on the train headed to port and loaded on the steamer S.S. Northland on a straight course back to New York (Houston, 1940k). The end of the war meant ship convoys no longer had to worry about German submarines and could sail in a straight course, not zigzag patterns, with their cabin lights shining through unshaded windows. Onboard, Houston experienced racism by receiving a substandard stateroom not befitting his rank (Houston, 1940k). His entire experience in the U.S. Army to this point would not allow him to relax and enjoy the end of the war. Instead, he found himself uneasy, thinking about the coming struggle between Blacks who experienced combat along with the freedom of a nonprejudicial French society and some in White America wishing for a return to the old status quo of Black second-class citizenship (Keene, 2015).

George Washington Lee

By August 1918, Second Lieutenant Lee and the 368th occupied the St. Die sector, but while Lee's old company was in the forward rat-infested trenches, he was further back at regimental headquarters in relative comfort. His primary responsibility at the time was to control the power to the electrified wire that ran through the forward barbed wire entanglements in front of his regiment's area of responsibility. When a patrol went to gather information or capture German prisoners, he sent a runner to the power station to turn off the power to allow them to pass through and turn on the power after they were clear and in no man's land heading toward the German lines. He did the opposite when the patrol returned to safely let them back into

friendly lines (Tucker, 1971). Lee only recorded one incident when his well-orchestrated procedures did not function smoothly. As usual, he received orders about a friendly patrol heading out for the evening, so he briefed his Soldiers, and one of them left to turn off the power. Unfortunately, the Soldier became lost in the dark trench passageways and returned to Lee's position without turning off the power. Lee immediately raced through the trenches to the power station himself and managed to turn off the power in time to avoid a serious fratricide situation (Tucker, 1971).

On September 20, Lee and the 368th Infantry Regiment left the St. Die sector and moved into the Meuse-Argonne sector with the rest of the 92nd Division. On September 26-28, elements of the division participated in attacks against German positions; however, the division units failed to accomplish their objectives, and charges of cowardice were raised (Tucker, 1971). Lee's battalion of the 368th Infantry regiment moved to the frontline on September 29 to follow up the attack, and Lee found himself in the middle of the fray as the battalion advanced six miles and entered the town of Binarville. The battalion commander, Major Merrill, ordered Lee to serve as a runner and take several men as his escort to deliver the news of the advance into Binarville back to regimental headquarters (Tucker, 1971). Lee quickly discovered his report to Regimental commander Colonel Fred Brown was not the good news story he thought it would be, when Brown immediately accused Major Merrill of advancing without orders and told Lee to return and tell Merrill to pull back.

Lee carried out his orders, but he could not understand the reasoning behind the withdrawal orders as he headed back toward the fighting. Lee was even more surprised when he saw Merrill and heard the Major had already received the withdrawal order from another runner and was unhappy about the battalion's advance. Again, Lee suspected foul play and even

suspected Major Merrill as part of the deceit, but the battalion withdrew to its former positions without further incident. In the bigger picture, Lee saw his suspicions of a plot against the Black troops become a reality when he heard 30 Black officers of the 92nd Division now faced charges of cowardice for the failed attack back on September 26-28. In the end, General Pershing agreed with Major General Ballou's recommendation to immediately send these Black officers back to the States.

Lee soon discovered Captain Elijah Reynolds was one of the 30 officers. All these officers' replacements were White; the percentage of Black officers in the division, as stated earlier, fell from 82% to 58% (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Tucker, 1971). The war dragged on for Lee. He participated with the rest of the division in the Marbache offensive, but he always considered the Argonne Offensive his personal triumph. He later stated he felt the Argonne Offensive was when Black officers "overcame their psychological problem of fighting White men and had proven their bravery" (Tucker, 1971, p. 39). Lee experienced the ringing of the church bells on November 11, signaling the end of the war, and began a final three-month stay in France drilling his men. He believed his senior leaders felt if the men stayed busy, there was less chance they would get into trouble, like listening to Bolshevik ideas stemming from the recent Russian revolution (Tucker, 1971). The fear among some Whites was Blacks would lead an insurrection against the status quo of White hegemony when they arrived home, similar to what the Bolsheviks did in Russia against the Czar. Lee returned to the United States and received his demobilization discharge orders on March 27, 1919, a few days after Dyer at Camp Dix, New Jersey. Lee's time in uniform as a Second Lieutenant left a lifelong pride in his wartime activities. He celebrated this pride by embracing the title Lieutenant Lee for the rest of his life (Clark, 1986; Tucker, 1971). Commissioned officers with the rank of second or first lieutenant

are both addressed as Lieutenant. Lee returned to Memphis, Tennessee, as a civilian, and after some soul searching and discussions with friends, decided to join the fight against the status quo not as a communist, but as a Black activist, businessman, and politician in the struggle for racial equality in America (Tucker, 1971).

James Brad Morris

Second Lieutenant Morris did not find his experience in the stinking trenches of France filled with much glory. Half his men were sick, he was nearly deaf in one ear from the constant artillery barrages, and most disappointing of all, he could not personally claim a single German killed by his own hands (Morris, 1999). Meanwhile, he, along with his fellow Black officers, found White southern enlisted soldiers disrespectful of their higher rank, which often quickly turned into fistfights or worse. Hence, both groups avoided each other as much as possible. The racial situation did not improve when Morris heard rumors about White American artillery units firing on their own Black American troops. Morris reasoned southerners or White German men were going to die at the hands of Black soldiers eventually; it was just a matter of time. In the trenches at night, Morris heard his own southern Black soldiers singing spirituals to stay awake, and he listened to the anger and sorrow in their voices as they told each other horror-filled stories of lynching's and mutilations at the hands of racist White mobs (Morris, 1999). Morris found he shared in their deep anguish by remembering the murder of his childhood friend Jimmy: falsely accused of raping a White woman, hunted down, tied to a post, covered with kerosene, and burned alive by a White Atlanta mob. Morris's anger manifested itself in a shared deep desire for revenge by killing as many White men, represented by German soldiers, as possible. The Germans soon recognized this viciousness in their Black American opponents and started calling them Swartzentodt, or "Black Death" (Morris, 1999, p. 43). It was not long before Morris did kill

his first German in a vicious hand-to-hand fight, and he quickly realized there was no joy in ending another man's life (Morris, 1999).

From August through September 1918, Morris left the trenches and attended an I Corps Intelligence School training course to become an infantry scout (Morris, 1999). Returning to the front after graduation, a German mustard gas shell soon landed near him. The heat from the shell's embers burned the top of his head before he could get his helmet back on after donning his gas mask, resulting in his first stay in a French field hospital. He was amazed by how so few medical staff could help so many wounded men in the hospital. While recuperating, he heard rumors about Black troops retreating in the Meuse-Argonne offensive. This news hardened his previously flagging resolution about killing and he renewed his vowed revenge on his White oppressors (Morris, 1999). Back at the front, he assumed his new duties as a forward scout and repeatedly served as an artillery spotter, calling in artillery on German positions. He also went on nightly patrols into no man's land to gather information on German activities in the area (Morris, 1999). His weapons of choice were a knife and a Winchester Model 1897 trench shotgun. He inflicted deadly damage with both weapons against numerous German soldiers, who at this point in the war appeared exhausted, helpless, and low on supplies from all the fighting. From Morris's perspective, he did not care about the Germans and no longer worried about his own life. He even admitted he may have been no better than a one-person White lynch mob killing Blacks back in the United States, feeding off fear and power (Morris, 1999).

On November 8, Morris's mission was to gather information on German positions before a big offensive began the following day. He moved forward with his friend Isaiah Blocker in the morning light, but as he attempted to cross a streambed in open terrain, an enemy bullet hit him in the leg—screaming in pain, his friend Blocker found him and, despite his own wounded

shoulder, managed to drag Morris back to friendly lines before Morris passed out (Morris, 1999). Morris woke up in a French hospital and was relieved to discover his leg did not require amputation. After numerous painful operations, an uneventful voyage back to the United States, and a short stay at Camp Upton, New York, Morris received medals for his wartime service, recovered from his wounds, and returned to Des Moines, Iowa (Morris, 1999). His friend Blocker also recovered and returned to the United States.

Unfortunately, Morris discovered his friend medical doctor First Lieutenant Urbana Bass, who he remembered from Fort Des Moines, did not survive the war (Morris, 1999). Initially assigned to the 92nd Division after leaving the Fort Des Moines MOTC in 1917, Bass soon found himself reassigned to the 372nd Infantry Regiment of the predominately Black 93rd Division fighting under French command. In October 1918, near Montois, Bass was working in a forward aid station when his position came under German artillery fire. Bass remained at his post treating wounded when an exploding German artillery shell amputated both of his legs in a blink of an eye. Medics tried to treat his wounds, but he died before they could evacuate him from the area (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Morris received word of Bass's death while recovering from his own leg wound. His biography recorded his devastation and prayers for Bass's family (Morris, 1999). Bass was the only MOTC graduate killed in action during the war (Fisher & Buckley, 2016).

Louis Thompkins Wright

Wright served in one of the battalion aid stations for the 367th Infantry Regiment in the St. Die sector. His feud with the Division Surgeon Colonel Boyer continued to the point that Colonel Boyer admitted he kept Wright at the front, "...to get shot…" (Hayden, 2003, p. 57). However, Wright proved too resilient, and Boyer had to prepare paperwork to transfer Wright

back off the front line to Field Hospital 66, the triage hospital of the 92nd Division. Field Hospital 66 combined the 366th, 367th, and 368th Infantry Regiments' field hospitals. Unfortunately for Wright, the enemy temporarily delayed his transfer. The delay occurred on September 4th, when a German phosgene gas attack hit Wright's battalion aid station. Wright's biography related that he was treating a Soldier who could not breathe when suddenly he noticed he himself could not breathe. Medically evacuated to a hospital in Raon l'Etape, Wright remained there three weeks for treatment (Hayden, 2003).

He returned to duty but with permanent lung damage for the rest of his life. However, he received orders to assume command of the 92nd Division Triage Hospital's surgical ward during the last offensive to take Metz. The hospital was located at Millery, over eight miles south of Pont-a-Mousson (Fisher & Buckley, 2016, p. 260; Lynch et al., 1925). Wright's responsibilities included supervision over all surgical cases, conducting his own surgery, and administering all discharges from the hospital. He remained in charge of the surgical ward until the end of the war. On the day the war ended, November 11th, Colonel Boyer received orders to return to the United States, and his replacement pinned captain's bars on Wright three hours after Boyer left. Captain Wright continued his duties at the Triage Hospital until the spring of 1919 and recrossed the Atlantic on the French steamship Sobral. He arrived in New York and later received orders to move to Camp Mead, Maryland, where he submitted his efficiency report that recorded high marks in all areas. Discharged from the Army on April 7, 1919, with a Purple Heart for his injuries in combat, Wright returned to his wife Corinne in New York City (Hayden, 2003).

Summary

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the wartime exploits of the featured officers in this research study to include their experiences with the continuing power of oppression. For

example, Houston's experience can highlight the emotional toll of the constant drumbeat of stereotypical Foucault like power of oppression by a majority on a minority group in the same society (Foucault, 2000). In addition, Dyer's experience is an example of Karl Marx's alienation. The alienation occurred when Dyer became aware of an order stating Blacks were the only personnel who could handle gas munitions and not share those responsibilities with other capable White soldiers (Marx, 1884). The chapter goes on to track each officers' movements toward the front and describes the numerous challenges they faced in the trenches to participate in and survive combat operations. Particular attention was on the additional training each received from infantry tactics to artillery spotter, all under the backdrop of a harsh racial environment. Finally, the chapter provides a glimpse into their combat service against the Germans to include a detailed look into how the German Army trained their officers, who occupied the lines in front of the 92nd Division. The understanding gained from this analysis provides a look into how these men used their critical thinking, education, and scaffolded military training to think quickly and take corrective actions to survive the ultimate test of a U.S. Army soldier. Through their actions, often under enemy fire, they earned the right to proudly wear the uniform of an AEF commissioned officer and recognition as combat veterans after they left the service.

Chapter 10 - After the War

> …a common citizenship is the rock foundation on which we must build—in that common citizenship, discrimination based on color and class must disappear…in that common citizenship the great democratic hopes of the past 150 years must be realized and accomplished...
>
> —George Washington Lee, Address to AZA Jewish fraternity, August 1959

The analysis in this chapter is about the seven featured now-former officers' contributions to society after the war. Understanding their experiences after the war back in the United States assists in answering the fourth and final subpart of the primary research question: What were their experiences post-war? The focus is on how each used their civilian education before the war and military training acquired during the war to contribute to the Black American community and eventually all-American society after the war. Some of these men became famous doctors; others became famous politicians, business presidents, college faculty, published authors, and news media owners. The most nationally renowned of the seven, Charles Houston, earned his fame laying the groundwork for the Supreme Court decision that reversed 58 years of American legalized school segregation in the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* court case. The chapter concludes this research study's analysis with a discussion about the significance of the research and how academics, museums, and genealogists can use this research study's information to spark interest or further develop their existing knowledge of Black American contributions during this period in American history.

Contributions of the Seven

The following documents the contributions of the seven gentlemen featured in this research study. Each of these men earned respect in their chosen fields and used skills fine-tuned

before and during the war to build better lives for themselves and their families after the war. More importantly, each earned enough social capital from their status as former commissioned officers to personify Du Bois' Talented Tenth concept and become Black community leaders in the fight for equality in Black America's early Civil Rights movement (Anderson & Bertaux, 2012).

John Brother Cade

Cade returned to the United States with a desire to continue his academic education. He enrolled in Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia shortly after demobilization from the Army. As a student, he became involved in campus activities, which led him to become a founding member of the Eta Lambda Chapter of Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc and later a lifelong member of the fraternity (Brooks, 2021). He graduated from Atlanta University in 1921 with a Bachelor of Arts degree and took his first steps on a long academic career by accepting his first teaching assignment as an instructor for Paine College in Augusta, Georgia (Brooks, 2021). Not resting on his laurels as a Paine instructor, he continued to pursue his higher academic educational goals by enrolling in the University of Chicago and personal goals by starting a family when he married Jessie Mae Maben in 1923. The family grew with the birth of his daughter Jessie in 1924 and four years later, in 1928, he earned his master's degree in history from the University of Chicago (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021a).

As a young academic, Cade must have realized he needed to publish to stay relevant, so despite his job, growing family, and University of Chicago classes, he slowly compiled his wartime notes and looked for a publisher. His efforts paid off in 1929 when Robinson-Cofer Printers released his memoir (Cade, 1929). However, the release of his memoir was not a culminating event for him in 1929 because he changed jobs and moved to Southern University in

Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to become the Registrar and Laboratory School first principal (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021a). He worked in this capacity for a few months before moving to the Director of Teacher Training at Southern University in 1930. One of the significant historical research projects he worked on during his time at Southern University was collaborating with Southern University students to interview over 80 former slaves (Brooks, 2021).

In 1931 he left Louisiana, headed west to Prairie View State College in Prairie View, Texas, and served as the Registrar and Director of Liberal Arts and Science (Brooks, 2021). During his time at Prairie View, his family expanded again with the birth of his son John Jr. in 1932 (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021a). One curious event in his research career took place at Prairie View in 1935. Cade wrote a letter back to Southern University ordering the destruction of the 1929 slave interviews. It is unknown what the impact of losing these records would ever be to the American historical record, but what is interesting is that Cade soon began a similar project at Prairie View that lasted three years from 1935-1938 and involved the interviews of over 400 former slaves (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021b).

In 1939, Cade left Texas, returned to Southern University in Louisiana, and served as the University Dean and Director of Extension Services (Brooks, 2021). Along with his academic duties, he continued participating in veteran affairs through his American Legion Post 502 and in 1942 the *Who's Who in Colored America* and *Who's Who in Negro America* recognized him (Brooks, 2021). Continuing his civil rights activism in 1953, he served as a witness in a Louisiana State University lawsuit (Brooks, 2021). During his time at Southern University, he continued to write and shortly after retiring from the university in 1961 published three books: *By Their Fruits*; *Holsey, The Incomparable*; and *The Man Christened Josiah Clark* (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021a). Despite his retirement, he remained active with Southern University,

culminating in establishing the Archives of Black Louisiana History at the university (Southern, 2021a). Cade passed away on January 31, 1970; he was 75 years old. In recognition of his years of hard work for Southern University, the institution named its new library after him in 1987. His final resting place is the Southern Memorial Gardens and Mausoleum in East Baton Rouge, Louisiana (Brooks, 2021; Southern, 2021a).

Earl Burrus Dickerson

Dickerson returned to the University of Chicago and became the first Black American to earn a law degree from the university in 1920, a year before Cade started classes at the university (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Armed with his new credentials, he found a job with Supreme Life Insurance Company of America as their general counsel. He remained in this job for 35 years, from 1920-1955 (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson divorced Inez, ending a 15-year marriage in 1927 and later married Kathryn Kennedy in 1930. His new family expanded with the birth of his daughter Diane in 1934 (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). He continued his fight for equality throughout the 1930s, and in 1941, as the United States prepared to enter World War II (WWII), he noticed a push to continue segregating officer training camps. He immediately opposed this repeat of the last war and signed a letter with other prominent Black Americans like Charles Houston, his old 17th PTR colleague, appealing to President Roosevelt not to allow segregated officer training camps. The letter asked for Black and White officers to train in the same camps in preparation for the war (Lewis, 1941). Some of this integration pressure may have worked because when Fort Des Moines opened its Officer Training Camp doors again, this time to train female Women's Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC) and later Women's Army Corps (WAC) officers for WWII, evidence exists that Black and White female officer candidates attended integrated training events on post (LeFew-Blake, 2006). During the Second World War,

Dickerson served as the acting chair of the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) in Chicago and led the fight to secure jobs and economic opportunity for Black Americans (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Mack, 2005).

In 1955, Dickerson became the president and general manager of America's Supreme Life Insurance Company. Under his leadership, the company became the second largest of its kind in the world and served "…over 500,000 policy holders in 12 states and the District of Columbia with a staff of 750 employees…the company has assets in excess of 7 1/2 million" (Blakely & Shepard, 2006; Johnson, 1961, p. 4). His biography noted that he saw racism not only as a social and legal problem but also as an economic problem. He continually strove to use his position in the Supreme Life Insurance Company, "to help create an economic base for the Black community" (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 208). Outside of his insurance duties, Dickerson maintained the fight for fair employment practices in Chicago. However, prejudice always plagued his efforts. For example, in 1961, the governor of Illinois nominated him as the first Black person to serve on the Fair Employment Commission of Illinois, but the final selection committee rejected him. Dickerson accused the committee of making a false accusation against him concerning possible communist connections to hide their own bias against Blacks (Johnson, 1961).

In addition to his fair employment activities, he also tried his hand at politics. He managed to win a seat on the Chicago City Council as a Democratic alderman for the Second Ward, but only held the seat for one term because he failed to motivate the masses behind his principles (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). Dickerson retired from the Supreme Life Insurance Company of America in 1971, culminating a 16-year career running the company and a 51-year career working for the company. (Blakely & Shepard, 2006). His insurance career ended but not

his Black civil rights career. His civil rights efforts received prominence when the newly elected mayor of Chicago, the Honorable Harold Washington, proclaimed May 1, 1983, as "Earl B. Dickerson Day" (Blakely & Shepard, 2006, p. 207 and 213). Dickerson's fight for equality ended on September 1, 1986, when he passed away at 95, the longest living of the men featured in this research study (Blakely & Shepard, 2006).

William Holmes Dyer

Dyer returned to Kansas City after the war to resume his medical practice. He remained in the Kansas City, Missouri area for the next 40 years serving on the staffs of the Old General Hospital on Quindaro Boulevard and on the staffs of four other local hospitals: Douglas, Bethany, Providence, and St. Margaret's (Fischer & Buckley, 2016). His tireless service to the Black community in the field of medicine began receiving recognition in the 1950s. In 1953, he returned to his hometown of Lincoln, Illinois, to receive the honor of the only Black American recognized as one of the "Ten Most Distinguished Men" (Fischer & Buckley, 2016, p. 78). In 1955 and 1956, he received accolades for his dedicated service from the Alumni Association of Lincoln College and the Kansas City mayor (Fischer & Buckley, 2016; "Red", 1956).

His devotion to medicine was even more remarkable because, while serving on the staff of multiple hospitals, he found the time to serve as the surgeon for the Kansas City Police Department and the Santa Fe Railroad. Unfortunately, all this work weighed heavily on him as he grew older. He was still working hard in his 70s when he wrote to a friend: he feared if he slowed down, it would reflect on his race since he was the only Black American serving in these medical staff positions. Dyer can be a victim of alienation advocated by Karl Marx because the American medical system denied him the product of his labors an opportunity to retire (Marx, 1884). Dyer felt obligated to stay on the job because the limited number of Blacks attending

medical school, left few Black doctors available to replace Dyer as he grew older. Eventually, the workload caught up to him, and in 1958 he suffered a heart attack driving to work after apparently shoveling 15 inches of snow from his driveway. Dyer's wife of 40 years, Bessie, followed him in death a year later; the couple had no children. One of his lasting legacies was that his temperament and quality of work went far in convincing, "…some skeptical white physicians that African Americans were qualified to serve alongside them in local hospitals…" (Fischer & Buckley, 2016, p. 79).

Charles Hamilton Houston

Houston stepped off the S. S. Northland on a cold Philadelphia day in early January 1919 and proceeded with other returning troops to Camp Dix, New Jersey (Houston, 1940k). After signing into the post, he received a pass to visit his family and, in his memoir, described a prejudicial experience he encountered on the train. He was traveling in uniform, proudly displaying his newly sewn-on overseas service ribbons, when he was seated next to a White man in the dining car to eat lunch with a friend. Once Houston and his friend sat down, the man immediately stood up and excused himself from the table, professing his southern heritage would not allow him to eat lunch next to a Black man. Houston stated how insulted he felt and further commented how glad he was that he did not die fighting for this type of America overseas.

Houston returned to Camp Dix and received his discharge or demobilization orders from the U.S. Army in April 1919 (Houston, 1940l). Unfortunately, the year 1919 did not see an improvement in race relations. The civil unrest during the summer of 1919 reached horrific proportions and became known as the "Red Summer" (McNeil, 1983, p. 47). Houston experienced the Red Summer at home with his parents in Washington, D.C., watching the tragedy unfold in the newspapers, taking no comfort in how true his earlier thoughts about a

racial struggle aboard the S. S. Northland had become, reminding him of his own experience when violence revolved around his father's practice. William Houston now practiced law full-time in the District of Columbia. The riots caused him to change his workload from civil to criminal defense cases to protect Black men he felt were wrongly accused of crimes (McNeil, 1983). Charles Houston still thought about being a lawyer but refused to let his family pressure him into making a final decision. The junior Houston instead watched the violence of the summer unfold, and as each event flashed before him, he reflected on the harm racism was allowed to perpetuate. His reflection caused a jolt in his psyche or transformative learning experience that caused him to decide the oppressive, racist laws had to change (McNeil, 1983). In this transformational moment, undoubtedly fueled by his prior racist struggles in the military, he decided not only did the laws have to change, but he would become the catalyst to make that change by becoming a lawyer. Shortly after his decision, he applied to Harvard Law School (McNeil, 1983).

Matriculated into Harvard Law School in September 1919, he quickly established his dominance in the program earning the highest grades in the most challenging courses (McNeil, 1983). As an older student, he did not overindulge in extracurricular activities like parties, but instead concentrated on his studies. His academic achievement won him recognition and honors, such as being the first Black student elected to the *Harvard Law Review* editorial board (McNeil, 1983). Additional accolades included favorable comments from Black and White students and his professors calling him "one of the brightest men on campus" (McNeil, 1983, p. 51). Houston graduated cum laude in the top 5% of his class with a Bachelor of Law degree in 1922. Shortly after, he enrolled in the Harvard Law School doctorate program and graduated with his Doctor of

Judicial Science in 1923 (McNeil, 1983). As a post-doctoral student, he studied in Spain and returned home to marry Margaret Gladys Moran in 1924. The couple had no children.

Houston continued to excel and earned the right to practice law before the District of Columbia Supreme Court in 1924 and the U.S. Supreme Court in 1930 (Rutt, 1994). However, Houston never looked for the limelight; he always concerned himself with helping others. He championed his students' needs as the Vice Dean of Howard University School of Law from 1929-1935, molding the curriculum to allow his students to get realistic legal education working in the community. He also expanded his horizons into civil rights for all Black Americans as Special Counsel for the NAACP from 1935-1938 (Poch, 2020; Rutt, 1994). Houston developed the term social engineering to encompass a framework for using the law to enact social change. He defined a social engineer as, "…a highly-skilled, perceptive, sensitive lawyer who understood the Constitution of the United States and knew how to explore it in the solving of problems of…local communities…bettering conditions of the underprivileged citizen" (Dunn, 1993, p. 30). In the middle of all this activity, Houston's personal life took a turn when he divorced Margaret and months later married Harriet Williams in 1937. The new couple had a son, Charles Jr, in 1944 (Rutt, 1994).

As WWII dawned on the United States, Houston tried to motivate Black American youth by writing about his own wartime exploits in the last Great War. He published his memoir, used heavily in this research study, in *The Pittsburgh Courier* newspaper in 1940. To Houston, if the youth could see what has gone before, they would be better prepared for the coming struggle. He summed up his pitch to young people as "…forewarned is forearmed…" (Houston, 1940a, p. 13). In 1941, he joined his old 17th PTR colleague Dickerson in signing a letter to President Roosevelt asking not to restart segregated officer training camps. He and Dickerson advocated

for Black and White officer candidates to train together in camps for WWII (Lewis, 1941). Houston continued practicing law in Washington, D.C. and served on Franklin Roosevelt's Committee on Fair Employment Practices during the war. After the war, he pursued cases for the railroad as the general counsel for the International Association of Railway Employees and the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen (Rutt, 1994). These cases and others throughout the 1940s set precedents leading to the *Brown v Board of Education* case and helped the early Civil Rights movement (McNeil, 1983). For Houston, separate was not equal in American race relations, especially in education, and his actions gave all of America a vision that:

> …in its applied form, translated academic and community concerns into a unique blend of liberating legal activism directed at ensuring more democratic access to education, the elimination of racial barriers in education, and the assurance of high-quality education for all Americans regardless of race. (Dunn, 1993, p. 33)

On April 22, 1950, Houston died from coronary thrombosis four years before the historic *Brown* case, but his contributions received credit in June 1950 when he posthumously received the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP (McNeil, 1983; Rutt, 1994). The NAACP gives the Spingarn Medal annually to a Black American recognized for outstanding contributions to race relations ("Dr. L. T.", 1952). Houston's groundwork achievement for *Brown* was best described by his protégée Thurgood Marshall, his most famous former student, who later became the first Black American Supreme Court justice in 1967 (Suddreth, 1993). Marshall, who led the successful *Brown* case before the Supreme Court after Houston's death described Houston as the "First Mr. Civil Rights lawyer" (Dunn, 1993, p. 30). Marshall also stated:

> When Brown against the Board of Education was being argued in the Supreme Court…there were some two dozen lawyers on the side of the Negro…Of those

> lawyers…only two had not been touched by Charles Houston. That man was the engineer of all of it…. (Dunn, 1993, p. 30)

George Washington Lee

Lee returned to Memphis, Tennessee, and found a job working in the insurance industry like Dickerson. Over the years, he worked for the Mississippi Life Insurance Company and the Atlanta Life Insurance Company (Clark, 1986). Lee was a 51-year-old bachelor when he married Estelle Buell Adams, a local celebrity in 1946, but the marriage did not last, and the couple divorced amid public scandal in 1948 ("Blues Bowl", 1946; Tucker, 1971). Lee survived the scandal, continued his public service career, and in 1959, *The Mississippi Enterprise* newspaper recorded him speaking to a Jewish organization in Memphis, Tennessee, about how America must help prevent Africa from falling into the hands of communism like Asia ("Executive", 1959). In the same speech, Lee also emphasized civil rights to his Jewish audience when he said:

> …a common citizenship is the rock foundation on which we must build - in that common citizenship, discrimination based on color and class must disappear…in that common citizenship the great democratic hopes of the past 150 years must be realized and accomplished… ("Executive," 1959, p. 2)

His speeches earned him national recognition along with his activities in the Lincoln League. The Lincoln League was a Black American Republican organization with ties to the national Republican Party. Lee leveraged League support plus support from the Fraternal Order of Elks as their Grand Commissioner of Education to promote Black pride through education and business. Lee later became a lifelong member of the Elks. Lee's rise in the Republican political sphere allowed him to give a speech at the Republican National Convention in 1952. He advocated Black support for Nixon alongside Jackie Robinson in the 1960 Tennessee state primary and attended the 1964 Republican National convention as a delegate. Lee backed Rockefeller against Barry Goldwater in the 1964 convention (Tucker, 1971). However, when

Rockefeller failed to gather enough support and lost to Barry Goldwater, Lee's political fortunes began to fade as the Republican Party slowly became more conservative and the civil rights agenda for Blacks diminished in importance (Tucker, 1971). Lee's rise in the insurance industry occurred in parallel with his political career. It culminated when he became the vice president of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company in 1964 and later the director of public relations (Clark, 1986).

Lee also became an accomplished author with one of his works titled *Beale Street: Where Blues Began* (1934) receiving national acclaim. The book emphasized his love of music, and this love encouraged him to support the creation of a park and statue in Memphis dedicated to the musician W.C. Handy (Clark, 1986). Lee received numerous other awards and honors in his life to include being the first Black American to have a U.S. Postal Service station named after him. In 1973, state officials placed his portrait in the Tennessee State Capital in Nashville, Tennessee, and to honor his service to the community and the country, he received the R.Q. Venson Memorial Award that same year from American Legion Post No. 27 (Clark, 1986; "The American", 2018). Lee passed away on August 1, 1976. He meant so much to the city of Memphis that the Memphis Public Library accepted a donation of Lee's personal papers and over 400 photos from his daughter Gilda for digital preservation and public access in 1985 (Clark, 1986). Gilda was Lee's daughter from his short marriage to Estelle. Gilda was famously photographed as a little girl shaking hands with President Eisenhower in the White House with her proud father Lee standing in the background (Magness, 1990).

James Brad Morris

Morris returned to Des Moines, Iowa, in July 1919, reunited with his wife Georgine, and met his new son James Brad Morris, Jr for the first time. Settling back into civilian life, he

reignited his legal career and became an active community member. His activism included delving into local Republican Party politics and serving as the Assistant County Treasurer (Morris, 1999). Morris expanded his professional horizons by becoming a newspaper publisher when he purchased *The Bystander* newspaper from John Thompson in November 1922. *The Bystander* serves as a primary historical artifact used for this research study. Unfortunately, practicing law during the day and running the newspaper at night took its toll on him and his growing family that now included his little daughter Jean. Fortunately, his mother Salemma and his younger brother Clyde answered the call and travelled from Atlanta to Des Moines to help (Morris, 1999). His legal career continued to grow but frustration with the discriminatory practices of the American Bar Association against Black lawyers pushed him into helping form the National Negro Bar Association (Morris, 1999).

Morris paid strict attention to racial issues as a newspaper owner. His reporters maintained a steady stream of articles about all the violence in and around the country during the mid-1920s. The local KKK took notice and arrived unannounced at his home's back porch one day, delivering a veiled threat he needed to sell the paper to them at a fair price of their choosing or face the consequences. Morris's combat training developed in the cauldron of war gave him the courage to match their threats with his own threat in the form of a shotgun. Luckily, no one was injured, and the KKK members left after some angry shouting. His biography related how Morris commented about how KKK membership grew in Iowa in the 1920s, but not all White people were racist, and he could still do business with a few White business owners (Morris, 1999). In his KKK encounter, Morris emulated Du Bois' actions discussed earlier in this research study when Du Bois defended his family with a shotgun during the Atlanta race riots of 1906. Luckily, both incidents ended without violence. Here, the KKK represented the power of

oppression and Morris rose to the challenge to resist that oppressive power. Morris and his family survived the rest of the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s. His wife Georgine became one of the founders and first president of the NAACP Iowa State Conference of Branches in 1939 (Morris, 1999). Morris became a legendary newspaperman and led *The Bystander* for 50 years, from 1922-1972. He was 82 when he finally decided to retire and sell the paper (Morris, 2021). He passed away in December 1977 at age 87 (Morris, 2021).

Louis Thompkins Wright

Wright returned to civilian life in New York City and resumed his medical career. In 1921, Wright's work ethic and diligence earned him the right to become the first Black American to serve on a New York municipal hospital staff. The hospital was Harlem Hospital, and he conducted groundbreaking medical research at this facility, moved from staff to director of surgery, and finally became the president of the medical board, all within a career spanning 30 years ("Dr. Louis", 1952; "NAACP", 2021). A major contribution of Wright's leadership at Harlem Hospital in the 1920s and 1930s was his program of integrating the hospital medical staff and having Black and White doctors work alongside each other. In a similar fashion to Dyer, desegregation of the staff forced the demise of taboos and myths against Black doctors and challenged those who continued to insist on segregating doctors based on race (Hayden, 2003, p 177). In this way, Wright forced resistance as advocated by Foucault to the dominant power of status quo oppression to maintain doctors racial separation (Heller, 1996). In a 1928 edition of the newspaper *The Afro-American*, the columnist William Perkins wrote that few knew about the fitness of colored men, such as Louis Wright. Perkins praises Wright as an unselfish, modest doctor who was one of the ablest physicians in the country in the fight against infectious diseases (Pickens, 1928). Wright eventually published in over 90 authoritative medical publications

focusing on the topic of infectious diseases ("Dr. L. T.", 1952). Wright believed that if an area of medicine was worthy of research, then the work needed to be done well enough to publish the results (Hayden, 2003). The year 1928 turned out to be a busy period for Wright because he joined Dyer in becoming a police surgeon but Wright became the first Black American surgeon assigned to the New York Police Department Board of Surgeons ("NAACP", 2021; "New Year's", 1929).

The year 1934 was also a busy period for Wright as he became the second Black American fellow with the American College of Surgeons and a fellow of the International College of Surgeons ("Dr. L. T.", 1952; "NAACP", 2021). On the civil rights front in 1934, Wright pushed back against Du Bois' ideas on voluntary separation from White people and urged the NAACP to formally denounce legal segregation and voluntary separation. The NAACP board eventually agreed with Wright, and later that year Du Bois resigned from the NAACP (Alridge, 2015, p 481). In 1935, Wright became the first Black American chair of the NAACP Board of Directors ("Dr. Louis", 1952; "NAACP", 2021). Wright's push for equal medical treatment for Blacks was tireless. In a speech at the 28th Convention of the NAACP in 1937, he stated:

> There is no use saving the Negro from being lynched, or educating for sound citizenship if he is to die prematurely as a result of murderous neglect by America's health agencies solely on account of his race or color. Fundamentally, the NAACP stands for Negroes receiving the identical health service which every other citizen of this nation enjoys. By that we mean the free, unrestricted, and identical use of every health agency afforded by municipal, state or federal government…We demand that every medical school in the country open its doors without segregation to qualified Negro students…and that they be given every clinical privilege without any covert or subtle restriction. We demand their admission to every established hospital for…post-graduate training. We demand their appointment [to] the staffs of these institutions on the basis of merit; and we will fight

> every…device which deprives them of these opportunities because of color. (Reynolds, 2000, p. 883)

His words directly connected to the negative impact of the 1910 Flexner Report that closed all except two Black medical schools in the country Howard and Meharry. The Flexner Report, combined with the continuing policy of White medical schools like Wright's alma mater Harvard to allow only a few Black students each year, resulted in a low rate of graduating Black doctors to meet the growing Black community needs. Fewer Black doctors placed more reliance on White physicians resulting in the claims raised by Wright in his speech.

Wright's battle with his own infectious disease began in 1939 when he contracted pulmonary tuberculosis. The impact of this disease combined with his earlier gas poisoning during the Great War devastated his body, causing him to become physically weak, requiring daily rest periods and guidance from his own doctor not to climb stairs for the rest of his life. However, his mental devotion to medical research and Black civil rights remained limitless (Hayden, 2003). Despite his medical condition, Wright continued his work pace and earned the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP in 1940 ("NAACP", 2021). He also participated in a five-day National Medical Association convention in Los Angles, California, alongside 3,000 prominent Black doctors ("Famed Negro", 1947). Among his final accomplishments, Wright pioneered the use of the drug aureomycin in humans in 1948. Under his guidance, Harlem Hospital research teams published 21 papers about the drug's use in leading medical journals around the country ("Dr. Louis", 1952; Hayden, 2003). Former First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt even praised Wright when she introduced him to an audience attending a dinner in his honor in April 1952 (Fisher & Buckley, 2016). Wright suffered a heart attack and passed away at age 61 in New York City on October 8, 1952. Over 500 people attended his funeral and he was laid to rest in Woodlawn Cemetery, in the Bronx, New York ("Dr. Louis", 1952; "Dr. L. T.", 1952; Fisher & Buckley,

2016). After his death, a news reporter stated Wright was a militant fighter for Negro equal rights ("Famed Negro", 1952). Both of Wright's daughters, Barbara, and Jane, became successful medical doctors in his lifetime, and both married lawyers (Hayden, 2003).

Significance of this Research Study and its Findings

Before a detailed discussion of the significance of this research study, it is important to point out how incredible the seven gentlemen featured in this analysis were to endure the psychological and emotional toll of oppression and alienation as advocated by Foucault and Karl Marx. Throughout this narrative, all seven gentlemen resisted and overcame oppression and alienation and used the adversity they faced to push themselves to higher levels of accomplishment. Their perseverance against the odds makes them all worthy of examination in this research study. The civilian and military primary source historical artifacts and secondary source literature material allowed this research study to fully delve into their journey and struggle to develop its findings.

To better understand these gentlemen's experiences, this historical research study analyzed each from an empiricist approach. Empiricism is important because the study rests its philosophical foundation on a person's ability to create knowledge based on their experiences (Murphy, 2010). Therefore, to examine any historical period, a review of the experiences of the people who lived during that time is a way to gain an understanding of the period. By gaining this understanding, this research study provides evidence to support its argument that by scaffolding their U.S. Army training onto their prior college education, these seven could overcome the power of oppression and alienation existing in America and become successful U.S. Army officers and influential community leaders after the war, personifying W. E. B. Du Bois's touted Talented Tenth concept. The evidence to support this argument rests on social

capital. Social capital occurs inside a social network, and members in that network earn social capital by investing time and resources for tangible or intangible benefits recognized by network members (Anderson & Bertaux, 2012). These seven men made their social capital by being recognized by all the dignitaries and academic elites who visited and talked to them at Fort Des Moines and Europe. Recognition for achieving the goal of becoming commissioned officers allowed the seven to network after the war and have a voice that others followed in the affairs of the Black community, directly linking them to the Talented Tenth concept, as demonstrated by all seven, especially Houston's involvement in *Brown*.

This research study's three findings below demonstrate its significance. The first shows how segregation contributed to the limited funding and social isolation of Black American college students. By analyzing the surviving primary source historical artifacts and secondary source supporting documents, the experiences of the seven provide a comparative window into what it was like going to college during this period. For example, Lee's experience at a HBCU in Mississippi demonstrated how funding remained a constant concern both for him and the institution. Lee had to leave Mississippi and travel to Tennessee to find adequate work to fund his continuing academic education. In comparison, students like Dickerson, who attended a non-HBCU like the University of Illinois, also found funding a constant struggle. A reader could assume a smart student like Dickerson attending the University of Illinois did not have to worry about funding as much because of access to more opportunities like employment, scholarships, and grants. Unfortunately, this was not the case and funding served as a common thread between all Black Americans living in a segregationist society. Segregation exacerbated the funding issue because it created an economic limit on the ability of all Black Americans to acquire wealth, a point illustrated in this research study by Dickerson's inability to find teaching work outside of

the Black community. Access to more economic opportunities outside the Black community could have reduced both Dickerson and Lee's funding concerns.

The second finding demonstrates the way an empiricist approach with an epistemological behaviorist underpinning shows how the U.S. Army trained its Black officers during WWI (McDonald et al., 2005). The behaviorist underpinning stems from the military training experienced by the seven. Prior to this research study, little information was available concerning how Black American U.S. Army officers were trained. To discover this second finding, the study used historical artifact primary sources and supporting secondary sources to show how the U.S. Army used a behaviorist training program to turn these seven Black civilians into military officers the same as it did for its White civilians through a change in behavior stemming from the experience of physically manipulating material objects (McDonald et al., 2005). For example, a gas mask was not a physical item any of the men possessed knowledge of prior to their military training. Cade learned how to use a gas mask in the United States after Fort Des Moines, but prior to deployment to France. He acquired the quick muscle memory skills necessary to stop what he was doing and put on his mask when given the signal or he recognized a gas environment. His training also included going through a gas chamber to gain confidence in his mask. Lee underwent a similar physical manipulation of a gas mask except he mentioned receiving this training in France after Fort Des Moines, but again prior to his service in the trenches. The benefit of this gas training is emphasized by Cade's experience surviving a German gas attack near the end of the war. Another example of behaviorist training occurred when Morris learned how to call-in artillery fire on German positions, again after his service at Fort Des Moines, but this time during a short break in his front-line trench experience. He did not learn this skill prior to deploying to France. He learned how to do it after surviving weeks on

the front lines. His military survival skills already fine-tuned in the trenches scaffolded with his prior civilian education and prior military experience at Fort Des Moines allowed him to add to his repertoire of offensive capabilities against the Germans.

The third finding of this research study shows how Black Americans used a constructivist approach to construct knowledge from their experience during the war and beyond (Altman, 2009, Fraser, 2014). Prior to this research study, there was limited information on the first two findings of this study. The third finding was developed from the first two findings and used a comparison of the experiences of the seven to find previously little-known ways of how constructivism was used by these Soldiers in war and later in civilian life. The first example of constructivism from a Black soldier perspective in the war is how Cade and Morris used constructivism as it related to the Germans and other White Americans. Cade and his subordinate Soldiers heard stories about the Germans before they arrived in France and from these stories framed an impression that a German soldier would be a challenging opponent to face in combat. Once Cade and his men saw the German prisoners of war for the first time after they arrived in France, they all constructed a very different image of a German soldier and slowly overcame their fear of confronting them on the battlefield.

Morris thought war was full of glory and medals earned by killing White men in the form of German soldiers, but when he arrived at the front, he constructed a new reality about war and killing and found neither was filled with glory or medals. He based his new constructivist approach on the reality of his uncomfortable life experience living in the trenches and the lack of joy after killing his first White German soldier with his bare hands. For an example of constructivism after the war, Charles Houston is a good choice. As the Vice Dean of Howard University Law School, he revised the curriculum for his law school students to reflect everyday

life situations in the Black community. His change in curriculum allowed his students to construct their own knowledge about the application of their legal education in real-life situations. A final example of a constructivist approach is what the scholar and public construct after reading this research study. They can construct a new understanding from the experiences of six of the seven gentlemen—Cade, Dickerson, Houston, Lee, Morris, and Wright—of what second class citizenship meant to Black Americans during the period and why the *Plessy v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision played such a prominent oppressive role in their lives. They can view Cade and Morris' experience with their Alabama draftees as one of many ways to specifically highlight the impact of *Plessy* and how the resulting segregationist policies and stigma of second-class citizenship limited the educational opportunities for Black Americans. They can also see how only Houston's groundwork after the war corrected this segregationist educational deficiency when the *Brown v Board of Education* ruling reversed the *Plessy* decision. This research study's side-by-side comparison of the experiences of these seven gentlemen allows these types of constructivist examples to emerge from the study's analysis.

How this Research Relates to the Larger Body of Knowledge

The significance of the three findings also adds to seven specific contributions this research study makes to the body of knowledge of the WWI era and beyond. Prior to this research study, there was little readily available information as documented in Chapter 1, to provide the basis for a detailed analysis of what happened at Fort Des Moines, and what these officers experienced in and out of combat. Therefore, the first contribution of this study is that it provides these necessary details for a more comprehensive analysis. For example, the study consolidates a list of primary and secondary sources for future scholars and the public to examine and possibly find new insights on the turn of the 20th century Black civilian education

and military training. The second contribution of this research study provides links between events at Fort Des Moines and national events outside the fort. For example, how the 17th PTR's White Sparrow exhibition at Drake University resulted from the growing racial tension outside the camp. The third contribution of the study is it discusses how the racial unrest reinforced by the *Plessy v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision, discussed in chapter 2, combined with the racial violence in Houston, Texas affected the War Department's decision on where to mobilize the 92nd Division. Further analysis of this information provides reasons why the 92nd Division mobilization decision instigated a delay in graduation for the 17th PTR candidates, which caused a mass voluntary resignation of Black candidates.

The fourth contribution of the study is it exposes both scholars and the public to little-known details contained in the Fort Des Moines monthly post returns located in the Unites States National Archive II in College Park, Maryland. These important historical artifacts are critical to understanding both the 17th PTR and the MOTC. For example, the appendices of this research study derived from the post returns provide a by-name list of the commanders and faculty who trained the infantry candidates and medical student officers in both camps. This information is invaluable in filling gaps in the limited amount of currently available information. The fifth way the study adds to the body of knowledge is by providing little-known details about what Black medical officers did onboard ships transporting 92nd Division troops back and forth across the Atlantic and the ultimate fate of some of those same ships. The study's sixth contribution to the body of knowledge is its analysis of the seven featured gentlemen's historical memoir artifacts and secondary source biographies illustrating the little-known types of follow-on training Black infantry officers received in the United States and Europe before combat. This research study's seventh and final contribution allows the reader to see the seven men's experiences side by side

in one document; therefore, readers can easily construct their own knowledge using the narrative of a discriminatory *Plessy* ruling to a more positive *Brown* ruling in the lives of Black Americans during this period.

Topics for Future Research

This research study identified numerous gaps in the available information surrounding the experiences of these seven men. Additional research into these gaps by future researchers helps future generations gain a more complete picture of this era. The following are three of the most significant topics that future researchers could grapple with and possibly find more information to add to the body of knowledge.

The first topic for future research is that no definitive evidence currently exists of the number of infantry candidates who started, voluntarily or involuntarily left, or graduated from the 17th PTR course. Various primary and secondary sources contain different information. A way to solve this lack of information could be additional research into the whereabouts of U.S. Army Captain James G. McIlroy's adjutant records. McIlroy was responsible for all paperwork dealing with the movement of personnel in and out of the 17th PTR. McIlroy, a West Point graduate, was a White Regular Army Infantry officer listed by name in the post returns (Ballou, 1917c). The second topic for future research is the Camp Dodge Black Officer Training Camp that eventually moved to Camp Sherman in Ohio. Cade, in his memoir, highlighted this camp during his time spent at Camp Dodge in 1918. More information on this camp may provide a point of comparison with Fort Des Moines and possibly point to more new insights into Black U.S. Army officer training. The third and final topic for future research is the activities of Black officer candidates at the 79th Division Officer Training Camp at Fort Meade, Maryland. Houston mentioned this camp during his time at Camp Meade in 1918. More information on this camp

could also provide a point of comparison with Fort Des Moines and again possibly point to more insights on Black U.S. Army officer training.

The Study's Additional Benefit for Academics

For civilian adult education academics, this research study is filled with historical examples for the application of theory for use in the classroom. For instance, Michele Foucault's theories on power, resistance, and self-surveillance are easily identified throughout this research study (Brookfield, 2001; Foucault, 2000; Heller, 1996). Power can be represented by White hegemony through *Plessy*, with Black American resistance exemplified in the form of Houston's protest against prejudicial instructors in France, and self-surveillance when fellow Black student officers told Wright to back down before he hurt the MOTC program for everyone. Educators can also derive examples of Karl Marx's alienation ideas based on Dickerson's University of Illinois lack of social opportunities and off-campus dining experience (Marx, 1884).

Historians and historical educators working for museums can easily find opportunities to fill in missing pieces in their own research from this research study and gain a more complete picture of the period from a different perspective than they may not have examined in detail before. The information in this study provides more context for museum displays and / or the justification to create new displays to educate the public. For example, this study's information on the towns and villages each of the seven men traveled in France during and after the war can easily translate into an interactive or static map to trace the movement of the 92nd Division units as they moved around in France. A copy of this dissertation on the shelf of a museum research center provides research patrons an additional source of information concerning the activities of Black U.S. Army officers during the war. Another benefit is if this research study is combined with the 17th PTR and MOTC graduation lists in the books of Emmett Scott and Fisher and

Buckley, which also shows the commissioned officers' residences, researchers could rediscover long-forgotten community contributions of some of these men to ignite or re-ignite interest in their activities before or after the war. For example, this study mentions a post office named after Lee, but curious researchers in other communities may uncover information on other Fort Des Moines commissioned officers to further add to the body of community knowledge.

The Study's Additional Benefit for Genealogists

This research provides invaluable information for family genealogists to discover information about their ancestors. For example, a review of this study and the books by Emmett Scott and Fisher and Buckley could provide new insights. These new insights may point future family genealogists in new directions allowing a more complete accounting of their family ancestry.

Conclusion

This historical research study examined the lived experiences constructed by seven African Americans, who, for this study, are called Black Americans. The research is not a comprehensive study leading to established truth. Instead, it investigates primary and secondary source research material to understand what life was like for Black Americans from 1896 to 1986. This research study presents the period in a narrative format that starts with the legal foundation established by the *Plessy v Ferguson* Supreme Court decision that legalized segregation in America. This research study recognizes the *Plessy* case as the power of oppression advocated by the postmodern philosopher Michele Foucault and Karl Marx's concept of alienation, all directed against the Black American minority by the more prominent White American society (Foucault, 2000; Marx, 1884). The research study follows the lives of the

featured seven gentlemen as they move through their early college experiences to earn their undergraduate and medical degrees.

The research study continues to focus on a shared goal of each of the seven gentlemen to become commissioned U.S. Army officers. To illustrate how hard this goal was to accomplish, the study explores the prejudicial attitude of senior U.S. Army officers in the War Department toward Black officers. Focus continues with the struggle to organize and operate a segregated training camp to turn Black civilian and noncommissioned officers into commissioned officers at Fort Des Moines. After graduation, the narrative documents their progress through pre-deployment assignments in the United States. The focus continues with their journey from the United States across the Atlantic over to France, where they receive new and updated training from what they received at Fort Des Moines from American and French instructors before entry into the trenches of WWI.

The research study concludes with how they each survived combat and found their way back to the United States to begin new lives in post-war America. Focus continues with how each participated in the early civil rights struggle and used their social capital gained from their status as former U.S. Army commissioned officers to embrace W. E. B. Du Bois's talented tenth concept of community leaders in their respective professions. The families of each gentleman is tracked as each man moves along their career paths toward more remarkable achievements. These achievements include becoming hospital administrators, lawyers, newspaper publishers, and politicians. The most significant accomplishment of the seven gentlemen featured in this study is by Charles Hamilton Houston, who conducted the groundwork for the *Brown v Board of Education* Supreme Court decision that abolished segregation in American schools in 1954 (McNeil, 1983). Finally, the research study presents why its findings are significant and their

importance to the body of knowledge. Academics, historians, and genealogists also receive information to assist in their respective areas of expertise.

Summary

This chapter discussed the post-war activities of the seven and used the information gained from previous chapters to show how each used their military experience to shape their post war lives and have their voices heard in the early civil rights struggle. The idea of Karl Marx's alienation is exemplified in Dyer's inability to retire due to a lack of eligible replacements (Marx, 1884). Foucault's idea of resistance to the power of oppression is highlighted in Wright's integration of his medical staff at Harlem hospital, breaking stereotypical barriers that Black and White doctors cannot work together (Heller, 1996). The chapter weaves a narrative of how the military set each on a path to strive for a better life for themselves, their families, and their race. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the significance of the research and how researchers can use this research study's information to construct new insight into the Black experience during this period.

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Appendix A - 17th PTR Regular Army Instructors

The following eighteen White officers served as 17th PTR Regular Army instructors, and illustrates how a few experienced rapid promotions like their commander Colonel Ballou, who's service record was previously discussed:

1. Lieutenant Colonel Henry J. Hunt (Infantry): According to the September post return report, he assumed command of the post from Brigadier General Ballou (Hunt, 1917a). He received a promotion to colonel in October and remained post commander until December (Clark, 1917; Hunt, 1917b).
2. Major Charles W. Castle (Infantry): In June, he was a senior instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel (Ballou, 1917b). By August, he received a second promotion to colonel and was reassigned off post in August (Ballou, 1917c).
3. Major (Retired) Dillard H. Clark: Assumed post command of Fort Des Moines in December from Colonel Hunt (Clark, 1917).
4. Major Ralph E. Ingram (Infantry): In June, he was the battalion commander of 2nd Battalion, the company commander of 5th Company, and served as an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was the company commander of 5th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). By August, he served as a senior instructor but remained the company commander of 5th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). In September, he was only listed as a senior instructor on the post returns (Hunt, 1917a) By October, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and reassigned off post (Hunt, 1917b).
5. Captain Girard Sturtevant (Infantry): In June, he was the battalion commander of 1st Battalion, the company commander of 2nd Company, and served as an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was mentioned in the post return as the company commander of 1st Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). In a matter of weeks in August, he was promoted to major and next lieutenant colonel and reassigned off post (Ballou, 1917c).
6. Captain James Blyth (Infantry): In August, he is the company commander of 12th Company and serving as an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). By September, he changed units and was the company commander of 8th and 9th Companies and still an instructor (Hunt, 1917a). He was reassigned off post after graduation in October (Hunt, 1917b).

7. Captain Robert O. Ragsdale (Infantry): In June, he was the battalion commander of 3rd Battalion, the company commander of 9th Company, and served as an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was company commander of 9th Company and remained an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). He changed companies in September to become the company commander of 6th and 7th Companies and remained an instructor (Hunt, 1917a). In October, he was promoted to major and next lieutenant colonel in a matter of weeks and reassigned off post after graduation in October (Hunt, 1917b).

8. Captain William B. Wallace (Infantry): In June, he was the 17th PRT mess officer (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was still the mess officer but also became the physical exercise instructor (Ballou, 1917b). Per the August post return, he was reassigned off post (Ballou, 1917c).

9. Captain James W. Everington (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of 13th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). By July, he was the company commander of 3rd Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). He was promoted to major and reassigned off post in September (Hunt, 1917a).

10. Captain Ben F. Ristine (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of 10th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was the company commander of 12th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). By September, he was reassigned off post (Ballou, 1917c).

11. Captain Luther R. James (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of the 3rd and 4th Companies and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). In July, he was the company commander of only the 4th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). In August, he took over two companies—the 4th and 5th—as company commander and an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). Assumed command of 1st Company, as company commander and was an instructor in September (Hunt, 1917a). Received a promotion to major and reassigned off post after graduation in October (Hunt, 1917b).

12. Captain Edgar Z. Steever III (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of the 7th and 8th Companies and was an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). By September, he was the company commander of 4th and 5th Companies and served as an instructor (Hunt, 1917a). By October, he was reassigned off post (Hunt, 1917b).

13. Captain Berkeley T. Merchant (Cavalry): In August, he was the company commander of 5th Company and served as an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). By September, he was the company commander of 2nd Company and an instructor (Hunt, 1917a). In October, he was reassigned off post (Hunt, 1917b).

14, Captain Dudley Montgomery (Quartermaster Officer Reserve Corps): In July, he is the assistant Post Quartermaster officer for Fort Des Moines (Ballou, 1917b). Per the August post return, he assumed the additional duty of 17th PTR mess officer (Ballou, 1917c). In September, he took on another additional duty as instructor (Hunt, 1917a). In October, he was only a mess officer (Hunt, 1917b). In December, he became the Fort Des Moines Post Quartermaster (Clark, 1917).

15. First Lieutenant James L. Frink (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of 9th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). By July, he was promoted to captain and became the company commander of 10th Company and was still an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). Reassigned off post in September (Hunt, 1917a).

16. First Lieutenant James G. Ord (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of 6th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). By July, he was promoted to captain, but remained the 6th Company commander and instructor (Ballou, 1917b). He was reassigned off post in September (Hunt, 1917a).

17. First Lieutenant Max S. Murray (Infantry): In June, he was the company commander of 14th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917a). By July, he held the rank of captain and became the company commander of 11th Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). He was reassigned off post in September (Hunt, 1917a).

18. First Lieutenant William Nalle (Cavalry): In July, he was the company commander of 2nd Company and an instructor (Ballou, 1917b). By August, he was the commander of two companies—1st and 2nd —and still an instructor (Ballou, 1917c). In September, he was promoted to captain, assumed command of 3rd Company, and continued as an instructor (Hunt, 1917a). Finally, in December he was reassigned to Fort Leavenworth as an instructor (Clark, 1917).

Appendix B - MOTC Instructors

The following ten White officers served as MOTC instructors. None of these Regular Army medical officers received the same rapid two promotion advancements like their 17th PTR counterparts, but a few received a one rank promotion:

1. Major Ernest G. Bingham (Medical Corps): In August, served as the MOTC Commander and physical fitness officer (Ballou, 1917c). He received a promotion to lieutenant colonel also in August and remained in command of the MOTC until it closed (Ballou, 1917c; Hunt, 1917b).
2. Captain Henry C. Maddux (Medical Corps): In August, served as the Assistant Post Surgeon for Fort Des Moines (Ballou, 1917c). Received a promotion to major in September and became a MOTC instructor (Hunt, 1917a).
3. First Lieutenant Edward A. Coates Jr (Medical Corps): Assistant Post Surgeon for Fort Des Moines and instructor in the August post return report (Ballou, 1917c). Became a MOTC instructor in September (Hunt, 1917a).
4. Major T. Victor Keene (Medical Reserve Corps): In August, mentioned as a surgeon and instructor in the post return (Ballou, 1917c).
5. Major Frank Martin (Medical Reserve Corps): In November's return, mentioned as a MOTC instructor (Hunt, 1917c).
6. Captain Warren P. Morrill (Medical Reserve Corps): In September's return, listed as a MOTC instructor (Hunt, 1917a).
7. Captain Morton H. Axline (Medical Reserve Corps): In September's return, mentioned as a MOTC instructor (Hunt, 1917a).
8. Captain Herbert H. Frothinham (Medical Reserve Corps): In October's return, mentioned as a MOTC instructor (Hunt, 1917b).
9. First Lieutenant Earl C. Braniger (Dental Medical Corps): In August, was an instructor, but mentioned in the September post return as the dental surgeon (Ballou, 1917c; Hunt, 1917a).
10. First Lieutenant William H. Siefert (Dental Medical Corps): In similar situation to Braniger, listed as an instructor in August and a dental surgeon in September (Ballou, 1917c; Hunt, 1917a).

Appendix C - Essential Qualities of an Officer

According to the Field Artillery School at Camp Taylor in August 1918, the five essential qualities of an officer are as follows:

1. Physical Qualities: A candidate's impression on other men in his physique, bearing, neatness, voice, energy, and endurance (Walter et al., 1919).
2. Intelligence: A candidate's accuracy, ease in learning, ability to grasp new points of view and overcome difficulties (Walter et al., 1919).
3. Leadership: A candidate's force, self-reliance, initiative, decisiveness, tact, and ability to command obedience, loyalty, and corporation of men (Walter et al., 1919).
4. Personal Qualities: A candidate's industry, dependability, loyalty, personal habits, and readiness to shoulder responsibility for his own acts (Walter et al., 1919).
5. General Value to the Service: A candidate's value as an administrator, an instructor, a drillmaster, a leader in action, and whether he can arrive quickly at a sensible decision in a crisis (Walter et al., 1919).

Note: For the first four qualities instructors assigned a numeric Scott scale ranking for each ranging from 15 to 12, 9, 6, 3. For the fifth quality, instructors assigned a numeric Scott scale ranging from 40 to 32, 24, 16, 8.