



Revelations of an Empty Footlocker

The Brief Life of 1st Lt. Edward B. Cutter, U.S. Army Air Service

Johannes Allert

IN THE SUMMER OF 2005, A standard olive drab army-issue footlocker arrived at the Anoka County Historical Society. Artwork portraying pairs of white dice, a blue-red-and-white roundel, and winged insignia adorn every side of its exterior. Chipped and faded block-style lettering reveals the inscription “Lt. E. B. Cutter.” One could surmise the painted dice indicated the individual was a gambler, or misidentify the roundel as a bull’s-eye and believe he was a marksman. Perhaps the winged insignia represents a pilot or even an “ace”? None of this speculation turns out to be true.¹

The empty footlocker, donated by the Anoka American Legion post

named in honor of World War I soldier Edward Babb (Ned) Cutter, contained no further clues about its owner. A local cemetery contains a memorial marker inscribed with Cutter’s name, but like the footlocker, the grave is empty. Who was Edward Cutter? Does his story—or the insignia on his footlocker—reveal a larger significance?

Through research in military records, newspapers, and genealogy records, we learn that Cutter was a legal professional and Minnesota National Guardsman who, in his early thirties, volunteered for active duty and, as an aerial observer in World War I, died in battle over the skies of France, earning a posthumous Distinguished Service Cross (second only to the Medal of Honor). Just as the photo hanging in



This army-issue footlocker (top) in the collections of the Anoka County Historical Society belonged to World War I soldier Edward Babb Cutter (above).

the legion post sheds light on Cutter’s appearance, a rigorous quest for information illuminates our understanding of the man and his era. As a citizen-soldier, Cutter witnessed the evolution in America’s ambivalence toward foreign entanglements from isolationism to enthusiastic intervention. World War I ushered in a new era of industrialized, mechanized mass warfare. While it is not known why Cutter transferred from the National Guard to the U.S. Army, his choice

to serve as an observer in America's fledging Air Service mirrored the military's gradual embrace of new technologies. Cutter was one of 54,402 Americans killed in combat in World War I, the first time substantial numbers of American lives were lost in an overseas war.²

Cutter's remains lie within the vast expanse of the Meuse-Argonne Military Cemetery, a site surpassing in size the World War II cemetery at Omaha Beach and one of eight similar American cemeteries in France. Cutter's burial overseas reveals expediency in the heat of battle and, later, solemn consecration of his and others' sacrifice in a foreign land. His story sheds light on the relationship of groups founded in the aftermath of World War I that exist to this day, including the Gold Star Mothers and Widows Association, the first unofficial support group for survivors of fallen soldiers. Simultaneously, the American Legion, representing a new generation of veterans, rapidly eclipsed the Civil War-era Grand Army of the Republic as an advocate and lobbyist for veterans' welfare and benefits. The two groups formed a loose alliance advocating remembrance of war dead.

THE FIRST CUTTER TO APPEAR IN state records was Ammi Cutter, Edward's grandfather, who relocated in 1857 from Maine to Anoka, then a community of 600. Ammi was later joined by his nephew, Oscar Cutter, and Oscar's wife, Ella (Butterfield). Oscar and Ella had a son, Marcus. Following Ella's premature death, Oscar married his cousin, Mary Stevens



Mary Stevens Cutter

Cutter, Ammi's youngest daughter. Oscar and Mary had two children, Edward, born in 1887, and Ross, born in 1890. Oscar dabbled in publishing and politics while Mary actively participated in the city's Philolectian Society, a women's organization established to promote "interest in education, philanthropy, public welfare, moral values, civics and fine arts." When Oscar suddenly died in 1898, probate court recognized Mary as the legal custodian of her two sons. Edward and Ross both attended the University of Minnesota, where they majored in law. Edward (or Ned, the name he preferred) split his time between school and service in the Minnesota National Guard, in which he had enlisted on January 22, 1906, while still in high school.³

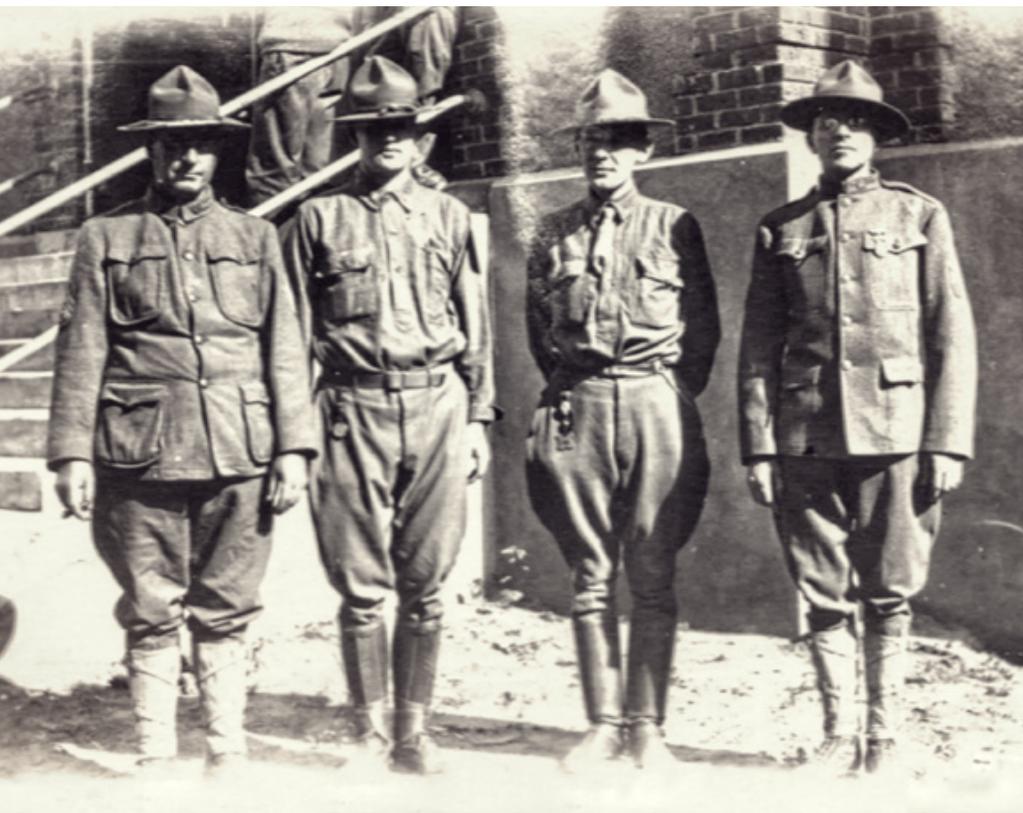
Military service came naturally to Cutter. A little more than a year after enlisting as a private in Anoka's Company B, Third Minnesota Infantry Regiment, he was promoted to corpo-

ral. Cutter's comrades recognized his intelligence and leadership abilities and elected him as their second lieutenant in 1908 and to first lieutenant at the end of 1909. While attending the university, Cutter joined the ranks of the school's Cadet Corps Program, the predecessor to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps. Classes taught by professional officers stationed at nearby Fort Snelling further honed Cutter's leadership skills. Campus life exposed him to debate on society's larger issues, such as the women's suffrage movement and the question of whether to impose a national income tax. He graduated on June 8, 1911, earning a bachelor's degree in law and recognition as an honors graduate of the Military Department. Reflecting later upon his university experience, Cutter wrote, "When I graduated I took more satisfaction that I had received military honors and that my name, among others, had been sent to the War Department than I did on receiving my Bachelor of Law degree."⁴

In 1912, Cutter's half-brother Marcus offered him employment as co-editor of the *Thief River Falls News-Press*. The position required relocating, thus interfering with his duties in Company B. Cutter sent a letter tendering his resignation as an officer and requesting paperwork to reenlist as a private. "No one, Cap, ever resigned from the Guard with as much regret as I am resigning. . . . I hope I have not interfered with Company B's progress or the ambitions of any of its members," he wrote to his company commander.⁵

If, in fact, Cutter's self-imposed exile to the enlisted ranks occurred, it was short lived. By 1916, 1st Lieutenant Cutter and Company B deployed to Brownsville, Texas, as part of Gen. John "Black Jack" Pershing's mission to capture Mexican rebel forces that had killed 18 American soldiers and wounded nearly 20 others in the

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Cutter and comrades in front of Anoka armory, 1916. Cutter is second from right. The armory was destroyed by a tornado in 1939.

border town of Columbus, New Mexico. When he returned home, Cutter accepted a position at the Anoka law firm of W. A. Blanchard. Meanwhile, dual tragedies struck the Cutter family. Brother Ross succumbed to diphtheria in the summer of 1914, followed by half-brother Marcus's unexpected death in 1917.⁶

The United States entered World War I when, in the face of German submarine attacks, President Woodrow Wilson abandoned the nation's neutrality policy and requested that Congress declare war against Germany in April 1917. Commencement of formal hostilities required activation of the National Guard and Army Reserves. As Selective Service, introduced in June 1917, cut into the pool of available manpower for the guard, communities organized patriotic assemblies to encourage citizens to rally behind the war effort.

At these events, the National Guard often demonstrated military drills as a tool to attract new recruits. Some recruits failed physical examinations, further exacerbating the problem, while rapid expansion of the Army often resulted in officer shortages and reassignments. Cutter experienced such a change firsthand when he received orders temporarily assigning him command of Princeton's Company G. Cutter returned to Company B on August 17, 1917. Just as the men prepared to head south for further training, they received news re-designating them as artilleryists in the 125th Field Artillery Regiment, attached to the newly created 34th Infantry (Red Bull) Division. In September 1917, they arrived at Camp Cody, New Mexico.⁷

Cutter, like any soldier, missed the comforts of home as much as he appreciated the show of support from

townspeople, particularly Anoka High School's "Sammie-Backers," who sent letters, magazines, and gifts to those in uniform. Letters he wrote to friends back home portray the details of a soldier's life in the New Mexico camp as he adapted to a humble living situation: "We heat it [a shack] with an oil stove and so far, have been able to keep nice and warm. The water in the pails outside the tent freezes most every night but in the daytime it gets pretty hot still. The leaves on the trees in town have turned yellow but still haven't fallen off yet."⁸

The Army's penchant for continuous changes in assignments happily brought Cutter back among friends at Headquarters Company when he was assigned as judge advocate general in charge of special courts martial. He observed that the soldiers were eager to head abroad: "We all know that we will go sometime and most of the boys are willing to risk a winter in the trenches if they can go now." By the time his division deployed overseas, however, Cutter was not among them. He had moved into a new role: aerial observer in the Air Service.⁹

Cutter's reasons for transfer to the Air Service are unknown, yet his education and maturity perfectly matched the requirements for the job. The prevalence of enemy aircraft required vigilance and marksmanship. The role of observer also involved assisting with directing major operations on the ground. From the very outset of World War I, aerial observation—observation of artillery fire from aircraft—proved an invaluable asset to field commanders, not just in gathering information but acting in concert with another advanced technology: indirect artillery fire, where direct line of sight to the target was no longer required. Combined with wireless communication, aviation and indirect artillery emerged as crucial tools in trench

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warfare. Despite the popularity of pursuit "aces" whose heroics filled the newspapers, aerial observation remained preeminent. Reporting to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, for observer training in the spring of 1918, Cutter immersed himself in wireless communication, photography, map reading, identifying troop movements (referred to as "staking the lines"), and *reglage*—a French term for adjusting artillery fire.¹⁰

When Cutter deployed overseas in July 1918, he shared his slightly jaded first impressions of France and the newly expanded American army with his former company commander Arthur A. Caswell. Exploring the countryside, Cutter observed much that resembled home, yet noted the lack of modern sewage treatment: "And so the town reminds one of a camel—it has such a grand and foreign smell." He observed the populace's reliance upon horsemeat and cared little for the local brew, stating, "it looks like ink that the bank kept my account with and tastes like diluted vinegar." Regarding the local women, Cutter averred, "And another thing Major [Caswell had been promoted], this 'beautiful French girl stuff' is a fabrication." In an army approaching one million, he tells Caswell of his serendipitous encounter with former comrades from the university's Cadet Corps.¹¹

Cutter observed that four years of hard war had taken its toll on friend and foe alike. Compared to the nattily dressed French flying instructors he met stateside, the local instructors appeared "frowsy" and "run over at the heel," yet many wore "Crosses

of War" (*Croix de Guerre*, France's equivalent of the Silver Star) upon their faded tunics. Weariness was also evident on the faces of captured enemies. "Saw a handful of the Bosch yesterday," he wrote. "Prisoners used as laborers. Ignorant looking whelps with blonde faces. Looked like a herd of cows." They were guarded by a large Frenchman who, Cutter noted, "harbored no love for them."¹²

Cutter reported to the 90th Aero (Observation) Squadron on September 24, 1918, joining eight other Minnesotans then assigned to the squadron, including the bugler who woke him every morning. His immediate superior, Lt. Norris Pierson, was also a lawyer in civilian life. Pierson commended Cutter's military profes-

sionalism and accuracy when filing reports.¹³

Cutter had missed by just one week the squadron's participation in the Saint-Mihiel Offensive, where newly arrived U.S. forces under command of General Pershing, head of American Expeditionary Forces, prepared to score another quick victory. He was not alone in missing out on the squadron's major debut. Newly appointed squadron commander 1st Lt. William Schauffler Jr. had recently returned following a brief hospital stay. Schauffler, or "Schauff," as his men affectionately referred to him, was a flamboyant leader. His personal insignia was a pair of dice, which the squadron readily adopted as its own. During the Saint-Mihiel Offensive, the 90th Aero Squadron earned accolades and a reputation as a "shock squadron." Their sense of pride was expressed in songs sung during the evening mess. The tune "Happy Landings Ninetieth" became a nightly ritual, its chorus sung with gusto:



Capt. William C. Schauffler Jr. (standing) and Lt. F. A. Tillman in observer's seat of one of the 90th Aero Squadron planes. (Schauffler was promoted to captain at the end of the war.) The plane shows the squadron's insignia, a pair of dice. Bethelainville, Meuse, France, November 18, 1918.

Tails up and flying, any weather
where e'er the call may be
Happy Landings Ninetieth
Squadron
Hail all hail to thee!¹⁴

The Meuse-Argonne Offensive, launched on September, 26, 1918, was Pershing's attempt at repeating his previous success at Saint-Mihiel. This time, however, inexperienced troops arrived in unfamiliar territory after a long, exhausting march and without ample artillery support. Amid rolling hills and dense overgrowth, forces soon encountered stiff German resistance and the offensive quickly ground to a halt. Compounding the problem was the lack of air support. Seeking a quick end to the

war through airpower, Gen. William "Billy" Mitchell diverted significant numbers of aircraft for use beyond the immediate battlefield.¹⁵

The night before the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, Schauffler's diary records that he prayed for courage, success, and—above all—safety. For members of the 90th Aero Squadron, the task of flying over the heavily defended forest in bad weather proved a daunting and deadly endeavor. Facing immense odds under deteriorating weather conditions, the men continued on as best they could. Mechanical failures and combat damage resulted in a squadron with more crews than aircraft. Rather than allow his men to stand idle, Schauffler put them to work

doing air-ground liaison or educating ground troops on the tactic. Cutter favorably remarked upon his comrades' fighting spirit, stating, "Great lads they are, and they have been making good in a great way." But the advance came at a price. Mounting casualties required rotations of fresh divisions into the fray. The 90th Aero Squadron was later credited with successfully supporting multiple divisions, often simultaneously.¹⁶

On the morning of October 21, 1918, the offensive reached a critical juncture. Seeking the position of German forces rallying near Hill 299, U.S. 3rd Corps placed an anxious call requesting a reconnaissance mission. Cutter, along with pilot Lt. Hugh Broomfield, accepted the assignment. By midmorning, weather conditions cleared enough for the crew's departure. Subsequent reports from an allied observation balloon stationed nearby spotted the pair at 11:15 a.m., flying at an altitude of 50 meters (approximately 164 feet). The observers noted that while attempting to determine front-line positions, the aircraft crew took evasive action from intense enemy ground fire. Losing sight of them temporarily, the balloonists reported that the plane briefly reappeared, only to stall and crash in the vicinity of Hill 299.¹⁷

Two weeks later, on November 8, 1918, an advance party recovered the remains from shallow graves near the wreckage of the doomed aircraft. Medical staff at Evacuation Hospital 6 identified the bodies of Cutter and Broomfield. A formal burial ceremony attended by comrades followed. Lt. Schauffler recommended that both men receive the Distinguished Service Cross.¹⁸

Cutter's personal belongings, including a diary, were packed into his footlocker and shipped home to Anoka, where news of state elections, the Moose Lake fire, and the



Map of Meuse River region where Edward Cutter was shot down, used by Levi M. Hall, who was in the same 90th Aero (Observation) Squadron as Cutter. The map is in two pieces, one of which is adhered to a rectangular piece of paper board, the other to a rectangular piece of wood. On the back of the paper board are pieces of paper with instructions and codes used by U.S. Air Service observers during World War I. The map would be strapped to the leg of the aerial observer.



On November 18, 1918, almost a month after Cutter's death in battle, the *Anoka Herald* published this photo of Minnesota men who were in the same aviation unit. Cutter, second from left, is wearing his overseas cap and observer's wings.

porting fallen soldiers from their battlefield graves to newly established American cemeteries located throughout France. To aid in recording and tracking each body, Graves Registration assigned each fallen soldier a burial file. Cutter's file reveals a meticulous approach to record keeping. In concert with the Red Cross, next of kin were notified of the final disposition of remains. Whenever possible, the Red Cross photographed the grave site and mailed a copy to the next of kin. Survivors were given the option of keeping the remains in France or having them transported stateside, regardless of the cost or logistics.²¹

Graves Registration also responded to individual inquiries on burial site locations. A mysterious query letter dated January 18, 1919, almost two months from the day Cutter was killed, appears in his burial file. DeWitt L. Harry, a decorated ser-

influenza epidemic dominated the headlines. Updates on America's role in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive finally appeared in the *Anoka Union* on November 6. Not until after the armistice on November 11 did locals learn of Edward Cutter's sacrifice. On December 3 the *Anoka Union* wrote of Cutter's death, "The community mourns with those who mourn with his mother, his fiancé, his friends." The reference to a fiancée is puzzling, as no evidence of a fiancée has been found.¹⁹

Upon hearing of Cutter's death, Theresa Ericksen, formerly Anoka's school nurse, then serving overseas in the ranks of the Army Nurse Corps, wrote to the "Sammie-Backers" informing them she planned to visit Cutter's grave in France and send a photograph of it to his mother. On Christmas Day, the *Anoka Union* ran a tribute to Cutter's legacy, making

special mention of Mary Cutter's loss of the last member of her immediate family.²⁰

AFTER THE ARMISTICE, U.S. ARMY Graves Registration was given the enormous task of disinterring, properly identifying, and trans-

A week after the armistice, pilots and observers of the 90th Aero Squadron, 79th Division, at their aviation field, Bethelainville, Meuse, France, November 18, 1918.



geant serving with the 27th Canadian Infantry (Winnipeg Rifles), identified himself as Cutter's brother-in-law and requested a map and directions to his grave site. Harry also offered payment for erecting a marker. Graves Registration responded five months later, providing directions to the grave site but declining Harry's offer. This letter was initially puzzling, as Cutter had no sisters and never married. What was Harry's relationship to Cutter?²²

Harry's name is omitted from any local censuses, and he does not appear in the Department of State's war records, bonus records, or adjutant records of foreign service. He can be found, however, in the list of military veterans buried in Anoka's Oakwood Cemetery. Harry's remains lie in one of the Cutter family plots.²³

Closer examination of genealogical records and state marriage records uncover Sgt. DeWitt Harry's connection with the Cutter family. Born in Oregon in 1889, Harry briefly worked as a reporter and served in Oregon's National Guard. Prior to America's entry into the war, Harry crossed the border to Canada and enlisted in the Winnipeg Rifles; the unit deployed to the Western Front and participated in numerous actions. He returned to Minnesota in November 1919 and married Hazel Jane Cutter, daughter of Cutter's stepbrother, Marcus. Since Harry worked as a reporter before the war, perhaps the three were connected through the newspaper business. By feigning a closer relationship to Edward Cutter, Harry cleverly skirted the military's bureaucracy to learn of Cutter's burial site and pass the information along to the family.²⁴

Cutter's burial record also holds a response elegant in both phrasing and penmanship from his mother, Mary, to the question posed by Graves Registration concerning his final resting place. Her note of February 2, 1920, states, "I think my son's wish

Cutter's burial overseas reveals expediency in the heat of battle and, later, solemn consecration of his and others' sacrifice in a foreign land.

would be, to lie in France. He was all I had and I hope his grave will be plainly marked and receive perpetual care." A response dated September 16, 1921, acknowledged her request. Graves Registration exhumed Cutter's remains and performed a brief post-mortem exam before transporting them to the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery for final burial. Yet, despite erecting a memorial headstone with the simple epitaph "At Rest in France" in the family plot at Anoka's Oakwood Cemetery, Mary's grief lingered as she thought of her son so far away from home.²⁵

Mary was not alone. After the war, other women determined to commemorate their sons' and husbands' sacrifice founded the Gold Star Mothers and Widows Organization. One of their earliest causes was promoting legislation to fund transportation overseas to allow them to visit the graves of their loved ones. These trips were later referred to as Gold Star Pilgrimages.²⁶

Supporting the Gold Star cause was the nascent American Legion, which held its first national meeting in Minneapolis in November 1919. The ensuing decade witnessed an expansion of the legion's lobbying power. On March 2, 1929, the Gold Star Pilgrimage for Mothers and War Widows Act was passed. Mothers and widows could now apply for the federally funded pilgrimage to visit their loved one's grave. From 1930 until 1933, 6,693 women participated.²⁷

In her role as auxiliary secretary of Anoka's American Legion Post 102, now named in honor of Anoka's highly decorated hero, Mrs. J. G.

Campbell wrote to the War Department in May 1929 on behalf of Mary Cutter. Her letter conveyed the 80-year-old's desire to visit her son's grave. The War Department readily fulfilled this request.²⁸

The U.S. Army assigned Mary Cutter to "Party E," which departed from New York for France on July 18, 1930. The pilgrimages were carefully choreographed events. Overseeing every detail, the Quartermaster Corps provided an itinerary for each participant, passport processing, rail and steamship transport, and a packing list. The pilgrimage lasted 10 days, with side trips to Verdun and Paris. The corps set aside three full days at the Meuse-Argonne Cemetery, where Mary placed a wreath at her son's grave site. The *Anoka Herald* reported on her return home on September 2, 1930.²⁹

THE WHEREABOUTS OF CUTTER'S Distinguished Service Cross and diary remain unknown. Neither appears in a list of Mary's belongings when she died in 1940. Cutter's trunk made a circuitous journey to Anoka. An item described as a "footlocker" appears in the family's genealogy book. Leeds Cutter, Mary's nephew and Edward's cousin, inherited the footlocker. It remained stored in a barn behind Leeds's home until it was passed along to relatives who used it as a piece of luggage as they crisscrossed the United States. The Cutter family eventually donated the footlocker to the Edward B. Cutter Post 102, which then contributed it to the

Anoka County Historical Society for preservation.

Though distant in time and memory, Lt. Edward Cutter's legacy resonates across the generations of veterans and their families who receive continued support from legacy organizations such as the American Legion, Gold Star Mothers, and others dedicated to honoring their sacrifice in time of war.³⁰ □

Notes

The author sincerely thanks the dedicated staff of the Anoka County Historical Society for assistance during the research for this story.

1. A roundel is the national insignia marked on aircraft identifying friend from foe.

2. By war's end, a total of 2,084,000 American military personnel arrived in France. Of those, 53,402 died in combat.

3. Albert Goodrich, *History of Anoka County* (Minneapolis, MN: Hennepin Publishing, 1905), 123, 204, 205; Fred W. McNelly, "Cutter Family: A Memoir and Genealogy," unpublished manuscript, 1999, Appendix III, 73–78, Anoka County Historical Society, Anoka, MN (hereafter, ACHS).

As of 2016, the Philolectian Society is still active. *The Philolectian Handbook*, Constitution and By-Laws, Article II, Philolectian Collection, Reference 925.A, Item 2719.D, ACHS.

Guardianship for Edward and Ross Cutter Court File 852, Anoka County Probate Records 1858–1921, ACHS.

4. Cutter Family File 13, ACHS; Anoka American Legion Edward B. Cutter Post 102 website, <http://www.anokalegion.org/>, accessed May 19, 2016; University of Minnesota Yearbook, *The Gopher* 24 (1911): 93, 484, <http://umedia.lib.umn.edu/node/567833>, accessed Nov. 23, 2014.

5. "Edward B. Cutter, An Unselfish Man," *Anoka County Union*, Dec. 11, 1970, 9.

6. "Off to War," *Anoka Herald*, June 27, 1916, 1.

7. Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram: America Enters the War, 1917–1918* (New York: Ballantine, 1994), 184–200; "Wanted At Once," *Anoka Union*, Apr. 18, 1917, 1; "Picnic a Success" and "Eighteen Enlist—Recruits for Company B Continue as Time for Draft Approaches," *Anoka Union*, June 20, 1917, 1; "Third Becomes Artillery—Members of Third Minnesota Ceased to Be Infantry Monday of This Week," *Anoka Union*, Oct. 3, 1917, 8.

8. Anoka's "Sammie-Backers" were high school students who banded together and showed support for the war effort through correspondence to men and women in uniform: Sammie-Backer's Club, row 1, section 1, shelf 4C, ACHS. Edward Cutter to Dahlgren family,

Nov. 22, 1917, Military World War I File 21, ACHS.

9. Cutter to Dahlgren family.

10. Cutter to Dahlgren family; Paul Strong and Sanders Marble, *Artillery in the Great War* (Croydon, UK: Pen & Sword, 2013), 11; James J. Hudson, *Hostile Skies: A Combat History of the American Air Service in World War I* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1968), 38.

11. "Edward B. Cutter, An Unselfish Man."

12. "Edward B. Cutter, An Unselfish Man."

13. Leland M. Carver, Gustaf A. Lindstrom, and A. T. Foster, *The Ninetieth Aero Squadron, American Expeditionary Forces*, ed. E. Harold Griest (Hinsdale, IL: E. H. Griest Publishing, 1920), 30. The squadron roster (p. 84) lists a total of nine Minnesotans, among them Pvt. William Halpin, bugler from Chatfield, MN. "Lieut. Cutter Loses Life," *Anoka Union*, Dec. 4, 1918, 1.

14. Stanley Walsh, ed., *First Over the Front* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2011), 159, 190–91; Carver, Lindstrom, and Foster, *The Ninetieth Aero Squadron*, 22, 51.

15. Robert H. Ferrell, *America's Deadliest Battle: Meuse-Argonne, 1918* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 37, 40–41, 123–25; Edward G. Lengel, *To Conquer Hell: The Meuse-Argonne, 1918, The Epic Battle That Ended the First World War* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2008), 314–15. Both authors provide evidence to support critiques of General Mitchell's negligence of air-ground support during the Meuse-Argonne Campaign.

16. Ferrell, *America's Deadliest Battle*, 236; "A True American Mother and Son," *Anoka Union*, Dec. 25, 1918, 4; Walsh, *First Over the Front*, 191–92; Carver, Lindstrom, and Foster, *The Ninetieth Aero Squadron*, 30.

17. Carver, Lindstrom, and Foster, *The Ninetieth Aero Squadron*, 47.

18. Writing home to his family, Schauffler, without naming names, cites the specific mission of Lieutenants Broomfield and Cutter (Walsh, *First Over the Front*, 204). Additionally, a personal letter to Mary S. Cutter from Schauffler (printed in *Anoka Herald*, Jan. 22, 1919, 1) expressed his appreciation for Cutter's service and sacrifice.

Lt. Hugh Broomfield briefly lived in Parkers Prairie, MN, before relocating to Oregon: "On Active Service," *Oregon at War! World War I and the Oregon Experience*, Oregon State Archives, <http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/pages/exhibits/war/www1/air.html>, accessed Dec. 20, 2015.

19. "Lieut. Cutter Loses Life." The great fire of 1918 resulted in several deaths and displacements: "At Least 1,000 Persons Perish in Forest Fires," *Anoka Union*, Oct. 16, 1918, 8. Increasing cases of influenza were reported in the newspaper, which also forwarded guidance from federal health agencies: "Uncle Sam's Advice on Flu," *Anoka Union*, Oct. 23, 1918, 3. Results of state elections overshadowed news from the warfront: "Loyalty Wins—Burnquist Re-Elected by Record Vote—State Republicans Victorious," *Anoka Union*, Nov. 6, 1918, 1; "Make Attack on 95 Mile

Front," *Anoka Union*, Nov. 6, 1918, 6; and "1,308 U.S. Casualties—Last List Brings Nation's War Loss to 62,539," *Anoka Union*, Nov. 13, 1918, 7.

20. Theresa Ericksen to Sammie-Backers, Jan. 1919, Sammie-Backer's Club, row 1, section 1, shelf 4C, ACHS; "A True American Mother and Son."

21. Graves Registration Form 101, Nov. 4, 1919, detailed how the body was identified and processed: Edward B. Cutter Burial File 57672, National Personnel Records Center, St. Louis, MO.

22. Sgt. DeWitt L. Harry, DCM, to Graves Registration, Jan. 18, 1919, and reply from Graves Registration, May 7, 1919, Cutter Burial File.

23. Anoka County Historical Society holds a veteran's burial file containing DeWitt Harry's name; however, the name was incorrectly placed as Harry DeWitt.

24. DeWitt L. Harry and Hazel J. Cotter [Cutter], Nov. 24, 1919, Cert. 02290062, Vol. 229, p. 62, Marriage Records, Hennepin County, and 1910 Census Records, St. Paul, Ramsey County, both Minnesota State Historical Society. Harry, Dewitt Lyons (922443), attestation paper, Soldiers of the First World War, Library and Archives of Canada, <http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/first-world-war/first-world-war-1914-1918-cef/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=445997>, accessed Jan. 23, 2015. Harry resided in Florida when he died in 1953.

25. Mary Cutter to Adjutant General, Quartermaster Corps, Graves Division, Feb. 2, 1920, and report of Disinterment and Burial, Oct. 3, 1921, both Cutter Burial File.

26. Constance Potter, "World War I Gold Star Mothers Pilgrimages, Part I," *Prologue Magazine* 31.2 (Summer 1999), <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1999/summer/gold-star-mothers-1.html>, accessed Mar. 1, 2015.

27. Lisa M. Budreau, *Bodies of War: World War I and the Politics of Commemoration in America, 1919–1933* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 184, 196–202; "Gold Star Mothers Pilgrimages," U.S. Army Quartermaster Museum, <http://www.qmmuseum.lee.army.mil/historyweek/5-11feb.htm>, accessed Mar. 1, 2014.

28. Maj. John Harris, Quartermaster Corps, to Mrs. J. G. Campbell, June 3, 1929, Cutter Burial File.

29. The burial file reveals that while on the pilgrimage tour Mary was treated by a U.S. Army physician for a bruised knee and a blister on her toe. "Back from Trip—Mary Cutter Has Returned from Europe," *Anoka Herald*, Sept. 2, 1930, 1; McNelly, "Cutter Family," 13.

30. McNelly, "Cutter Family," 13.

Photo of footlocker on p. 60 courtesy of author; photo of Cutter on p. 60 and photos on p. 61 and p. 62, courtesy Anoka County Historical Society; p. 63, 64, and 65 (bottom), National Archives, U.S. Army Signal Corps; p. 64, MNHS collections; and p. 65 (top) scan of newspaper clipping from *Anoka Herald*, courtesy of author.



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