
Endnotes

Chapter 1: Why Hobey? Why?

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- 3 Wiegmann, Douglas A. and Shappell, Scott A. *A Human Error Approach to Aviation Accident Analysis*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Co., 2003, 1
- 4 "Cupid's Arrow's Find Mark Where Boche Archies Failed," *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1918
- 5 Letter to Father, Undated, John D. Davies Collection on Hobey Baker; Princeton University Archives, Department of Special Collections, Princeton University Library (hereafter Davies Collection)
- 6 Letter to Father, April 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 7 "Hobey Baker and Miss Scott to Wed," *Boston Globe*, Sept. 30, 1918
- 8 Letter to Father, August 30-September 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 9 "How Hobey Baker, U.S. Flier, Won His Newport Fiancé Over in France," *Boston Post*, Oct. 6, 1918
- 10 "Miss Mimi Scott, Society Girl Who'll Wed Hobey Baker." *Central New Jersey Home News*, Oct. 3, 1918
- 11 "Romance of Miss Scott and Hobey Baker Is off," *Kansas City Post*, Nov. 27, 1918
- 12 "Cupid's Arrow's Find Mark Where Boche Archies Failed," *Green Bay Press-Gazette* (Green Bay, Wisconsin), Dec. 21, 1918
- 13 "Out Of the Sky Dropped Hobey Baker-And..." *Passaic Daily News* (Passaic, New Jersey), Dec. 24, 1918
- 14 "Capt. Baker Met His Death in Fall from 2000 Feet," *Evening World*, (New York), Dec. 27, 1918
- 15 "Died in Farwell Flight," *New York Times*, Jan. 23, 1919
- 16 "Hobey Baker's Last Flight," *Sun-Journal* (Lewiston, Maine), Jan. 23, 1919
- 17 Lally, Paul, dir. 2004. *Golden: The Hobey Baker Story*. New Hampshire Public Television.
- 18 "Was the Death of Hobey Baker Due to Blighted Romance?" *Capital Times*, (Madison, WI), Jan. 24, 1919
- 19 "On the Sidelines," Gurnee, O.T., *Lexington Herald*, Nov. 16, 1919.
- 20 "Capt. Hobey Baker's Engagement Broken," *New-York Tribune*, Nov. 27, 1918
- 21 It does not appear that the article was published.
- 22 Henry W. H. Baker, '44, Letter to the Editor, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. LX, no. 1, Sept. 18, 1959, 6
- 23 At the time Henry Baker's letter was published, it included the following note from the editor: "We hope that all alumni will send carbons of their letters to Henry Baker to the ALUMNI WEEKLY.--Ed."
- 24 Davies, John, 1966. *The Legend of Hobey Baker*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company, 109
- 25 Fimrite, Ron. "A Flame That Burned Too Brightly." *Sports Illustrated*, vol. 74, no. 10, March 18, 1991
- 26 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 27 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 28 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 29 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 30 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 31 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 32 Goodman, Mark. 1985. *Hurrah for the Next Man Who Dies*. New York, NY: Atheneum.
- 33 Goodman, *Hurrah for the Next Man*, 270

- 34 Cantwell, Robert. 1966. "The Gallant Life of Princeton's Hobey Baker Poses Enigmas for the Literary." *Sports Illustrated*, September 12, 1966.
- 35 Zaffino, Brian. 2023. *Ghosts of Mr. Baker*. Austin, TX: Atmosphere Press, 2
- 36 Hardy, Stephen, 2025. *The Arena*, Independently Published
- 36 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*

Chapter 2: High Society

- 1 Now known as the Sidney Kimmel Medical College, it is part of Thomas Jefferson University.
- 2 Davies, *The Legend of Hobey Baker*, 4
- 3 Baker's birth predated the opulent estates of DuPont, Widener, and Stotesbury, located in Montgomery and Delaware counties.
- 4 Rappleye, Tim. 2018. *Hobey Baker, upon Further Review*. Traverse City, MI.: Mission Press, 1. See: endnote 1, p. 229, crediting the Lower Merion Historical Society, specifically Robert McCormick.
- 5 Schuylkill is of Dutch origin, meaning "Hidden River," initially concealed by overgrowth at its mouth on the Delaware River.
- 6 The carving is now located at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.
- 7 Van Steenwyk, Elizabeth. 1976. *Figure Skating*. New York: Harvey House, 7
- 8 For an in-depth discussion on the origins of hockey, see <https://jamesdylanlaverance.wordpress.com>.
- 9 Berry, Robert C, William B Gould, William B. Gould, IV, and Paul D. Staudohar, 1986. *Labor Relations in Professional Sports*. Dover, MA.: Auburn House Pub. Co., 202. Note: This source also indicates that the name may have originated from the root of an old French word, *hoquet*, referring to the curved staff of shepherds, which were possibly the first hockey sticks.
- 10 Baker likely also skated at nearby Gustine Lake in East Falls, which was shallower and would freeze over earlier.
- 11 Rector, Latin for "Ruler," akin to a headmaster or principal.
- 12 1856 until he died in 1895
- 13 Conover, James Potter. 1906. *Memories of a Great Schoolmaster (Dr. Henry A. Coit)*. New York, NY: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 91-92
- 14 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 91
- 15 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 91
- 16 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 91-92
- 17 Conover, James Potter. 1908. *Personality in Education*. New York, NY: Moffat, Yard and Company.
- 18 Allen, Kevin. 2011. *Star-Spangled Hockey*. Chicago, IL: Triumph Books, 3
- 19 Chanute, Octave. 1894. *Progress in Flying Machines*. New York, NY: The American Engineer and Railroad Journal.
- 20 Most important was a glider that could be steered side to side and up and down by vertical and horizontal fins on a tiller. See: "Sir George Cayley's Governable Parachute." *Mechanics' Magazine*, vol. LVII, no. 1520, September 25, 1852.
- 21 Chanute, *Progress in Flying Machines*, 8
- 22 Gibbs-Smith, Charles Harvard. 1960. *The Aeroplane: An Historical Survey of Its Origins and Development*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 198. There was a 1874 claim by Felix du Temple of manned flight in a steam-powered monoplane. And another from October 9, 1890, by French engineer, Clement Ader, reaching an altitude of approximately 8 inches for about 160 feet. Even if verifiable, Gibbs-Smith and other aviation historians view those under power as mere hops rather than flights.

- 23 Goldstone, Lawrence. 2014. *Birdmen: The Wright Brothers, Glenn Curtiss, and the Battle to Control the Skies*. New York: Ballantine, 15.
- 24 Sweetser, Arthur. 1919. *The American Air Service*. New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 4
- 25 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 4
- 26 Shulman, Seth. 2002. *Unlocking the Sky*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2-3
- 27 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 4-5
- 28 Kipling, Rudyard. 1937. *Something of Myself for My Friends Known and Unknown*. New York, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 133
- 29 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 3
- 30 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 5
- 31 Sweetser, *Air Service*, 5
- 32 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 2
- 33 Email of the author to the Neighborhood Club of Bala Cynwyd, August 2024. Special thanks to Jim Remsen and Jim Beulock of the Lower Merion Historical Society. Note: a directory printed in 1909 by "The Neighborhood Club" refers to Cynwyd-Bala. Around 1909, certain clubs and organizations began using Bala-Cynwyd in their names, and Realtors began using it to designate the area.
- 34 Email of Jim Remsen to the author, December 17, 2024, Neighborhood Club Directory of "Cynwyd-Bala." 1906
- 35 "Mrs. May Baker To Seek Divorce," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 10, 1904
- 36 Letter of E. D. Toland to Henry Baker, October 5, 1959. Toland includes: "Reasons: mother was an invalid, and his father likewise quite infirm." These appear to be mostly white lies to cover the ongoing family issues. Alfred and Mary had separated, and before the school year was over, Mary would file for divorce. Davies Collection
- 37 Salvini, Emil R. 2005. *Hobey Baker*. Saint Paul, MN: The Hobey Baker Memorial Foundation, 7
- 38 Cunningham, Carson. 2017. *Fallen Stars: Five American Athletes Who Died in Military Service*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 52
- 39 J.P. Conover, letter to John Davies, 1960, Davies Collection
- 40 Seven full rinks and two for practice.
- 41 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 17
- 42 Singer, Bayla. 2003. *Like Sex with Gods*. Texas A&M University Press, 3
- 43 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 81
- 44 Mitchell, General William, 1930. *Skyways*. Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott, 23
- 45 Hansen, James R., ed. 2003. *The Wind and Beyond: A Documentary Journey into the History of Aerodynamics in America*. Vol. 1. Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, See Document 1-13(b), statement by the Wright brothers to the Associated Press, 5 January 1904, 223-224.
- 46 On August 18, 1901, the article "Flying" appeared in the *Bridgeport Sunday Herald*, claiming Gustave Whitehead had flown above the town. The claim is much criticized. See: Gibbs-Smith, *The Airplane*, 207. Though it also has supporters. See: Brinchman, Susan. 2015. *Gustave Whitehead, First in Flight*, La Mesa, CA: Apex Educational Media.
- 47 Chandler, Charles de Forest, and Frank Purdy Lahm. 1943. *How Our Army Grew Wings*. New York, NY: The Ronald Press Company, 141
- 48 Chandler and Lahm. *Army Grew Wings*, 141,142
- 49 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 95
- 50 Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 142
- 51 Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 82
- 52 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 95
- 53 Patent No. 821,393 May 22, 1906
- 54 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 95

- 55 Montgomery, Dr. Jeff, and Dr. Ben Millspaugh, et al. 2013. *Aerospace: The Journey of Flight*. Maxwell Air Force Base, AL: Civil Air Patrol National Headquarters, 28
- 56 British patent #393, "Aerial Locomotion, &c," 1868,
- 57 Esnault-Pelterie referred to them as "*Gouvernails Horizontaux*" (Horizontal Rudders).
- 58 Harrison, James P. 1996. *Mastering the Sky*. Sarpedon, New York, 69
- 59 The term "ailerons" began being used around 1908. See: Crouch, Tom, "Oldies and Oddities: Where Do Ailerons Come From?" *Smithsonian, Air & Space Magazine*, September 2008.
- 60 "Considerations sur les resultats d'un allegement indefini des moteurs", *Journal de physique theorique et appliquee*, Paris, 1913
- 61 "Skating News," *New York Tribune* Jan. 27, 1918
- 62 Chandler and Lahm. *Army Grew Wings*, 143
- 63 Chandler and Lahm. *Army Grew Wings*, Appendix 6, 295-298
- 64 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 3
- 65 *Social Register*, Philadelphia, 1907. New York, NY: Social Register Association, 9
- 66 E.D. Toland, letter to Henry W. H. Baker, October 5, 1959, Davies Collection
- 67 Stuart Elliott, letter to John Davies, Nov. 18, 1963 Davies Collection
- 68 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 202
- 69 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 12
- 70 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 87
- 71 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 90
- 72 Conover, *Great Schoolmaster*, 85
- 73 Conover, *Personality in Education*, 109
- 74 Conover, *Personality in Education*, 111
- 75 Conover, *Personality in Education*, 113
- 76 "Just Gossip," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Jan. 5, 1908.
- 77 "Wealth is the Danger," *Boston Globe*, June 4, 1909
- 78 "Wealth is the Danger," *Boston Globe*, June 4, 1909
- 79 *Social Register*, Philadelphia, 1909, 9
- 80 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, 1914-1918. 1926. Concord, N.H., St. Paul's Alumni Association, 19
- 81 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xiii
- 82 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xiv
- 83 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xvi
- 84 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xviii
- 85 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xiv
- 86 Excerpt from The School Prayer: "Grant, O Lord, that in all the joys of life we may never forget to be kind. Help us to be unselfish in friendship, thoughtful of those less happy than ourselves, and eager to bear the burdens of others; through Jesus Christ our Savior. Amen."
- 87 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, xiv
- 88 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, vii
- 89 Falla, Jack. 2008. *Open Ice*. Mississauga, ON: John Wiley & Sons, 213

Chapter 3: The Great Air Race

- 1 Calin, Razvan. 2023. "A Founding Father Stood by the 'Last' King of France to Watch Man's First Flight in 1783." Autoevolution.com
- 2 Trimble, William F. 1982. *High Frontier*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 3-5
- 3 Trimble, *High Frontier*, 16
- 4 "Biggest Ballon In Maiden Flight," *The New York Times*, August 25, 1907.
- 5 Trimble, *High Frontier*, 28-29
- 6 Montgomery, Et al., *Aerospace*, 13
- 7 The first successful dirigible flight was by Henri Giffard in France in 1852.
- 8 Kipling, *Something of Myself*, 133
- 9 Kipling, Rudyard, 1905. *With the Night Mail: A Story of 2000 A. D.* New York, NY: The S. S. McClure Company.
- 10 Aero Publishing Co.
- 11 Smith, Frank Kingston, and James P. Harrington. 1981. *Aviation in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia, PA: The Franklin Institute Press, 19
- 12 Roseberry, C R. 1965. *Glenn Curtiss*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 71
- 13 "June Bug's Flights Attracted Experts," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 12, 1908
- 14 Known as the Blériot Memorial.
- 15 Chester USN, Rear Admiral Colby M., "Practicability of the Aeroplane for Offensive Naval Tactics and the Detection of Submarine Dangers," *San Francisco Call Bulletin*, March 22, 1908
- 16 "Aero Meet at Rheims," *Evening Kansan-Republican* (Newton, Kansas). August 21, 1909.
- 17 "Thousands Journey to Rheims Air Fete," *Los Angeles Times*, August 14, 1909.
- 18 Lieberg, Owen S. 1974. *The First Air Race*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 2
- 19 Lieberg, *First Air Race*, 1
- 20 Roseberry, C. R. 1965. *Glenn Curtiss*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., 185
- 21 Lieberg, *First Air Race*, 2,3
- 22 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 187
- 23 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 192
- 24 Lieberg, *First Air Race*, 127
- 25 Lieberg, *First Air Race*, 127
- 26 Shulman, Seth. 2002. *Unlocking the Sky*. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 164
- 27 Burns, Eric. 2016. *The Golden Lad*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 90
- 28 Cohen, Rose N., *Men Who Gave Us Wings*. Macmillan Company, New York, 1944
- 29 Roosevelt, Quentin. 1921. *Quentin Roosevelt: A Sketch with Letters*. Edited by Kermit Roosevelt. New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons. 1,2
- 30 Bishop, Chip. 2014, *Quentin & Flora: A Roosevelt and a Vanderbilt in Love during the Great War*, Create Space. Kindle Edition, 62,63
- 31 Roosevelt, Quentin. 1921. *Quentin Roosevelt*, 2
- 32 www.BarnesandNoble.com
- 33 "Wanamaker's, has secured that Aeroplane for exhibit in this & in the New York Store," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Sept. 25, 1909
- 34 "For the First Time in this City an Airplane Will Be Seen in Flight," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 10, 1909
- 35 "The Herring-Curtiss Biplane Is Here Today, and the Exhibition Begins," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Oct. 12, 1909
- 35 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 13, 1909
- 37 "Flying Machines for Sale at Wanamaker's," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 12, 1909
- 38 Lake, Timothy W., 2023, *The Bergdoll Boys*, Havertown, PA., Brookline Books, 80, 91
- 39 Harper, Harry, and Claude Grahame-White. 1942. *The Aeroplane in War*. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Company. 22
- 40 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 224-228

- 41 In March 1911, Moisant was disqualified because he had not completed a required one-hour flight prior to his attempt. Second-place finisher Claude Grahame-White was also disqualified for hitting a wing tip on a pylon during the race. The prize, and money (\$10,000), went to Jacques de Lesseps. See: "De Lesses (mis-spelled) Winner of Liberty Flight" *Springfield Daily News*, MA., March 15, 1911
- 42 "American Aviator Fell 125 Feet." *Norwich Bulletin*, Oct. 20, 1910.
- 43 "The Frank Coffyn Collection: Charles K. Hamilton." U.S. Centennial of Flight Commission. Archived from the original on Sept. 21, 2012, retrieved Jan. 7, 2025.
- 44 "Meet the Aviators," *Flying Fearless: Celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of New Jersey Airshows, 1910-2010*, sponsored by the Atlantic City Free Public Library and the Asbury Park Public Library. Archived from the original on March 10, 2012, retrieved Jan. 7, 2025.
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Thomas Selfridge and Aerodrome #1

- 49 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 86
- 50 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 86
- 51 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 87. Author's note: Historically, though witnesses claimed to have observed Herring's flight, the claim is either doubted or considered too insignificant in distance and time to qualify as a "flight." See: Fairlane, "Michigan Aviation Pioneer Augustus Herring: First in Flight?" *Michigan in Pictures*, December 17, 2013 <https://michpics.wordpress.com/>
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- 53 "American Aeroplane," *Evening Star*, March 13, 1908
- 54 "Clash of Rich Men's Wills Lies Red Wings' Rise to Hockey Leadership," *Detroit Free Press*, January 29, 1933

Chapter 4: A Tiger's Tale

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- 2 Moffatt, J.H. 1909. "Investigation Proves That Injuries and Football Have Been Exaggerated." *Inter-Ocean* (Chicago, Illinois), Dec. 26, 1909.
- 3 Rich, Frederic C. 1979. *The First Hundred Years of the Ivy Club, 1879-1979*. Princeton, NJ: Ivy Club, 113
- 4 Herring, Donald Grant, 1940, *40 Years of Football*. Princeton. New York, NY: Carlyle House, 198
- 5 Herring, *40 Years of Football*, 191
- 6 "Princeton's Chances of Downing Harvard Not so Bright," *Trenton Evening Times*, Nov 01, 1911
- 7 "With Big Elevens," *Evening Star* (Washington, DC), Oct 19, 1911
- 8 "The Winning of the Harvard Game," *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, Nov. 8, 1911, Vol. XII, No. 7
- 9 Davies, *The Legend*, 25
- 10 Davies, *The Legend*, 5
- 11 Herring, *40 Years of Football*, 198
- 12 *Boston Herald*, October 13, 1912, *See also*: Davies, *The Legend*, 33

- 13 "Hobey Baker, One of the Fastest Backfield Men," *Grand Forks Herald*, Nov 2, 1912
- 14 "Hobey Baker, One of the Fastest Backfield Men," *Grand Forks Herald*, Nov 2, 1912
- 15 "Hobey Baker, One of the Fastest Backfield Men," *Grand Forks Herald*, Nov 2, 1912
- 16 Princeton's Greatest Players, 1906-31. As selected by Staś Maliszewski '66 and Eric Dreiband '86, *Princetonfootball.com*
- 17 "Greatest Offensive Back" *The Omaha Daily News*, Nov. 20, 1912, *See also*: Davies, *The Legend*, 28
- 18 "From The Football Fields." *Holyoke Daily Transcript*, (Holyoke, MA), Nov. 7, 1912. *See also*: Davies, *The Legend*, 28
- 19 "World's Greatest Half Back is Hobey Baker" *The Spokane Press*, Nov. 22, 1912. Note: Other accounts place the run between 85 and 90 yards. It appears the play started from the Princeton 20-yard line.
- 20 Davies, *The Legend*, xxii. Tunis was a 1911 graduate of Harvard University and served in World War I
- 21 Fimrite, "Burned too Brightly." *Sports Illustrated*, March 18, 1991
- 22 "Composite Eleven," *Times Herald*, December 9, 1912
- 23 "Princeton Elects Baker," *New York Times*, Dec 12, 1912
- 24 College Football Hall of Fame, Atlanta, GA
- 25 Fitzgerald, F. Scott, *This Side of Paradise*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1921, 49
- 26 Nannes, Casper H. "Hobey Baker-Hockey Star." *Strength*, Feb. 1930
- 27 "Hobey Baker, Government Aviator," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 28 "Hobey Baker, Government Aviator," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 29 Letter to Davies, January 2, 1964, Davies Collection
- 30 Salvini, *American Legend*, 26
- 31 "Defeat for Dartmouth Opens Hockey Series," *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 36, no. 156, Jan. 8, 1912
- 32 "Harvard Defeated and Fast Hockey Game," *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 36, no. 168, Jan. 22, 1912
- 33 "Harvard Defeated and Fast Hockey Game," *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 36, no. 168, Jan. 22, 1912
- 34 "Columbia Defeated in Fast Hockey Game," *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 36, no. 169, Jan. 23, 1912
- 35 A "Natural Hatrick" occurs when a single player scores three consecutive goals in one game without any other player from either team scoring in between.
- 36 "Victory Over Yale Wins Championship," *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 36, no. 171, Feb. 8, 1912
- 37 Trimble, *High Frontier*, 82
- 38 Various dates, *Daily Princetonian*, vol. 37, 1913.
- 39 "Hobey Baker Says Princeton Should Cut out Horsing," *Central New Jersey Home News*, Jan. 23, 1914.
- 40 James F. Dechert, letter to Henry W. H. Baker, Oct. 26, 1959. Davies Collection
- 41 Trimble, *High Frontier*, 84
- 42 Davis, Richard Harding. 1911. "The New World." *Collier's*, September 16, 1911
- 43 "Strange Hobbies Taken in by Famous Athletes." *Evening World*, August 25, 1915.
- 44 "Against Two-sport Rule." *Boston Evening Transcript*, April 20, 1914.
- 45 "Hobey Baker Best Of Nassau Athletes." *Fort Wayne Journal Gazette*, Jan 30, 1916 ·
- 46 "All Collegiate Hockey Team." *Star-Independent* (Harrisburg, PA), Feb. 28, 1913. Hornfeck was the Princeton coach.
- 47 Bauhan, Rolf W., "The Hobart Baker '14 Memorial: A Monument to an Ideal Athlete." *PAW*, vol. XXII, no. 30, May 10, 1922
- 48 "Tigers Need Rink First," *New York Herald*, March 9, 1913
- 49 "Rink Practice Helps Yale Team," *Hartford Courant*, Feb. 23, 1914

Chapter 5: Turbulence

- 1 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 190,192
- 2 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 191
- 3 U. S. Patent 582,757
- 4 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 234
- 5 Goldstone, *Birdmen*, 185
- 6 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 232
- 7 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 189
- 8 Shulman, *Unlocking the Sky*, 180
- 9 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 236
- 10 The Aero Club of America dissolved in 1922. It was replaced by the National Aeronautic Association (NAA). The award's name was officially changed to the "Robert J. Collier Trophy" in 1944.
- 11 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 321
- 12 "75,000 People Enjoyed This Show." *The Allentown Leader*, August 25, 1915.
- 13 Humphreys replaced Benjamin Foulois, who was selected and then sent instead to the International Congress of Aeronautics in Nancy, France. See: Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 163
- 14 Selfridge had soloed on May 19, 1908, in the Aerial Experiment Association's (AEA) *White Wing*.
- 15 Foulois, Benjamin D. and Colonel C.V. Glines. 1968. *From the Wright Brothers to the Astronauts*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 70. Foulois had received some preliminary instruction from Orvil Wright. See: Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 163
- 16 Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 184-186. Author's note: Collier served on the board of the Wright company.
- 17 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 10
- 18 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 10
- 19 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 11
- 20 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 16
- 22 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 11
- 23 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 20
- 24 Arnold, H.H. 1949. *Global Mission*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 14
- 25 "Horried Crowd Sees Hoxsey's Fatal Plunge," *Weekly-Clarion Ledger*, (Jackson, MS), Jan. 5, 1911
- 26 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 302
- 27 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 19
- 28 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 14
- 29 Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 239
- 30 Chandler and Lahm, *Army Grew Wings*, 163
- 31 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 20
- 32 Wright Co. v. Herring-Curtiss Co., 204 F. 597 (W.D.N.Y. 1913)
- 33 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 349
- 34 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 360
- 35 "U.S. Centennial of Flight-Propeller Configurations." www.centennialofflight.net. Accessed June 19, 2025.
- 36 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 91
- 37 Appel, Joseph H. 1930. *The Business Biography of John Wanamaker, Founder and Builder*. New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 163
- 38 The 1914 Treaty of Ghent (ratified in 1915) marked the end of the War of 1812.
- 39 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 6
- 40 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 368
- 41 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 18

- 42 Bauhan, Rolf, letter to George Fraser, April 22, 1962, Davies Collection
- 43 Meyer, G. J., 2006, *A World Undone: The Story of the Great War, 1914-1918*. New York, NY: Bantam Dell, 8
- 44 “WWI: Scale and Horror of the Conflict.” *Raidió Teilifís Éirean*, (rte.ie), Nov. 7, 2018. Note: the estimate is based on assessments by current nations.
- 45 Brunt, Douglas. 2023. *The Mysterious Case of Rudolf Diesel*. New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 167
- 46 Roseberry, *Glenn Curtiss*, 379
- 47 “Airboat America Sent to England?” *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1914
- 48 Meyer, *A World Undone*, 17
- 49 Named after its drafter, Field Marshal Alfred von Schlieffen.
- 50 “Sportsman-Live Tips and Topics.” *Boston Globe*, August 3, 1914.
- 51 Davies, *The Legend*, 91. Note: Professor was possibly Augustus Trowbridge, as Baker was staying at his home in London at this time. see: Letter of Cornelius P. Trowbridge to Henry Baker, Sept. 29, 1959, Davies Collection
- 52 “Passenger on the Olympic.” *Portland Sunday Telegram*, August 30, 1914.
- 53 Farrar, Jr., L.L. . 1973. *Short War of Illusion*. Oxford, England: ABC-Clio

Chapter 6: St. Nick's

- 1 The nation of Germany did not exist at the time, but was a collection of independent states.
- 2 “Hobey Baker Helps Tigers,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, Oct. 13, 1915
- 3 Wikipedia, “1914–15 Princeton Tigers Men’s Ice Hockey Season.” Wikimedia Foundation. Last modified Dec. 16, 2024. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1914%E2%80%9315_Princeton_Tigers_men%27s_ice_hockey_season.
- 4 “Hobey Baker, Greatest Hockey Player.” *La Grande Observer*, Jan. 16, 1915.
- 5 “Hobey Baker Clever on Ice.” *New Haven Leader*, Feb. 12, 1915.
- 6 “Hobey Baker, Government Aviator, Calls Piloting Airship A Game,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 7 “Hobey Baker, Government Aviator,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 8 Baker, Hobart A.H., “Hints to Ice Hockey Players.” *Spalding Official Ice Hockey Guide*, vol. VI, no. 6, 1915, 5
- 9 E. D. Toland letter to Henry H.W. Baker, Oct. 5, 1959, Davies Collection
- 10 “Horror of Horrors Hobey Baker Is Now Desperately in Love,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec. 30, 1914
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- 17 Bingham, Hiram. 1920. *An Explorer in the Air Service*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 51
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- 22 *St. Paul’s School in the Great War*, 13
- 23 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 31
- 24 Perry’s claim has been disputed.
- 25 Trimble, *High Frontier*, 91
- 26 The members of the “Philadelphia School” designed over 300 courses, including 25 that are in the top 100 in the world. They include: Wilson, Merion Country Club; Tillinghast, Winged Foot, Baltusrol, and Bethpage Black, Flynn, Shinnecock Hills, and the Country Club; Fownes, Oakmont; Crump, Pine Valley
- 27 At the time, the course was ranked third in the nation behind Pine Valley and Merion. In 1917, it hosted the Patriotic Open, serving as a substitute for the U.S. Open, which had been canceled due to the war. Given that the purse was going to charity, it was believed the professionals would not show. But they did show, in droves.

- The field included many of the top golfers of the day, including Walter Hagen. The course became an annual stop for the Professional Golfers Association from 1963 until 1980.
- 28 Arbon, Lee, *They Also Flew*, Smithsonian Press, Washington, D.C., 1992, 19
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 - 35 Sperry, Mrs. Lawrence, "Bride's Own Story of Sky Honeymoon." *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 26, 1918
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 - 37 "Sperry Airplane Falls into Swamp," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 1, 1919
 - 38 "Mr. Sperry's Body?" *Evening Standard*, London, Jan. 11, 1924
 - 39 "Airmen Drop 'Bomb' As a Warning of Peril," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 23, 1917
 - 40 "Mayor Issues Call for Patriotic Rally," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 27, 1917
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"The Philadelphia Slacker"

- 42 Lake, *Bergdoll Boys*, 78-79
- 43 Smith and Harrington, *Aviation and Pennsylvania*, 26
- 44 Smith and Harrington, *Aviation and Pennsylvania*, 26
- 45 The Franklin Institute has indicated that no letter gifting the plane is on file. See: Lake, *Bergdoll Boys*, Appendix I

Chapter 8: Flying Tigers

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- 4 *Princeton In the World War*, xv
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- 9 "Disgruntled Tigers Begin All Over." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 14, 1916
- 10 *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. XVII, no. 8, Nov. 22, 1916
- 11 "Aeroplane Squad Flies to Football Game," *Aerial Age Weekly*, Nov. 27, 1916
- 12 *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. XVII, no. 8, Nov. 22, 1916
- 13 "Crowd Cheers Hobey Baker, Former Princeton Captain, First Airman To Arrive" *Evening World*, (New York, N.Y.), Nov. 18, 1916. It is also noted that Thaw had to land with engine trouble.
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- 16 Wortman, Marc. 2007. *The Millionaires' Unit*. New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 66
- 17 O'Neal, "Original Flying Tigers," *Over the Front*, 238
- 18 O'Neal, "Original Flying Tigers," *Over the Front*, 238
- 19 O'Neal, "Original Flying Tigers," *Over the Front*, 255
- 20 *Princeton In The World War*, xix
- 21 O'Neal, "Original Flying Tigers," *Over the Front*, 233

Chapter 9: America Goes to War

- 1 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 22-23
- 2 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, xxvii
- 3 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 17
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- 5 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 126
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- 18 Rickenbacker, Eddie, 1967. *Rickenbacker, an Autobiography*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 85
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- 6 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 68
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- 8 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 82
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- 10 Major R. C. Bolling, quoted in Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 78
- 11 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 23
- 12 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 82
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- 14 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 80
- 15 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 87
- 16 Major R. C. Bolling, See: Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 77-78
- 17 Robertson, *Dream of Civilized Warfare*, 42
- 18 Newton Baker statement, June 18, 1917, See: Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 79
- 19 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 87
- 20 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 82
- 21 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 86
- 22 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 87
- 23 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 88
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- 25 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 90
- 26 "At Last, The Airplanes," *New York Times*, July 23, 1917
- 27 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 30
- 28 Robertson, *Dream of Civilized Warfare*, 11
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- 31 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 200
- 32 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 35
- 33 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 90
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- 40 "Pennsylvania News" *Aerial Age Weekly*, May 29, 1916, vol. III, no. 11, 330
- 41 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 58
- 42 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 50
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- 44 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 76
- 45 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 60
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13 O’Neal. “The Original Flying Tigers,” *Over the Front*, 238

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16 *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, vol. XVII, no. 25 April 4, 1917

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21 Summers Lowe, Miranda. “ ‘Swat the Kaiser’ and Stork Stands: The History of Army Physical Fitness.” *The New York Times*, March 28, 2019.

22 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 101

23 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 102

24 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 102

25 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 41

26 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 37,38

- 27 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 47
- 28 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 99
- 29 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 99
- 30 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 99
- 31 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 101
- 32 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 101
- 33 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 30
- 34 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 50
- 35 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 49
- 36 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 49
- 37 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 53
- 38 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 104
- 39 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 34

Chapter 12: Going Over There

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- 2 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 146
- 3 Fleming, *Illusion of Victory*, 113
- 4 Vandiver, Frank E. 1977. *Black Jack: The Life and Times of John J. Pershing*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 719
- 5 Nivelle Offensive, April-May 1917
- 6 Mitchell, William, 1928. *Memoirs of World War I*. New York, NY: Random House, 139
- 7 Criticism of Ismay included: Though the vessel complied with current regulations regarding lifeboat capacity, there was not enough space for all passengers and crew; he had pressured Capt. Smith to maintain speed (probably untrue, and the vessel was not attempting to set the speed record as is commonly reported); and that he boarded a lifeboat when many others, including women and children, were still on board.
- 8 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 61
- 9 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 164
- 10 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 164
- 11 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 78
- 12 Frandsen, Bert. 2013. *Hat in the Ring: The Birth of American Air Power in the Great War*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 32
- 13 On the morning of December 6, 1917, the French cargo ship *SS Mont-Blanc*, fully loaded with high explosives, collided with the Norwegian vessel *SS Imo* in the Halifax harbor, resulting in a fire and eventually the largest man-made explosion until the atomic bomb in World War II that wiped out almost everything within a half-mile radius. At least 1,782 people were killed by the blast, debris, fires, flooding, or building collapses, and another estimated 9,000 were injured. See: Bacon, John U. 2017. *The Great Halifax Explosion*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.
- 14 Woolley, Charles. 1999. *First to the Front*. Atglen, PA.: Schiffer Publishing, 14
- 15 Campbell, Douglas. 1984. *Let's Go Where the Action Is!* Edited by Jack Eder. Knightstown, Indiana: JaaRE, Letter of August 6, 1917, 5
- 16 Woolley, *First to the Front*, 16
- 17 Roosevelt, *A Sketch with Letters*, 42

Chapter 13: The American Program

- 1 Letter to Father, August 26, 1917, Davies Collection
- 2 The Signal Corps had adopted “wings” years earlier. On October 6, 1913, General Scriven presented the first badge to Captain Charles DeForest Chandler. *See: Aviation Wings and Badges of the World Wars*, quote of Cliff Presley, <https://ww2wings.com/>
- 3 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 165
- 4 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 166
- 5 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 166
- 6 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 168
- 7 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 118,119
- 8 Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. I, 161
- 9 Several historical sources refer to this as the Zone of Communications. This is currently accurate. However, sources such as Foulois’s, *See: From the Wright Brothers*, Pershing, *See: My Experiences*, and the *Diary of Colonel Frank Lahm* all use the term Zone of Interior. After World War I, the Zone of Interior referred to the home front in the United States, a usage similar to that of the Department of the Interior.
- 10 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 140
- 11 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 141
- 12 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 148
- 13 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 126
- 14 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 130, 131
- 15 Sengupta, Narayan. 2012. *American Eagles*, 87
- 16 Sengupta, *American Eagles*, 87
- 17 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 77
- 18 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 90
- 19 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 77
- 20 “The Deplorable Conditions Which Have Prevented Development of Our Aerial Defenses Made Public,” *Aerial Age Weekly*, Oct. 9, 1916
- 21 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 125

Chapter 14: Becoming an Eagle

- 1 Biddle, Charles John, *Fighting Airman; The Way of the Eagle* Doubleday Garden City, N.Y 1968, 16
- 2 Named after the French department store that commissioned its inventor, M. F. Gouttes, and first offered it for sale in 1910.
- 3 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 47
- 4 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 48
- 5 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 40
- 6 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 17
- 7 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 9
- 8 Letter to Percy, Sept. 10, 1917 Davies Collection
- 9 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 7
- 10 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 60
- 11 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 61

- 12 Harrington, Hugh T., "We Were Told What To Write," *Over The Front*, vol. 36, no. 1, Spring 2021, citing National Archives pamphlet M990, Gorrell's history of the American Expeditionary Forces Air Service, and 1917 – 1919, Gorrell's history microfilm collection. 1975, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., General Services Administration. The pamphlet and Gorrell's history are available at www.full3.com. The quote is on page 4 of the booklet.
- 13 Series "J", Volume 7, History of the 1st, 2d, 4th, 7th and 8th Aviation Instruction Centers, Gorrell's History of the American Expeditionary Forces Air Service, 1917-1919, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 14 Letter to Percy, Sept. 10, 1917, Davies Collection
- 15 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 112
- 16 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 28
- 17 Letter to Father January 4, 1918, Davies Collection
- 18 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 29
- 19 Letter to Percy, Sept. 27, 1917, Davies Collection. Note: "Airplane stall" (also known as aerodynamic stall) vs. "Engine stall": Simply put, the word "stall," as used here, refers to the loss of lift due to insufficient air flow over the wings. Without lift, the plane falls. Engine stall, or engine failure, occurs when any motor (airplane, boat, automobile, etc.) stops unexpectedly without being shut off or running out of fuel.
- 20 Letter to Father, Sept. 17, 1917, Davies Collection
- 21 Letter to Percy, Sept. 21, 1917, Davies Collection
- 22 Letters to Father and Percy, Sept. 27, 1917, Davies Collection
- 23 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 28
- 24 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette*, 67
- 25 Hall, James Norman and Charles Nordhoff, 1940 (1929), *Falcons of France, a Tale of Youth and the Air*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown & Company
- 26 Hall, James Norman, Charles Bernard Nordhoff, and Edgar G. Hamilton, eds. 1920. *The Lafayette Flying Corps*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 130
- 27 Letter to Father, August 26, 1917, Davies Collection
- 28 Mitchell, William. 1921. *Our Air Force*. New York, NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., 119.
- 29 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 119

Chapter 15: Top Gun

- 1 Roosevelt, *A Sketch with Letters*, 125
- 2 Hynes, Samuel. 2014. *The Unsubstantial Air: American Fliers in the First World War*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 91
- 3 Sweetser, Arthur, and Gordon Lamont. 1920. *Opportunities in Aviation*. New York, NY: Harper & Brothers. 27 (reporting on Canadian flyers).
- 4 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 25
- 5 Letter to Percy Oct. 25, 1917, Davies Collection
- 6 Winter, *First of the Few*, 177
- 7 Barker, Ralph. 1994. *The Royal Flying Corps in France*. London: Constable, 194
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- 92 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 96-97

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- 4 Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 184
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Chapter 18: Over the Front

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- 24 Whitehouse, *Heroes of the Sunlit Sky*, 20
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- 27 Letter to Father, May 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 28 Letter to Percy, May 17, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 33 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 215
- 34 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 214
- 35 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 214
- 36 Letter to Father, May 29, 1918, Davies Collection
- 37 Letter to Father, May 27, 1918, Davies Collection
- 38 Letter to Father, May 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 39 Letter to Father, May 27, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 47 Letter to Father, May 28, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 50 Letter to Father, June 12, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 54 Letter to Father, July 13, 1918, Davies Collection
- 55 Letter to Father, July 24, 1918, Davies Collection
- 56 Letter to Percy, July 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 57 Letter to Father, May 31, 1918, Davies Collection
- 58 Letter to Father, June 1, 1918, Davies Collection
- 59 Letter to Father, May 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 60 Letter to Father, June 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 61 Letter to Father, June 13, 1918, Davies Collection
- 62 letter to Father, May 25, 1918, Davies Collection
- 63 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 154
- 64 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 224
- 65 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 154
- 66 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 159-160
- 67 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 225
- 68 Coppens, *Days On The Wing*, 227
- 69 Etienne Hage
- 70 Various letters of May-June 1918, Davies Collection
- 71 Letter to Father, June 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 72 Letter to Father, May 30, 1918, Davies Collection
- 73 Letter to Father, May 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 74 Letter to Father, May 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 75 Letter to Father, May 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 76 Letter to Father, June 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 77 Letter to Father, June 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 78 Letter to Father, June 10 & 11, 1918, Davies Collection
- 79 Plane No. 8193, Engine No. 30094
- 80 Letter to Father, June 14, 1918, Davies Collection
- 81 Letters to Father, June 15 & 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 82 Letters to Percy June 13, 1918, and Father July 8 & 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 83 Letter to Father, June 6, 1918, Davies Collection
- 84 Letter to Father, June 13, 1918, Davies Collection
- 85 Letter to Marie, June 17, 1918, Davies Collection
- 86 Letter to Father, June 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 87 Letter to Marie, June 17, 1918, Davies Collection
- 88 Letter to Percy, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 89 Letter to Percy, June 23, 1918, Davies Collection
- 90 Letter to Father, June 23, 1918, Davies Collection

- 91 Letter to Father, June 15 & 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 92 Letter to Father, July 8, 1918, Davies Collection
- 93 Letter to Father, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection

Chapter 19: The Grim Reaper

- 1 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 255
- 2 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 250
- 3 Patrick, *United States In The Air*, 25
- 4 Adams, Harriet Chalmers, “ ‘The Most Beautiful Burial Ground in the World:’ French Lorraine during WWI,” *National Geographic*, Nov. 1, 1917
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- 6 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 216
- 7 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 160-161
- 8 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 161
- 9 Rickenbacker was an exception as squadron commander; he chose the No. 1 for his aircraft.
- 10 Letter to Father, August 1, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 14 D’Olive, Charles. “Air Force Project.” Oral History Research Office, Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 1969.
- 15 O’Brien, *Outwitting the Hun*, 13
- 16 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 157
- 17 Letter to Percy, July 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 18 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 202
- 19 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 162
- 20 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, Edited by Sydney Richmond Taber. Unknown: Privately Printed, 51
- 21 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 162
- 22 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 165
- 23 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 168
- 24 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 163
- 25 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 164
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- 27 Trew, *The Icarus Solution*, 20
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- 29 Trew, *The Icarus Solution*, 48
- 30 Trew, *The Icarus Solution*, 20
- 31 Trew, *The Icarus Solution*, 20
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- 34 Brewer, Leighton, “How It Was,” *Cross & Cockade*, vol 3, no. 1, Spring 1962, 69
- 35 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 222
- 36 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 106
- 37 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 206
- 38 Wellman, William A. 1918. *Go, Get ‘Em!* Boston, MA: The Page Company, 265

- 39 Nordhoff and Hall, *Falcons of France*, 272
- 40 Wellman, *Go, Get 'Em!*, 185
- 41 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 101
- 42 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 163
- 43 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 214
- 44 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 214
- 45 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 101-102
- 46 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 102
- 47 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 314
- 48 The transcript of Baker's letter, dated August 8, 1918, but referring to the assignment as being received by him on August 12, 1918, indicates he was to command the 142nd squadron; however, the 142nd was an observation unit that was never deployed to France or Belgium. It appears to be a misprint.
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- 52 Wilberg, *Biddle's Rumpler*, 61
- 53 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 232
- 54 The "flaming onion" was discharged by a German 37 mm revolving-barrel anti-aircraft gun called a '*lichtspucker*' (light spitter) that fired five incendiary rounds in rapid succession to increase the odds of hitting its target.
- 55 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 232-233
- 56 From the song "Stand to Your Glasses," there are variations in the lyrics, and its origin is likely British. It is sung in the movie "*Dawn Patrol*."

Chapter 20: Mimi and Percy

- 1 Letter to Father, May 23, 1918, Davies Collection
- 2 Letters to Father, June 1 & 4, 1918, Davies Collection
- 3 Letter to Father, June 14, 1918, Davies Collection
- 4 Letter to Percy, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 5 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 6 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 7 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 8 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 9 Letter to Father August 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 10 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 256
- 11 Thaw had been Baker's and Biddle's squadron commander in the 103rd and now was in command of the 3rd Pursuit Group
- 12 Letters to Father August 30, 31st, and Sept. 1, 2, and 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 13 Letter to Father, Oct. 12, 1918, Davies Collection
- 14 Letter to Father, Oct. 29, 1918, Davies Collection
- 15 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, quoting interview with Thompson W. Barry of October 2017, 127
- 16 Ross Greenberg, Andrew Reynolds, and Timothy Smith, *Searching for Hobey Baker*, ESPN, 30 for 30 Podcast, Three episodes, June 12, 2024, <https://30for30podcasts.com/searching-for-hobey-baker>
- 17 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 1, "The Natural," *Searching for Hobey Baker*

- 18 Letter to Percy, Feb. 8, 1918, Davies Collection
- 19 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 2, "The Lost Generation," *Searching for Hobey Baker*
- 20 Letter to Percy March 22, 1918, Davies Collection
- 21 Letter to Percy June 23, 1918, Davies Collection
- 22 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 126
- 23 The New York Times Wed, Sept. 16, 1914
- 24 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 125
- 25 Kuhn, Wendel, letter to John Davies, 1960, Davies Collection
- 26 Greenberg, et al. *Searching for Hobey Baker*, Episode 3-Going West
- 27 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 109
- 28 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 159
- 29 Letter to Percy, Dec. 30, 1918, Davies Collection
- 30 Letter to Percy, Dec. 30, 1918, Davies Collection
- 31 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 "Going West," *Searching for Hobey Baker*
- 32 Letter to Percy, Dec. 29, 1918, Davies Collection
- 33 Proceedings of the First National Conference on Race Betterment, 1914,3 Gage Printing Company, Ltd., 310
- 34 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 "Going West," *Searching for Hobey Baker*
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- 36 Letter to Percy, September 4, 1918, Davies Collection
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- 39 Letter to Percy, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 40 Letter to Percy, May 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 41 Letter to Father, July 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 42 Letter to Percy, August 20, 1917, Davies Collection
- 43 Letter to Percy, Nov. 3, 1917, Davies Collection
- 44 Letter to Percy, Oct. 17, 1917, Davies Collection
- 45 Letter to Percy, Nov. 3, 1917, Davies Collection
- 46 Letter to Percy, Dec. 17, 1917, Davies Collection
- 47 Letter to Father, Dec. 16, 1917, Davies Collection
- 48 Adams, "Beautiful Burial Ground," *National Geographic*.
- 49 Letter to Percy, Dec. 29, 1917, Davies Collection
- 50 Letter to Percy, Nov. 12, 1917, Davies Collection
- 51 Wendel Kuhn letter to Davies, May 17, 1964, Davies Collection
- 52 Letter to Percy, Jan. 27, 1918, Davies Collection
- 53 Letter to Percy, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 54 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 "Going West," *Searching for Hobey Baker*
- 55 Letters to Father June 15 and 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 56 Letter to Father, July 11, 1918, Davies Collection
- 57 Letter to Father, June 13, 1918, Davies Collection
- 58 Letter to Marie Baker, June 17, 1918, Davies Collection
- 59 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 60 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 "Going West," *Searching for Hobey Baker*
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- 62 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 "Going West," *Searching for Hobey Baker*

- 63 Zeigler, Cyd . “ESPN Podcast Claims Hockey Legend Hobey Baker, the Name on the NCAA MVP Trophy, Was Gay.” *Outsports.com*, June 13, 2024, www.outsports.com/2024/6/12/24095586/espn-podcast-claims-hockey-legend-hobey-baker-the-name-on-the-ncaa-mvp-trophy-was-gay/.
- 64 Shared in conversations between Christo Morse and the author.
- 65 Charles Biddle letter to John Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 66 Greenberg, Reynolds, and Smith, Episode 3 “Going West,” *Searching for Hobey Baker*

The Flaming Coffin

- 67 Arnold, *Global Mission*, 53
- 68 Arnold, *Global Mission*, 67-68
- 69 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 212
- 70 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 213
- 71 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 214
- 72 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 214
- 73 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 214
- 74 Arnold, *Global Mission*, 69
- 75 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 199
- 76 Letter to Father, July 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 77 Letter to Father, Sept. 6, 1918, Davies Collection
- 78 Rickenbacker, *Fighting The Flying Circus*, 120
- 79 Rickenbacker, *Autobiography*, 166
- 80 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 266
- 81 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 144, 145

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- 4 Conover, J.P. letter to Davies, 1960, Davies Collection
- 5 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 286
- 6 Hart, Percival Gray. (1939) 1990. *History of the 135th Aero Squadron from July 25 to November 11, 1918*. Nashville, TN: Battery Press, 161
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- 8 Badger, *Life in Ragtime*, 191
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- 10 “American Baseball Training Shows in Hand Grenade Work,” *Evening Express* (Portland, Maine), May 8, 1918
- 11 Dodds, Arthur D., and H. Hallock Brown, 1968, *Zoom, History of the 141st Aero-Squadron*. Commemorative Reunion, 15
- 12 Special Orders 220, Headquarters Service Replacement Concentration Barracks, August 20, 1918
- 13 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 10

- 14 April 30, 1927, Grauman confirmed that Pickford was actually the first to receive the honor. *See*: Endres, Stacey, and Robert Cushman. 1992. *Hollywood at Your Feet: The Story of the World-Famous Chinese Theater*. Los Angeles, CA: Pomegranate Press, 194
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- 16 Whitfield, Eileen. 1997. *Pickford: The Woman Who Made Hollywood*. Toronto, CA: Macfarlane Walter & Ross, 131
- 17 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 10
- 18 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 6
- 19 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 15
- 20 Then known as Conclaux Barracks
- 21 *Gorrell's History - AEF Air Service*, 1917-1919 M990 Series E Volume 17, 110
- 22 Pilot Elmer Haslett defined "Hardboiled" as having many meanings, including a "soldier who had the maximum quantity of bravery and the minimum amount of common sense." *See*: Haslett, Elmer. 1920. *Luck on the Wing*. New York, NY: E. P. Dutton & Co., 23
- 23 Letter to Father, August 21, 1918, Davies Collection
- 24 Letter to Father, August 30-September 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 25 Letters to Father August 30-September 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 26 Levine, Isaac Don. 1958. *Mitchell, Pioneer of Air Power*, New York, NY: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 133-134
- 27 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 309
- 28 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 177
- 29 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 177
- 30 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 241
- 31 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 169
- 32 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 16
- 33 Letter to Father, Sept. 15-18, 1918, Davies Collection
- 34 Guynemer was missing and presumed shot down and killed on Sept. 11, 1917.
- 35 Schütz, Martin. 2024. *The Spad S. XIII. Vol. Volume 2*. Reno, NV: Aeronaut Books, 59
- 36 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 16
- 37 Laplander, Robert J. 2017. *Finding the Lost Battalion: Beyond the Rumors, Myths and Legends of America's Famous WWI Epic*. Waterford, Wisconsin: A.E.F. Services, 439
- 38 Pershing wrote that the drop was unsuccessful; *see Pershing, My Experiences*, vol. 2, 330. Mitchell wrote that the supplies fell into German hands. *See*: Mitchell, *Memoirs*, 268,269. At least two aviators were killed in the effort.
- 39 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 357
- 40 Letter to Father, Sept. 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 41 Kimber, Arthur Clifford. 1920. *The Story of the First Flag*. San Francisco, CA: Published under the Auspices of The Friends of France, IX.
- 42 Letter to Father, Sept. 29, 1918, Davies Collection
- 43 Letter to Father, August 30- September 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 44 Letter to Father, Oct. 12, 1918, Davies Collection
- 45 Letter to Percy, Sept. 25, 1918, Davies Collection.
- 46 Letter to Father, Oct. 7, 1918, Davies Collection
- 47 Letter to Father, Oct. 8, 1918, Davies Collection
- 48 Adams, "Beautiful Burial Ground," *National Geographic*
- 49 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 359
- 50 Letter to Father, Sept. 30, 1918

- 51 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 204
- 52 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 204
- 53 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 203-204
- 54 Crowe, James Richard. 1919. *Pat Crowe, Aviator*. New York, NY: Nicholas L. Brown, 12, quoting William J. Guard.
- 55 Crowe, *Aviator*, 132
- 56 Mitchell, *Memoirs*, 227
- 57 Bullard, Robert Lee. 1925. *Personalities and Reminiscences of the War*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 284
- 58 Bullard, *Personalities and Reminiscences*, 284
- 59 Bullard, *Personalities and Reminiscences*, 284
- 60 Baker accepted the promotion by telegram to Adjutant General, Washington, Oct. 13, 1918, submitted with his oath
- 61 Bullard, *Personalities and Reminiscences*, 283
- 62 Pershing would have to sign off, and the appointment would be approved in Washington.
- 63 Letter to Father, Oct. 13-20, 1918, Davies Collection
- 64 Letter to Father, Oct. 13-20, 1918, Davies Collection
- 65 Lahm, Frank Purdy. 1970. *The World War I Diary of Col. Frank P. Lahm, Air Service, A.E.F.* Edited by Albert F. Simpson. Maxwell AFB, AL: Aerospace Studies Institute, referenced in entry of Oct. 23, 1918, 141
- 66 As late as Nov. 5, 1918, the 141st squadron operated both VII and XIII models, and Baker continued to hope for the replacement of the VIIIs. His letters do not indicate that this occurred by the time the war concluded.
- 67 Letter to Father, Oct. 21, 1918, Davies Collection
- 68 Letter to Father, Oct. 23, 1918, Davies Collection
- 69 Letter to Father, Oct. 23, 1918, Davies Collection
- 70 Letter to Wendel Kuhn, Oct. 25, 1918, Davies Collection
- 71 Letter to Father, Oct. 26, 1918, Davies Collection The pilot may have been Lt. Harland W. Johnson of the 168th squadron. Sloan's Wings of Honor lists him as KIC (killed in crash) on Oct. 24. Two burial cards from Gorrell's record his death as caused by "accident," with the date of death Nov. 1. One says that he died in "Italy" and was buried in Toul. If he was buried in Toul, which appears correct, that is likely near where he died. A newspaper article located does not provide a date or location, but says the cause of death was an accident. See; "Lieut. H. W. Johnson of M'Connelsville Is Dead Overseas," *Zanesville Signal*, Nov. 12, 1918. Possibly he crashed on Oct. 24 and died on Nov. 1. If the pilot Baker had sent the ambulance for ultimately succumbed to his injuries, that in no way lessens Baker's sound judgment in sending medical help.
- 72 The ground crew suffered a similar event on Nov. 3, 1918; Corporal Edward Dourourx was struck by a propeller starting a plane. His forearm was smashed, and he lost four fingers on a hand that was later amputated, and his thumb from the other hand.
- 73 Fred K. Tinder
- 74 Letter to Father, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 75 Maxwell Kirby was placed in command of the 5th Pursuit Group after the war. See: Sloan, Wings of Honor, 132
- 76 Letter to Percy, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 77 Letter to Wendell Kuhn, Oct. 25, 1918, Davies Collection
- 78 Letter to Percy, Nov. 1, 1918, Davies Collection
- 79 Letter to Father, Nov. 11, 1918, Davies Collection
- 80 Letter to Father, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 81 Colonel Lahm's diary and Charles Biddle's accounts are devoid of entries from the last week of October until only a few days before the Armistice, so their comments on Baker's action that day are unknown.
- 82 "Hobey Baker Saved Atlanta Flyer's Life," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 4, 1919

- 83 Baker Letter to Father, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 84 141st Armorers Report, special thanks to Charlie Walthall via Mike O'Neal.
- 85 "Hobey Baker Saved Atlanta Flyer's Life," *Atlanta Constitution*, March 4, 1919
- 86 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 21
- 87 Newspaper reports indicated that Baker had received the medal; see "Atlantian With Hobey Baker In His Last Flight," *Atlanta Journal*, Feb. 24, 1919. However, some preceded Kindley's recommendation. *See*: "Hobey Baker was All-Round Star," *St. Louis Star and Times* (St. Louis, Missouri) Dec. 27, 1918
- 88 Military Awards for Valor, U.S. Department of Defense, Distinguished Service Cross Recipients, World War I, 1917-1918 Last Updated: March 29, 2013
- 89 Letter to Father, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 90 Letter to Father, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 91 Woolley, *Hat in the Ring Gang*, 191, report of Sam Kaye
- 92 From D'Olive, Charles, *Memoirs of an Ace*, forthcoming publication courtesy of First Lieutenant Charles D'Olive's daughter, Susan d'Olive Mozena & John Charles Mozena, editors. Copyright *Memoirs of an Ace*, LLC.
- 93 Letter to Father, Oct. 29, 1918, Davies Collection
- 94 Letter to Father, Oct. 30, 1918, Davies Collection
- 95 Letter to Father, Nov. 2, 1918, Davies Collection
- 96 "Capt. Hobe Baker's Feats In Airplane," *The Boston Globe*, Jan. 26, 1919
- 97 The main longitudinal member that supports the ribs of the wings.
- 98 Letter to Father, Nov. 2, 1918, Davies Collection
- 99 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 24
- 100 Letter to Percy, Oct. 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 101 Letter to Percy, Nov. 1, 1918, Davies Collection
- 102 Letter to Father, Nov. 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 103 Letter to Father, Nov. 4, 1918, Davies Collection
- 104 Letter to Father, Nov. 6, 1918, Davies Collection
- 105 Biddle, Major Charles J. "Capt. Hobey Baker's Feats in Airplane," *Boston Globe*, Jan. 26, 1919
- 106 Letter to Father, Nov. 11, 1918, Davies Collection
- 107 The 141st and the 25th were originally part of the 5th Pursuit Group but were transferred to the 4th when they moved to Toul.

Chapter 22: The Beginning of the End

- 1 Schulze, Max-Stephan. 1996. *Engineering and Economic Growth: The Development of Austria-Hungary's Machine-Building Industry in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Frankfurt, GR: Peter Lang, 295
- 2 Letter to Father, Nov. 5, 1918, Davies Collection
- 3 D'Olive, *Memoirs of an Ace*, d'Olive Mozena & John Charles Mozena, eds. Copyright *Memoirs of an Ace*, LLC.
- 4 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 279
- 5 Sengupta, *American Eagles*, 209
- 6 Letter to Percy, Nov. 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 7 Weimar Republic included more moderate members who had been overruled as they sought a peace proposal earlier in the war.
- 8 Letter to Father, Nov. 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 9 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Nov. 9, 1918, 146
- 10 Gorman, James Thomas. 1937. *George VI, King and Emperor*. London: W. & G. Foyle, Ltd., 8,9

- 11 Gorman, *George VI*, 8
- 12 Millet, Allan. 1975. *The General*. London: Greenwood Press, 424
- 13 Olynuk, Frank J. (ed.) *United States Credits for the Destruction of an Enemy Aircraft in Air-To-Air Combat, World War I*. Oct. 1991. Major Maxwell Kirby is credited in other publications however, his victory was earlier in the day, see Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 123
- 14 Mitchell, *Memoirs of World War I*, 290
- 15 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 379
- 16 Mitchell, *Memoirs of World War I*, 284
- 17 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 379
- 18 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 27
- 19 Letter to Percy, July 26, 1918, Davies Collection
- 20 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Nov. 11, 1918, 147

Chapter 23: Armistice

- 1 Winter, Jay. 1995. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 15
- 2 Winter, *Sites of Memory*, 17
- 3 Woolley, *Hat in the Ring Gang*, 209
- 4 Rickenbacker, *Autobiography*, 135
- 5 Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. 2, 397
- 6 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 274
- 7 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 360
- 8 Patrick, *United States in the Air*, 51
- 9 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 184
- 10 Letter to Father, Nov. 11, 1918, Davies Collection
- 11 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 273
- 12 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 219
- 13 Mitchell, *Memoirs of World War I*, 312
- 14 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Nov. 11, 1918, 147
- 15 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Nov. 11, 1918, 147
- 16 Ball and Cooper, *History of the Twenty-Sixth Division*, 61,62
- 17 Brown and Dodds, *Zoom*, 33
- 18 Levine, *Pioneer of Air Power*, 164
- 19 Levine, *Pioneer of Air Power*, 156
- 20 Levine, *Pioneer of Air Power*, 156
- 21 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 274
- 22 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 280
- 23 Levine, *Pioneer of Air Power*, 158
- 24 Cooke, James J. 1996. *The U.S. Air Service in the Great War*. Westport, CT: Prager, 213
- 25 Letter to Father, June 3, 1918, Davies Collection
- 26 Letter to Father, July 18, 1918, Davies Collection
- 27 Letter to Father, Nov. 8, 1918, Davies Collection
- 28 Letter to Father, Nov. 8, 1918, Davies Collection
- 29 Letter to Percy, Nov. 16, 1918, Davies Collection

- 30 Nowowiejski, Dean A. 2021. *The American Army in Germany, 1918–1923*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 24
- 31 Foulois and Glines, *From the Wright Brothers*, 185

Chapter 24: Where Do We Go From Here

- 1 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 263
- 2 The vessel was bombed and sank in the Pacific on December 30, 1944
- 3 Nowowiejski, *American Army in Germany*, 24
- 4 July 8, 1919
- 5 Nowowiejski, *American Army in Germany*, 208
- 6 Nowowiejski, *American Army in Germany*, 34
- 7 Bullard, Gen. R. L., 1936, *American Soldiers Also Fought*, Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 116
- 8 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 254
- 9 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 254
- 10 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 19
- 11 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 221
- 12 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 21
- 13 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 21
- 14 Straubel James H., 1982, *Crusade For Airpower*, Aerospace Education Foundation, Washington, D.C., 17
- 15 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 14
- 16 Third Report of the Commanding General of the Army Air Forces to the Secretary of War (ed. 1945)
- 17 Straubel, *Crusade for Airpower*, 77
- 18 Mitchell, *Memoirs of World War I*, 301
- 19 Carisella and Ryan, *Swallow of Death*, 261
- 20 Post, Jr., Edwin M. 1968. *The Main Course Cookbook*. New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Company.
- 21 Post, Emily. 1951. *The Emily Post Cookbook*. Edited by Edwin M. Post, Jr. New York, NY: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 327
- 22 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 158
- 23 Shackelford, Geoff. 1996. *The Captain*. Chelsea, MI: Sleeping Bear Press, 28
- 24 Letter to Percy Nov. 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 25 Letter of James Beck to Henry Baker, Dec. 12, 1959, Davies Collection
- 26 “Hobey Baker, Government Aviator,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, Nov. 4, 1916
- 27 “Mummy [Marie Baker] on Uncle Hobey,” Undated, Davies Collection
- 28 Letter to Percy, Nov. 16, 1918, Davies Collection
- 29 Fimrite, “Burned Too Brightly,” *Sports Illustrated*
- 30 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 274
- 31 “Baker Will Enter Harvard.” *Norwich Bulletin* (Norwich, Connecticut), April 1, 1914
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- 33 “Mary Pickford, 86, First Great Film Star, Dies Five Days After Massive Stroke.” *Daily Variety*, May 30, 1979
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- 35 Ballard, Jack Stokes, 2007, *War Bird Ace*, College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 130
- 36 Letter of John H. Underhill to Henry Baker, Dec. 16, 1959, Davies Collection
- 37 General Orders 230

- 38 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 110
- 39 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 52
- 40 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 126
- 41 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 114-115
- 42 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 113
- 43 March, Francis A., 1919. *History of the World War*, Philadelphia, PA: The United Publishers of the United States and Canada, 618
- 44 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 273
- 45 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 273
- 46 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 274
- 47 March, *History of the World War*, 618
- 48 Farr, *Rickenbacker's Luck*, 77
- 49 Jasta 5 (theaerodrome.com), retrieved May 4, 2024
- 50 Jagdstaffel 5, Military Wiki Fandom, retrieved May 4, 2024
- 51 Field Eugene Kindley (acearchive.org) retrieved May 4, 2024
- 52 Hudson, James J. "Captain Field E. Kindley: Arkansas' Air Ace of the First World War," *The Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, Summer, 1959, 27
- 53 Ballard, *War Bird Ace*, 108
- 54 Ballard, *War Bird Ace*, 109
- 55 Farr, *Rickenbacker's Luck*, 78
- 56 Cooke, *US Air Service and the Great War*, 207
- 57 Rickenbacker, *Autobiography*, 137
- 58 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 217
- 59 Farr, *Rickenbacker's Luck*, 130
- 60 Adamson, *Eddie Rickenbacker*, 238
- 61 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 131
- 62 Sweetser and Lamont, *Opportunities in Aviation*, 24,25
- 63 Arbon, *They Also Flew*, 42
- 64 War Department memo, Office of the Director of Military Aeronautics. Jan. 31, 1919, See: Note 27, Abron, *They Also Flew*, 43 & 234
- 65 Mitchell, *Our Air Force*, 110
- 66 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 174
- 67 Twichell, Heath, 1974, *Allen: The Biography of an Army Officer, 1859-1930*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 216
- 68 Nowowiejski, *American Army in Germany*, 44
- 69 Blaine, *Generals in Khaki*, 5
- 70 Twichell, *Allen: The Biography*, 227
- 71 Nowowiejski, *American Army in Germany*, 43
- 72 Leighton Brewer letter to John Davies, Dec. 30, 1963, Davies Collection
- 73 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 204
- 74 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 22, 1918, 157
- 75 Dodds letter to Davies, April 26, 1964, Davies Collection
- 76 Rotermund letter to Davies, April 30, 1964, Davies Collection
- 77 Shirley, Noel C. "Dispatch Rider for the 141st Aero Squadron." *Cross & Cockade* vol. 12, no. 4 Winter 1971, 369
- 78 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 175
- 79 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 21, 1918, 157

Chapter 25: Winter Solstice

- 1 Letter to Father, November 21, 1918
- 2 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 379
- 3 Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 33
- 4 F.B. Stone was a corporal with the 141 Squadron
- 5 Law, Hugo B, ed. 1919. *The Second Army Air Service Book*. Toul, France: Headquarters, Air Service, Second Army
- 6 Leighton Brewer letter to Davies, Dec. 30, 1963, Davies Collection
- 7 Letter to Father, July 27, 1918, Davies Collection
- 8 From D'Olive, Charles, *Memoirs of an Ace*, forthcoming publication courtesy of First Lieutenant Charles D'Olive's daughter, Susan d'Olive Mozena & John Charles Mozena, editors. Copyright Memoirs of an Ace, LLC.
- 9 Letter to Percy, Nov. 16, 1818, Davies Collection
- 10 Law, *Second Army Air Service*
- 11 Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 27
- 12 National Archives, College Park, MD, RG 18 Army Air Forces, Box No. 54. 141st Aero Sq. Correspondence
- 13 Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 37
- 14 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 158
- 15 "Hobe Baker Government Aviator Calls Piloting Airships A Game," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 16 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly." *Sports Illustrated*
- 17 "Hobe Baker Government Aviator," *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Nov 4, 1916
- 18 Johnson, Harold, "Preparedness Movement Gets 'Hobey' Baker for Air Service," *Detroit Evening Times*, June 19, 1916
- 19 Johnson, "Hobey Baker for Air Service." *Detroit Evening Times*, June 19, 1916
- 20 "Famous Athletes Respond to Call to Colors in New York." *Journal* (Meridian, Connecticut), June 23, 1916, 8
- 21 "The Deplorable Conditions That Have Prevented Development of Our Aerial Defenses Made Public," *Aerial Age Weekly*, October 9, 1916, 90.
- 22 Bott, Alan. 1917. *An Airman's Outings*. London: W. Blackwood and Sons, xi
- 23 Salvini, *American Legend*, 112
- 24 Bullard's diary places him at Toul around this time. There is no entry for December 21. According to his diary, Bullard was at headquarters on December 17, and Lahm's diary placed him in Toul on December 18. When Bullard resumes writing in the diary on Christmas Eve, December 24, he indicates that he was only away for two of the five unlogged days. Neither trip, Luxembourg nor Chaumont, would preclude him from being at headquarters that morning. See: Bullard Diary, Robert Lee Bullard Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
- 25 Olds, Edward C. 1919. "How Captain Baker Lost His Life." *Princeton Alumni Weekly* January 22, 1919, XIX (15), 308
- 26 *Princeton in the World War*, 158
- 27 In the 1940s, the team began to be called The Black Knights.
- 28 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of October 23, 1918, 142
- 29 Farr, *Rickenbacker's Luck*, 77
- 30 Special Order No. 36 By Order of Major Davis December 17, 1918.
- 31 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 7, 1918, 153
- 32 General Orders No. 233, Headquarters A.E.F. France, December 20, 1918.

- 33 Rickenbacker chose instead to retain the title of Captain after he departed from the Air Service, as that achievement and its connection to his time at the front and the 94th were more meaningful to him than the prestige of a higher rank. See: Rickenbacker, *Autobiography*, 142
- 34 The *New York Times* article lists the time as 8 PM. See *Died In Farwell Flight*, New York Times, January 23, 1919
- 35 Olds, "How Captain Baker Lost His Life," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* XIX (15), 308
- 36 Norman Rotermund letter to Davies, April 30, 1964
- 37 Davies, *The Legend*, 105
- 38 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 15, 1918, 155
- 39 D'Olive letter to Davies, July, 21, 196, Davies Collection
- 40 "A Verbal Interview with Charles R. D'Olive," conducted by James J. Sloan, *Cross & Cockade* vol. 1, no. 1, Spring 1960
- 41 Bourjaily, Vance. 1973. *Country Matters*. New York, NY: The Dail Press. p. 192
- 42 "Interview with Charles R. D'Olive." *Cross & Cockade*
- 43 Bourjaily, *Country Matters*, 192
- 44 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 45 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 46 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*

Chapter 26: Unlucky No. 7

- 1 Shirley, Noel C. "Dispatch Rider for the 141st Aero Squadron." *Cross & Cockade*, vol. 12, no. 4, Winter 1971: 364-71.
- 2 Herring, *Forty Years of Football*, 199
- 3 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 4 Davies, *Legend of Hobey Baker*, 106
- 5 Salvini, *American Legend*, 115
- 6 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*
- 7 Second Lieutenant. Carl A. Foster
- 8 Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 37
- 9 D'Olive, *Memoirs of an Ace*, d'Olive Mozena & Mozena, (editors). Note: The engine was the same Hispano-Suiza design, but built under license by Peugeot.
- 10 Letter to Father, Nov. 10, 1918, Davies Collection
- 11 Letter to Father, Nov. 21, 1918, Davies Collection
- 12 Casari, Robert B. 2014. *American Military Aircraft: 1908-1919*. Marceline, Mo., Aeronaut Books, 677
- 13 Email to author, June 6, 2025
- 14 Woolley and Crawford, *Echoes of Eagles*, 247
- 15 Salvini, *American Legend*, 114
- 16 Planes were from Curtiss, Thomas, Sloane, Sturtevant, and the Wright brothers. See: Pearson, *Business Man in Uniform*, 69-70
- 17 Letter to Percy August 28, 1918, Davies Collection
- 18 200 cv roughly equals 197 hp
- 19 Letter to Percy, July 9, 1918, Davies Collection
- 20 Sweetser and Lamont, *Opportunities in Aviation*, 40
- 21 Weekly Strength Return, December 25, 1918. National Archives, College Park, MD. RG 18, Army Air Forces, 141 Aero. Sq. Box No. 54. The report, compiled after Baker's crash, indicates 22 planes serviceable

- 22 Sweetser and Lamont, *Opportunities in Aviation*, 60
- 23 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 24 "Capt. Killed In Bad Machine," *Intelligencer Journal*, Jan 23, 1919, 8.
- 25 Olds, "How Captain Baker Lost His Life." *Princeton Alumni Weekly* XIX (15) Feb. 15, 1919, 308
- 26 Dodds letter to Davies, June 24, 1964, Davies Collection

Chapter 27: Turn of Fate

- 1 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 21, 1918, 157
- 2 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 21
- 3 There is no evidence of structural failure, and that was ruled out immediately.
- 4 According to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), historical data, the weather in Paris was a high of 46° and a low of 36° www.extremeweatherwatch.com
- 5 NOAA historical data. www.extremeweatherwatch.com
- 6 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 40
- 7 Dunlop, Catherine Tatiana. 2024. *The Mistral*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1
- 8 Once in the air, a tailwind is preferable as it provides a smoother journey, is more fuel-efficient, and increases travel speed.
- 9 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 10 Baker's crew was Sanderson, Hollis Amidon, and Arthur Welcome. *See*: Shirley, "Dispatch Rider," *Cross & Cockade* 12 (4): 369
- 11 Commonly referred to now as the Mandela Effect.
- 12 Holbrook B. Cushman letter to Henry Baker, Nov. 8, 1959, Davies Collection
- 13 Rickenbacker, *An Autobiography*, 85
- 14 Funderburk, *The Fighters*, 181
- 15 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 244
- 16 Whitehouse, *Heroes of the Sunlit Sky*, 18
- 17 McKee, Alexander. 1981. *Into the Blue*. London: Souvenir Press, 84
- 18 Salvini, *American Legend*, 93
- 19 The S.E.5 that McCudden was operating featured a large "greenhouse" windshield. It is on display in the Imperial War Museum in London. In the middle is a large spider-web-like fracture. The pattern of radial and concentric fractures is consistent with a cranial impact. McCudden blamed the seatbelt for his brother's death and vowed to unsecure himself if he was ever headed for a crash.
- 20 Shores, Franks, and Guest, *Above the Trenches*, 267
- 21 Revell, Alex. 2015. *The Happy Warrior*. Reno, NV: Aeronaut Books, 286
- 22 *See*: Revell, *Happy Warrior*, McCudden, 285 & Letts, 286
- 23 Welshans, Terry. 2013. "A Brief History of Aircraft Carburetors and Fuel Systems." *Journal of the Aircraft Engine Historical Society*, August. <https://www.enginehistory.org/Accessories/HxFuelSys/FuelSysHx02.shtml>.
- 24 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 111-112
- 25 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 40

- 26 Sweetser and Lamont, *Opportunities in Aviation*, 83
- 27 Bingham, *An Explorer*, 199
- 28 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, entry August 24, 1918, 152
- 29 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, entry Jan. 24, 1918, 101
- 30 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 31 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 57
- 32 Sweetser, *American Air Service*, 112
- 33 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 34 Olds, "How Captain Baker Lost His Life," 308
- 35 "The First Detailed Story Of Death Of Hobey Baker," *Fall River Globe*, January 23, 1919
- 36 "Died In Farewell Flight" *New York Times*, January 23, 1919
- 37 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 38 Hartney, *Up and at 'Em*, 34
- 39 Lally, Paul, dir. 2004. *Golden*. New Hampshire Public Television.
- 40 Biddle letter to Davies, December 19, 1963

Chapter 28: Fall to Earth

- 1 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, entry of August 29, 1918, 155
- 2 Herring, *40 Years of Football*, 199
- 3 Letter to Father, June 4, 1918, Davies Collection
- 4 Davies, *Legend of Hobey Baker*, 113
- 5 Davies, *Legend of Hobey Baker*, xvi
- 6 Salvini, *American Legend*, 115. See also: *Hobey Baker Wikipedia*, retrieved December 10, 2024
- 7 Salvini, *American Legend*, 115
- 8 McMinnies, R.N., W. G. 1918. *Practical Flying: Complete Course of Flying Instruction*. New York, NY: George H. Doran Company, 91
- 9 Technically, true terminal velocity would never be achieved. The increase in speed would be negligible, but it would continue accelerating.
- 10 D'Olive, *Memoirs of An Ace*, d'Olive Mozena & Mozena, (editors).
- 11 Ruffin, Steve. 2023. "Still Remembered." *Over the Front*, 38 (4), 327
- 12 Biddle, Charles John, 1968. *Fighting Airman: The Way of the Eagle*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 123
- 13 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 14 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 21, 1918, 157
- 15 Roosevelt, *Sketch with Letters*, 121-122
- 16 Phillips, John C., "Outdoors With Colonel Bolling," *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, Vol. XXX, No. CXVIII, December 1921
- 17 Winter, *First of the Few*, 35
- 18 "Fellow Pilot Tells How Hobey Baker Was Killed," *The New York Herald, Paris Edition*, December 28, 1918
- 19 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 132
- 20 Lewis, Cecil. (1936) 2009. *Sagittarius Rising*. London: Frontline Books, 196
- 21 Revell, *Happy Warrior*, 233 Witness statement of Lt. L.H. Fenelon.
- 22 Casari, *American Military Aircraft*, 509
- 23 Ball and Cooper, *History of the Twenty-Sixth Division*, 41
- 24 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*

- 25 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 21, 1918, 156 – 157
- 26 Schütz, *Spad S. XIII. Vol. Volume 2*, 11
- 27 White, James Andrew. 1918. *Practical Aviation for Military Airmen*. New York, NY: Wireless Press, Inc., 89
- 28 White, *Practical Aviation*, 89
- 29 “Douglas Automatic Aeroplane Ignition Interrupter.” 1917. *Aerial Age Weekly* Feb. 17, 1919, vol. 8, no. 23, 1121
- 30 “Ignition Interrupter” *Aerial Age Weekly*
- 31 Revell, *Happy Warrior*, 235
- 32 George and Cooper, *History of the Twenty-Sixth Division*, 41
- 33 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 101
- 34 Slaughter letter to Davies, May 8, 1964, Davies Collection
- 35 Slaughter letter to Davies, May 8, 1964, Davies Collection
- 36 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 37 Biddle letter to Davies, June 24, 1966, Davies Collection
- 38 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 14
- 39 Stiles Greely, Richard, 2014, *Tempting Fate*, self-published, 114
- 40 Hart, *135th Aero Squadron*, 118
- 41 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 16
- 42 Woolley and Crawford, *Echoes of Eagles*, 91
- 43 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 16
- 44 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 47
- 45 “RAFBIRD” (pseudonym). 1919. *Zooms and Spins*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd., 47
- 46 O’Neal, Michael, *A Bad Day at Issoudun-16 August 1918, Over The Front*, Volume 36 Number 1, Spring 2021, 37-38
- 47 White, *Mason Patrick*, 42
- 48 Biddle letter to Davies, Dec. 19, 1963, Davies Collection
- 49 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 204
- 50 Rickenbacker letter to Henry Baker, March 13, 1959, Davies Collection
- 51 Biddle letter to Davies, June 24, 1966, Davies Collection
- 52 Salvini, *American Legend*, 118, quoting a letter from John Davies to Arthur Mizener
- 53 Davies, *Legend of Hobey Baker*, 109
- 54 Davies, *Legend of Hobey Baker*, 109
- 55 “Aviator Is Home After Year’s Work In France.” *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, February 11, 1919, p. 11
- 56 Bourjaily, *Country Matters*, 192
- 57 Hart, *the 135th Aero Squadron*, 118
- 58 Letter of John H. Underhill, December 16, 1959, Davies Collection
- 59 Donald G. Herring letter to Andrew Turnbull, February 5, 1959, Davies Collection
- 60 Bourjaily, *Country Matters*, 192
- 61 Charles D’Olive letter to Davies, July 21, 1964, Davies Collection
- 62 D’Olive, *Memoirs Of An Ace*, d’Olive Mozena & Mozena, eds
- 63 D’Olive letter to Davies, July 21, 1964, Davies Collection
- 64 “Interview with Charles R. D’Olive.” *Cross & Cockade*, 13
- 65 Bourjaily, *Country Matters*, 192
- 66 Jackson, Robert. 1977. *Fighter Pilots of World War I*. New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 74
- 67 Revell, *Happy Warrior*, 286
- 68 Law, *Second Army Air Service*
- 69 Herring, “Hobey Baker’s Death,” *PAW*, includes in this description “a little square of trees.” That could not be confirmed by the photos, and it is possible that it was not there. A small group of trees is located at the upper

right or northwest corner of the airfield; however, this does not align with the directions and the descriptions of buildings in Baker's path given by Herring, nor with the location of the crash.

- 70 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 202
- 71 Arthur Dodds letter to Davies, June 24, 1964, Davies Collection
- 72 Sam Slaughter letter to Davies, May 8, 1964, Davies Collection
- 73 Letter to Father, Oct.30, 1918, Davies Collection
- 74 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 178
- 75 White, *Practical Aviation*, 123
- 76 McMinnies, *Practical Flying*, 72
- 77 Ballard, *War Bird Ace*, 138
- 78 Ballard, *War Bird Ace*, 147
- 79 McMinnies, *Practical Flying*, 72
- 80 Russel, *Happy Warrior*, 120
- 81 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 98
- 82 Richardson, Roland W. 1994. *An American Pursuit Pilot in France*. Edited by Ritchie Thomas and Carl M. Becker. Shippensburg, PA: White Mane Pub. Co. P 50
- 83 Wellman, *Go, Get 'Em!*, 196
- 84 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 274
- 85 Letter to Percy, Sept. 10, 1918, Davies Collection
- 86 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 140
- 87 Sam Slaughter, letter to Davies, April 29, 1964, Davies Collection
- 88 Wellman, *Go, Get 'Em!*, 229
- 89 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 213-214
- 90 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 86
- 91 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 25
- 92 O'Brien, *Outwitting the Hun*, 18
- 93 D'Olive, *Memoirs Of An Ace*, d'Olive Mozena & Mozena, (editors)
- 94 Biddle letter to Davies, June 24, 1966, Davies Collection
- 95 See: "An Interview with Charles R. D'Olive," *Cross & Cockade*: D'Olive believed Baker hit his head on the gun butts. In the Sopwith planes that D'Olive piloted for most of the war, the gun butts were exposed and caused numerous head injuries and deaths in crashes or rough landings. However, in the Spad XIII, the gun butts were located under the combing around the cockpit, and it is nearly impossible for them to have caused Baker's injuries. The interview took place 42 years after the fact.
- 96 Vail, Gregory Holland. 2023. *The Soft Mud of France*. Reno, NV: Aeronaut Books, 105
- 97 Vail, *The Soft Mud of France*, 105
- 98 Bowyer, Chaz, 1977. *Albert Ball*. London: W. Kimber, 151
- 99 McCudden, James Thomas Byford. 1965. *Five Years in the Royal Flying Corps*. London: The Aeroplane & General Publishing Co., Ltd. 28,29
- 100 "Fatal Accident at Gosport," *Flight*, vol. VII, no. 19, May 7, 1915, 323
- 101 See: Aerodrome blog, theaerodrome.com/forum, post of "Vin" May 1, 2004, citing: <http://1914-1918.org/forum/index.php?showtopic=12782> (not located) <https://www.greatwarforum.org/topic/12782-mccudden/> post of Jonathan Saunders, April 30, 2004
- 102 Revell, *Happy Warrior*, 286. Note: The word used by the witness was "sideslip." This is another example of aviation's evolving language. The terms "wing slip" and "sideslip" were often used interchangeably, or together as a "side wing slip." See: Wellman, *Go, Get 'Em!*, 229. In contemporary usage, a sideslip is a maneuver in which the rudder is used to bring an airplane in for landing while slightly off centerline, with the nose pointed to either side of the direction of flight. This helps the aircraft maintain airspeed to avoid stalling, while

simultaneously reducing ground speed. Clearly, that is not how the term 'sideslip' was used here, since the motor had failed. In later instances, the original quote will be used, but in each case, it is clearly (or in some cases more likely) in reference to what is also called a "wing slip." When describing what was clearly a wing slip after motor failure, Baker wrote: "I slipped off on one wing." See letter to Percy, June 3, 1918.

- 103 Campbell, *Go Where the Action Is!*, Entry of April 15, 1918, 58
- 104 Hall, James Norman. 1952. *My Island Home: An Autobiography*. Australia: Mutual Publishing. 183,190,204
- 105 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 141
- 106 White, *Practical Aviation*, 95
- 107 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 140
- 108 Biddle, *Fighting Airman*, 140,141
- 109 Arthur Dodds letter to Davies, April 26, 1964, Davies Collection
- 110 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 21, 1918, 157
- 111 De Haven, Hugh, and A. Howard Hasbrook. 1951. "Use and Effectiveness of Shoulder Harness in Surplus Military Aircraft Flown by Civilian Pilots." Dayton, OH: United States Air Force, Wright Air Development Center, 3
- 112 De Haven and Hasbrook, "Use and Effectiveness of Shoulder Harness," 3
- 113 De Haven and Hasbrook. "Use and Effectiveness of Shoulder Harness." 4,5
- 114 De Haven and Hasbrook. "Use and Effectiveness of Shoulder Harness." 3
- 115 De Haven and Hasbrook. "Use and Effectiveness of Shoulder Harness." 9. It was not a quick fix. DeHaven's report showed that 65% of shoulder harnesses in aircraft were removed, often due to ignorance, discomfort, or fear of hindering escape. Since 1986, they have been mandated for all seats in new small aircraft. The FAA reports that using shoulder harnesses reduces major injuries by 88% and fatalities by 20%. See: "Aviation Seat Belts and Shoulder Harnesses Brochure Federal Aviation Administration," September 22, 2020
- 116 Mitchell, William, 1988. *Winged Defense: The Development and Possibilities of Modern Air Power--Economic and Military*. New York, NY: Dover, 174
- 117 Mitchell, *Winged Defense*, 174
- 118 Springs, Elliott White. 2012. *Letters from a War Bird: The World War I Correspondence of Elliott White Springs*. Edited by David K. Vaughan. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 46
- 119 Tredrey, *Pioneer Pilot*, 72
- 120 Grider, John McGavock. 1926. *War Birds. Diary of an Unknown Aviator. Illustrated by Clayton Knight*. Edited by Elliott White Springs. New York, NY: George H. Doran. 170
- 121 Grider, *Diary of an Unknown Aviator*, 121. This is another instance where clearly "sideslip" is used
- 122 Located at: Gorrell, History of the American Expeditionary Forces Air Service, 1917:1919, National Archives, Washington, D.C., microfilm publication no. M990, Series B, Vol. 4, 304. Baker applied this lesson on June 2 while flying a smaller, lighter Spad VII, which was also "unfamiliar" since he had borrowed it from a squadron mate: "I had very little altitude [when] my motor suddenly stopped, and it was a question of going through a barn roof or of attempting a turn back into the field. I tried the turn, and she fell off on one wing because of a lack of altitude. I had just enough altitude to straighten her out and set her down right, but for a second there I thought I was going to crash for sure."123 As Baker referenced, altitude, not speed, "falling off the wing" was a deliberate act. And turning back to the airfield then, because of what lay ahead, was not suicide or pilot error. Letter to Father, June 3, 1918 (Davies collection). The Spad in question was George Turnure's No. 3301. Apparently, Baker did "set her down right." According to flight records of the 103rd, Baker's patrol was from 12:30 to 14:10 (military time). By 17:40, whatever the issue was with the motor had been resolved, and Turnure was back flying No. 3301.
- 123 Tredrey, *Pioneer Pilot*, 101
- 124 Mitchell, *Skyways*, 57
- 125 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 71

- 126 Richardson, *American Pursuit Pilot*, 49
- 127 Sweetser and Lamont, *Opportunities in Aviation*, 83
- 128 Clear and Convincing Evidence is a legal standard between the civil law burden of proof of the “Preponderance of the Evidence” (more likely than not) and “Beyond a Reasonable Doubt” for criminal matters.
- 129 D’Olive, *Memoirs Of An Ace*, d’Olive Mozena & Mozena, (editors).
- 130 A “coup” injury occurs at the site of the initial impact. If the force is great enough, the brain can rebound and slam into the opposite side of the skull, causing a “contrecoup” injury.

Return to the Ice

- 1 Interview of D’Olive, Charles. “Air Force Project Charles D’Olive.” Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, June 16, 1969
- 2 Though competed for since 1893, the first NHL team to be awarded the Stanley Cup was the Montreal Maroons in 1926
- 3 “Crescent A. C. Romps to 6 to 1 Victory Against Hobey’s Team of Quakers,” *New York Times*, Feb. 11, 1917
- 4 “Boston Team Wins Hockey Tilt, 2 to 1” *New York Herald*, Feb. 18, 1917
- 5 “St. Nicholas Stars Lose,” *New York Times*, Feb. 18, 1917
- 6 “Canadians Play Too Fast For St. Nicks,” *New York Herald*, March 11, 1917
- 7 “St. Nicks Beaten By Canadian Stars,” *Brooklyn Eagle*, March 11, 1917
- 8 “Hobey Baker Wins Game For His Team,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 25, 1917
- 9 Macleod, Alan Livingstone. 2018. *From Rinks to Regiments: Hockey Hall-of-Famers and the Great War*. Vancouver: Calgary Heritage House Publishing
- 10 Davies, *The Legend*, 104
- 11 Brewer, *Riders of the Sky*, 95
- 12 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 212
- 13 Letter to Davies, May 17, 1964, Davies Collection
- 14 D’Olive letter to Davies, July 21, 1964, Davies Collection
- 15 D’Olive, *Memoirs of an Ace*, d’Olive Mozena & Mozena, eds.
- 16 “Hobey Baker, Greatest Hockey Player,” *La Grande Observer*, January 16, 1915
- 17 McGeehan, W.O. “America at Antwerp,” *American Legion Weekly*, vol. 2, no. 22, 25 June 1920

Chapter 29: Carry On

- 1 “An American Phrase for a British Trait.” 2018. Word Histories (blog). May 6, 2018. Citing the Philadelphia Gazette, November 9, 1811.
- 2 Dawson, Lt. Coningsby. 1917. *Carry On. Letters in Wartime*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 14
- 3 Arnold, *Global Mission*, 110
- 4 Hurley, USAF, Alfred F. 1975. *Billy Mitchell: Crusader for Air Power*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 55

- 5 Waller, Douglas. 2004. *A Question of Loyalty*. New York, NY: Harper Collins, 172
- 6 Waller, *A Question of Loyalty*, 173
- 7 Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and the United States Post Office. *See*: Waller, *A Question of Loyalty*, 181
- 8 Crown, Sarah. "Keep Calm and Carry On: The Secret History," *Guardian*, March 9, 2012.
- 9 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Dec. 21, 1918, 157
- 10 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of Dec. 21, 1918, 157
- 11 Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 38
- 12 SFC Frank Caldwell and Cpl. Bronislaw Mioduszezski, *see*: Dodds and Brown, *Zoom*, 40
- 13 Art Dodds letter to Davies, April 26, 1964, Davies Collection
- 14 Biddle, Charles, "Captain Hobart Baker's Career in the Service." *PAW*, vol. XIX, no. 14, Jan. 15, 1919
- 15 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of December 22, 1918, 157
- 16 Hart, *135th Aero Squadron*, 47.
- 17 The primary source of care for members of the military was on base in the infirmary. Military personnel with more serious and life-threatening conditions would be "evacuated" to military hospitals.
- 18 Letter of Morgan Aldrich to Davies, May 8, 1964, Davies Collection
- 19 Adams, "Beautiful Burial Ground," *National Geographic*
- 20 Stott, Romie. "The Scandalous Decision to Pickle Admiral Horatio Nelson in Brandy." *Atlas Obscura* (blog). Feb. 19, 2016.
- 21 Bowyer, *Albert Ball*, 161
- 22 Budreau, Lisa M. 2010. *Bodies of War*. New York, NY: New York University Press, 47
- 23 Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 53
- 24 Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 78-79
- 25 Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 77-78
- 26 Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 77
- 27 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, entry of May 28, 1919, 191
- 28 Lufbery was killed when a member of the 94th squadron, during his first action under the American flag
- 29 Parsons, *Flew with the Lafayette Escadrille*, 112-113
- 30 Crowe, *Pat Crowe, Aviator*, 176
- 31 Crowe, *Pat Crowe, Aviator*, 9
- 32 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 174
- 33 Coleman-Foster, Tech Sgt. Matthew. 2024. "WWI Ace Capt. Hamilton Coolidge Is Reinterred in Chevières after 106 Years." *Joint Base Langley-Eustis*. September 2024.
- 34 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, 57
- 35 *St. Paul's School in the Great War*, 59
- 36 Budreau, *Bodies of War*, 24 (quote from other source)
- 37 "Would Keep Our Dead," *New York Times*. May 30, 1919.
- 38 "Find Wide Desire For Return of Dead," *New York Times*. Nov. 14, 1919.
- 39 Letter of Alfred T. Baker to the Adjutant General, Washington, D.C., National Archives
- 40 Letter of Alfred T. Baker to the Adjutant General, Washington, D.C., National Archives
- 41 Letter of Newton D. Baker to F. L. (Mary Pemberton) Van Shutts, June 19, 1920, National Archives
- 42 Letter from Alfred T. Baker to Mary Pemberton Van Shutts, March 19, 1920, National Archives
- 43 Letter of Mary Pemberton Van Shutts to Colonel Charles C. Pierce, July 21, 1920, National Archives
- 44 "Pershing Pays Tribute," *Platte Center Signal*, July 15, 1921
- 45 The French and British began the honor exactly one year earlier, on Nov. 11, 1920. The British unknown soldier was laid to rest at Westminster Abby, and the French unknown soldier is underneath the Arc de Triomphe in Paris.
- 46 "War Mothers Wins Hearts of Women," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 15, 1921

- 47 "British Mother Visits Bryn Mawr," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Nov. 17, 1921
- 48 Davies, *The Legend*, 109 see: footnote.
- 49 Letter to Father, Nov. 22, 1917, Davies Collection
- 50 John Gilbert Winant letter to Jeannette Winant, Dec. 22, 1918; Folder: Winant, John G., 1918; Bellush Papers; Papers of John Gilbert Winant, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York. Library.
- 51 Conversation with author, Sept. 30, 2025.
- 52 December 16, 1917
- 53 Foote, Joseph. 2017. "John Gilbert Winant: The Most Important NH Man You Never Knew." *New Hampshire Magazine*, May 12, 2017.
- 54 Davies, *The Legend*, 5
- 55 Letter to Father, Feb. 4, 1918, Davies Collection.
- 56 "A True Hero," *Ithaca Journal*, December 5, 1921.
- 57 Wendel Kuhn letter to Davies, May 17, 1964, Davies Collection
- 58 Cantwell. "Gallant Life of Princeton's Hobey Baker." *Sports Illustrated*, Sept. 12, 1966.
- 59 Rolph Bauhan letter to George Frazier, April 27, 1962, Davies Collection
- 60 Slaughter letter to Davies, May 8, 1964, Davies Collection
- 61 Rappleye, *Upon Further Review*, 112. Baker historian J.P. Archer's research reveals the closing date was April 7, 1917
- 62 Research of J. P. Archer, Esquire
- 63 "City Pays Homage At Biers Of Heros It Sent To War," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 15, 1921
- 64 "Pershing Says Story of Dead Is Inspiration," *Sacramento Union*, July 11, 1921
- 65 Dawson, *Carry On*, 132
- 66 On September 21, 2018, a memorial to World War I Airmen was dedicated at the National Museum of the U.S. Air Force's Memorial Park near Dayton, Ohio, thanks to the work of the League of World War I Aviation Historians.
- 67 "Princeton Scholarship In Memory of Hobey Baker," *Fayetteville Daily Observer*, June 27, 1922
- 68 The Hockey Writers. "A Brief History of NHL Uniforms." November 3, 2025. <https://thehockeywriters.com/a-brief-history-of-nhl-uniforms>
- 69 "St. Nicks Honor Baker," *The Times*, Trenton, NJ, Jan. 31, 1923.
- 70 "Hobey Baker Trophy For New Hockey League," *Springfield Daily Republican*, Nov. 17, 1933.
- 71 Wolff, Geoffrey. 1990. *The Final Club*. New York, NY: Vintage Books, 307
- 72 Wolff, *The Final Club*, 296
- 73 Mizener, Arthur. 1965. *The Far Side of Paradise*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 6
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- 75 Davies, *The Legend*, xv- xvii, From the Prologue by George Frazier, originally printed in the *Boston Herald*, December 1962
- 76 Brooks, David. "The Organization Kid." *Atlantic Monthly*, April 2001
- 77 "Books: Notable Hurrah for the Next Man Who Dies," *Time*, March 25, 1985
- 78 Goodman, *Next Man Who Dies*, 250
- 79 Hart, Jeffery. 1989. *Acts of Recovery*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 8
- 80 Covert narcissism can be defined as a false modesty or false humility used to mask narcissistic personality traits and gain social favor while avoiding the appearance of overt self-centeredness. See: Gordon, Ph.D., Aqualus M. 2018. "False Humility." *Psychology Today* (blog). Jan. 19, 2018. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/my-brothers-keeper/201801/false-humility>
- 81 Fimrite, "Burned Too Brightly," *Sports Illustrated*

- 82 Davies, *The Legend*, 73.
- 83 Falla, *Open Ice*, 209
- 84 Revell, *Happy Warrior*, 284
- 85 Macquarrie, Hector. 1917. *How to Live at the Front: Tips for American Soldiers*. Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott Company, 269
- 86 Hall, James Norman, "Hate." *Atlantic Monthly*, October 1916. See article by Watchell, Cynthia; Schneider, Thomas F, and Hans Wagener, eds. 2007. "Huns" vs. "Corned Beef." Göttingen, Germany: V&R Unipress GmbH, 77-78
- 87 Brewer, Susan, "American Propaganda during World War I," Schneider and Wagener, eds., "*Huns*" vs. "*Corned Beef*," 56
- 88 "Everybody's Hero on Skates," *Sports Illustrated*, Jan. 16, 1956.
- 89 "Everybody's Hero on Skates," *Sports Illustrated*, Jan. 16, 1956.
- 90 "The Readers Take Over," *Sports Illustrated*. Feb. 20, 1956.
- 91 McGovern, John Terence. 1933. *Diogenes Discovers Us*. New York, NY: Dial Press Inc.
- 92 Letter of Cornelius P. Trowbridge to Henry Baker, Sept. 29, 1959, Davies Collection
- 93 Herring letter to Henry Baker, Feb 6, 1959, Davies Collection
- 94 Herring letter to Henry Baker, April 10, 1959, Davies Collection
- 95 Falla, *Open Ice*, 219
- 96 Service Mark registered to Hobey Baker Memorial Award Foundation

Chapter 30: Last Flights

- 1 Davies, *The Legend*, 105
- 2 Goodman, *Next Man Who Dies*, 270
- 3 Woolley and Crawford, *Echoes of Eagles*, 247
- 4 Woolley and Crawford, *Echoes of Eagles*, 247
- 5 Woolley and Crawford, *Echoes of Eagles*, 247
- 6 Sloan, *Wings of Honor*, 360
- 7 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 8 Hynes, *The Unsubstantial Air*, 275
- 9 Roberts, E M. 1918. *A Flying Fighter*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 198
- 10 Roberts, *Flying Fighter*, 330-331
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- 12 Wallrich, T/Sgt. Bill. "Superstition and the Air Force." *Western Folklore* vol. 19 no. 1, 1960, 11
- 13 Letter to Father, June 1, 1918, Davies Collection
- 14 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 245
- 15 Hanson, Neil. 2006. *Unknown Soldiers: The Story of the Missing of the First World War*. New York, NY: Knopf, 69
- 16 Thomas, Lowell. 1927. *European Skyways*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Company, 429
- 17 Thomas, *European Skyways*, 430
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- 20 Thomas, *European Skyways*, 430
- 21 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 318
- 22 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 317
- 23 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 318
- 24 Hartney, *Up in At 'Em*, 204
- 25 Hartney, *Up & At 'Em*, 192
- 26 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 318
- 27 Kennett, Lee B. 1991. *The First Air War, 1914-1918*. New York, NY: The Free Press, 227
- 28 Pattillo, Donald M. 1998. *A History in the Making*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Professional Publishing, xi
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- 30 Earhart, Amelia 1988. *Last Flight*. New York, NY: Crown Trade Paperbacks, 3
- 31 The airfield is now a shopping mall, also known as Roosevelt Field.
- 32 Kennett, *The First Air War*, 170
- 33 Hart, Peter. 2008. *Aces Falling: War above the Trenches, 1918*. London: Phoenix, 197
- 34 Elliott, *Wooden Crates*, 103
- 35 Bourjaily, *Country Matters*, 192
- 36 Falla, *Open Ice*, 198
- 37 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, Entry Dec. 22, 1918, 157
- 38 Lahm, *World War I Diary*, Entries April 7-9, 1919, 179
- 39 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 170-171
- 40 Taber, *Arthur Richmond Taber*, 174
- 41 Lahm, *Diary*, entry of April 29, 1919, 185
- 42 Rickenbacker, *Fighting the Flying Circus*, 18
- 43 Shirley, "Dispatch Rider for the 141st Aero Squadron," *Cross & Cockade*
- 44 Herring, "Hobey Baker's Death," *PAW*
- 45 Davies, *The Legend*, 110
- 46 Campbell, *Where the Action Is!*, 82
- 47 Campbell, *Where the Action Is!*, 85
- 48 Hall, *High Adventure*, 20
- 49 Hall, *Island Home*, 223-227
- 50 Dyer, Dr. Wayne W. 2004. *The Power of Intention*. Carlsbad, Calif.: Hay House, 256
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- 54 Maxtone-Graham, John. 1972. *The Only Way to Cross*. New York, NY: Macmillan Company, Forward by Walter Lord, ix
- 55 Cooke, *U.S. Air Service in the Great War*, 2
- 56 Straubel, *Crusade For Airpower*, 159

