

“Where Gasoline Can’t Go’: Equine Patriotism and the American Red Star Animal Relief Campaign during World War I”

Janet M. Davis [University of Texas at Austin]

Abstract: In 1916, the American Humane Association launched the Red Star Animal Relief to provide food and veterinary care for millions of Allied horses called into military service during World War I. American animal welfare publications regaled readers with stories of heroic horses who successfully navigated impenetrable mud, rock, and bombed out craters: “where gasoline can’t go.” Collectively, these accounts made an urgent plea for the continued value of the horse in a motorized world that threatened to render horsepower obsolete. Although World War I prompted a temporary rise in horse prices, the overall market dropped precipitously during the 1910s and after the Armistice: hard-hit owners opted to slaughter excess animals instead of paying for their expensive upkeep. Overall, this paper will explore the ways in which American animal welfare groups propagandized equine military service into a patriotic call for equine rights, founded upon the movement’s long defense of working animals, as well as its connections to other social justice movements.

On May 22, 1916, the U.S. Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, contacted William O. Stillman, president of the American Humane Association, with an important request: “The function of the American Red Cross is to assist the government in caring for the human sick and wounded in its armies. The American Humane Association could very well function in a similar manner in assisting the government in caring for its sick and wounded animals in its armies and if your society will undertake this work, the War Department will be very glad to cooperate with you.”¹ President Stillman and the AHA responded quickly to the invitation and formed the American Red Star Animal Relief. Its name evoked two important humanitarian precedents: the American Red Cross, founded in 1881, and the International Red Star Alliance, a neutral relief organization for military animals formed in Geneva, Switzerland, in December 1914.² The new organization was intended to assist, but not replace, the newly created U.S. Army Veterinary Corps. The American Red Star poured its donations into preparedness and eventual war. It funded field hospitals, forage, feed-cutters, nosebags, halters, sheltering tents, horse-drawn and motor-driven ambulances, surgical instruments, bandages, blankets, thermometers, disinfectants, chloroform, and other critical veterinary supplies. The American Red Star Animal Relief also sponsored voluntary veterinarians and farriers.³ Possessing an extensive transcontinental organizational web, the Red Star’s national headquarters were in Albany, New York, with main offices in New York City, Paris, and Washington, D.C., and 125 local branches by the end of the war. The organization also maintained productive working relationships with 512 animal protection societies across the country, many of which sponsored their own equine welfare campaigns during the Great War.⁴ Additionally, the Red Star contained a wide and active division of local Children’s Leagues.

This paper will explore the ways in which the American Red Star Animal Relief and other animal welfare groups propagandized equine military service into a patriotic call for equine welfare during World War I. Horse protectionists rallied public support using popular media, live performances, rallies, and written reports. Taken together, these diverse media articulated a unified message, which became a virtual mantra for the American Red Star: “Help the Horse to Save the Soldier,” or put another way, “Help Him to Help U.S.!”⁵ While mules were a critical part of this campaign, the vast majority

of reportage and media focused on horses. Reflecting this emphasis, this essay will likewise concentrate on the horse. In a transitional era when motor power was supplanting muscle power, animal protectionists used a powerful language of national security, service, citizenship, and nostalgia to make an urgent case for the warhorse as an essential working member of society, whose service should be honored and preserved.

As the prime source of the nation's muscle-power, the horse had been the centerpiece of the American humane movement since the establishment of the first animal protection societies in 1866. Animal protectionism, or the self-styled "gospel of kindness," represented the efflorescence of three interconnected historical watersheds: the antebellum Second Great Awakening and concurrent era of social reform, the Civil War, and Emancipation. The evangelical Second Great Awakening replaced the Calvinistic theology of predestination with a growing conviction in moral free agency, the potential for human perfectibility on earth, and the belief in a loving God. This new evangelical theology complemented the growth of abolitionism, temperance, women's rights, and other antebellum social reform movements. The horrific human and equine suffering of the Civil War, which was vividly and intimately documented for a broader national audience by Mathew Brady and his corps of photographers on the battlefields, constituted a second catalyst for the humane movement. The radical watershed of abolition, emancipation, and the expansion of citizenship to African American men during Reconstruction represented a third major stimulus for the creation of the animal welfare movement. In 1866, the New York Legislature incorporated the first organized animal protection society in the nation, the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, whose uniformed officers were vested with policing powers "to bring the cruelest to justice." Horses were often unwitting participants in scenes of de facto street theater as animal protectionists, such as Henry Bergh of New York, physically placed their bodies in front of overloaded horse cars and carts.

New York also pioneered a new anti-cruelty statute, which served as a blueprint for other new state statutes. Historian Susan Pearson observes that these new statutes marked a departure from antebellum anticruelty laws, which had defined animals exclusively as property, because these new statutes recognized animals as sentient beings with a right to protection from suffering and neglect.⁶ This right to protection expanded to include children in 1874 with the creation of the first Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The American Humane Association, parent organization to the American Red Star Animal Relief, was founded as a dual humane society in 1877 to protect children and animals. Taken as a whole, the humane movement believed that the nation's expansive "gospel of kindness" was a marker of America's rising place in the world. The horse embodied this dual emphasis on nation building with its labor and kindness through good stewardship.

The United States was still officially neutral in the Great War when the AHA created the American Red Star Animal Relief. Nonetheless, the status of military horses and mules was already an urgent matter of national security. From 1914 to March 1917, the United States sold approximately one million horses and mules worth roughly \$200 million to its future Allies, Great Britain and France, figures that excluded the profitable export trade in wagons, harnesses, and other supplies.⁷ These horses were sold primarily as haulage animals rather than cavalry on the Western Front, where the treacherous subterranean geography of trench warfare and the deadly efficiency of mechanized weaponry, such as tanks, howitzers, and automatic machine guns made cavalry charges nearly impossible. By contrast, cavalry forces proved invaluable in the Palestine Campaign, where trench warfare and mechanized weapons were less common. British and French cavalry divisions first encountered trench warfare at the First Battle of the Aisne, from September 12-15, 1914. Haulage horses were vital to military operations on the Western Front, where they struggled through mud and rain to pull heavy artillery, food, and supplies to the frontlines.⁸ Given the seemingly limitless Allied demand for

American horses, market prices nearly doubled and Americans faced a horse shortage, a critical national security problem, which became even more acute after the country entered the war in April 1917.⁹ American Red Star officials argued that the horse shortage made its humane mission for proper care all the more urgent: "A horse saved now is equivalent to four colts on foot next Fall, for it takes four years to raise a horse for military purposes."¹⁰

As an act of tacit allegiance from an officially neutral nation, the American horse and mule trade with England and France enraged the Central Powers. In 1915, the German government commissioned Anton Dilger, a German-American physician, to conduct covert biological warfare against American horses. Dilger hired unemployed stevedores in Virginia, Maryland, and New York to administer pure wet strains of glanders and anthrax to some 3,000 horses awaiting shipment. Ironically, the weakness of these wet strains meant that the affected horses were more likely inoculated from disease rather than actually infected, but Dilger's repeated travel from Germany to the United States aroused official US suspicion. He fled and eventually died in Spain, a victim of the 1918 flu pandemic.¹¹ Germany also targeted American ships ferrying livestock across the Atlantic Ocean during its U-Boat campaigns, killing 1,500 mules on one ship in July 1915 and some 7,000 horses and mules in 1916.¹²

The United States faced additional equine security concerns on its borders before entering the Great War. On March 14, 1916, General John Pershing, the future commander of the American Expeditionary Forces in the Great War, led the U.S. Army in the Mexican Expedition along the Texas and Mexican border against the forces of General Pancho Villa during the Mexican Revolution. Initially 25,000 horses and mules were part of the campaign, but 70,000 more were soon moved to the border, where they experienced overcrowding, disorganization, and filthy conditions, which caused outbreaks of distemper and ringworm. Flyblown sores were uncontrolled. The American Humane Association chronicled the unsanitary military camps to underscore the urgent need for supplemental aid from the American Red Star Animal Relief.¹³ According to a Red Star veterinarian: "There were no suitable stables or shelters to receive the animals. Contagious diseases soon broke out among them. Shipping fever [pleuropneumonia] was rampant and large numbers of the animals have died. The intrinsic loss to the government has been great. The suffering of the poor beasts has been severe...."¹⁴

Red Star media used the example of the chaotic Mexican Expedition to underscore the ominous implications of unpreparedness. Given the severe shortage of veterinary care on the border, horses went untreated for weeks. The Red Star estimated that 90% of the horses in some military camps were incapacitated: "What would have happened if the United States had been suddenly plunged into war with a fully equipped first class European country appals [sic] the imagination."¹⁵ The specter of war with Europe made the unpreparedness of the Mexican Expedition even more portentous after the intercepted Zimmerman Telegram, which was made public in March 1917, revealed Germany's plans to collude with Mexico against the United States.

Red Star officials used Great Britain's difficult mobilization campaign as a cautionary tale and as an instructive example of the efficacy of private aid. Stationed in frozen mud and driving rain, British warhorses died of exposure and disease in camp as winter arrived in 1914 because, as the Red Star charged, the British War Department was too slow to provide aid:

An animal resource that was never more needed than at that time, and which could not be replaced from natural sources inside of four years, was being needlessly sacrificed at a cost of millions of dollars. The red tape of the war department was unwound so slowly that thousands of animals suffered and died, which might easily have been saved for the army service, if help had come earlier.¹⁶

American Red Star leaders used the British example to stress the importance of their own work – cautioning that government bureaucracy could endanger American horses, as well. They reasoned that the Royal SPCA – not the British government – had been primarily responsible for improving the lot of British warhorses. They lauded the organization as a model of efficiency, like their own – cutting through government bureaucracy to hasten the arrival of essential aid. Red Star officials noted that the RSPCA had saved the British Government more than \$21,000,000 because healed horses had been able to return to the Army.¹⁷ Other articles, such as “Where Government Fails,” made the case for private philanthropy even more succinctly.¹⁸ The Red Star similarly looked to the American Red Cross as a model of private humanitarian aid. “The Red Cross exemplifies the greater mobility of a private organization to one hampered by the restrictive, unyielding rules of governmental control.”¹⁹

Further, the Red Star frequently referred to the Red Cross to emphasize the interconnected welfare of horse and soldier. Red Star promotional materials intoned, “It will do for sick and injured horses what the American Red Cross is doing for the soldiers.”²⁰ The poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox helped raise funds for the Red Star with her rousing song, “The Cross and the Star”: “Oh, side by side let the two flags wave, / Two flags, but their cause is one. . . .”²¹ When a group of New York society ladies formed a new Red Star branch in early April 1917, the *New York Times* headlined the news as a “Red Cross For Animals.”²² This persistent coupling did not sit well with the actual American Red Cross, however. In December 1917, the Red Cross’ complaints about the Red Star’s persistent and unauthorized use of its symbol prompted the Charity Organization Society to drop the Red Star from its list of approved war charities.²³ (Two weeks later, however, the Red Star was reinstated after President Stillman assured investigators that all leaflets containing the Red Cross emblem had been destroyed.)²⁴ Nonetheless, Red Star media continued to stress the interconnected fate of horse and soldier.

The Red Star and other horse advocates repeatedly stressed the quality of care that warhorses received in camp and in battle. This narrative served to validate the success of their equine relief campaigns, and to the long-term influence of the animal protection movement: “Every report that comes to us from the camps and remount stations of the United States leads to the belief that never before in the history of warfare has so much care been given to the horses and mules of an army as is being given to those of our army today.”²⁵ The Massachusetts SPCA freely donated copies of its publications, “The Horse’s Prayer,” “Care of Mules,” and “Breaking Horses with Kindness,” while the Red Star supplied copies of “First-Aid for Horses For Use in the United States Army,” all of which amplified a narrative of good care and continued success of the relief campaign.²⁶

The Red Star appealed to donor patriotism in live, performative spectacles and in print media. Liberty Bond and Work Horse parades across the nation featured Red Star sections, including Red Star flags, dogs, ladies wearing giant red stars, horse ambulances festooned with Red Star banners, with a horse “slung and bandaged” inside so that “so that the public can more readily visualize the needs of such a service.”²⁷ Red Star periodicals even cajoled reluctant donors by shaming them: “Are You a Slacker?”; “Red Star Work a National Duty”; “Speed Up! Speed Up!”²⁸ In August 1917, the Red Star pushed readers with a full-throated plea: “Awake, Humanitarians! Let no selfishness or indifference dim our patriotism. Banish apathy. Do not forget that you are Americans and have a special duty to perform. Be clear visioned enough to recognize your great opportunity to help your country at a critical period when she needs your help. In no other way can you render a more vital relief. An army of 1,500,000 American soldiers will need 700,000 horses to carry on its work. Without the best of care half of these will soon be out of commission. Our supply is short. Europe has already drained us.”²⁹

The potential failure of American citizens to support their brave equine soldiers stood in distinct contrast to harrowing stories of equine resilience and heroism. In May 1917, *Our Dumb Animals*, the periodical of the Massachusetts SPCA (MSPCA) reported the story of a French soldier, Private Ambrose Perichon, whose legs were shattered on a battlefield by a German "quick-firer," a breech-loading field gun that spewed rapid rounds of shrapnel. As Perichon lay immobilized, a riderless German circus-cum-warhorse lay down and placed its head quietly on his breast. Later that night, the horse reportedly rose, lifted Perichon by his leather belt with its teeth and galloped to the French lines "at daybreak its human burden was little more than a wreck," but alive and subsequently convalescing.³⁰ Stories and photographs of soldiers and steeds with faces encased in gas masks seemingly crossed the species divide, placing a universal stamp on the shared experience of wartime suffering and sacrificial service. In July 1918, the U.S. War Department announced that the Gas Defense Service was giving out approximately 5,000 equine gas masks every day.³¹

Poetry and painting likewise captured acts of equine courage, affection, and loyalty. Channeling the first-person equine literary technique of Anna Sewell in her international bestseller, *Black Beauty*, American poet Helen M. Richardson adopted the voice of a grieving warhorse on a French battlefield in "Riderless": "I would not fail him though the bullets whizzed / Like hail around us:--I would hold him up / To do his share:--I'd be a hero's horse. / I kept my faith,--I held him till he fell. / And long hours after stood I by his side, Nor thought of fleeing until some one took / My bridle in his hand and led me back / Beyond the firing line...."³²

Poetry also communicated a soldier's dedication to his horse. While serving with the Field Artillery with the 1st Canadian Division in 1918, William H. Parr heard one of his drivers remark that he would like to take his horses with him if he were to "go West" in the Great War. According to Parr, "The same shell killed the driver and both horses, and as I am a Montana man, born and raised on a Montana cattle outfit, and knowing how a real man comes to love a real horse, I had him buried with a horse upon each side of him, and they now lie sleeping up in the Ypres salient. The horses were named Friend and Foe."³³ The death of Parr's fellow driver and horses inspired him to write his poem, "The Driver's Prayer." In 1916 the Italian artist Fortunino Matania painted perhaps the most ubiquitous warhorse image to raise funds for the Blue Cross, a British animal protection society. "Good-bye, Old Man" depicts a soldier gently cradling his dying horse's head as shells explode nearby and the soldier's comrade frantically calls him to join the rest of his regiment. The image was equally popular among the Allies and Central Powers.³⁴ The American Red Star used it freely in conjunction with elegiac poetry and stories from the Front to represent the warhorse as a sentient and loyal partner in service to fellow soldier and nation.

Humane advocates readily wedded their warhorse protection campaign to broader struggles for human rights. The emergence of animal welfare activism out of the historical crucible of abolitionism during the antebellum era and Civil War meant that these movements shared participants, a common language of bondage and suffering, and a political commitment to the right to protection under the law. George Angell, the MSPCA's founder and first president, worked as an attorney in the 1850s with the abolitionist Samuel Sewall, who represented John Brown and Harriet Beecher Stowe, and gave free legal counsel to African American students and escaped slaves. When Angell published the American edition of *Black Beauty* in 1890, he promoted the novel as "the Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Horse."³⁵

The MSPCA's magazine, *Our Dumb Animals*, amplified these ideological connections during World War I, arguing that the nation's commitment to freedom and equality was blatantly violated by wartime violence against people of color and animals. The magazine contended that such viciousness was profoundly un-American. In October

1918, for example, *Our Dumb Animals* reported that an American soldier in France had been formally punished with temporary half rations for abusing a horse; more significantly, the soldier was (in the words of an officer) “degraded, shunned and nicknamed by his comrades ‘The Hun,’ which will stick to him as long as he lives. Such is the penalty for abusing a dumb animal imposed by Uncle Sam.”³⁶ Branded “the Hun,” the offending soldier had been transmogrified into the foreign enemy. On the same page, the magazine condemned the escalating frequency of racist atrocities on the American home front, depicting the perpetrators as an atavistic, un-American “mob spirit”: “Europe is finding it hard to reconcile the wild and savage outbreaks in the United States where law is trampled under foot, with our proud claim of making the world safe against the might of brutal force.”³⁷ In condemning animal cruelty and racist violence collectively, humane leaders aimed to magnify the breadth of their mission to heal a violent world with a totalizing gospel of kindness. *Our Dumb Animals* readily chronicled the lynching of African American citizens, as well as the growing incidence of race riots during World War I in East St. Louis, Houston, and Philadelphia, among other cities. Nonetheless, wartime accounts of intentional cruelty to horses (apart from the collateral destruction of machine guns and mortar fire) remained relatively uncommon. Narratives of good care dominated the reportage, in conjunction with pleas for continued aid.

Animal welfare publications assured readers that the sturdy and loyal warhorse was a far more reliable ally than motorized transportation. Published photographs depicted American horses in the European theater hauling mortar, cannons, and provisions through mud, sleet, water, ice, and rocky terrain. These images conveyed a singular message of equine heroism and the enduring importance of the horse in a mechanizing world. They assured their readers, “The Horse is Still Indispensable.”³⁸ Animal welfare publications were saturated with wartime reports of automobiles breaking down, flooding, stalling, and proving unable to drive in hostile terrain. In John Henry-esque stories of muscle-power versus the machine, reports from the battlefields declared the nimble and adaptive horse triumphant. A story titled, “Where Gasoline Can’t Go,” observed “...no victory could have been attained, no push could have succeeded, unless the horse was on the job to pull the guns forward, to take up the rations, the water, the ammunition, through mud where trucks could not go, or over shell swept ground equally impassable for the gasoline propelled vehicle.”³⁹ Another piece, “Horses and Tractors,” concluded that the faithful horse was a more trustworthy investment than the expensive and unreliable tractor.⁴⁰ Animal welfare magazines published testimonials from military officers in the field stressing that eventual victory in the Great War would be attributable to the horse: “...‘If we had 100 guns for every German gun, and 100 shells for every German shell and our supply of horses gave out, we could not win the war.’ Motors cannot cross fields soaked with water or travel through ravines and swamps. How shall the world ever pay its debt to the faithful horse?”⁴¹

As an implicit answer to this question, the Red Star and its allied organizations tried to preserve the status of an animal whose place in society was at a crossroads. The rise of the gasoline-powered automobile in the 1890s triggered the rise of a new cultural narrative of the vanishing horse, or as the *New York Times* put it, “The Passing of the Horse.”⁴² Journalists editorialized that the horseless carriage provided a cleaner, more affordable alternative to the unsanitary, hungry, and injury-prone horse: “The horse has earned the gratitude of mankind and has received it in abundant measure, but in the streets of cities he has become a terrible nuisance, which nothing but necessity made tolerable.”⁴³ Nonetheless, this perception of the horse’s imminent demise was premature: urban horse populations actually increased from two million to three million from 1890 to 1910, owing to greater demand for human transportation and industrial haulage.⁴⁴ But earlier prognostications soon proved true. American horse prices peaked in 1910 and then declined, although they briefly spiked during World War I. Prices

plunged permanently once the war was over. The collapse of the American horse market forced many owners into the difficult decision of slaughtering animals they could no longer afford to feed and shelter. From 1910 to 1930, the nation's horse population fell by 40%. Veterinarian Alonzo Melvin of the U.S. Bureau of Animal Industry urged Americans to abandon their aversion to eating horsemeat. In 1930, less than one million horses remained in the nation's cities.⁴⁵

Even as the American Red Star lobbied to "Help the Horse to Save the Soldier," the organization tacitly recognized that the age of horsepower was in its twilight. Consequently, advocacy was often a form of equine memorialization. For example, gaily-clad Red Star parades were often held in conjunction with workhorse parades, a popular Progressive-era ritual, which celebrated the working horse and raised funds for its retirement at comfortable SPCA-sponsored Horse's Rest farms.⁴⁶ This mission to protect the fading horse became even more urgent after the Armistice when equine advocates were outraged to learn that patriotic American warhorses were being auctioned off in Europe – "left behind over there" – as a cost-saving measure in a global marketplace in which the value of the horse had collapsed. "Homesick," a poem by Inez M. Polder, was widely reprinted in animal welfare publications and equine trade journals: "I'm getting rather lonesome / For the green hills of my home, / My heart is filled with longing / Down the pasture lane to roam. / I did not mind the fighting / I felt so young and gay, / But now the war is ended / I feel quite the other way. / And they have sent my master / To our home across the sea. / While I am left with foreign folk / Who talk so queer to me...I'm longing for my home land / But if here I'm forced to rest. / I pray my stable window / May be open towards the west."⁴⁷ To celebrate its semi-centennial in February and March of 1919, the Massachusetts SPCA held an intensive fundraising drive to raise \$50,000 for a Peace Endowment to give free relief to the animals of the poor: "In Memory of the Million Horses and Dogs Who Served and Suffered and Died in the Great War": "The noble endurance of hunger and thirst and wounds and death by the great army of four-footed allies seems to demand some response from humane and appreciative hearts who are reaping the benefits which could not have been secured without the aid of these dumb friends."⁴⁸

After the Armistice, the American Red Star Animal Relief demobilized into a disaster relief organization. It was remobilized for the duration of World War II, where horses were used in haulage and in several cavalry units, but the Red Star's discourse of equine citizenship was now subdued in an age of near-complete motorization. Thereafter, it assumed its permanent form as a disaster relief organization. While scattered urban horses still work as police mounts, in the carriage trade, and occasionally in haulage (such as Baltimore's Arabbers), the horse's status in American culture has largely changed: from worker to creature of leisure and pet.⁴⁹ The same animal welfare groups, such as the ASPCA, that used to valorize the service of the laboring horse, are now working to ban the carriage-horse trade in New York City – thus attesting to the horse's besotted status in a motorized world.⁵⁰ The use of actual horses in the American military has diminished in an age of fighter jets, drones, and all terrain vehicles – even though equine terminology remains in the form of air and tank cavalry. Yet in October 2001 – just weeks after the 9 / 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, members of the U.S. Army's Fifth Special Forces Group (Green Berets) worked with the Afghan Northern Alliance – which always traveled and fought on horses – to defeat (albeit momentarily) the Taliban on horseback through rugged, mountainous terrain. The horse campaign dazzled Americans, including the soldiers who participated. Lieutenant Colonel Max Bowers remembered the scene: "It was like out of the Old Testament. You expected Cecil B. DeMille to be filming and Charlton Heston to walk out."⁵¹ The events were chronicled in a nonfiction bestseller, *Horse Soldiers: The Extraordinary Story of a Band of U.S. Soldiers Who Rode to Victory in Afghanistan* in 2009, and a Hollywood movie in 2012. But perhaps the most significant act of memorialization came with

Douwe [Doweh] Blumberg's sculpture, which invoked the Green Berets by name, "America's Response Monument: De Oppresso Liber," which was unveiled and dedicated in front of One World Trade Center, across from Ground Zero, ten years after the commando horseback mission in Afghanistan. The initial dedication date was Veteran's Day, November 11, 2011, otherwise known as Armistice Day – in an unintended acknowledgement of World War One as a watershed era that marked the passing of the horse.⁵²

NOTES

- 1 "The War Department Accepts Red Star Cooperation," *National Humane Review* (hereafter, NHR) v. 6, n. 7 (July 1918): 123.
- 2 "The American Red Star Animal Relief," NHR, v. 4, n. 8 (August 1916): 173.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid.; "Disaster Strikes: Look to the Red Star," *American Humane Association*, 43-46, <http://www.americanhumane.org/assets/pdfs/animals/pa-aes-redstar.pdf>.
- 5 *U.S. Militaria Forum*, May 25, 2009, <http://www.usmilitariaforum.com/forums/index.php?/topic/43695-american-red-star-animal-relief/>.
- 6 Susan J. Pearson, *The Rights of the Defenseless: Protecting Animals and Children in Gilded Age America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 78-80.
- 7 "The Place of the American Red Star Animal Relief in National Defense," NHR, v. 5, n. 5 (May 1917): 84.
- 8 *Horses in World War One: Goodbye, Old Man*, http://www.edinburghs-war.ed.ac.uk/system/files/PDF_horses.pdf.
- 9 "War Horses," NHR, v. 4, n. 12 (December 1916): 266.
- 10 "A Humane Problem for Americans," NHR, v. 5, n. 10 (October 1917): 183
- 11 Susan D. Jones, *Death in a Small Package: A Short History of Anthrax* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 136-142.
- 12 "Untitled," *Our Dumb Animals* (hereafter, ODA), v. 48, n. 3 (August 1915): 33.
- 13 "United States Army Animals On the Border," NHR, v. 4, n. 11 (November 1916): 248.
- 14 "American Red Star Animal Relief," NHR, v. 4, n. 11 (November 1916): 239.
- 15 "The American Red Star Animal Relief: Greatest Agency for Army Animal Conservation in United States," NHR, v. 5, n. 4 (April 1917): 68.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid.
- 18 "Where Government Fails," NHR, v. 5, n. 9 (September 1917): 171.
- 19 "The Place of the American Red Star Animal Relief in National Defense," NHR, v. 5, n. 5 (May 1917): 83.
- 20 "The American Red Star Animal Relief," NHR, v. 4, n. 8 (August 1916): 173.
- 21 Ella Wheeler Wilcox, "The Cross and the Star," excerpted from "Great Drive for a Million Members for the American Red Star Animal Relief," NHR, v. 5, n. 9 (September 1917): 163.

- 22 "Red Cross For Animals: Prominent Women Form an Organization for War Relief," *New York Times* (hereafter, NYT), April 2, 1917, 13.
- 23 "Drops Red Star From List," NYT, December 22, 1917, 9.
- 24 "Red Star Is Reinstated," NYT, January 5, 1918, 4. Other controversies remained. The Massachusetts SPCA protested the Red Cross for conducting animal experiments, but later tempered its criticism when the Red Cross noted that vivisection was "strictly a war measure" to combat disease among American soldiers. Still, the MSPCA remained critical of the Red Cross for staging bullfights and rodeos to raise wartime funds: "Cruelty to Animals as an exhibition to aid a noble charity!"; "The Red Cross and Vivisection," ODA v. 50, n. 8 (January 1918):120, "The Red Cross and Vivisection," ODA, v. 51, n. 1 (June 1918): 8; "Untitled," ODA, v. 49, n. 9 (February 1917): 129; see also, "Wrong Red Cross Methods," ODA, v. 51, n. 9 (February 1919): 136.
- 25 "Untitled," ODA, v. 51, n. 3 (August 1918): 35.
- 26 "From Our Army Camps," ODA, v. 51, n. 4 (September 1918): 51; Illustration caption, "First-Aid for Horses For Use in the United States Army," NHR, v. 5, n. 8 (August 1917): 143.
- 27 "The Place of the American Red Star Animal Relief in National Defense," NHR, v. 5, n. 5 (May 1917): 83-84; "Large Work Horse Parade," NHR v. 5, n. 7 (July 1917): 139; "A Gorgeous Display," NHR, v. 6, n. 2 (February 1918): 37; "Animals Help Their Fellow Creatures Across the Sea," NHR, v. 6, n. 6 (June 1918): 105; "Women Parade in Philadelphia," NHR, v. 6, n. 6 (June 1918): 118; "The Red Star at Work," NHR, v. 6, n. 12 (December 1918): 233.
- 28 "Are You a Slacker?" NHR, v. 5, n. 10 (October 1917): 190; "Red Star Work a National Duty," Supplement to the NHR, v. 5, n. 11 (November 1917): 206; "Speed Up! Speed Up!" Supplement to NHR, v. 5, n. 12 (December 1917): 225.
- 29 "Humanitarians, Awake! Mobilize at Once: New Army Relief Work Demands Immediate Attention," NHR, v. 5, n. 8 (August 1917): 143.
- 30 "Circus Horse Saves Wounded Soldier," ODA, v. 49, n. 12 (May 1917): 182
- 31 "Gas Masks for Horses," ODA, v. 51, n. 3 (August 1918): 39.
- 32 Helen M. Richardson, "Riderless," ODA, v. 51, n. 4 (September 1918): 60.
- 33 William H. Parr, FAUSR, 463 Aero Squadron, "The Driver's Prayer," ODA, v. 51, n. 8 (January 1919):120.
- 34 "Horses in World War One: Good-bye, Old Man," http://www.edinburghs-war.ed.ac.uk/system/files/PDF_horses.pdf.
- 35 George T. Angell, *Autobiographical Sketches and Personal Recollections* (Boston: American Humane Education Society, 1884), 3; "Black Beauty: The Uncle Tom's Cabin of the Horse," ODA, v. 23, n. 3 (August 1890): 26.
- 36 "The Horse in the Army in France," ODA, v. 51, n. 5 (October 1918): 67.
- 37 "The Mob," ODA, v. 51, n. 5 (October 1918): 67.
- 38 "The Horse is Still Indispensible," ODA, v. 49, n. 2 (July 1916): 20.
- 39 "Where Gasoline Can't Go," ODA, v. 51, n. 11 (April 1919): 167.
- 40 "Horses and Tractors," ODA, v. 49, n. 3 (August 1916): 35.

- 41 "Untitled," ODA, v. 51, n. 1 (June 1918): 3.
- 42 "The Passing of the Horse," NYT, February 13, 1896, 4.
- 43 "Horses in the Streets," NYT, May 16, 1895, 16
- 44 Susan Jones, *Valuing Animals: Veterinarians and Their Patients in Modern America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 46.
- 45 *Ibid.*, 46-47.
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