

# ARMY HISTORY

Summer 2020

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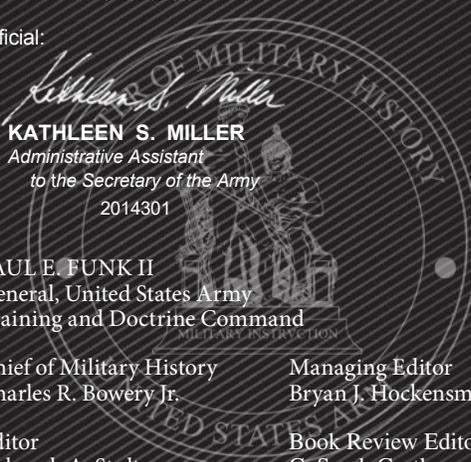
# ARMY HISTORY

The Professional Bulletin of Army History

By Order of the Secretary of the Army:

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## EDITOR'S JOURNAL

In this Summer 2020 issue of *Army History*, we present a number of interesting offerings. The first article, by Christopher Kolakowski, highlights the exploits of the famed "Merrill's Marauders" in north Burma during World War II. The second article, by Tyler Bamford, examines Allied and American military relations during the First World War. We also feature our regular Artifact Spotlight and a contribution from the National Museum of the U.S. Army. This issue contains an interesting crop of book reviews as well as words from our executive director and chief historian, respectively, that lead off and round out the journal.

As I write this, the world is in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic. The entire planet has been affected, as have the staff here at the U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH). Right now, almost the entire staff of CMH are working from their homes. This presents unique challenges to how the folks here at CMH write and produce history, including the publication of this magazine. Technology has afforded us the opportunity to keep production of this issue on track and I am happy that it has come out on schedule according to our quarterly timetable. The magazine's small staff has worked hard to overcome any stumbling blocks the current situation has placed in our path, and my coworkers have adapted in many admirable ways.

I will take the opportunity afforded me by the small space of this Editor's Journal to publicly thank those editors, visual information specialists, and cartographers who work on this magazine with me. Being sequestered from them really has shown me how much I miss our daily personal contact when working on this journal together. They make my job so much easier and help to make *Army History* the outstanding publication that it is. I couldn't do it without them, and for them I am grateful.

As always, I invite your constructive criticism about this issue and I encourage you to submit your articles and to request books to review. I hope that you, the readers of *Army History*, and your families, are safe and healthy.

Bryan J. Hockensmith  
Managing Editor



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MILITARY RELATIONS IN  
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# THE CHIEF'S CORNER

CHARLES R. BOWERY JR.

## CURRENT CHALLENGES

As we put together *Army History* no. 116, the world is in the midst of a global pandemic. The new coronavirus is changing, quite literally, everything about our world, and the vocation of history is no exception. As we come to grips with how we survive, live, and work in such an environment, it is worth considering how the three professions of Career Program 61—historians, museum professionals, and archivists—can evolve and continue to flourish.

The work of a historian has remained relatively constant: a scholar asks a set of questions of the past, develops arguments, investigates sources, and conducts research in documents and texts. They iteratively form this material into a final product, and a reader consumes it. From beginning to end, the craft is founded in a solitary working process, largely based on access to archives and other repositories of primary sources. What happens when a historian cannot access these primary sources for extended periods of time, if at all? At the same time, there are significant changes to these processes and products, changes driven by the internet and the digital environment. Publications are changing form, and many historians are increasingly active in digital spaces. These trends are converging to provide an opportunity for historians and archivists to collaborate on a more digitized future. In this environment, widespread access to digitized primary sources will allow historical inquiry to continue. Currently, the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center is engaged in a multiyear digitization project of its holdings. This is an important start, but so much more remains to be done. The challenge for our profession is to not let go of

the essential, timeless competencies of a historian: working in primary sources and interrogating the past.

The same challenges exist in the world of museums and public history. Just as the historian has traditionally worked alone, the museum professional has focused on caring for objects and interpreting them in museum spaces. In a world where in-person gatherings of large numbers of people is problematic, brick-and-mortar museums face challenges in reaching audiences. Part of the answer will be “virtualizing” the museum experience through gallery tours, artifact talks, and other educational programs that can be performed online. As with traditional historians’ work, we have to find the optimal balance between the onsite museum experience and the optimization of virtual experiences, so that our museums remain popular and relevant with all of their audiences. We will need to think about the mission of a museum. Instead of being purely dedicated to caring for and displaying a collection, we must continue to turn Army museums into multifunctional educational platforms and virtual event spaces, so that their supported commands see them as mission-essential parts of their organizations. Furthermore, we must continue to leverage technology so that everyone can experience the museum, even if they cannot visit it physically.

In short, let’s use the current environment and all of its challenges to spur innovation in the methods, products, and services provided by the Army Historical Program. We can then continue to Educate, Inspire, and Preserve in meaningful ways.



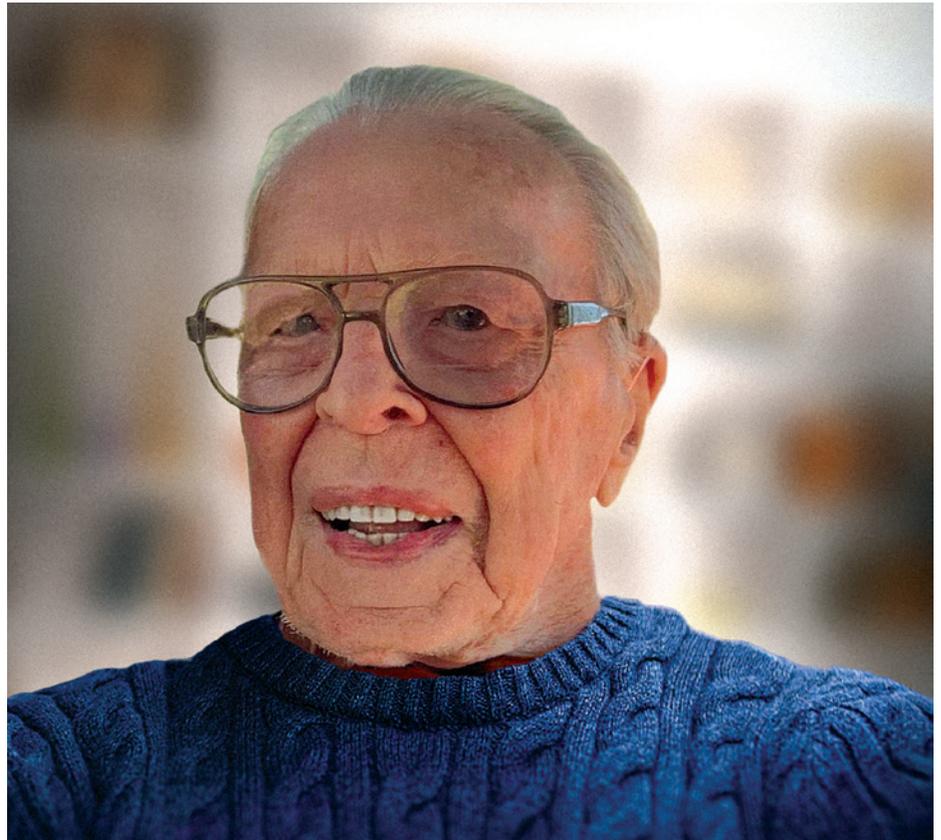
# NEWSNOTES

## CONFERENCE CANCELLATIONS AND 2021 ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Society for Military History's (SMH) annual meeting, scheduled for 30 April–3 May 2020 in Arlington, Virginia, and the annual meeting of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), scheduled for 17–20 May in San Francisco, California, were canceled due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Neither meeting will be rescheduled. The next SMH annual meeting will take place on 18–22 March 2021 in Norfolk, Virginia. The 2021 annual meeting of the AAM will be in Chicago, Illinois, on 9–12 May.

## WALTER GILBERT HERMES, 1919–2019

Walter G. Hermes devoted thirty-one years of his career to the Office of the Chief of Military History (OCMH), the precursor to the Center of Military History, as an author and a staff support historian. A native of Boston, he received both his bachelor's degree in German and his master's degree in history from Boston University. During World War II, he served in radio intelligence and military government assignments. After the war, he attended the University of Denver and the University of California, Los Angeles, before joining OCMH in 1948. Originally, he worked in the Strategic Plans Section of the World War II Branch, Histories Division. He soon transferred to the Current Operations Branch to work on Korean War histories. In 1966, the same year he received his doctorate from Georgetown University, he published his seminal work, *Truce Tent and Fighting Front*, the second of five official volumes on the U.S. Army in the Korean War. After working on the buildup in Vietnam, he became chief of the Staff Support Branch, Histories Division, in 1970. That same year, he served as a consultant and a report author for the Peers Commission, which investigated the My Lai massacre. He retired from OCMH in 1979, but



Walter G. Hermes

frequently returned for holiday gatherings to see old friends. He is remembered as a caring and generous family man, who loved smoking a pipe, playing cards, solving puzzles, and square dancing. He was preceded in death by his wife Esther and also his longtime companion, Barbara King. He is survived by two sons, four grandchildren, four great-grandchildren, and countless relatives and friends.

## NATIONAL MUSEUM OF THE U.S. ARMY OPENING DELAYED

The U.S. Army announced on 16 April 2020 that the National Museum of the United States Army will postpone its scheduled 4 June 2020 public opening.

Due to the COVID-19 public health emergency, some of the exhibit gallery

finishing-work was suspended, which affected the opening timeline. The museum will present its revised opening date when it is ready to conduct daily operations and when conditions can ensure the health and safety of museum visitors and staff.

“Although disappointing, postponing the opening of the museum is a proactive and appropriate decision,” said museum director Tammy E. Call, “and we stand ready to resume that work as soon as possible.”

Additional information will be available as the conditions for opening to visitors are established.



# *Gallantry, Courage, and Devotion to Duty*



National Archives

## Merrill's Marauders in Burma

By Christopher L. Kolakowski

U.S. and Chinese troops in Burma display captured Japanese items.



Merrill's Marauders and their pack mules traverse a Burmese mountain range.

In August 1944, Lt. Charlton Ogburn reflected with a fellow officer on their just-completed service in Burma with Merrill's Marauders. "The time will come," the officer told Ogburn, "when you will realize that you were with the Green Mountain Boys and Mad Anthony Wayne's Indian fighters and Morgan's Raiders. And being as big an idiot as I am, you will wonder how anyone as fearful and unworthy as you could have been included in such glorious company."<sup>1</sup>

Merrill's Marauders—officially Galahad Force or the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional)—existed for just one year, from September 1943 to August 1944. In that time, the unit and its men performed some of the most arduous missions asked of an infantry unit in World War II. Their accomplishments left a strong legacy that is visible in the Army of today, most notably as the foundation for the ethos of the 75th Ranger Regiment.

The Marauders trace their origin to the Anglo-American war planning discussions of the Quebec Conference in August 1943. One of the topics was strategy in the China-Burma-India area, where Lt. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell's Sino-American forces were

preparing for an offensive into North Burma to open a land route to China. General George C. Marshall, U.S. Army chief of staff, successfully fought to sustain Stilwell's plans despite British opposition.<sup>2</sup>

Marshall also decided to help Stilwell with a U.S. infantry force. A request for 3,000 volunteers for a "dangerous and hazardous mission" (code named GALAHAD) went out from Washington in early September 1943. By the 18th of that month, the volunteers assembled in two infantry battalions, consisting of men in training in the United States and in the Caribbean, with a third battalion at New Caledonia formed from veterans of the South and Southwest Pacific Theaters. GALAHAD's 2,997 volunteers represented virtually every race and ethnicity in the United States, making the force arguably the most diverse single unit in the U.S. Army in World War II. After organizing into battalion-sized groupings designated Casual Detachments 1688A, 1688B, and 1688C, under the overall command of Col. Charles N. Hunter, these volunteers set sail for India. They arrived on 29 October 1943 and moved to camp in Deogarh for training.<sup>3</sup>

For ten weeks at Deogarh, Col. Francis G. Brink drilled GALAHAD in jungle operations,

conditioning, and health in the field. The three detachments also built camaraderie that fused the groups into cohesive battalions. Successful maneuvers against British units capped the training program.<sup>4</sup>

On 5 January 1944, Stilwell appointed Brig. Gen. Frank D. Merrill of his staff to command GALAHAD, officially redesignated the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional). The press seized on the alliterative possibilities and quickly dubbed the unit "Merrill's Marauders." It was a task force in the truest sense, not designed to exist permanently on the Army's rolls and slated to go away after a few months. Indeed, its formal designation, 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional), sounded to one Marauder like an address in Los Angeles.<sup>5</sup>

GALAHAD had three battalions, each divided into two combat teams and a reconnaissance platoon. A rear detachment stayed in India to support the unit while it was in the field. The unit as a whole had no artillery, but each team contained mortar and machine gun crews. Lt. Col. William L. Osborne commanded the 1st Battalion, divided into Red and White Combat Teams. Lt. Col. George A. McGee's 2d Battalion contained Blue and Green Combat Teams,



Imperial War Museum

(Left to right) Canadian Prime Minister Mackenzie King, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill during the Quebec Conference



National Archives

Francis G. Brink, shown here as a brigadier general

and Lt. Col. Charles E. Beach's 3d Battalion had Khaki and Orange Combat Teams. GALAHAD numbered 2,600 when it set out on its first mission.<sup>6</sup>

The unit's two most senior commanders were General Merrill and Colonel Hunter. Merrill was a popular and respected leader. "He had a down-to-earth, smiling simplicity and a shrewd, politically wise geniality and charm," recalled Ogburn. "He knew what was what and spoke with the authority of the theater." Colonel Hunter presented quite a contrast. "Hunter was a tough, no-nonsense, hard-bitten man of few words," noted Lt. Samuel V. Wilson, commanding the 1st Battalion's reconnaissance platoon. "At the same time, he had a cutting dry humor, and beneath the crusty exterior he was one of the most warm-hearted people I had known. That part of himself he kept concealed from those who were not close to him."<sup>7</sup>

Stilwell ordered Merrill to report to the front in February; Merrill reported he could have his men moving by 15 February. "My God what speed," noted Stilwell sarcastically. "Snorted at him and he allowed they might better the time."<sup>8</sup>

As a final effort of conditioning, Merrill ordered the men to march the 103 miles from Ledo to the battlefield. On 21 February, after two weeks of travel, GALAHAD's 1st and 2d Battalions passed Stilwell's headquarters; General Stilwell did not appear. Some men were disappointed that he was not there to receive the salutes they were prepared to give. Later in the day, Stilwell paid Merrill and his

men a visit in their camp at Ningbyen and "made a good impression" on the Marauders, according to Lieutenant Ogburn. Stilwell passed GALAHAD's 3d Battalion on his way back to headquarters. "Tough looking lot of babies," noted Stilwell that night. "With M. [Merrill] ready," he continued, "we can go now."<sup>9</sup>

### THE FIRST MISSION: WALAWBUM

When the Marauders arrived, Stilwell's Burma offensive had been underway for two months. The 35,000 Chinese and American troops in his Northern Combat Area Command (NCAC) had started advancing

southward into the Hukawng Valley just after Christmas, 1943, against the elite *18th Division* under Maj. Gen. Tanaka Shinichi. Rain, Chinese sluggishness, and Tanaka's skillful defense had limited NCAC's advance to fifteen miles in two months.<sup>10</sup>

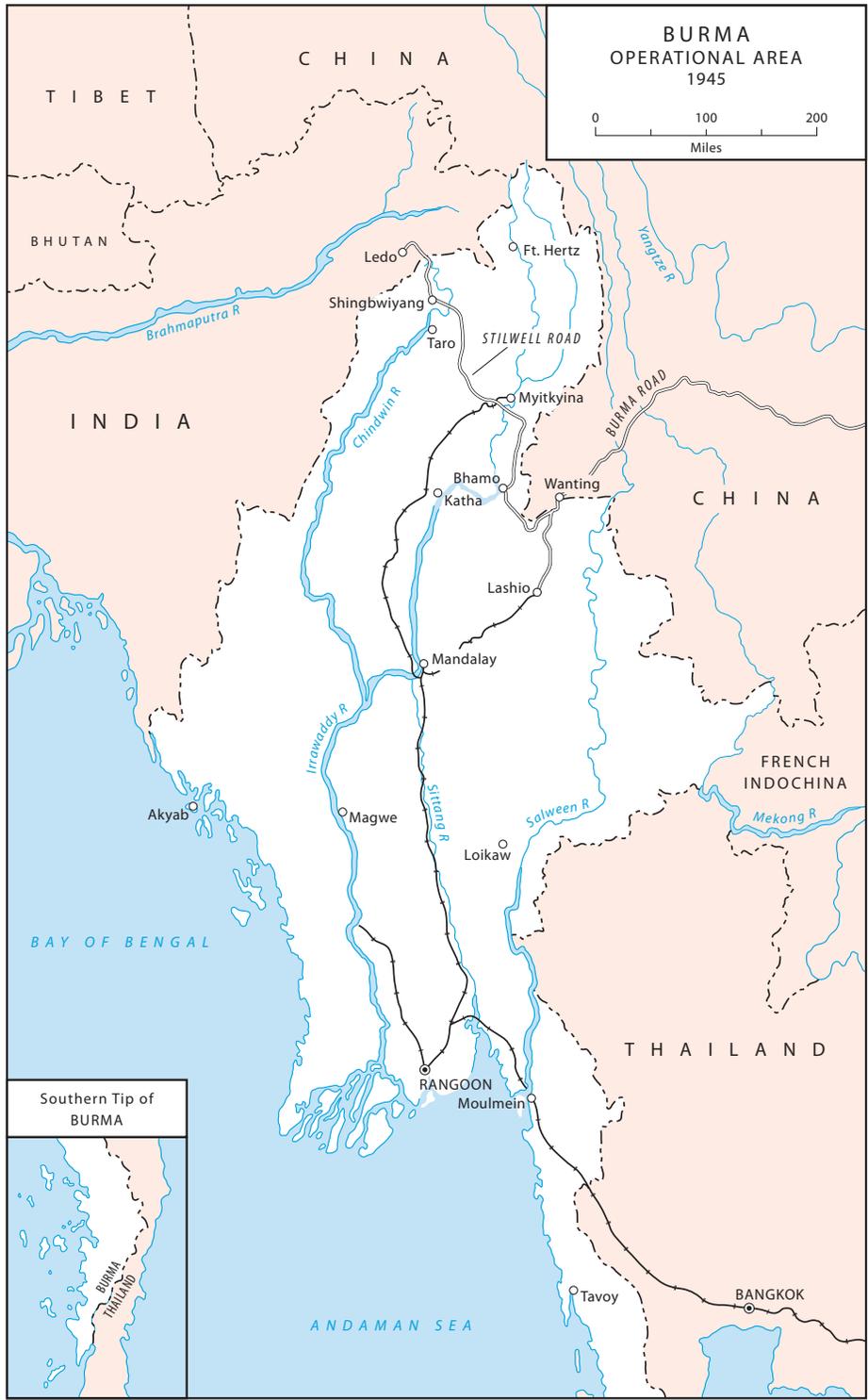
For the next stage of his campaign, Stilwell planned an enveloping attack. He expected Tanaka to fight for Maingkwang, the most sizable village in the Hukawng Valley. While NCAC's main body attacked toward Maingkwang, Merrill's Marauders would spearhead an attack eastward and southward into Tanaka's rear, with the Chinese 38th Division's 113th Infantry Regiment in support. Their goal was to cut Tanaka's supply line along the Kamaing Road at Walawbum, where the roadway ran east-west for about six miles before resuming its southward course. It also was the last village before the Jambu Bum ridge, which separated the Hukawng Valley and the Mogaung Valley, the gateway to Stilwell's ultimate objective: the Irrawaddy River and the key Myitkyina area.<sup>11</sup>

On 24 February, the offensive started. "Well gentlemen, here's what you have been waiting for," said Merrill to his commanders as he issued their orders. The three reconnaissance platoons led the way eastward, skirmishing with Japanese detachments. In the process, Pvt. Robert W. Landis was killed, the first GALAHAD death. Wilson's platoon led the way southward around the Japanese flank. As the march progressed, one officer "noted a very definite change



National Archives

Generals Stilwell and Merrill



general acts like this to a group of enlisted men . . . I tell you that was the measure of our guy. He was the kind of man you could get to love.”<sup>13</sup>

As the Marauders continued south, they encountered native Kachin villages and units of Kachin Rangers, trained by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). “The Marauders took an immediate and lasting fancy to the Kachins,” remembered Ogburn. James E. T. Hopkins, a surgeon with 3d Battalion, noted that, “the naked little children quickly lost their fear of the soldiers and were soon munching K-ration crackers given by the men.” In addition to their friendliness, the Kachins “not only knew the country and the trails,” observed Ogburn, “but they also knew better than anyone but the Japanese where the Japanese were.”<sup>14</sup>

After eight days of maneuvers, on 3 March, Merrill sent his men forward in their first attack. The Americans achieved complete surprise. Beach’s 3d Battalion took position along the Nan Pyakhkan stream, overlooking Walawbum itself and the Kamaing Road, and fought several skirmishes with Japanese forces. Osborne’s men stood in reserve northeast and east of Walawbum.<sup>15</sup>

McGee’s 2d Battalion penetrated five miles west of Walawbum and on the morning of 5 March took up a position astride the Kamaing Road at its crossing with the Nambyu Hka stream. The men discovered a Japanese telephone line running in the trees alongside the road. One of the battalion’s Nisei (Japanese American) soldiers, Sgt. Roy H. Matsumoto, tapped the line. He overheard a sergeant at an ammunition dump nearby asking for help, and McGee arranged a successful air strike. “I was up in the tree most of the time from morning to evening, and I did not have time to dig my own foxhole,” remembered Matsumoto. “But I was able to obtain much valuable intelligence, especially orders regarding enemy troop movements.” He relayed this information to Stilwell’s headquarters.<sup>16</sup>

Tanaka reacted quickly, and sent the bulk of his division against GALAHAD in an effort to destroy the American force. On 4 and 5 March, the Japanese made contact with 2d and 3d Battalions, starting two major battles on either side of Walawbum.<sup>17</sup>

East of Walawbum, 3d Battalion deployed the combat teams on the Numpyek Hka’s east bank, with Lt. Logan E. Weston’s reconnaissance platoon on the west. The Americans held all morning against increasing

in the actions and attitude of the men. The combat veterans understood and others knew that D-Day had passed, and the enemy could be encountered at any time. We were now in a situation where an instant’s hesitation or wrong move could mean life or death.”<sup>12</sup>

The march had its humorous moments. During a rest, Pvt. Benny Silverman of 3d Battalion asked Sgt. David Hurwitt, “Where in the hell are we going?” “Why in hell are

you asking me?” grunted Hurwitt. “Why don’t you ask the general?” Just then Merrill passed by. “Hey General!” Silverman yelled, “Where the f--k are we going?” Merrill gathered all nearby men and pulled out a map. “He then started telling us where we were going,” remembered Hurwitt. “And the more he related to us the whiter I got . . . after the general got done with his briefing he got up and said, ‘Okay, fellers?’ We had about enough strength to nod. You know no



Members of Merrill's Marauders consult a map.

Merrill turned over his positions to the Chinese and withdrew the Marauders for rest and resupply. "The idea [of Merrill's discretionary orders] was not to risk heavy losses," wrote an exasperated Stilwell in his diary. "That was the discretion allowed, and not go roaming."<sup>23</sup>

Sensing a victory, Stilwell ordered what he called a "squeeze play," a converging attack by all NCAC units against the *18th Division*. Communications difficulties meant that some units received their orders later than others, so the coordinated attack Stilwell planned for the 8th instead turned into disjointed attacks against Tanaka's rear guard. Walawbum fell for good to Chinese infantry on 9 March. Stilwell's forces paused to regroup.<sup>24</sup>

NCAC now owned all of Burma north of the Jambu Bum. The front had advanced thirty miles in less than two weeks. "Between us and the Chinese," General Merrill explained to the Marauders, "we have forced the Japanese to withdraw farther in the last three days than they have in the last three months of fighting." Stilwell's forces were halfway to the Irrawaddy.<sup>25</sup>

At Walawbum, the Marauders had lost 8 killed, 37 wounded, 70 evacuated to various diseases and injuries, and 109 sick. These losses left Merrill with approximately 2,300 men fit for duty.<sup>26</sup>

### STRIKE AND SIEGE: INKANGAHTAWNG, SHADUZUP, AND NHPUM GA

Anxious to not give Tanaka a break, Stilwell planned to renew the advance with a plan similar to the operation just concluded. He decided to rest the 38th Division and send the 22d Division and the tanks against Japanese positions at the Jambu Bum. At the same time, Merrill's men and the Chinese 113th Regiment would swing into the Japanese rear and block the Kamaing Road near Shaduzup, a village at the top of the Mogaung Valley just a few miles south of the Jambu Bum.<sup>27</sup>

This plan generated a protest from the Marauder leadership, as Merrill and Hunter proposed a deeper penetration closer to Tanaka's base at Kamaing. Stilwell decided to compromise, and sent 1st Battalion and the Chinese to Shaduzup. Merrill would take the 2d and 3d Battalions to Inkangahtawng, roughly ten miles south of Shaduzup and a dozen miles north of Kamaing. Both roadblocks would be set by 24 March.<sup>28</sup>

attacks, helped by one of the platoon's Nisei, Sgt. Harry Gosho, who translated the shouts and commands he heard. Colonel Beach recalled the platoon about midday, and it withdrew under cover of mortar fire and sniping by Pfc. Norman J. "Chief" Janis, a Sioux Indian soldier. At a makeshift airstrip nearby, light L-4 and L-5 aircraft waited to evacuate the wounded to the 20th General Hospital at Ledo.<sup>18</sup>

Further west, the 2d Battalion had been in position just a short time when Blue Combat Team ambushed a Japanese patrol. Soon after, a series of mass Japanese assaults began. McGee's battalion withstood six Japanese attacks interspersed with shelling, and repulsed them with small arms fire. At day's end, McGee counted one hundred dead Japanese soldiers against a loss of one killed and five wounded. That night, Merrill, concerned about being able to resupply the battalion, ordered it to retreat and join 1st Battalion.<sup>19</sup>

For the next two days, 3d Battalion withstood repeated Japanese attacks across the Nan Pyakhkan. The Japanese shelled Orange Combat Team with mortars and artillery and attacked several times in increasing numbers, but never less than company strength. "They kept coming—it was classic," recalled a lieutenant. "They just kept coming

across the field across from the river, and we kept shooting at them." Both sides taunted each other with cries of "Roos-evelt eats s--t!" or "Tojo eats s--t!" Small Japanese groups made it across the river, but 3d Battalion quickly wiped them out. By the evening of 6 March, it was clear that the Japanese were stymied.<sup>20</sup>

Meanwhile on the main front, Chinese infantry, assisted by a Chinese-American tank group, ground forward. Maingkwan fell to the Chinese 22d Division on 5 March. As Stilwell's forces pressed in from the north and west, Tanaka's division became disorganized. At one point on the 6th, some tanks brushed against division headquarters and scattered Tanaka's staff with an exchange of fire from across a creek.<sup>21</sup>

These developments, plus the lack of decisive success against the Marauders, convinced Tanaka to withdraw to the Jambu Bum. "Every man," Tanaka directed, "in next few days must fight hard." Before ending his wiretap, Sergeant Matsumoto heard this order and relayed it to Merrill and Stilwell.<sup>22</sup>

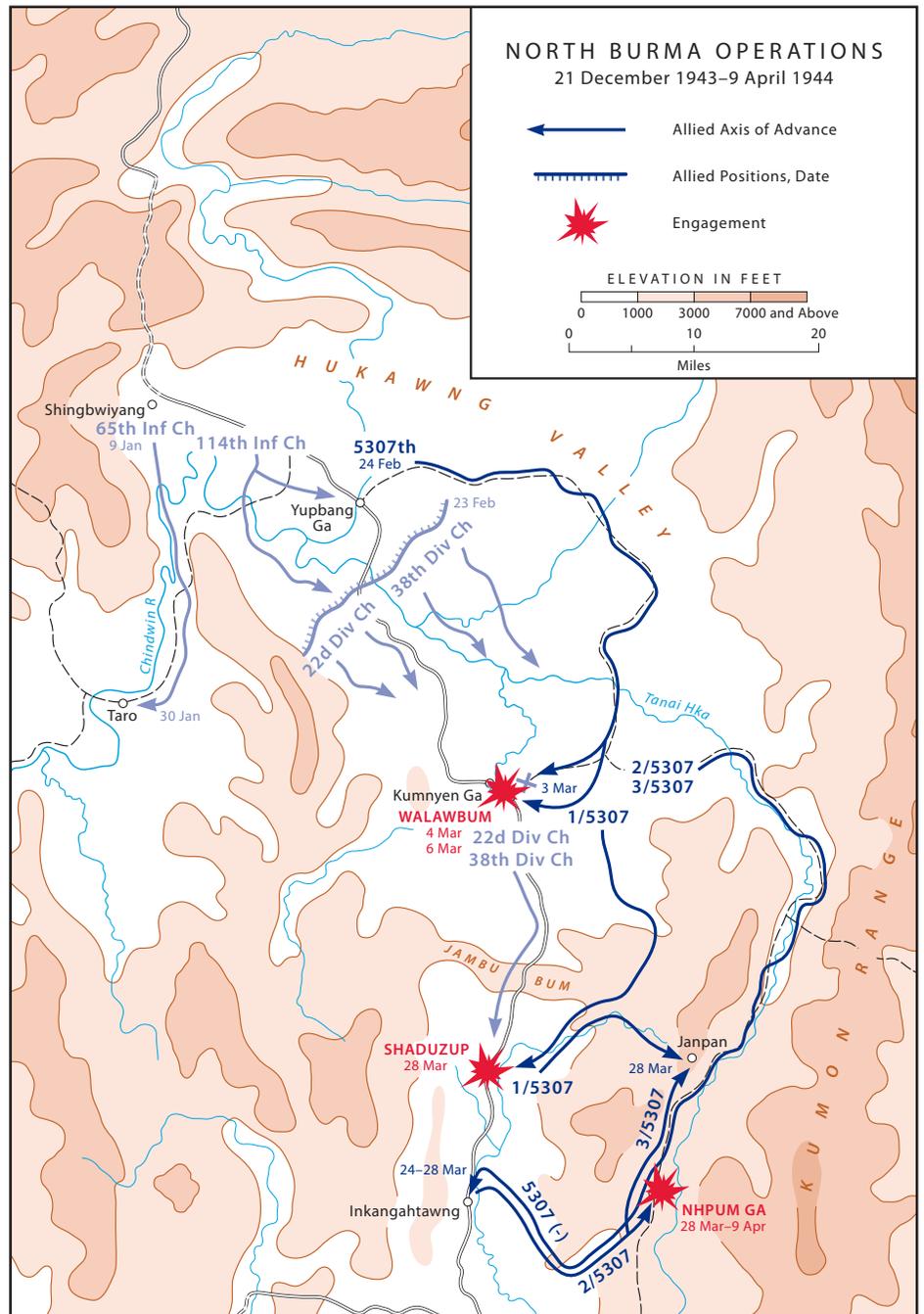
On the morning of 7 March, Beach's battalion repelled one last attack along the river. Soon after, gunshots rang out to the rear, which turned out to be an exchange of friendly fire between the Marauders and Chinese troops of the 113th Regiment.

On 12 March, the movement began. The weather continued wet, with near daily rain over the first six days of the advance. One day into the march, the Marauders left the Hukawng Valley and entered the steep mountains to the east and southeast. “The country we had to cross in bypassing the Japanese,” recalled Ogburn, “was a conglomeration of hills resembling the patternless jumble of waves in a tide rip and often so steep your feet would go out from under you while you were climbing. . . . Sometimes the slopes were too much for the mules; the packs would have to be unloaded and broken up and the pieces carried up or passed up from hand to hand.” Some ridges reached over 4,000 feet.<sup>29</sup>

Osborne’s 1st Battalion used the only major southward trail into the mountains. Two days into the march, Lieutenant Wilson’s recon platoon discovered a large Japanese force astride the route. After futilely trying to dislodge them, Osborne made the difficult decision to turn east and cut a path. Men took turns slashing at virgin jungle and thick bamboo, in some cases cutting tunnels through bamboo clumps. “The head of the column,” recalled Ogburn, “sounded like a spike-driving crew on a railroad, but the jungle imprisoned the sound, as it did us. . . . We were twelve hours a day on the trail, as a rule—whether there was a trail or not.” Weather, missed airdrops, and the need to prevent Japanese ambushes also impeded progress. It was soon clear that 1st Battalion would not make Shaduzup by 24 March.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, the 2d and 3d Battalions swung further east and followed trails and watercourses into the hills. The elevation changes took a toll on the men, sparking the first widespread cases of sickness and exhaustion. “The terrain was indeed proving terrible for both the animals and men,” recalled a Marauder, “but the route allowed us to avoid many small skirmishes and the sacrifice of many of our men.” Kachin Rangers and OSS personnel assisted as guides and scouts. In return, the Marauders gave them food and cigarettes and offered medical treatment to Kachin villagers as they passed.<sup>31</sup>

The Chinese-American assault on the Jambu Bum started on the 14th. After two days of rainy and sharp fighting, Stilwell’s forces secured the Jambu Bum’s crest and north side. The Japanese retreated southward, leaving one mile of felled trees



and mines blocking the road. Two days of steady work by Chinese engineers finally cleared the obstruction, but the renewed advance stalled along a stream seven miles further south.<sup>32</sup>

Further south, Merrill’s two battalions reached the village of Janpan on 19 and 20 March. Merrill divided his force, sending Colonel Hunter with 2d Battalion and Khaki Combat Team of 3d Battalion to march the last forty miles to Inkahtaung. The 3d Battalion’s Orange Combat Team and the headquarters group would patrol around Janpan and secure the rear communications.<sup>33</sup>

Hunter’s force started southward into changing terrain. “The march of ten miles to the southwest would take the unit from an elevation of three thousand feet to six hundred feet,” recalled a Marauder. “The first two miles of the march followed a very steep, ill-defined trail through bamboo and other jungle growth to descend a thousand feet to the Hkum Hka.” The Marauders followed the river for eight miles, crossing it more than twenty-five times before arriving near Manpin, twenty miles east of Inkahtaung, on the afternoon of 22 March. Hunter dispatched McGee’s 2d Battalion to the Kamaing



Troops of Merrill's Marauders use a radio near Walawbum.



Colonel Hunter (*right*) and an unidentified soldier

Road the next day and held Khaki Combat Team as a reserve.<sup>34</sup>

By late in the day on the 23rd, McGee's forces were close to the road and had seen no Japanese. At 1630, an American patrol encountered a Japanese patrol along the north-south flowing Mogaung Hka. With surprise lost, McGee immediately crossed the 2d Battalion, leaving Khaki Combat Team on the river's east side with the battalion's mules and mortars. As dusk fell, the Marauders dug in along the Kamaing Road north of Inkangahtawng. "We were on the eastern side of an open field about 175 yards across," recalled Pvt. George Rose. "It had been previously burned off and cleared all around. . . . Our perimeter was formed in a half circle leading back to the river on each end." It was "a miserable night, due to anxiety, discomfort, and intermittent rifle shots by the Japanese," recalled an officer. "During much of the night the Marauders heard truck motors and tail gates slamming as enemy reinforcements arrived. . . . As dawn came, all men of Blue, Green, and Khaki knew the small skirmishes were over and that a major battle was imminent."<sup>35</sup>

McGee's appearance in his rear prompted a strong reaction from General Tanaka. The block at Inkangahtawng was a serious threat to his line of supply and his supply base at Kamaing. Tanaka pulled together some rear-area troops and sent them south from Shaduzup, while also summoning 1,050 men from Col. Maruyama Fusayasu's 114th Regiment in Myitkyina. These troops were what the Marauders had heard arriving during the night.<sup>36</sup>

At 0700 on 24 March, the first Japanese probes came against the Marauder perimeter, followed by an artillery barrage. Assaults started from the north, south, and west, totaling sixteen attacks during the day. "The Japanese came pouring out of the woods, charging across the open field toward our position," said a Marauder. "All day long they came in wave after wave." Curiously, the Japanese never seemed to attack with more than forty men at one time. "If they had charged with their men all at once they would have overrun us," said Rose. One of the earliest attacks penetrated the American lines, but the Marauders quickly wiped them out. Disciplined American fire, assisted by mortars from across the river, repelled all others.<sup>37</sup>

McGee called for air support, but radio problems made it difficult to get any until

late in the afternoon, when American P-51s strafed the Japanese. At 1630, Merrill radioed McGee to retire eastward and under cover of darkness the Marauders pulled back. Kachin scouts reported Maruyama's infantry moving northeast in pursuit and Merrill ordered a further retreat northward toward the villages of Auche and Nhpum Ga.<sup>38</sup>

As McGee pulled back, Osborne's 1st Battalion finally arrived near Shaduzup. On 25 March, the battalion moved down a streambed toward the Mogaung Hka, just across from the Kamaing Road. Osborne fainted toward Shaduzup with a small force, while aiming for a spot five miles south of town. At dawn on 28 March, the battalion attacked across the river, scattering a Japanese camp and shooting up traffic and marching men on the road itself. The Americans enjoyed Japanese rations and appropriated some equipment for their use. The surprised Japanese countered with heavy artillery fire, but managed only feeble infantry attacks during the day. That night, the Chinese 113th Infantry relieved Osborne's men.<sup>39</sup>

Faced with this new threat to his rear, and with sizable Chinese forces pressing on his front, Tanaka decided to withdraw southward ten miles to Warazup and regroup. Chinese troops entered Shaduzup on 30 March, linking up the same day with the 113th Regiment. NCAC was now across the last serious terrain obstacle before the



National Archives

American Troops of Merrill's Marauders and Chinese soldiers march side by side down the Ledo Road.

Irrawaddy, and the master of the northern third of the Mogaung Valley.<sup>40</sup>

NCAC may have been able to celebrate, but the Marauders faced a serious situation. McGee's men continued their retreat under close Japanese pursuit, covered by Lieutenant Weston's reconnaissance platoon. Merrill ordered 1st Battalion to join him and called for Chinese reinforcements. He also sought a place to make a stand and protect the five-acre clearing at Hsamshingyang, which was a critical supply-drop zone, light-plane airfield, and concentration point. Overlooking the clearing was a 2,779-foot elevation topped

by Nhpum Ga, a settlement of two huts on the north end of a razorback ridge that ran fifteen miles southward. Nhpum Ga "measured about three hundred yards from north to south and one to two hundred yards from east to west," recalled an officer. The trail from Auche to Hsamshingyang ran through Nhpum Ga.<sup>41</sup>

On 28 March, Merrill visited McGee and ordered him to hold Nhpum Ga with the 900 men in 2d Battalion, while 3d Battalion would cover Hsamshingyang. Patrols would link the two units over the intervening four miles. McGee acknowledged the orders



New York Times

Samuel V. Wilson, shown here as a lieutenant general



New York Times

Soldiers from Merrill's Marauders engage the Japanese from hastily prepared defensive positions.

and the men parted, Merrill hiking to Hsamshingyang. The Marauder commander suffered a heart attack on the trail and had to be helped back to the clearing. “General Merrill,” recalled Hopkins, one of the doctors who attended him, “refused evacuation until he was assured that all men who needed urgent evacuation had been sent out.” By the evening of 29 March, Merrill had been hospitalized at the 20th General Hospital in Ledo. Colonel Hunter assumed command of the Marauders.<sup>42</sup>

On his way to the hospital, Merrill reported the situation to NCAC headquarters and requested 75-mm. pack howitzers be dropped to the Marauders at Hsamshingyang. Merrill knew that some of his volunteers were trained artillerymen and could quickly make use of the guns in the battle now starting. NCAC parachuted in two guns on 2 April; almost immediately, they went into action. “Morale picked up all over the area,” noted Hopkins.<sup>43</sup>

Meanwhile, McGee had set up his defense at Nhpum Ga. It was shaped in a rough oval, with protrusions to the west and northeast to cover key heights. The northeast sector also included the area’s lone water source. The Marauders spread their thirteen machine guns to cover key points, while the battalion’s seventeen mortars took position in the center to provide fire in all directions. Mules and aid stations congregated in a depression in the perimeter’s center. By late morning of the 28th, the men had dug in rudimentary positions.<sup>44</sup>

The 2d Battalion completed its preparations just in time, because soon the Japanese probed the southern part of the perimeter. Mortar and artillery fire harassed the Americans into the night, with the American response muted due to ammunition shortages. The next morning, a C-47 dropped rations and ammunition to the grateful Marauders. Japanese attacks on the 29th and 30th encountered fierce American fire. McGee realized the Japanese were working around the perimeter’s east end; this movement threatened to sever his link with 3d Battalion, but neither Marauder battalion could spare men from their perimeters to counter it. On the morning of 31 March, the Japanese cut the trail between Nhpum Ga and Hsamshingyang, isolating McGee and his men.<sup>45</sup>

Over the next nine days, McGee’s battalion clung to the hilltop at Nhpum Ga. Nightly attacks kept the defenders on alert, and



National Archives

General Merrill poses between Sgts. Herbert Miyasaki and Akiiji Yoshimura.

during the day, harassing fire of all types kept the Marauders from getting rest. Every position, even the medical areas, was in the line of fire. Dead men and animals attracted flies and created a severe stench. Airdrops on 2, 5, and 6 April brought needed food and ammunition. Water remained scarce for the defenders, as what water they received went to the 2d Battalion’s wounded. Still, McGee’s men battled on.<sup>46</sup>

Even in the face of the enemy assault, the friendly artillery fire from Hsamshingyang kept the garrison’s morale high. Air activity also helped, as each day P-51s arrived to

bomb and strafe Japanese positions. The men also saw the unarmored C-47s fly through ground fire to drop supplies. “Despite the fire,” noted Capt. H. L. Greengus of the 2d Troop Carrier Squadron, U.S. Army Air Forces, “the ships flew in at stalling speed, only a few hundred feet above the ground, to make sure the water and ammunition were received by our Allies instead of the Japanese. In the pattern over the dropping target, the 2d Troop Carrier Squadron constantly was under machine gun fire.” Five C-47s were damaged, two serious enough to be declared out of commission. “We don’t give a damn



National Archives

A C-47 airdrops supplies to the Marauders.



Sergeant Matsumoto being decorated.

if the weather's bad or the Japs are raising hell," commented a pilot, "those fellows on the ground need the stuff and we're going to get it to them regardless of consequence."<sup>47</sup>

McGee's defenders included several Nisei, most notably Sergeants Matsumoto and Goshō. The Japanese Americans crawled around the perimeter and translated what they heard from the enemy. On 5 April, Matsumoto overheard a Japanese plan to assault Lt. Edward A. McLogan's position on a shelf (known as McLogan Hill) along



Lieutenant McLogan

the perimeter's west side below the ridge crest. The Americans retired to the top of the ridge and booby-trapped their former positions. At dawn on the 6th, the Japanese attacked. "We held our fire until the enemy charged into the line of foxholes," recalled Matsumoto. "We then opened with some fifty automatic weapons—heavy and light machine guns, BARs (Browning Automatic Rifles), Thompson submachine guns, and M-1 rifles—as well as carbines and grenades. The second wave of the enemy

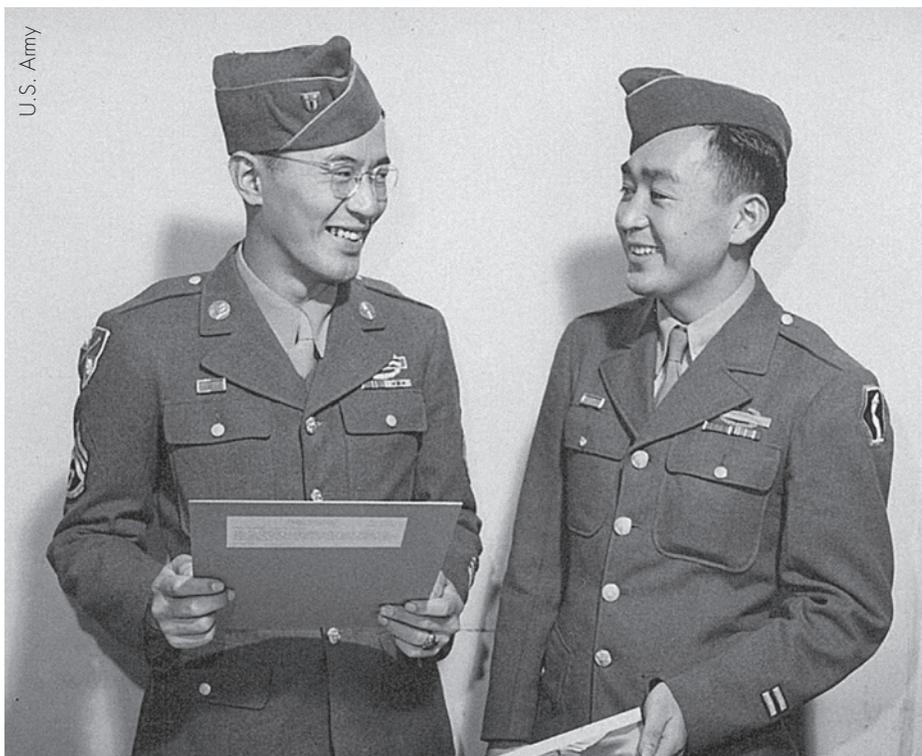
troops hesitated in confusion. At that moment, I stood up and gave the order to attack in Japanese. The troops obeyed my order and they were mowed down." After the fighting, the Americans reoccupied their former positions. McLogan Hill was not tested again.<sup>48</sup>

Meanwhile, on 3 April, Hunter decided to commit the entire 3d Battalion in a relief operation. "Gentlemen," Hunter announced, "in the morning we start an attack that will drive through to the Second Battalion. It may take two or three days, but we will get through." The next morning, Orange Combat Team attacked down the trail, but ran into camouflaged Japanese bunkers. With their 75-mm. pack howitzers, the Marauders engaged the Japanese at point-blank range. Khaki Combat Team soon joined the battle along the trail. Each successive day brought a little progress, measured in scores of yards advanced against fierce opposition. By 7 April, the exhausted 3d Battalion had stalled 500 yards short of breaking through.<sup>49</sup>

That afternoon, the 1st Battalion emerged from the jungle into the Hsamshingyang clearing after six days of marching. Osborne's men arrived with empty packs, having canceled a supply drop and marched part of the previous night. Eight hundred tired but exhilarated men arrived at Hunter's headquarters. "It was a happy reunion," recalled Lieutenant Ogburn. "We brought reinforcements and they had food."<sup>50</sup>

Hunter detailed 250 of Osborne's men under Maj. Thomas P. Senff to swing west of Nhpum Ga and try to force a Japanese retreat by threatening their line of communications. The rest of 1st Battalion would guard Hsamshingyang and provide reinforcements for 3d Battalion. Senff set off the next day, 8 April, and by evening he was in position southwest of Nhpum Ga almost astride the Japanese supply route. On 9 April, the Japanese broke off the action, Tanaka directing the survivors to Myitkyina. Shortly after noon on the 9th, the 3d Battalion and 2d Battalion linked up, followed soon after by Senff's force. The siege of Nhpum Ga was over.<sup>51</sup>

Lieutenant Ogburn went forward to see the battlefield. "Where there were trees," he recalled, "a tornado seemed to have struck. All around dead Japanese were sprawled as if they had dropped haphazard from the sky, and along the trail were limbs and torsos thrust helter-skelter out of smashed-in bunkers." Dead horses and mules looked



Sergeant Goshō (left) and Pvt. James Yura



General Stilwell

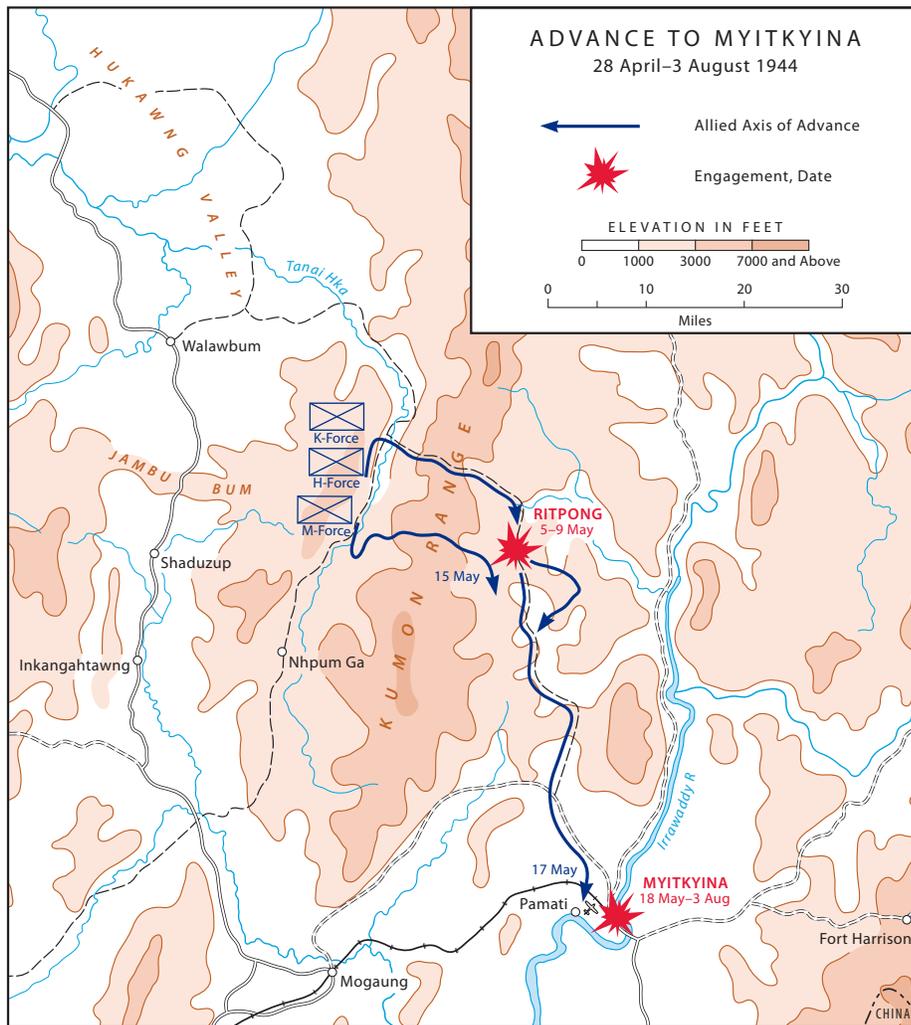
like “a field of giant melons.” Hunter ordered his soldiers to use flamethrowers and quicklime to clean up the bodies.<sup>52</sup>

### THE END RUN TO MYITKYINA

The Shaduzup and Nhpum Ga operations occurred against a backdrop of Allied debates over strategy in Burma. In a series of messages starting 16 April, General Marshall shared the U.S. views with Stilwell: possession of Myitkyina was essential to enhancing communications with China and would facilitate land and air operations in China in support of offensives in the Pacific.<sup>53</sup>

On 3 May, these views turned into a directive. “We must employ every means at our disposal to neutralize action by enemy that would hinder the westward Pacific advance to the Philippines and Formosa area,” Stilwell read. “Planes based on China land airdromes must augment our carrier-based aircraft. The responsibility is yours for air support from China by air forces under your command . . . this is to be done without prejudice to the Formosa support or to other operations of greater immediate strategic importance. Examples of such operations are your present move to secure Myitkyina.”<sup>54</sup>

Marshall’s order suited Stilwell perfectly, as he was already carrying it out. Stilwell had decided to activate Operation END RUN, a plan to strike across the mountains to Myitkyina before the monsoon started in late May. Scouts reported a little-known trail over the rugged Kumon Range that connected the Nhpum Ga area with Myitkyina; it involved a total march of 100 miles over a 6,000-foot mountain pass at Naura Hkyet. The trail was insufficient for



a supply route, but a sizable force could use it for movement. Stilwell decided this would be the best route for his forces to use. As General Merrill had sufficiently recovered from his heart attack to return to duty, Stilwell put him in command of END RUN.<sup>55</sup>

The plan for END RUN, developed with Hunter and Merrill’s assistance, involved three task forces totaling 7,000 American, Chinese, and Kachin soldiers. H-Force under Hunter would contain the 5307th’s 1st Battalion, the 150th Regiment of the Chinese 50th Division, and a Chinese artillery battery. Col. Henry L. Kinnison’s K-Force would comprise the 5307th’s 3d Battalion and the 88th Regiment of the Chinese 30th Division. Each of these forces would number about 2,700 men and would march directly on Myitkyina to secure the airfield. The third force, M-Force under McGee, which was made up of 300 Kachins plus the 500 men remaining in the 5307th’s 2d Battalion, would provide flank protection to H- and K-Forces by ranging along the trails to the south and west of their route.

The code phrase “Merchant of Venice” meant the airfield was captured and ready for use.<sup>56</sup>

The key to END RUN’s success would be the Marauders’ condition. They had just won a great victory at Nhpum Ga against the Japanese, the longest single battle fought by American infantry on the Asian mainland since the Boxer Rebellion at the turn of the century. However, the loss of 364 men killed and wounded had reduced the 5307th to 1,400 men, less than 50 percent of its starting strength.<sup>57</sup>

In the days after the battle, the Marauders had consolidated at Hsamshingyang and Nhpum Ga. There, they resupplied and regrouped. Soldiers changed clothes and received mail for the first time in two months. To pass the time, Hunter ran close-order drills and had a mule race. Most Marauders were aware that the ninety-day limit for their mission was approaching, and many anticipated a good, long period of rest. The unit’s doctors also pressed for a break, as many Marauders suffered from malaria, dysentery, rashes,

infections, malaise, or a combination of ailments, plus weight loss. "Depleted by five hundred miles of marching on packaged rations," noted Lt. James H. Stone, "the Marauders were sorely stricken. . . . Many remaining in the regiment were more or less ill, and their physical condition was too poor to respond quickly to medicines and rest."<sup>58</sup> These problems were mostly invisible to Stilwell and his staff, even after several visits to the unit. "Galahad is OK," recorded Stilwell in his diary. "No worry there."<sup>59</sup>

The Marauders greeted the orders for END RUN with what Lieutenant Wilson called "a kind of dull anger . . . there was some outrage and some resentment, but we also had a favorite saying: 'Well, you volunteered for this.'" Stilwell admitted to Merrill that he was asking a lot of the Marauders, but felt he had no choice. He ordered Merrill to begin evacuating the Marauders from Myitkyina "if everything worked out as expected." Merrill let it be known among the Marauders that Myitkyina was to be the last mission, after which the men would be flown to India for rest and a celebration.<sup>60</sup>

On 28 April, the END RUN Forces got moving. "We set off with that what-the-hell-did-you-expect-anyway spirit that served the 5307th in place of morale," noted Ogburn, "and I dare say served it better." As the men reached the Kumon Range and started up the steep slopes, heavy rain set in. "I remember the worst experience of my life," said Sgt. Bernard Martin in 3d Battalion, "and that was that climb . . . the grueling climb that we made and the way the animals suffered." In some places, mules lost their footing and slipped over the steep sides. "Our battalion lost twenty-three mules over cliffs on that climb," recalled Lieutenant Weston. "Our best radio equipment, guns, medical supplies, emergency food, and ammunition also tumbled over the edges. We could do nothing but . . . watch our valuable possessions as they crashed on the jagged rocks hundreds of feet below."<sup>61</sup>

After crossing the mountains, K-Force ran into a company-sized Japanese detachment at Ritpong. Kinnison decided to envelop the enemy. On 6 May, his Marauders cut a trail flanking the village and took up position to the south of Ritpong, enabling Hunter with H-Force to pass by the fighting and regain the trail to Myitkyina. K-Force's Chinese attacked and routed the Japanese in three days of fighting and maneuvering.<sup>62</sup>

Meanwhile, Stilwell waited anxiously for news from Merrill. "Depression days," he wrote in his diary on 1 May. "Commander's worries. . . . The die is cast, and it's sink or swim. But the nervous wear and tear is terrible." On 14 May, Merrill visited H-Force via light plane and reconfirmed the plan with Hunter. The Myitkyina airstrip was the objective, and Myitkyina itself would be left alone for the moment. "I'll be the first man on the field" after its capture, said Merrill, and would issue orders for subsequent movement at that time. "Can stop this show up to noon tomorrow, when the die is cast," Merrill radioed Stilwell, "if you think it too much of a gamble. Personal opinion is that we have a fair chance and that we should try." Stilwell ordered Merrill to "Roll on in and swing on 'em."<sup>63</sup>

On the morning of 15 May, Hunter's H-Force started south on the final leg to Myitkyina. The next day, Hunter's troops reached Namkwi, a village four miles from the airfield. As it was late in the day, Hunter postponed his attack until the morning. Aware that they had left friendly Kachin territory, and that the Burmese were friendly to the Japanese, Hunter's men rounded up all the Burmese in the area and held them until the attack was over.<sup>64</sup>

Hunter reviewed the maps and an aerial photo of Myitkyina that Merrill had given him. The airfield was half a mile north of the Irrawaddy River and the village of Pamati. A mile east of the airfield was Myitkyina itself, with small outlying hamlets of Charpate, Radhapur, Sitapur, and Mankrin. The Irrawaddy ran generally south past Myitkyina, before turning west at Waingmaw, just southeast of Myitkyina and across the

river. The road and railroad to Mogaung, thirty miles away to the west by southwest, roughly paralleled the river.

That night, Hunter's scouts found the airfield empty, to the point that one sergeant walked upright along the runway to check its condition. The Marauders also heard a train chugging on the Mogaung-Myitkyina railway. It was clear that the Japanese had no idea H-Force was there.<sup>65</sup>

Hunter had his men moving shortly after dawn on 17 May. At 1030, H-Force debouched from the jungle into the valley beside the river. As Osborne's 1st Battalion swung west to take the village of Pamati and shut down the Irrawaddy River ferry located there, the Chinese 150th Regiment turned east and swarmed the airfield. One of the 1st Battalion combat teams swept the riverbank eastward, while the Chinese consolidated and cleared the runway. Hunter's attack had achieved complete surprise and captured its objectives without loss. By 1230, Hunter had his radio team transmitting "Merchant of Venice."<sup>66</sup>

Stilwell received the news three hours later. "Enormous relief to get Merrill's report," he recalled. "At once ordered machinery and reinforcements started . . . told them to keep going all night." Stilwell also permitted himself a moment of exultation for accomplishing something that his British comrades thought was impossible. "WILL THIS BURN UP THE LIMIES!" he crowed in his diary.<sup>67</sup>

Unfortunately, things began to go wrong. Merrill flew in shortly after the airfield's capture, but on the 19th, he had to be evacuated after suffering another heart attack. The supplies and ammunition Merrill and Hunter were counting on were delayed until



Marauders cross a small stream in the Burmese jungle and refill their canteens.



General Stratemeyer

the 19th because the U.S. air commander in the theater, Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, had preemptively dispatched antiaircraft and engineer units to protect and operate the airfield. Stilwell flew in on the 18th with war correspondents to see the situation for himself, and stayed two hours. "Hunter knows what he is about," noted Stilwell in his diary.<sup>68</sup>

Hunter meanwhile tried to do what he could. On the afternoon of the 17th, he sent two battalions of the 150th Regiment toward Myitkyina. The battalions took the wrong road, ending up north of town at Sitapur. There they ran into Japanese snipers, which in turn confused the Chinese units and caused them to fire into each other before withdrawing in confusion. The battalions tried again on the 18th, reaching the center of Myitkyina and its railroad station before Japanese infantry attacked them and produced the same result. Out of ammunition, the Chinese refused to attack on the 19th until supplies arrived.<sup>69</sup>

These two failures cost the 150th a total of 758 casualties from both enemy and friendly fire. "In considering the unfortunate experiences of the Chinese troops," noted a Marauder officer later, "it is to be remembered that, at a distance of fifty yards, neither they nor the Japs can distinguish each other. It is also well known that the Japanese frequently assumed both Chinese and American uniforms."<sup>70</sup>

These failures to capture Myitkyina itself proved costly. On 17 May, Myitkyina contained 700 men of Colonel Maruyama's 114th Regiment, veterans of Nhpum Ga. They had supplies and ammunition for three months and had lightly fortified the



Generals Stilwell and Merrill meet with other Marauder leaders and Army combat photographers.

town. Even so, Maruyama and his officers told the locals they would be pulling out soon. After the victories over the Chinese, reinforcements arrived that ultimately increased the garrison's size to 4,000 men. On 20 May, Maruyama's defenders said they would be staying.<sup>71</sup>

Meanwhile, the Allies at Myitkyina regrouped. British antiaircraft gunners watched the skies above while American and Chinese infantry extended their perimeter to invest the town. Stilwell consolidated all units in the area into the Myitkyina Task Force under Col. John E. McCammon. Stilwell considered committing British Maj. Gen. Francis W. Festing's 36th Infantry Division, which had been placed at his disposal, but preferred to keep it fresh to exploit what

he expected to be a quick victory. Instead, Chinese infantry and American combat engineers, plus half-trained American replacements, flew into the battle.<sup>72</sup>

While the Chinese assaulted Myitkyina's western and southern ends, American forces from GALAHAD and the 209th and 236th Engineer Battalions swung north toward Charpate and Namkwi. Skirmishing with the Japanese stalled both units, while enemy counterattacks caused the engineers to break and run. After a period of retraining, the engineers returned to the line to prepare for a new attack.

The same could not be said for the men of the 5307th, most of whom had reached the point of physical collapse. During battle on 27 May, Colonel McGee fainted three



A Marauder lights a cigarette for a wounded Chinese soldier.

times at his post. “Galahad,” confessed Stilwell, “is just shot.” Each day, scores of Marauders were evacuated to Ledo because of illness, fatigue, or wounds. The task force commander, Colonel McCammon, joined them at the end of the month. Brig. Gen. Haydon L. Boatner, Stilwell’s chief of staff, took charge, determined to avoid a stalemate as May turned into June.<sup>73</sup>

In the first days of June, General Boatner ordered an all-out offensive. The engineers attacked the defenses north of town with little success. The Chinese 42d and 150th Regiments punched into Myitkyina from the south, making some progress before being held up by a nest of bunkers along the river. The 42d pressed into the train station, and by day’s end held “all the station but the ticket office,” reported Boatner to Stilwell. “I really thought we’d get the town.”<sup>74</sup>

Despite Boatner’s optimism, the lines fell into a stasis. The Chinese commenced using siege tactics, including systematic digging toward the enemy positions. On the northern sector, the American units reorganized, trained, and patrolled. Colonel Hunter was assigned to command all U.S. units—both the 5307th and the two engineer battalions, grouped into a provisional regiment—on 8 June. Over the first week of June, more replacements arrived for the 5307th, and Hunter reorganized the unit. He set up three battalions: 1st “Old Galahad” Battalion made up of the remainder of the original 5307th, and the 2d and 3d “New Galahad” Battalions, comprising mostly replacements except for some key officers

and noncommissioned officers transferred from Old Galahad. He abolished the combat teams and divided the three battalions into companies as standard infantry units. The Old Galahad battalion numbered 300 men, while the New Galahad battalions contained 950 men each.<sup>75</sup>

Some of the replacements sent to these battalions were Marauders culled from hospital beds. NCAC staff officers visited the hospitals at Ledo and dispatched sick and wounded men to the nearby airfield for transport to Myitkyina. Doctors managed to stop many of the worst cases from boarding, but many men made the trip only to be reevacuated almost immediately as unfit for combat. Most men had to be pressured to go back into battle, but a few went willingly. One of the willing, Cpl. Gilbert H. Howland, rejoined the fighting despite still recovering from a wound sustained at Nhpum Ga. “Those were my buddies,” he later said. “I couldn’t let them down.”<sup>76</sup>

“The situation was one that must be unusual in war,” observed Ogburn. “The besieging force was itself surrounded by enemy-held territory.” Until land communications could be opened, the Myitkyina Task Force needed to protect itself in all directions. The airfield was the only way in and out, and its security was critical to both the task force’s success and its very survival.<sup>77</sup>

All of this made the Myitkyina airfield a focal point of the battle, second only to the town itself. Except for six 75-mm. pack howitzers in the U.S. sector and eight more in the Chinese sector, all support



(Left to right) General Stilwell, Colonel Hunter, and an unidentified Marauder confer at the Myitkyina Airfield.

came from the P-40s of the 88th Fighter Squadron, based at the field. Japanese shelling and occasional air raids had left the field littered with wrecked C-47s, and off to the side stood tents made of old parachutes containing hospitals, offices, and quarters. Mud and wetness added a bedraggled look to the scene. “The effect,” Ogburn wrote, “was an odd one, giving the scene an appearance of fair grounds—one in hell, attended by an army of the condemned.”<sup>78</sup>

General Boatner remained a remote figure in his headquarters. His daily reports to Stilwell tried to put the best face on the situation. “Am pushing these troops just as hard as I can within what I believe are reasonable limits,”



Haydon L. Boatner, shown here as a major general



A Marauder and a Chinese soldier share a foxhole.

he told Stilwell on 12 June. To other officers, Boatner was much more pessimistic. "This place is a real mess," Boatner told NCAC's chief of staff. "With the help of God we will pull through OK but it's tough sledding . . . God knows what I ever did to pull a job like this." To another officer he said "I would be one helluva liar if I said all was OK. Sure wish I was in the AGD [Adjutant General's Department] or SOS [Services of Supply]." Stilwell picked up on this attitude, which he termed "up and down."<sup>79</sup>

On 14 June, Boatner launched a new offensive against Myitkyina, which made little gain. "There can be no withdrawal or slackening of our efforts," Boatner messaged Hunter. The offensive resumed on the 15th and 16th, and gained some ground. On the 17th, in one last spurt, Hunter's men reached the Irrawaddy north of Myitkyina, forming a firm ring around the town. This effort cost the Allies 200 casualties, against an estimated 100 Japanese killed.<sup>80</sup>

During the battle, Boatner noted "complete disorganization and fear in U.S. units. They are in many cases simply terrified of the Jap." Stilwell exploded at this news. "That last report was very disturbing," he wrote Boatner. "If we can't depend on U.S. units, where the hell are we? I assume you verified those reports of bad conduct; that's something I never thought would enter our picture." Stilwell hoped that more battlefield experience would help and ordered the resumption of siege tactics. "I don't like the idea of a siege," he told Boatner, "but it may be the proper solution."<sup>81</sup>

Stilwell flew to Myitkyina on the afternoon of 17 June to see the situation for himself. Brig. Gen. Theodore F. Wessels, a former U.S. Army Infantry School instructor, went along. Over the next two days, Stilwell and Wessels traveled all along the lines. "Saw Hunter and talked it over," Stilwell recorded in his diary. "Not so bad as painted."<sup>82</sup>

On 25 June, Boatner reported sick with malaria. The next day, Stilwell put Wessels in command. Boatner "cried and protested," noted Stilwell in his diary. "Told him no argument. He was a staff officer and not a Commander."<sup>83</sup>

General Wessels assumed command the same day Chinese and British troops secured Mogaung, opening land communications to Myitkyina. Wessels now received supplies in comparative abundance to his predecessors, who often had to live with only one or two days' worth



A 30-caliber machine-gun team fires on Japanese positions near Myitkyina.

of food and ammunition reserves on hand. Reinforcements also arrived. Most importantly, Wessels could now concentrate his strength on Myitkyina, without worrying about his flanks or rear.<sup>84</sup>

The Myitkyina Task Force renewed the offensive on 12 July, but the attack failed to come together when the American planes dropped their bombs among the attacking units, disrupting them. Wessels reverted to siege tactics, building gradual pressure on the Japanese. The U.S. Office of War Information sent a detachment which broadcast news, music, and propaganda to the defenders. This effort triggered 244 Myitkyina residents to cross into Wessels' lines, where they reported that the messages were having an effect. The music in particular eroded morale, "invariably

[making] the listener lonely, homesick and discouraged," wrote an officer. "Native witnesses saw Japanese crying openly." During the latter part of July, twenty-four Japanese personnel attempted to surrender, with over a third being shot by their comrades in the attempt.<sup>85</sup>

In Myitkyina, the Japanese commanders sensed the end was near. On 30 July, they decided to evacuate, and an estimated 800 people escaped downriver in boats over the next several nights. The garrison commander committed suicide on 1 August.<sup>86</sup>

On the morning of 3 August, the Allies entered Myitkyina and cleared the last resistance. They captured 187 Japanese personnel, plus 21 Korean comfort women. At 1545 that day, General Wessels reported the city's capture to



A mortar crew shells the Japanese at Myitkyina.



Marauders take a break from the fighting.

Stilwell by radio after seventy-nine days of battle. The Siege of Myitkyina ended in a major Allied victory.<sup>87</sup>

The fighting had not been cheap or easy. The siege cost 5,383 Allied battle casualties and a further 1,168 took sick. Of approximately 4,200 Japanese defenders, 800 escaped, 187 were captured, and the remaining 3,213 killed. Importantly, the Allies had eliminated a key Japanese base, firmly secured their control of North Burma, and set a jump-off point for future advances into Burma and toward China. For its role in the capture of Myitkyina's airfield and town, the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional) earned the Presidential Unit Citation.

One week after Myitkyina's fall, the 5307th ceased to exist. As the unit was provisional and without colors, there was no ceremony. Those Marauders still fit for duty were assigned to the 475th Infantry, which served with distinction in the fall and winter 1944–1945 Burma campaigns. After several iterations, the 475th became the 75th Ranger Regiment, meaning that today's U.S. Army Rangers trace their lineage and insignia to Galahad Force and the Marauders.<sup>88</sup>

The 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional) was a task force designed for ninety days of combat, with no past and intended to have no future. Instead, its members wrote a significant chapter of U.S. history in Asia and today live on as part of the Army Rangers. It is an experiment the Army has never tried again, making the 5307th a unique unit in the annals of the United States Army.

General Merrill recovered from his heart attack and moved to staff duty. He wrote a farewell note to Col. Isadore S. Ravdin of the 20th General Hospital, whose staff had treated him and all of his men who had been evacuated from the battlefield. Ravdin's reply gives the ultimate tribute to the Marauders and their commander. "During the time the Galahad Force has been in this area a few of us have come to know you, and a larger number to know your men," Ravdin wrote. "It is not for me to add to the laurels you have gained in the field, but I cannot let this opportunity pass without paying tribute to the gallantry, courage, and devotion to duty, which in the final stages, steeled a group of exhausted, malnourished men to complete an important mission . . . the final accomplishment of the Galahad Force, under your inspiring leadership, will rank high in the annals of successful military missions."<sup>89</sup>

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and the U.S. Army. He is the author of *The Civil War at Perryville: Battling for the Bluegrass* (Charleston, S.C., 2009); *The Stones River and Tullahoma Campaign: This Army Does Not Retreat* (Charleston, S.C., 2011); *Last Stand on Bataan: The Defense of the Philippines, December 1941–May 1942* (Jefferson, N.C., 2016); *The Virginia Campaigns, March–August 1862* (Washington, D.C., 2016), a pamphlet in the U.S. Army Center of Military History's Campaigns of the Civil War series; and "The Coming of Modern War: The Coalition War in Burma, 1944" which appeared in the Spring 2018 issue of *Army History*. He is currently working on a book about the 1944 India-Burma Campaigns that is scheduled for release in 2020.



## NOTES

1. Charlton Ogburn, *The Marauders* (New York: Harper, 1959), p. 285.

2. For more information on the China-Burma-India Theater (CBI), see Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, The U.S. Army in World War II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History [CMH], 1953); Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, The U.S. Army in World War II (Washington, D.C.: CMH, 1954); and Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in CBI*, The U.S. Army in World War II (Washington, D.C.: CMH, 1958).

3. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 14–15; James E. T. Hopkins and John M. Jones, *Spearhead: A Complete History of Merrill's Marauder Rangers* (Baltimore: Galahad Press, 1999), pp. 31–41.

4. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 53–122.

5. Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 61. These three designations will be used interchangeably. In 1944, the most common usage was 5307th or Galahad.

6. Diary entry, Joseph W. Stilwell, 21 Feb 1944, in Joseph W. Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif. (hereinafter cited as SD); Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 134. See also Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 85–91; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 149. Osborne was a veteran of Bataan, who, as a captain, made an epic escape via sailboat to Australia in 1942 with Lt. Damon J. Gause.

7. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 30, 65; see also Gavin Mortimer, "You Volunteered for This:

Conversation with Sam Wilson,” *World War II* (Aug 2018): 20, hereinafter cited as Wilson Interview.

8. Joseph Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers* (New York: Da Capo, 1991), p. 276 (hereinafter cited as SP); Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 33–36; Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 64–65.

9. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 71–88; SD, entry for 21 Feb 1944.

10. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 119–49. Japanese names are rendered surname first.

11. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 146–48.

12. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 154–57.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 163–65.

14. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 102–06; Richard Dunlop, *Behind Japanese Lines: With The OSS In Burma* (New York: Rand McNally, 1979), pp. 269–72; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, p. 166.

15. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 169–75.

16. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, p. 148–55; Roy Matsumoto memoirs and questionnaire responses, in RG 15, MacArthur Memorial Archives, Norfolk, Va. (hereinafter cited as Matsumoto Memoir).

17. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, p. 178.

18. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 148–55; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 178–82, 188–90.

19. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 116–18; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 195–202. The 2d Battalion drove a mule in front of it in case of booby traps. It was a wise precaution as the mule found one and was blown up.

20. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 208–13.

21. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 148–55. See also SD, entries for 2–8 March.

22. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 152–53; SD, entry for 6 March 1944.

23. *Ibid.*; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 216–18.

24. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, p. 154; SD, entry for 8 March 1944.

25. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, p. 218.

26. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, p. 158; Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 134.

27. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 175–76.

28. *Ibid.*; SD, entry for 10–11 March 1944. On 13 March, Stilwell mused: “Begins to look like Shaduzup for the rainy season anchorage. We will make it strong, and go on as far as we can.”

29. Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 141.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 136–42; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 176–77.

31. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 279–94. The Marauders also secured a small supply of elephants, which they used on the march. The elephant experience was unsuccessful, as elephants and mules proved to be afraid of each other and would immediately flee at the sight of the other.

32. CBI History, North Burma Campaign, in Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif.; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 185–88.

33. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 294–96; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 178–81; Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 189–92. During these operations, the Marauders recovered two downed American pilots whom the Kachins had rescued and brought to safety.

34. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 296–302; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 178–81.

35. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 302–05, 311–12; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 178–81.

36. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 178–81; Tanaka interrogation report, 13 January 1948, in Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif. (hereinafter cited as Tanaka Interview).

37. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 178–81; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 303–17.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 164–88; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 184–85; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 252–63.

40. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 184–85.

41. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, p. 295.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 349.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 371, 376–77.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 344–47. Some of the men suffered from psychological issues (“battle fatigue”) and received assignments to dig shelters and assist in the hospital. Of the seven such men assigned, five made a full recovery.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 345–62.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 359–448; see also Memo, Capt H. L. Greengus to Merrill, 17 May 1944, and Note, 5307th Communications Officer, to HQ NCAC18 Aug 1944, both in Stilwell Papers,

Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif. The latter describes the shelling of 2d Battalion’s radios.

47. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 359–448; Memo, Greengus to Merrill, 17 May 1944.

48. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 359–448; Matsumoto Memoir; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 188–91. Several Nisei (including Matsumoto) whose families had emigrated from southern and western Japan were able to understand the regional dialect and slang of the Kyushu-based 18th Division troops.

49. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 359–448; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 188–91; Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 210–18.

50. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 210–18.

51. *Ibid.*; Tanaka Interview.

52. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 210–18.

53. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 200–202; SD, entries for 13 Apr–6 May 1944.

54. This message is in the Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif. It was forwarded from Chungking and initialed by Stilwell upon reading.

55. SD, entry for 17 Apr 1944; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 223–25.

56. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, p. 223; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 512–13.

57. Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 218.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 218–21; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 463–64.

59. SD, entries for 10 and 20 Apr 1944.

60. Wilson Interview; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 223–25; Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 227.

61. Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 229; Wilson Interview; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 488–90. Stilwell had visited the men before their departure and was disconcerted when a Kachin showed a large quantity of Japanese ears to prove how many enemies he had killed. At the top of the pass, Wilson’s men picked up Russian radio news and a Russian-speaking soldier translated. At that moment, Wilson decided to study Russia after the war and learn “what gave these people the heart to hang on.”

62. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, pp. 225–26. See also Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 495–506.

63. SD, entries for 1 and 14 May 1944; Hopkins, p. 516.

64. SD, entries for 15–16 May 1944; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problems*, p. 226; Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp.

242–45; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 520–23.

65. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 226; Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 242–45; Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 520–23.

66. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 525–28; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 226; see also Message Form, time stamped 12:30, MERCHANT OF VENICE written across it, Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif. A signal officer noted that messages between NCAC and Myitkyina were delayed ninety minutes or more because of atmospheric conditions. A six-hour delay was not unheard of.

67. SD, entry of 17 May 1944. The news of Stilwell's achievement shot around the world. Churchill demanded to know how "the Americans by a brilliant feat of arms have landed us in Myitkyina." Lord Louis Mountbatten, Supreme Commander of Southeast Asia Command and Stilwell's boss, concealed his irritation at being left out of knowing Stilwell's plans. "Isn't the news of the capture of Myitkyina airfield great?" he asked his daughter in a letter. "It is one of my most interesting fronts, commanded by my deputy, General Stilwell."

68. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 529–49; SD, entries for 18–19 May 1944; Galahad draft history, in Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif.

69. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 230; Galahad draft history.

70. Galahad draft history.

71. Ibid.; Tanaka Interview.

72. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 229–34. See also Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 245–64. Louis Allen was an intelligence officer in Southeast Asia Command and later historian of the campaign. He offered another theory as to why the 36th Infantry Division was held back: "After 'burning up' the Limeys, and with a dozen war correspondents describing to the world his great American triumph, it was unthinkable for Stilwell to call on the British to pick his chestnuts out of the fire."

73. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 229–34; Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 245–64. Of the original 2,997 men of the 5307th, only Colonel Hunter and Lt Philip S. Weld were not evacuated due to sickness or wounds.

74. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 238–48; see also Boatner's daily reports to Stilwell in Boatner Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif (hereinafter cited as Boatner Letters). In the collection there are also a few letters from Stilwell in reply and letters to Col. Robert M. Cannon, the new NCAC chief of staff.

75. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 238–48; see also Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 632–46.

76. Ibid; Gilbert Howland, conversation with the author, 19 Apr 2019, Author's files. See also Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 266–67. Protests from medical personnel about this can be found in the Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif.

77. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 238–48; Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 265.

78. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 238–48; Ogburn, *Marauders*, p. 266.

79. Boatner Letters, 12–15 Jun 1944; SD, entry for 4 Jun 1944.

80. Boatner Letters, 14–16 Jun 1944; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 238–48.

81. Ibid.

82. SD, entries for 17–20 Jun 1944.

83. SD, entries for 23–26 Jun 1944.

84. This section is based on Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, pp. 248–56. Some Chinese units had exacerbated the supply problems by indiscriminately firing off most of their ammunition during nighttime, something that continued almost the entirety of the siege. The Americans were annoyed, but so were several Chinese units. One Chinese regiment offered to fight the offenders to get them to stop.

85. "Psychological Warfare Operations in Myitkyina" in Adolph Suehsdorf Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif.

86. Maruyama interrogation report, in Stilwell Papers, Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Calif.

87. Hopkins and Jones, *Spearhead*, pp. 679–87.

88. Ogburn, *Marauders*, pp. 282–83; 75th Ranger Regiment Lineage and Honors, copy in author's collection.

89. This correspondence is in I. S. (Isadore Schwaner) Ravdin Papers, Penn University Archives and Records Center, Philadelphia, Pa.



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# NMUSA FEATURE

## NMUSA STAFF'S *Favorite Artifacts*

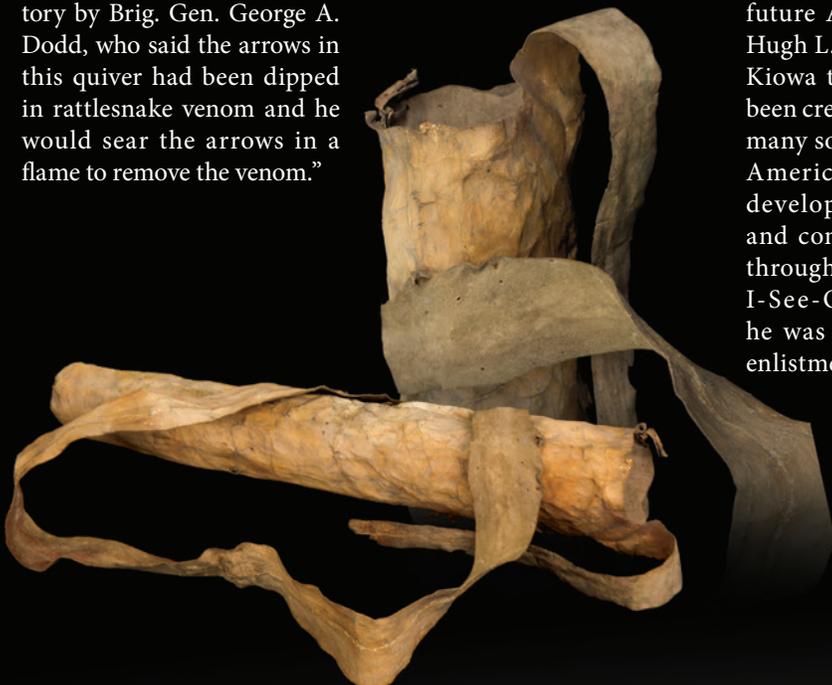
Prepared by the National Museum of the United States Army Public Affairs Office  
Photos by Scott M. Metzler, Museum Photographer

The National Museum of the United States Army exhibits staff and contractors have been hard at work installing artifacts in the museum's galleries. This installation is the culmination of years of research, conservation, and preparation of these artifacts. *Army History* magazine asked these museum professionals: "What artifact in the museum is particularly special to you?"

### NEIL B. ABELSMAN, MUSEUM CURATOR

#### Artifact: Cheyenne Quiver

"My father was in the Dutch Army. I was raised in Brazil and immersed in different cultures. I've always been fascinated by indigenous peoples and I studied archaeology and American Indian affairs. So when I came across this artifact in the collection, I had to know more. During our research, we learned this Cheyenne quiver was obtained in the 1870s in the Dakota Territory by Brig. Gen. George A. Dodd, who said the arrows in this quiver had been dipped in rattlesnake venom and he would sear the arrows in a flame to remove the venom."



### MELISSA WEISSERT, MUSEUM CURATOR

#### Artifact: I-See-O Headdress

"I hope when visitors see this visually stunning artifact, with twenty-two eagle feathers and two rows of beautiful beadwork, they will want to learn more about the soldier this belonged to. I-See-O was a Kiowa Indian Scout who served nearly fifty years with the U.S. Army. He worked closely with future Army Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Hugh L. Scott to dissuade Apache and Kiowa tribes from warfare and has been credited with saving the lives of many soldiers, settlers, and Native Americans. I-See-O and Scott developed a close friendship and communicated primarily through sign language. After I-See-O was discharged, he was granted a lifetime enlistment."





**SARA E. BOWEN, MUSEUM SPECIALIST**

**Artifact: Pvt. Martin J. Teahan's M1 Garand Rifle**

"I first encountered this piece of history on display in General Mark A. Milley's office at the Pentagon. Private Teahan parachuted into Normandy with this rifle in the early morning hours of 6 June 1944. He was killed in the fighting shortly thereafter, along with more than half the men of the 508th Infantry. 'Every soldier has a story,' is a theme at the museum. We tell Teahan's story through this physical witness to his heroic actions and his death."

**SCOTT M. METZLER, EXHIBITS PHOTOGRAPHER**

**Artifact: Wrist Watch, Recovered from the Pentagon**

"I have several favorite artifacts. The most moving for me is a watch face from the September 11th attack on the Pentagon. When I noticed through the lens of my camera that the time had stopped at 0951, it brought tears to my eyes and I remembered where I was when it all happened. It really made me understand that the work I was doing was really important . . . and that all of the other artifacts that I am photographing are also important because each has a story to tell."



**ROGER S. WRIGHT, EXHIBITS COORDINATOR**

**Artifact: Bartolomeo Girandoni Repeating Air Rifle**

"Telling the story of the United States Army is not only talking about its history, it's also about presenting innovations and technological advancement. Capt. Meriwether Lewis used this air rifle during the exploration of lands acquired through the Louisiana Purchase. I was very impressed with its technological inventiveness—for that time period—using air pressure to fire rounds at a rapid rate. It took roughly 1,400 pumps to pressurize the stock of the gun. It is impressive, but also dangerous. It was a major step in the advancement of weaponry."

**PAUL MORANDO, EXHIBITS CHIEF**

**Artifact: Black Hawk Super 6-1 Engine**

"I immediately felt drawn to this artifact. Super 6-1 was the first MH-60 Black Hawk helicopter shot down in the Battle of Mogadishu, which changed the focus of the mission from a raid to a battle in which American soldiers fought hard to survive. The physical nature of the engine, with its twisted and rusty metal, represents what those soldiers went through. For visitors to see this artifact up close, it gives them an opportunity to make a real connection—something they can't get from a book or a movie."



# U.S. ARMY ART SPOTLIGHT

## FROCK COAT OF

*Pvt. Edgar S. Yergason*

By Paul M. Miller

This infantryman's uniform coat was worn by Pvt. Edgar S. Yergason, Company B, 22d Connecticut Volunteer Infantry. Yergason mustered into federal service with the 22d Connecticut on 20 September 1862 in Hartford.<sup>1</sup> At the time of his enlistment, he was twenty-one years old. Yergason and the regiment were sent to the Washington, D.C., area and stationed in the defenses around the city.<sup>2</sup> While in nearby Northern Virginia, the regiment guarded roads and constructed fortifications, one of which included Fort McClellan (eventually renamed Fort Myer).<sup>3</sup> In the spring of 1863, the 22d moved out to southeastern Virginia to support ongoing operations.<sup>4</sup> Private Yergason mustered out with the regiment on 7 July 1863 upon the expiration of its term of service.<sup>5</sup>

Yergason's uniform coat, commonly referred to as a frock coat, conforms to the pattern of enlisted mens' coats adopted in 1858. These coats had a shorter collar and plain, unpleated skirt waist compared to earlier versions.<sup>6</sup> They also had simplified branch of service decoration on the collars and cuffs, which was changed from colored facings to piping in 1854.<sup>7</sup> Markings on the coat's interior signify it was likely one of the 14,000 infantry frock coats produced by Charles G. Day & Co. in a contract dated 29 August 1862.<sup>8</sup>

Paul M. Miller is a curator at the museum support center at Fort Belvoir, Virginia



### NOTES

1. Adjutants-General, compilers, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the Army and Navy of the United States during the War of the Rebellion* (Hartford, Conn.: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1889), pp. 739–44.
2. *Ibid.*, 739.
3. *Ibid.*; Ltr, Edgar Yergason to Charlotte Yergason, 29 Mar 1863, Box 5, Don Troiani Collection, Archival Materials, U.S. Army Center of Military History, Museum Support Center, Fort Belvoir, Va.
4. Adjutants-General, *Record of Service of Connecticut Men*, p. 739.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 739–44.
6. John P. Langellier, *Army Blue: The Uniform of Uncle Sam's Regulars, 1848–1873* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Military History, 1998), pp. 71–72, 94–97, 145.
7. Michael J. McAfee, “The Uniform Coat, Part 2: Enlisted Men,” *Military Images*, 32, no.1 (Winter 2014): 19; Don Troiani, Earl J. Coates, and Michael J. McAfee, *Don Troiani's Civil War Soldiers* (Lanham, Md.: Stackpole Books, 2017), p. 196.
8. Bruce S. Bazelon and William F. McGuinn, *A Directory of American Military Goods, Dealers, & Makers: 1785–1915*, combined ed. (Manassas, Va.: REF Typesetting & Publishing, 1999), p. 61.



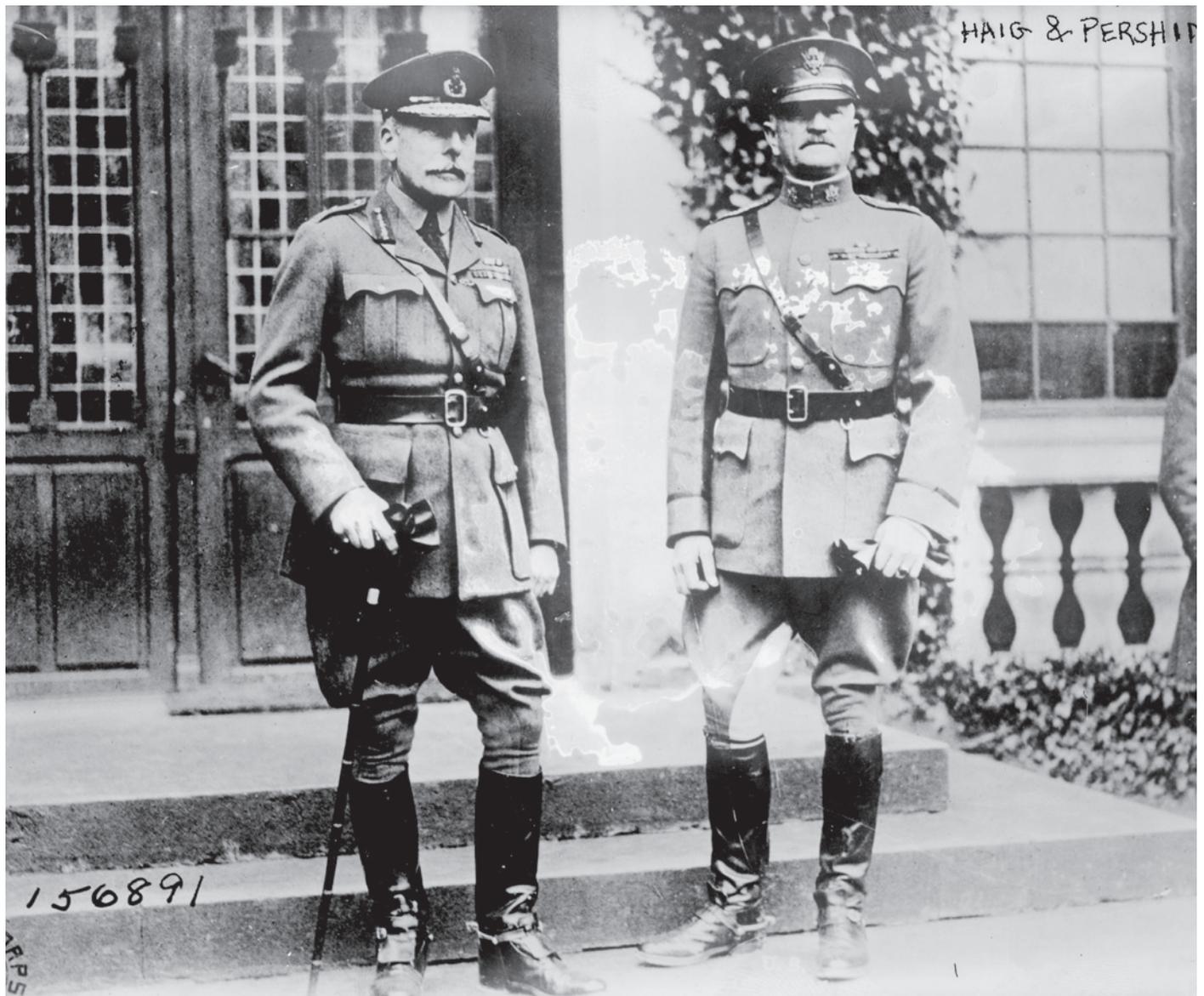
# UNITED in a GREAT CAUSE

U.S. and  
Allied Military  
Relations in  
World War I

By Tyler R. Bamford

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Maj. Gen. John J. Pershing arrives in France.



Field Marshal Douglas Haig (left) and General Pershing (right)

On 28 May 1917, less than two months after the United States entered World War I on the side of the Allies, 191 U.S. Army officers and men led by Maj. Gen. John J. Pershing boarded the British ocean liner RMS *Baltic* and sailed for Europe.<sup>1</sup> President Woodrow Wilson had dispatched this group as the nucleus of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF), an army that eventually comprised over one million American soldiers in Europe. Faced with the task of building and leading the largest field army yet in American history, these handpicked officers did not pass their voyage in leisure. Also traveling on the *Baltic* were a number of high-ranking British Army officers with extensive experience fighting in France. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Pershing

and his staff spent countless hours with their British hosts, absorbing as many of their lessons as possible. Pershing later wrote that these British colleagues “kindly consented to answer questions on the subjects of organization, training, and fighting. The conferences thus held and a study of confidential reports from the British and French helped to put us more closely in touch with many details which could not have been learned otherwise except through experience.”<sup>2</sup> Pershing understood he faced an enormous task for which the U.S. Army possessed little institutional experience. Naturally, he and his subordinates wanted to hear the lessons that the British had learned at an enormous cost in three years of fighting. More than just technical instruction, however, these discussions revealed the

culture, customs, and attitudes of the British Army to the American officers.

For many in Pershing’s entourage, this was their first introduction to the British Army, and the officers impressed them favorably. American Lt. Col. (later Maj. Gen.) James G. Harbord found lectures by British Lt. Col. Frederick K. Puckle particularly instructive. A former supply officer in France, Puckle spoke on logistics organizations and the British Army. Harbord also recorded Puckle’s characterization of the typical British officer. “He is never demonstrative,” Puckle cautioned, “He does not show his feelings. He does not wear his heart on his sleeve.” Puckle said the American officers “must not misunderstand his attitude for hostility, for it is not.”<sup>3</sup> Puckle and many of the officers on both sides realized that with

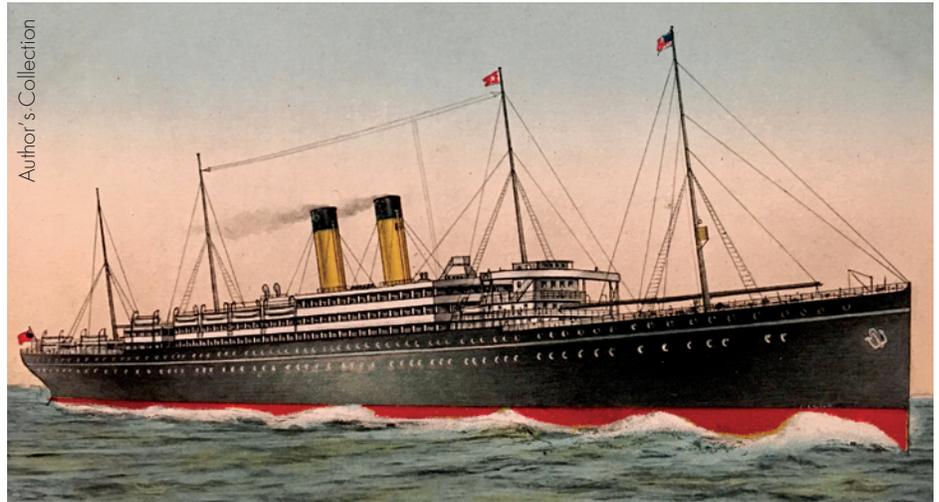


Library of Congress

General Pershing (left) with Colonel Harbord

increasing contact between the two armies, social and cultural differences had just as much potential to sour the partnership as disagreements over policies.

For nearly all active U.S. Army personnel, World War I marked the first time they came into contact with their British counterparts. It was also the first time the U.S. Army had ever deployed to Europe. Only once in the two armies' histories, during the brief Boxer Rebellion of 1900–1901, had they fought



Author's Collection

Postcard of the RMS Baltic

side by side. Yet between April 1917 and November 1918, hundreds of thousands of American officers and men would train and fight with their British comrades. American and British officers' encounters with each other during the twenty months their countries functioned as associate powers created predominantly positive impressions that shaped their personal views and professional judgments, and set the tone for the two armies' interactions in the interwar period. Many officers in both armies published their experiences and opinions in postwar memoirs, which circulated among fellow officers for years after the authors' retirement. In this way, these contacts became embedded in the armies' institutional memories. Often,

these memoirs downplayed disagreements, thereby presenting an even stronger image of wartime camaraderie. Yet in contrast to officers' positive interactions, their soldiers' attitudes toward one another showed that fighting as allies did not automatically produce goodwill between the two armies. Disagreements over tactics, strategy, and the command of American soldiers all threatened to sour interarmy relations. Even though many American soldiers chafed under the British guidance during their training, the majority of American and British officers developed an affinity and mutual respect that carried over into the postwar era. Therefore, the armies' cooperation during World War I laid the foundations for the unique, informal Anglo-American military relationship in the interwar period.

Although British and American officers' contacts formed the basis of an enduring defense relationship, the interactions between Tommies and Doughboys during World War I show how individual soldiers' opinions developed independently and often in contradiction to official policy. British and American officers' experiences shaped how they thought about their foreign counterparts and informed decisions they made during and after the war in official capacities. By examining the factors that led to the British and American officers' overall positive experience with each other, this article shows why their relationship was not duplicated to the same extent as with the French Army.

### THE FIRST AMERICANS ARRIVE

After eleven days at sea, the *Baltic* docked at the British port of Liverpool on 8 June 1917.



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Lt. Gen. Sir William Pitcairn greets General Pershing (right) as he arrives in Liverpool.

At 0930, General Pershing and the twelve other senior American officers stepped off the ship to a massive welcome. On the dock, the Lord Mayor of Liverpool and the British Army regional commander, Lt. Gen. Sir William Pitcairn Campbell, greeted the AEF chief. The band of the Royal Welch Fusiliers welcomed the Americans with a rendition of the “Star-Spangled Banner.” In his postwar memoirs, Harbord wrote, “I do not suppose that a more effusive greeting has ever been given a foreigner landing in England than that extended to General Pershing at Liverpool yesterday morning.”<sup>24</sup> Though hundreds of Americans in uniform had preceded these officers to Great Britain since 1914 as observers, Pershing and his group were different. They offered a tangible sign that aid was on the way. The U.S. Army had joined the fight, and the feeling was that now the tide would turn in the Allies’ favor.

Pershing did not disappoint the enthusiastic crowd of onlookers. Tall and dignified, the general cut an impressive figure for the dozens of reporters and cameras present. As he walked past the British honor guard lined up before him, Pershing stopped before one soldier who wore vertical stripes indicating he had been wounded in action. Without hesitating, Pershing asked the soldier, “Where were you wounded, my man?”<sup>25</sup> The earnestness of Pershing’s question impressed many present on that occasion. The next day, Pershing and his entourage boarded a royal train for the journey to London. When Pershing and his officers appeared before King George V, the monarch told them, “It has always been my dream that the two English-speaking nations should some day be united in a great cause, and to-day my dream is realized.”<sup>26</sup>

The four-day stop in London was a moving experience for many of the American officers. All around them they saw the hardships of war. Shops were bare, and bomb damage from zeppelin raids littered the city. “You could look up and see airplanes or captive balloons in readiness,” Colonel Harbord confided to his diary.<sup>7</sup> The day after the group left London, a German air raid killed 70 Londoners and wounded 400 others.

Pershing’s stop in London was more than just a formality. It also acquainted him with the leaders of Britain’s Army and the political struggles within Great Britain. Pershing met with General Sir William R. Robertson, the British chief of

the Imperial General Staff (IGS); Field Marshal Viscount French (formerly Sir John French), the commander in chief, Home Forces; Maj. Gen. Sir Francis Lloyd, the general officer commanding the London District; and General Sir John S. Cowans, the quartermaster general of the British Army.<sup>8</sup> These meetings allowed the leaders to get the measure of one another and set the tone for their partnership.

Perhaps the most important was with the IGS, Robertson, whom Pershing described as “a rugged, heavy-set, blunt soldier.”<sup>9</sup> Robertson began his career as a private and became the first British soldier to ever rise from that rank to field marshal. In Robertson’s first meeting with Pershing, he explained the advantages of having American soldiers serve with or near British units. Pershing politely replied that it made far more sense to have American units serve near French units since it was French ports, railways, and materiel on which the U.S. Army would rely most heavily. Pershing neglected to mention that he, President Wilson, and Secretary of War Newton D. Baker had already decided that the AEF should have a closer affiliation with French rather than British forces. This decision stemmed both from American public sentiment and from the necessity of relying on French assistance in establishing the AEF.<sup>10</sup> Pershing instead asked Robertson whether extra British shipping could be found to help bring the U.S. Army into the fight sooner. To this request, Robertson and other British leaders revealed the full extent of their enormous shipping losses



General Robertson



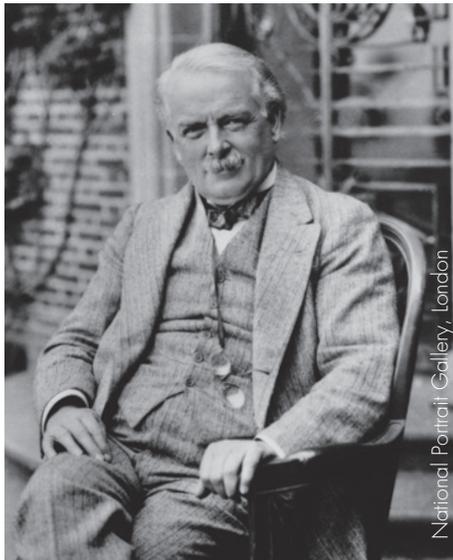
General Lloyd



General Cowans



Field Marshal French



Prime Minister David Lloyd George

to German U-boats in recent years, which greatly surprised Pershing.<sup>11</sup>

In many ways, this exchange encapsulated the relationship between AEF and British Army leaders over the next year: professional and friendly, yet plagued by disagreements. Robertson headed an army that had expended more than 400,000 lives before the Americans entered the war. The CIGS repeatedly had to defend the offensive plans of Field Marshal Douglas Haig, the commander of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), against criticisms from Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who feared escalating casualty rates.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, Robertson asked for more men to be drafted from his already depleted nation. Pershing stepped into this struggle promising help



Colonel Alvord

but without a definite timeline for his forces to enter combat. Moreover, his request for shipping above and beyond Great Britain's previous commitments asked his allies to risk shrinking their food stores in the face of the German submarine peril.

Robertson and other British leaders' appeals for American troops to serve with the British were perfectly reasonable from their standpoint. Such a proposal had the potential to relieve the British manpower crisis and get American soldiers into battle quickly. Pershing found the suggestion a nonstarter, however, in light of American national sentiment and the U.S. Army's desire to build an independent field army in France. The problem was that building such an army required British help, and there was no guarantee the AEF would be ready in time to prevent the Allies' defeat. Pershing's initial meetings with British commanders resolved none of these issues. Fortunately, these disagreements did not sour the attitudes of all British and American officers even as they repeatedly strained relations between the armies' commanders.

### PERSHING MEETS HAIG

A few days after landing in France, Pershing visited his most important British colleague for the duration of the war, Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig. Along with Colonel Harbord, Col. Benjamin Alvord Jr., and Pershing's aide-de-camp, Capt. George S. Patton Jr., General Pershing arrived at Haig's headquarters in an old chateau nestled among a grove of chestnut trees

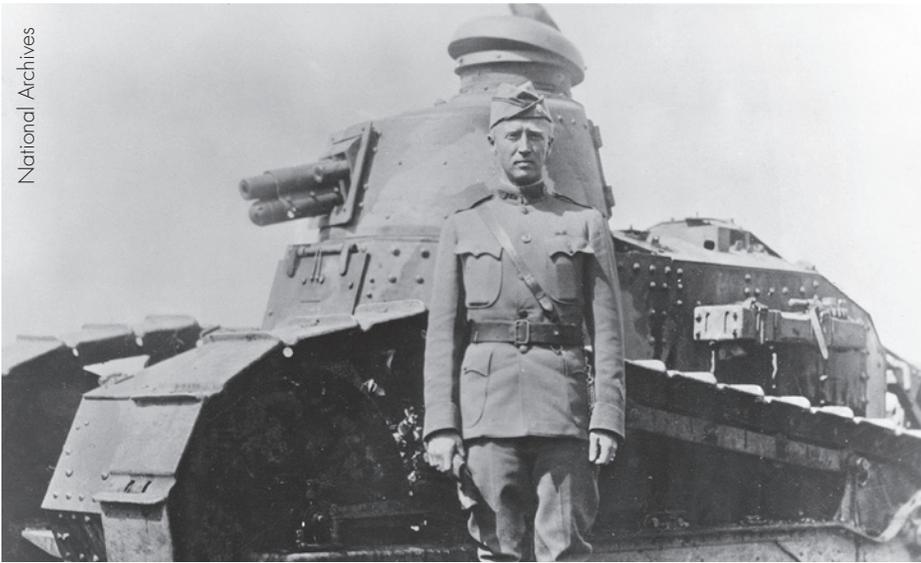
near the village of Saint-Omer.<sup>13</sup> Haig and his staff gave the Americans a warm welcome. To Harbord, Haig appeared "a very good-looking man of fifty-six, not as tall as I had expected, but very dignified and soldierly as well as cordial in his greeting."<sup>14</sup> Haig also took the opportunity to size up Pershing. The BEF commander wrote, "I was much struck with [Pershing's] quiet gentlemanly bearing—so unusual for an American. Most anxious to learn, and fully realises the greatness of the task before him."<sup>15</sup> This observation likely reflected Haig and other British officers' assumptions that American officers would be uniformly arrogant and outspoken. Over lunch, Pershing enjoyed reminiscing with British Lt. Gen. Sir George H. Fowke, the adjutant general of the British armies, whom Pershing had known in 1905 when they were both observers in the Russo-Japanese War in Manchuria. Meanwhile, Patton chatted with Haig about their shared interests in hunting, polo, and sabers.<sup>16</sup>

That afternoon, Haig and his staff treated Pershing and the other American officers to a tour of the British headquarters. It gave the Americans the opportunity to observe the functioning of Haig's command structure and ask many questions about the BEF. Harbord thought "the afternoon with the General Staff was most interesting and instructive and left us with a great respect for the splendid organization of the great army our virile imperial cousins have put in the field."<sup>17</sup> Pershing also found the visit informative. He recalled in-depth discussions about the organization, recruitment, and records of the British Army. Pershing wrote in his memoirs that "although our military system had been practically copied from the British a century and a half earlier, it was surprising to find so few points of difference after this lapse of time."<sup>18</sup> These similarities only increased as the war progressed and U.S. Army officers borrowed freely from the British.

The three-day visit accomplished a great deal. It allowed American and British leaders to take stock of one another and express their opinions on the war and how best to prosecute it. Haig and his staff knew the scale of the task Pershing faced in assembling an army, supply organization, and headquarters from scratch. Haig worried it might take years before such a force could join the fight, and he wondered if the American officers had enough



Field Marshal Haig



Captain Patton

experience to handle such an undertaking. Pershing remained determined to construct the AEF as an independent force, and although he rejected Haig's suggestion to incorporate American units into British divisions, Pershing saw the U.S. Army could learn much from the British. This meeting marked the start of a strong professional relationship between the two commanders, albeit one that was strained periodically by heated disagreements.<sup>19</sup>

Though Pershing and Haig's interactions guided relations between their armies, the two met only occasionally during the war. On a daily basis, their liaison officers served as the representatives of the armies to each other. At Haig's headquarters, Lt. Col. Robert H. Bacon, the former

U.S. ambassador to France, represented Pershing. A wartime volunteer, Bacon's diplomatic experience made him an asset to the American commander in chief, and he quickly gained the trust of British officers. Haig wrote that from the first time he met Bacon, "He struck me as a most honest, upright man, and absolutely to be trusted."<sup>20</sup> Haig treated Bacon as a member of his own staff and readily informed him about British plans. This personal trust was vital to cooperation between the two armies. For this reason, Pershing handpicked the men who served as his liaisons. Bacon and other liaisons needed to understand their hosts and maintain their trust while also remaining dedicated to their own commander and his interests.

At AEF headquarters, Col. [later General] Cyril M. Wagstaff acted as Haig's liaison. Wagstaff was commissioned into the Royal Engineers in 1897 and served with Australian troops on the staff of General William R. Birdwood during the Gallipoli campaign in 1915. Charles à Court Repington, a reporter for *The Times* of London and a former lieutenant colonel in the British Army, described Wagstaff as "a good practical man and a typical English soldier, who appears to me to carry out his delicate duties with great tact and good sense, and to make himself helpful to all."<sup>21</sup> Upon visiting AEF headquarters at Chaumont in October 1917, Repington observed, "The American officers are constantly seeking [Wagstaff's] advice. They come to his room one after another without ceasing."<sup>22</sup> After the American attack on the Saint-Mihiel salient on 12 September 1918, Wagstaff submitted a detailed report on the operation that praised American planning and the troops' quick movement. He noted that although American methods differed from those of the British Army, they successfully caught the Germans off guard and captured large numbers of prisoners.<sup>23</sup> As Repington observed, liaison officers not only relayed messages between their commanders, but they coordinated activities and answered questions about their respective armies. They worked hard to smooth out disagreements, clarify miscommunications, and create favorable impressions in each other's headquarters—and they largely succeeded. Still, the most persistent source of discord between the



General Fowke



Colonel Bacon



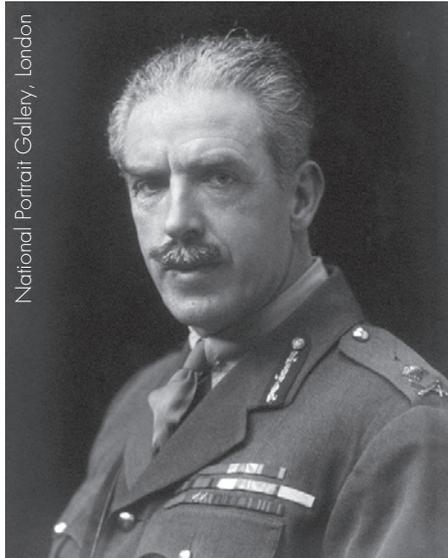
Colonel Wagstaff

two armies' leadership was the issue of amalgamation.

## AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE VERSUS ALLIED NECESSITY

When the United States entered World War I, it resolved to fight the war on an equal footing with the other Allied powers. American leaders were determined to field an independent army in Europe to guarantee their country's influence in the peace process and increase European respect for American power. To underscore America's freedom of action and commitment to its self-interest, President Wilson declared the United States an associate power, rather than a formal ally of Great Britain and France.<sup>24</sup> Pershing had his own motivations for creating an independent AEF. He and his fellow American officers wanted to prove the prowess of the U.S. Army and demonstrate the importance of a large regular army to members of Congress who believed a small cadre of officers and a large national guard was all that was required for national defense. With complete authority over U.S. forces in Europe, Pershing's efforts to maintain an entirely independent American Army in France brought him into constant disagreement with his British and French counterparts.

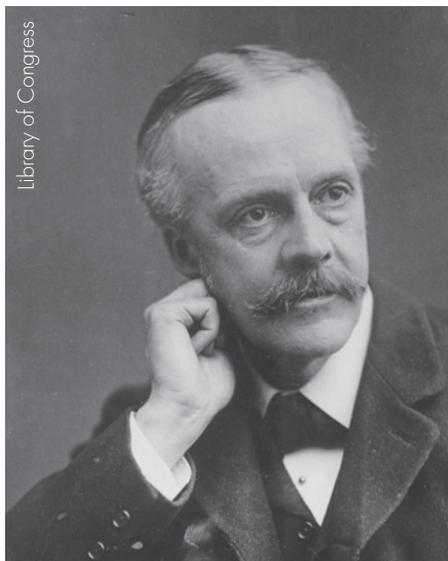
Even before Pershing sailed for England, British and French political representatives and military leaders approached Wilson with ideas about how to best use American resources to end the war quickly. British Lt. Gen. Sir Tom Bridges traveled to the United States in April 1917 with Sir Arthur J. Balfour to encourage rapid American mobilization. Bridges and Balfour recommended American leaders send "half-trained men to complete their training in England and France . . . to be brigaded as battalions with the allied troops." British representatives even offered "immediate training facilities for 100,000 men in England, besides whatever might be desired in France."<sup>25</sup> The British and French wartime delegations in Washington looked with disdain upon the inexperienced American Army of 1917, which numbered only 5,791 officers and 121,707 men. The U.S. Army did not have a single combat-ready division, nor had it faced a first-rate European army in a century. In contrast, the Allies had fielded more than eight million men since the summer of 1914. They had learned hard lessons about



National Portrait Gallery, London

General Bridges

trench warfare, mass conscript armies, and modern weapons. In less than five months during the Battle of the Somme from July to November 1916, the British Army alone suffered in excess of 420,000 casualties, more than double the entire U.S. Army's strength in 1917.<sup>26</sup> Few American officers had experience managing units larger than a regiment, and only Pershing had previously commanded an army in the field during the inconclusive excursion into Mexico in 1916 to capture the Mexican warlord Francisco "Pancho" Villa. Instead of waiting the proposed eighteen months for a fully formed U.S. Army to arrive in France, British and French military leaders proposed the United States should funnel its vast manpower reserves into their



Library of Congress

Sir Arthur Balfour

armies. By the end of the war, this plan was referred to as amalgamation.

This proposal had a great deal of military merit. It would send fresh American recruits into established Allied units under battle-tested officers as quickly as possible. Both the British and French armies faced desperate soldier shortages and an independent AEF could take years to adequately prepare for combat. British and French commanders feared that by then it might be too late to prevent a German victory. This sense of urgency acquired much more credence after Russia effectively withdrew from the war in December 1917. By the end of that same month, the U.S. Army had only 174,884 men in Europe.<sup>27</sup> Adding to the Allies' impatience, Germany's effective submarine campaign threatened to sever their lifelines with their colonial possessions. These colonies not only played a vital role in the British and French economies, but they also supplied troops and foodstuffs. To the Allies, the U.S. Army's leaders appeared to be blithely unaware of these dangers.

Pershing's continued refusal to place U.S. troops within Allied units was a high-stakes gamble. He did not want to surrender his command to the Allies and face a corresponding backlash from American public opinion. Yet if the widely expected German offensive in the spring of 1918 yielded a decisive German victory, Pershing would suffer the blame. British and French amalgamation proposals also eliminated the need to ship American support units, such as transportation and artillery, to France when shipping space was at a premium and infantrymen were needed most in the trenches. For British and French civilian leaders, this proposal would ensure that their armies received credit for defeating Germany. Finally, Britain and France initially had no choice but to make this proposal. In case the United States accepted the offer, neither Britain nor France could risk American troops being fed into the other's army and not their own. Such an outcome would diminish the relative power of one of the two armies. Pershing saw this competition between the two powers and how their petty rivalries and jealousies hindered the united war effort.<sup>28</sup>

Though the proposed amalgamation was completely unpalatable to American political leaders, the American people, and American Army officers, opposition

was perhaps fiercest among American soldiers, who had no desire to fight under foreign command. Lt. Shipley Thomas of the U.S. 1st Division recalled decades after the war, “Why if they’d ever tried to put me in a division with those English from around London, there would have been hell to pay. If those cockneys could have won the war with their mouth, they would have done it years before.”<sup>29</sup> Col. Thomas B. Mott, who served as Pershing’s personal liaison to Marshal Ferdinand Foch, gave a more restrained opinion when he wrote in his memoirs, “That the British and French in 1917 should have believed that America would be used as a recruiting ground for their depleted armies can be understood; that they should have striven to bring this about was natural; but when the reasons for refusing it were made plain to them, common sense should have caused them to give up the fight.”<sup>30</sup> The French and British kept returning to this issue and pressing for American integration into their armies even when full American divisions and corps had proven themselves in combat.

The reason for the British and French persistence was the immense leverage those nations had over the American Army. The United States lacked the shipping capacity to transport its Army to Europe and keep it supplied. To make up the shipping tonnage shortfall, the United States had to beg for help from its allies, most of all Great Britain. Once in France, the U.S. Army was at the mercy of the French for obtaining transportation, billets, training facilities, and weapons. Again in the spring of 1918,

the Allies warned that without additional American troops serving in France, they might not withstand the German offensive led by fresh troops from the Eastern Front. President Wilson worried about these dire warnings, but recognized that only the AEF commander should make such a drastic decision as amalgamation. He deferred to Pershing, and Pershing held steadfast to his commitment of an independent AEF.

French and British leaders seized on any perceived shortcomings in American officers and soldiers to renew their calls for the amalgamation of American units. This issue was a sore spot in Allied-American relations throughout the war. American officers challenged the British for repeating these calls despite the British military’s own unwillingness to accept a unified Allied command under the French for the previous three years. Nor had the British Army ever broken up and dispersed Dominion divisions as it now proposed to do with American units.<sup>31</sup> Despite this inconsistency, British generals in France realized sooner than politicians in London that such calls harmed Anglo-American relations, and American soldiers would have to be introduced to the trenches in a different manner.

### FINDING A WORKING SOLUTION

By December 1917, Pershing and Haig anxiously anticipated the coming German offensive. They knew it would incorporate dozens of crack divisions relieved from the Eastern Front and its objective would be to

force a decision on the Western Front before American troops could arrive in large numbers. Robertson and Haig desperately pressed Pershing to bring American units to France faster. To that end, Haig proposed a modified version of the previously rejected amalgamation plan that called for American infantry battalions to be sent to France on British ships and moved right into the line to replace depleted British units. As more battalions arrived, they would be grouped to form whole American divisions. Haig reasoned that using the British supply system and taking advantage of the fact that some American support units already were serving with the British would make the plan easy to execute.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, it would relieve some of the burden from the French and British who still held nearly the entire line.

Pershing objected to this plan, which failed to train American staffs to eventually lead larger American units and left the British solely in charge of training. This concerned Pershing because British shortcomings in maneuver training alarmed him. It seemed apparent this was simply another British plan to gain control over American units, something the French were attempting as well. Though Pershing recognized the threat of the coming German assault, he did not believe it was severe enough to relinquish American units to the Allies. Pershing rightly supposed that once the British or French had trained and equipped American troops, they would resist requests to return them to American control.

The attitude of American soldiers also concerned Pershing. Several incidents had already demonstrated Americans’ distaste for serving under a foreign flag. Previously, the AEF had faced a shortage of clothing and turned to British supplies for tunics and pants. When the quartermaster issued these tunics with British buttons to an Irish-American regiment, “a wave of opposition swept through the outfit against wearing buttons with the British coat of arms.”<sup>33</sup> AEF officers quickly dispatched a vehicle to deliver American buttons for the uniforms, which satisfied the offended soldiers. The Irish were not the only group in American society that harbored anti-British sentiments, so it was natural for Pershing to resist sending units to the British.

Though he steadfastly rejected demands to amalgamate American troops into



Marshal Foch



Colonel Mott

British and French units, Pershing finally agreed to attach American units to the British and French armies temporarily in exchange for British aid in accelerating the shipment of American units. In December 1917, Robertson wrote to Pershing through official channels to suggest that more British shipping could be found if the risk of diverting the shipping of vital supplies was offset by the prioritization of infantry and machine-gun units being shipped rapidly to France. Robertson's plan called for the shipment of 150 American battalions to be trained, equipped, and temporarily employed alongside British units.<sup>34</sup> He calculated 150 battalions required the same amount of tonnage as three fully equipped divisions totaling 108 infantry battalions. Upon hearing the plan, Pershing thought it was dishonest for the British to have previously withheld this shipping, but in truth, it was tonnage that had been employed in building up British food stores. Pershing explained to Robertson why he believed this plan ultimately would make it harder to assemble an independent American army. Pershing proposed instead to use this extra tonnage to ship whole divisions that could train with the British until combat ready. The British, whose manpower reserves had failed to meet their Army's requirements, reluctantly consented to Pershing's demand for whole divisions.

Not until the crisis of the German offensive in March 1918 did Pershing agree to ship American infantrymen to Europe for service in the Allies' armies without their support units.<sup>35</sup> As Pershing

predicted, the units shipped in this manner performed well but proved difficult to recall from the British and French once the crisis had passed. Shipping large numbers of American infantrymen without their heavy equipment put American soldiers at the logistical mercy of French and British commanders, but American leaders had little choice. The United States depended on this new British offer of shipping to get its forces to Europe, and American industry struggled to retool to produce weapons of war. According to the U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Peyton C. March, British ships eventually carried 49 percent of all American troops that arrived in France.<sup>36</sup> Partly as a result of American concessions to prioritize the shipment of infantry and machine-gun units, American doughboys received artillery, tanks, planes, rifles, and machine guns of British and French manufacture upon their arrival in France.<sup>37</sup> American soldiers then trained with these foreign weapons with the help of British and French instructors.

### PREPARING FOR THE TRENCHES

In addition to crossing the ocean without much of their divisional equipment, American soldiers arrived in Europe with little understanding of trench warfare. They owed this ignorance to the prewar choices of American Army leaders to emphasize offensive tactics and maneuver, despite reports from U.S. Army observers in Europe that both sides had dug in on the front lines. Pershing was convinced that

trench warfare represented a fundamental failure in European armies to maintain an offensive mindset. Like many other officers, Pershing held that rifle marksmanship and bayonet training should be the primary focus of American soldiers' instruction in order to indoctrinate them in maneuver warfare.<sup>38</sup> Pershing never abandoned his belief in breaking the trench stalemate, but he conceded that sending American divisions into combat without familiarizing them with trench warfare at all was courting disaster. Lacking established training facilities in France, Pershing accepted British and French offers to train American troops for several weeks before they entered combat. The Allies also introduced the Americans to combat through brief stints in the trenches of quiet sectors. This compromise satisfied the British and French, who feared the Germans would decimate the untried doughboys and jeopardize the entire Allied line. Under this arrangement, many American units' first combat experiences came as part of larger British or French formations. American battalions, regiments, and divisions rotated into the front lines where the British and French armies supervised, supplied, and supported them. These short experiences formed most doughboys' impressions of their allies.

An Allied delegation typically welcomed American soldiers as they disembarked after their transatlantic voyage and before they boarded railroad cars to take them to their training camps. France did not have enough deepwater ports to accommodate all arriving ships from the United States, so half of Pershing's troops landed in Britain before transferring to smaller vessels for the last leg of their voyage.<sup>39</sup> Disembarking in Liverpool, an American artillery captain recalled, "Each man was presented an engraved card upon which was a message from the King thanking us for coming over. The British Officers also gave us a little talk to this effect. It was all very solemn but made us feel that we were more than welcome."<sup>40</sup> Soldiers' initial impressions of England varied because of their experiences and previously held beliefs. Although American enlisted men expressed mixed opinions, their officers expressed more uniformly positive opinions of their usually short time in England.<sup>41</sup>

Upon arriving in France, American division commanders, their aides, and chiefs of staff toured the British and French

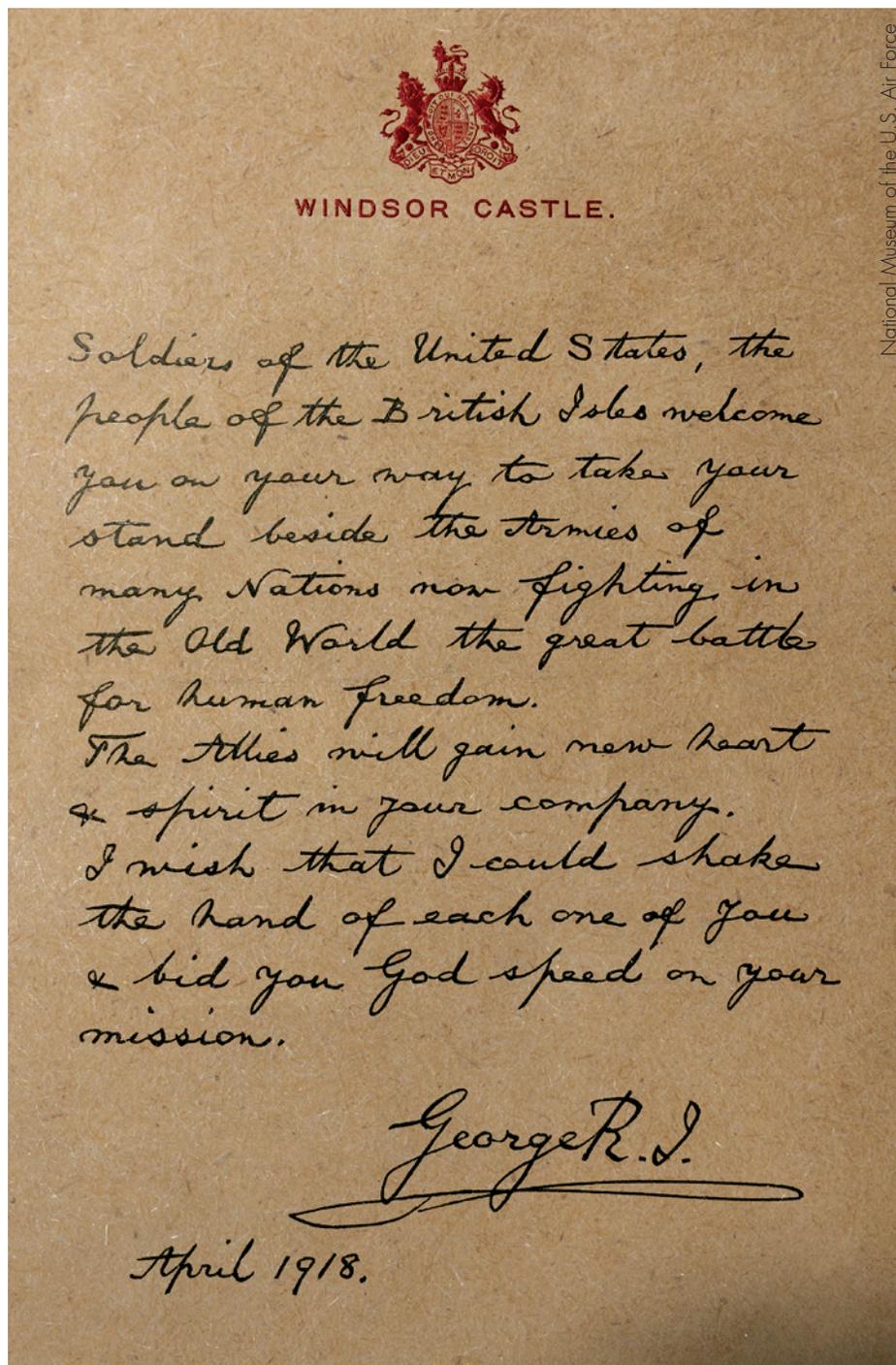


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(Left to right) General March, Secretary Baker, and General Robert Nivelle

headquarters. These weeklong stints observing British commands acquainted hundreds of American officers with British organizations and capabilities. General Hubert Gough, commander of the British Fifth Army, welcomed the Americans to his headquarters and showed them every aspect of his preparations for his attack at Passchendaele, which began at the end of July 1917. Pershing and his staff took extensive notes on British methods during their visit, giving Gough the impression that the Americans “were evidently out to learn.” In Gough’s opinion, it was easier to get along with Pershing and the American officers than with the French because the former had “a similar outlook on life, and that made for a quicker sense of sympathy and a more real understanding between us.”<sup>42</sup> American Lt. Gen. Hunter Liggett had an equally favorable experience during his visit to Gough’s command in October 1917. Like other American division commanders, Liggett observed army, corps, and division headquarters during his time with the British. Afterward, he marveled how “every facility was given us for observation, and we were treated with the greatest cordiality.” Liggett, the future commander of the American First Army, praised the optimism and high morale of British officers and soldiers as they attacked at Passchendaele.<sup>43</sup>

The British commanders allowed American officers to study nearly all their operations without restrictions and also encouraged them to visit various division headquarters. Maj. Kenyon A. Joyce felt that the British officers “showed every indication of being gratified at our entrance into the war,” when he visited the British 39th Division in the Ypres salient.<sup>44</sup> Joyce, a staff officer with the 87th Division and future major general in World War II, accompanied British soldiers on a night raid during his time observing the front. Joyce complimented their precision and remarked that aggressive British patrolling and artillery interdiction “left no doubt in the minds of anyone that ‘No Man’s Land’ was British territory.”<sup>45</sup> Joyce and other American officers welcomed this excellent opportunity to learn and borrow British methods and organization. The chief AEF intelligence officer, Maj. Gen. Dennis E. Nolan, observed British intelligence operations preceding and during the Third Battle



King George V's letter to American servicemen

of Ypres. Greatly impressed by British methods, Nolan organized the AEF intelligence section so that it mirrored its British counterpart.<sup>46</sup>

American officers visited French commands as well, but the organization of the British Army appealed more to them because British soldiers’ discipline, effectiveness, and aggressiveness seemed to surpass that of the French Army. Upon visiting the French 25th Division, Major Joyce noted that unlike the British, “the

French were operating in a defensive way, rather than an aggressive one.” He continued, “In contrast to the British thesis, ‘No Man’s Land’ in front of that French Division belonged to the Germans beyond peradventure of a doubt.”<sup>47</sup> The constant British emphasis on the offensive also appealed to American leaders. Both armies prioritized aggressive spirit, individual initiative, and rifle marksmanship. In contrast, in French training camps Liggett “saw no rifle

practice nor bayonet drill, so prevalent in the British training.<sup>48</sup>

When American officers visited the British front in late 1917, they saw an army constantly on the offensive or preparing for the next movement. Meanwhile, French forces remained on the defensive after the failed Nivelle Offensive that had ended in May 1917. Though the French Army accomplished incredible feats and shouldered more than its fair share of fighting during the first three years of the war, its immense losses in the spring 1917 offensive pushed it to the breaking point. Mutinies and collective acts of disobedience wracked French forces in May and June 1917. Involving somewhere between 25,000 and 88,000 men, these scattered incidents revealed the weak state of French morale, a situation only partially resolved by the time American officers visited French units.<sup>49</sup> Liggett noticed “there was not as much optimism among the French as we observed in the British Army.”<sup>50</sup> American Brig. Gen. Robert Lee Bullard complained in his diary on 30 July 1917, “[The French] consider their part of the offensive of this war as done. Without saying, they seem to feel that they have done their part, and expect others to carry on the war when any carrying is to be done.”<sup>51</sup> Bullard, who rose to command the American Second Army, greatly respected the British discipline that held their army together and allowed it to continue attacking in order to draw off forces from in front of the weakened French Army.<sup>52</sup> Like Bullard, many American officers gave more



Kenyon A. Joyce, shown here as a major general



Dennis E. Nolan, shown here as a colonel

credit to the British Army and adopted British training methods as they saw fit.

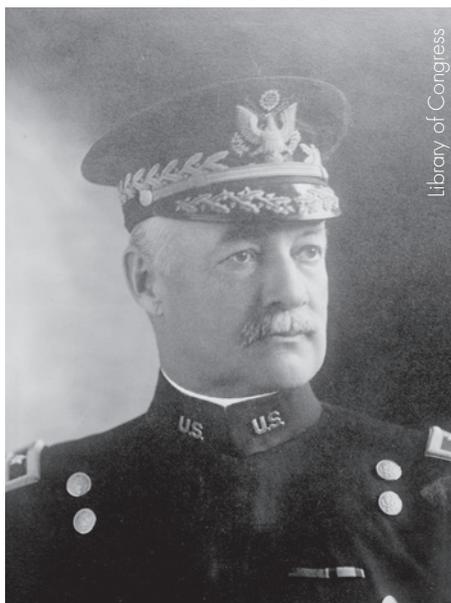
Following in the footsteps of the American division, corps, and army commanders, the tens of thousands of AEF troops who arrived in the fall of 1917 began their training with the British. One of the units sent to the British sector was the 26th “Yankee” Division, a National Guard division from New England. Frank P. Sibley, an embedded reporter from the *Boston Globe*, wrote that the division’s officers visited “the French or British front to learn in actual fighting conditions what they must later teach their men. British instructors set up a school of the bayonet

at Bazoilles. General officers were taken to the various fronts to learn dispositions and conditions; the medical officers were detailed to hospitals actually in service on the various sectors.”<sup>53</sup> Training specialized troops with the BEF yielded great benefits for American units and thousands more U.S. Army personnel of the Army Air Service who trained at aerodromes scattered throughout England.<sup>54</sup>

The establishment of large schools and training areas where British officers and noncommissioned officers instructed American divisions brought thousands of British and American soldiers into close daily contact. Hundreds more



General Gough



General Liggett



Robert Lee Bullard, shown here as a lieutenant general

British instructors sailed to the United States, where they served as instructors in American training camps.<sup>55</sup> In the spring of 1918, the 28th “Keystone” Division of mainly Pennsylvania National Guardsmen began its training with the BEF. One of its officers, Lt. Bob Hoffman of the 111th Infantry, trained with his unit at the British infantry school at Merckeghem.<sup>56</sup> The British sergeants, he wrote, “told us constantly of experiences at the front and what to expect.”<sup>57</sup> Hoffman credited this practical instruction with providing many tips and giving his men realistic expectations for combat. An athlete and bodybuilder, Hoffman threw himself into the intense training regimen. He recalled in his memoir how “The Britishers seemed to have a rather poor opinion of our prowess so we worked especially hard to show that we were good soldiers and athletic, courageous men.”<sup>58</sup> American doughboys’ efforts to impress the British instructors usually paid off, and most British officers who inspected the American units formed a high opinion of their morale and physical condition.<sup>59</sup>

## POINTS OF FRUSTRATION

Some regular U.S. Army officers resented British instruction, despite the latter’s good intentions. Like Pershing, many older American officers had misgivings about the British reliance on trench warfare instead of open maneuver. One distinguished British battalion commander wrote about an encounter after addressing a group of American soldiers on lessons he had learned from combat. He lamented how “an old colonel, dressed more like a sheriff, said Gentleman I would like you all to give the Scottish major a healthy round of thanks for his very interesting lecture. Then he shook his finger and went, but I’ll have you know that the British have been trying these tactics for nearly four years and they ain’t done much damn good.”<sup>60</sup> Such insults did not reflect the opinions of most professional American officers, who generally were much more Anglophilic than their soldiers.<sup>61</sup> The poor attitude was more prevalent, however, among National Guard officers and soldiers who hailed from areas other than the Northeast and South.

These insults naturally caused resentment among British officers, and they grew frustrated at the poor quality



General Bonham-Carter

of some American soldiers. As part of his duties on the BEF training staff, Brig. Gen. Sir Charles Bonham-Carter visited training areas on regular basis. After one such visit he wrote, “Spent all day visiting Americans; officers good—NCOs bad; men first rate.”<sup>62</sup> One of the harshest critics of American officers might have been Maj. Walter E. Guinness (later Lord Moyne). Guinness, an officer in the British 66th Division, had extensive interactions with the American 27th Division, which trained and fought in the British sector from 28 May 1918 until the end of the war.<sup>63</sup> Guinness bluntly noted in his diary that many old American regular Army

officers were “physically and mentally unfit for responsible commands under the strenuous conditions of modern war.”<sup>64</sup>

Another point of frustration for Guinness and other British officers tasked with training American soldiers was the rigid hourly schedules Pershing and his staff created to dictate their training program.<sup>65</sup> This stemmed from Pershing’s desire to have a uniform training standard for all American troops, but British officers often found it impractical. Guinness called the schedule “perfectly absurd” and criticized how “it made no provision whatever for route marching.”<sup>66</sup> Guinness also thought it was unrealistic for such a rigid schedule to be applied to so many units without regard for local conditions and facilities. Thus, although Americans trained according to British methods and manuals, they had to adhere to AEF guidelines as well.<sup>67</sup>

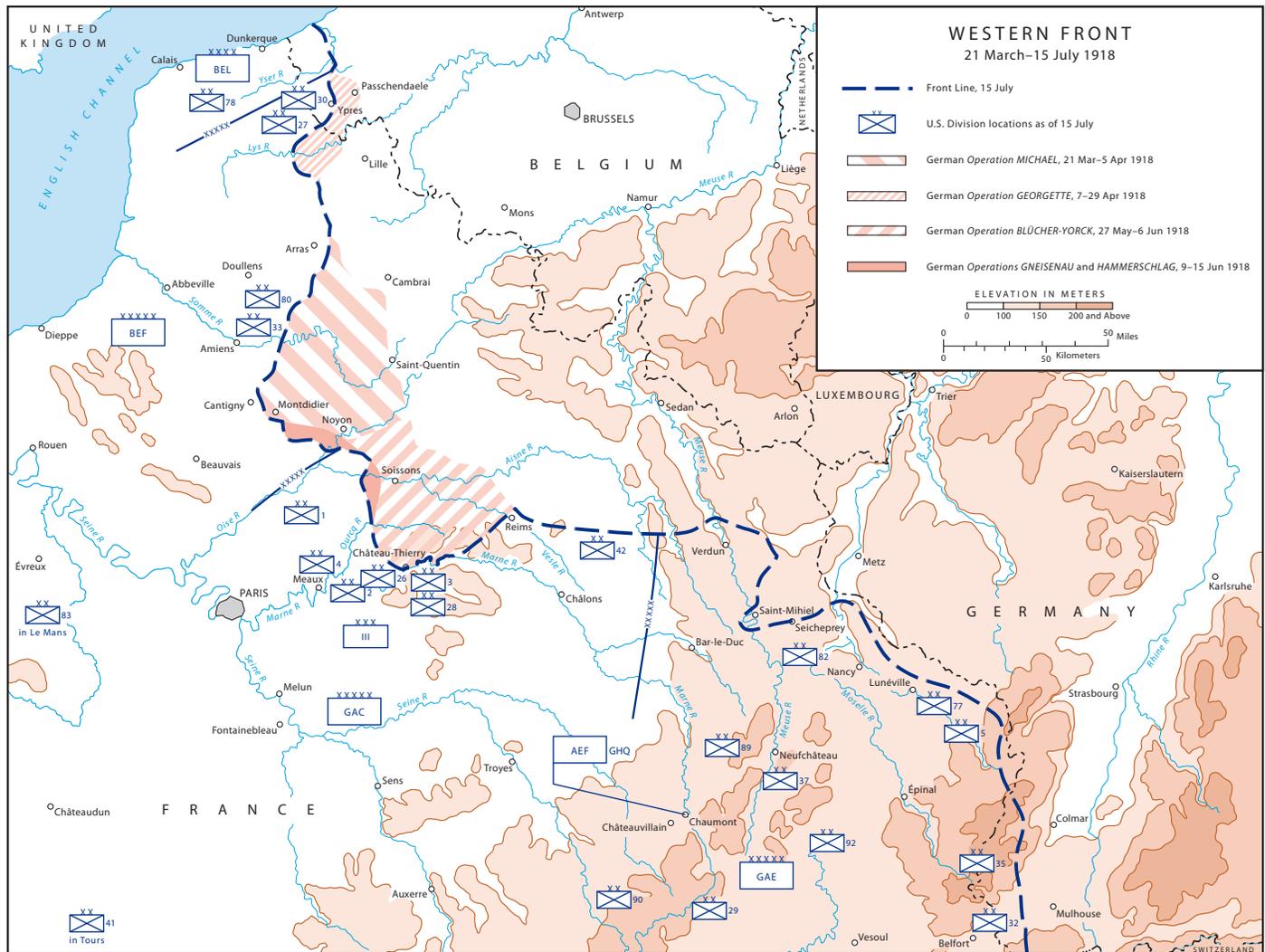
The restrictions and resistance British instructors labored against highlighted their difficult position. British officers tried to convey a professional and polite tone while instructing, but it was difficult not to appear condescending when contradicting U.S. Army orthodoxy. For this reason, British officers endeavored not to appear overbearing. British journalist Charles Repington recorded how in many cases, British officers “wait until they are consulted, and rightly, and so things are going very slowly. No one in this world learns from the experience of anybody else. It will not do to try and force things on the Americans.”<sup>68</sup> To Repington’s trained eyes, American officers



Major Guinness



Charles Repington



had all the qualities of excellent leaders and lacked only experience. Repington only feared that the British Army's feelings of "deep and semi-paternal pride" and a desire to help might be misconstrued as condescension.<sup>69</sup> These impressions gave some hint of the problematic dynamic in which British officers had to instruct without commanding their new friends. Officers on both sides labored to strike a congenial tone and benefit from the experience, but perhaps it was inevitable that some Americans would see the British as pompous and some Britons would see the Americans as stubborn and ignorant.

Despite varied and colorful complaints, most enlisted men bore no long-standing grudges against the British. Americans wanted to make good impressions and prove themselves. In general, they succeeded. Even Major Guinness conceded American officers "were extremely keen to learn and as a rule both they and their men showed remarkable aptitude especially in

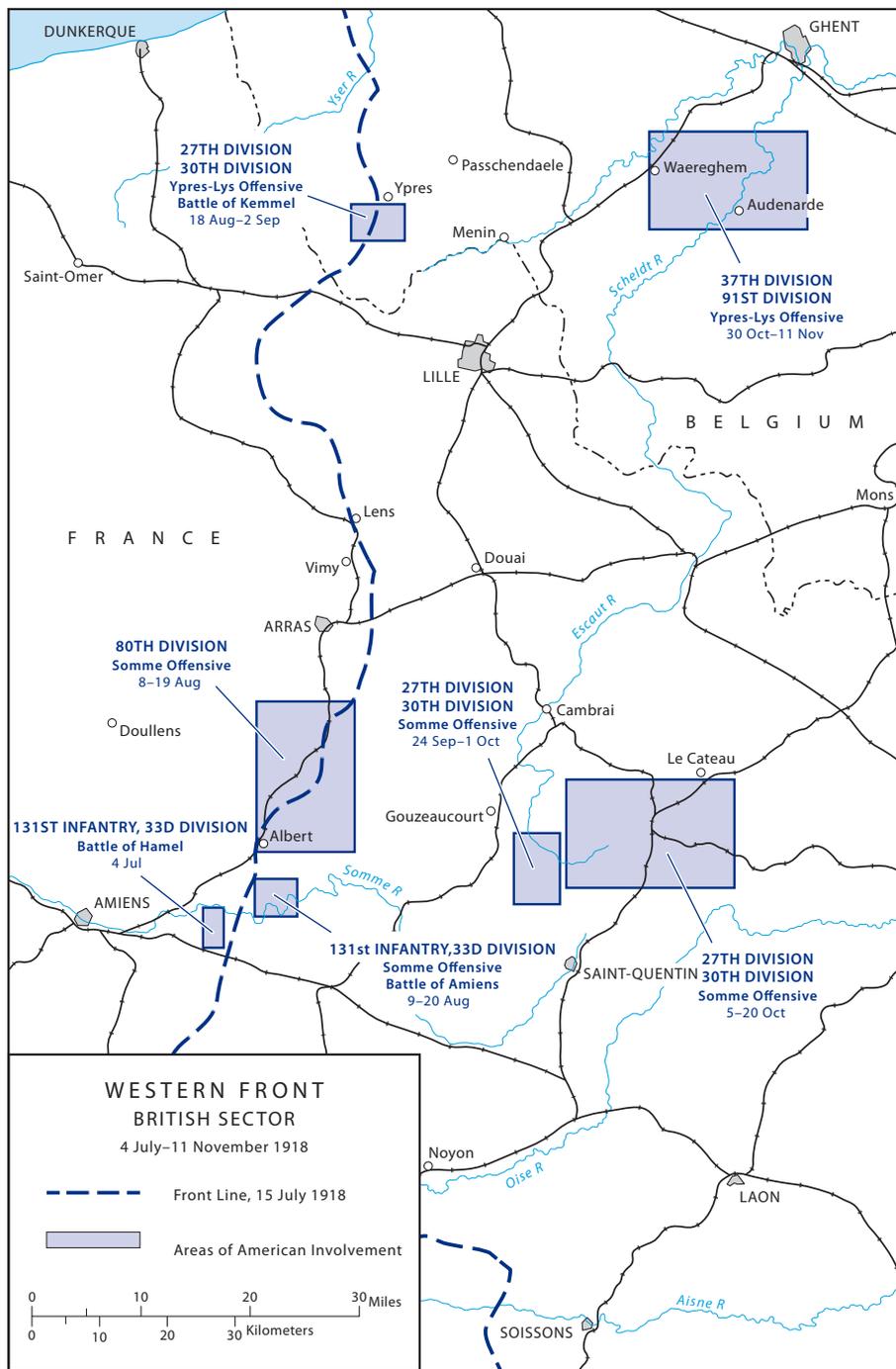
those branches of training which needed mechanical knowledge."<sup>70</sup> Repington, a British Army staff college graduate, thought American troops looked "really good, a nice lot of keen, upstanding young men, all very serious and determined to do a big thing."<sup>71</sup> American Sgt. Joseph D. Lawrence reciprocated by writing, "I always found the English big-hearted and generous with what little they had. While we were on the march I have had them give me sandwiches and hot tea. I found them likeable fellows and was sorry when I left their area."<sup>72</sup> More than anything, doughboys were impatient to see combat and accepted most training as a necessary hurdle. Ultimately, the experience of American's training with the British was positive. It gave Americans valuable instruction on combat, and it gave both armies a more nuanced picture of their counterparts' soldiers and methods.

The biggest drawback of the joint training arrangement came, as Pershing predicted,



General Monash

National Archives of Australia



Pershing permitted Haig to briefly rotate the units into the front lines to accustom them to combat. During this time, American troops could not take part in any offensive actions and served under their own company officers. While American troops entered the line under their own commanders, “the tactical command of troops while in the line [rested] with the British commanders of higher units.”<sup>77</sup> A total of ten American divisions, over 250,000 men, eventually served with the British.<sup>78</sup> Their time in the British trenches gave more opportunities for the forces to fraternize and reinforce their mutually positive impressions.

### SETTING OFF FOR THE FRONT LINES

Pershing and Haig agreed that American regiments would be attached to British skeleton divisions. The British staffs of these divisions assisted in the instruction of rifle, machine gun, and gas use. Then the regiments joined a British line division so that each of their three battalions served with a British brigade. Pershing insisted American battalions in this stage “were to be commanded by our own officers, and our regimental staffs were to be attached to those of British brigades.”<sup>79</sup> Once the American battalions proved themselves in the trenches, they united under their regimental commander and acted as a brigade in a British division. Finally, four regiments reassembled into a division under its own officers but still utilized British artillery regiments until American artillery arrived. This staged approach eased the divisions into combat and satisfied Pershing’s desire to keep U.S. troops under the command of U.S. officers.

Pershing kept a close watch on American units training with the Allies and insisted that American officers should bear the primary responsibility for training their men. He thought it was crucial for the men to become accustomed to taking orders from the officers who would command them in combat. This sometimes made the position of British instructors difficult. Pershing thought “the tendency at first was for British officers actually to assume command of our units in training.”<sup>80</sup> British officers did not intend to overstep their bounds in most cases, but merely thought it easier to instruct and demonstrate their orders by direct communication rather

when it was time to recall American units to rejoin the AEF. The British wanted a return on their investment and expected to use the American divisions they had spent considerable resources equipping and training. On 1 August 1918, Haig asked Pershing whether the BEF could commit American troops to battle once the divisions had completed their training regimen.<sup>73</sup> Pershing met with Haig on 12 August to say that he was assembling an independent AEF in its own sector and needed three of the five American divisions with the British returned to American

control. Pershing’s demand disappointed and frustrated Haig, who pleaded with Pershing to reconsider.<sup>74</sup> After a passionate protest, Haig conceded and returned the American units to Pershing. Haig wrote to his American counterpart, “Pershing of course you shall have [the divisions], there can never be any difference between us.”<sup>75</sup> As a consolation, Pershing allowed two American divisions to remain with the BEF and fight under British command for the remainder of the war.<sup>76</sup>

As part of the agreement that sent American units to the British for training,

than through American officers as intermediaries. In the trenches, British officers advised American officers, but did not issue direct commands to soldiers. This helped mitigate ill feelings at having foreign officers among U.S. troops and stood in contrast to the French practice of micromanagement. Both the British and French worried about the untested American soldiers when they first entered combat.

Besides anticipating the inexperience of American soldiers, the Allies had good reason to fear the Germans would target U.S. troops. The German high command, knowing the morale boost the British and French armies had obtained after the Americans' arrival, concentrated heavy raids on American units. On the night of 2 November 1917, the Germans targeted troops of the U.S. 1st Division who had taken over a section of the front from French soldiers a few hours earlier. Under the cover of a massive artillery bombardment, more than two hundred German soldiers fell upon an American platoon, killing three, wounding seven and capturing eleven.<sup>81</sup> Because the German Army used these captured soldiers as propaganda to try to show the British and French they had misplaced faith in their new ally, the British and French army leaders used the incident to again pressure Pershing to let them have more control over American units.

Despite isolated setbacks, American troops performed well in the trenches, and Haig soon sought to use the doughboys for more than just holding the line and patrolling. Before seeking Pershing's consent, Haig allowed Australian Lt. Gen. Sir John Monash to plan a local offensive using American and Australian troops. Monash attached ten companies from the U.S. 33d Division to the Australian 4th Division. When Haig received word from Pershing saying American troops could not be used in any offensive operations, Haig gave orders to withdraw the companies. Six companies withdrew, but four had already moved into the forward lines. Monash insisted the attack would have to be called off without them, so Haig allowed it to proceed with these companies still involved.<sup>82</sup> On 4 July 1918, eager to finally go on the offensive, the four American companies attacked the German lines. In a little over a month, the U.S. troops of the 131st Infantry advanced

another three miles and captured the Morlancourt-Chipilly ridge north of the Somme.<sup>83</sup> Pershing was furious. Even though the American troops fought well, he saw this as yet another example of the British trying to exploit American units.<sup>84</sup>

Haig understood Pershing's anger and agreed to relieve the companies. In an attempt to explain his decision to allow the attack, the British commander pointed out that Pershing's previous instructions had indicated "that *during the training period* of American Divisions, no American unit is to be employed in active operations."<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Haig had overstepped his bounds, but had not directly disobeyed Pershing's orders, as the units had finished their training regime. Still, Pershing thought the incident "showed clearly the disposition of the British to assume control of our units, the very thing which I had made such strong efforts and had imposed so many conditions to prevent."<sup>86</sup> Although Pershing acknowledged the excellent performance of U.S. troops in the operation, he immediately gave orders that doughboys could no longer be used in offensives under the British or French, and he hastened the recall of units from the Allies.

Though Pershing withdrew three American divisions training with the British, he allowed the U.S. II Army Corps to remain with the BEF. Commanded by Maj. Gen. George W. Read, the II Army Corps consisted of the U.S. 27th and 30th Divisions. After almost two months of training, the divisions entered the line on 9 July 1918, near Poperinghe, Belgium.<sup>87</sup> They held this line for several weeks before participating in the Selle River Campaign, in which they successfully penetrated German defenses along the Hindenburg Line. In the process, the two divisions lost 3,470 men killed and 13,583 wounded or captured, while capturing 6,205 German soldiers.<sup>88</sup> This high rate of casualties was normal for AEF divisions. At 28,000 men, an American division was the same size as a British corps and therefore could stay in the line for longer periods of time. After the Armistice on 11 November 1918, Haig sent a message to Read praising the divisions' "energy, courage and determination in attack which proved irresistible." Haig added that "in the heavy fighting of the past three weeks you have earned the lasting esteem and admiration of your British



General Read

Comrades-in-Arms, whose success you so nobly shared."<sup>89</sup>

The men of these two divisions spent the longest time of any American infantry with the BEF, but thousands of additional American support troops found themselves permanently attached to British commands. Immediately after the United States entered the war, Great Britain sent an urgent plea for military doctors to serve with its forces. In response, the U.S. Army mobilized nearly 1,500 American physicians, who served with the BEF from mid-1917 through the end of the war.<sup>90</sup> Together, they treated tens of thousands of British and Imperial soldiers, most in field hospitals close to the front and in the trenches. The British Army awarded more than two hundred decorations for valor to the American doctors.

Some U.S. Army doctors welcomed the chance to help where needed, but others resented being assigned to British hospitals without their consent. They felt this assignment was more dangerous and hurt their chances of promotion. One of these doctors was Lt. G. H. Richards, who served with No. 60 Field Ambulance. In April 1918, Richards, a capable medical officer, wrote to his family that he and his fellow doctors enlisted

without knowing we were to serve with the English Army. Now they are sending us all up to the front and making us take all the dangerous positions while the English doctors are allowed to stay at the

base hospital and such safe places. . . . I am willing to take my chance with the [American] Army, but I did not join the English and think it is a very unjust thing to push us to the front as they do.<sup>91</sup>

Like most American soldiers, Richards had no hatred for the British, but resented being made to serve in their army.

Elsewhere along the front, American signal units and engineers assisted British units. When the German Army attacked the British front on 21 March 1918, a company of American engineers serving with the BEF was one of the earliest units engaged in slowing the advance. All the attached units served with distinction even though they likely would have preferred to serve as part of the AEF.<sup>92</sup>

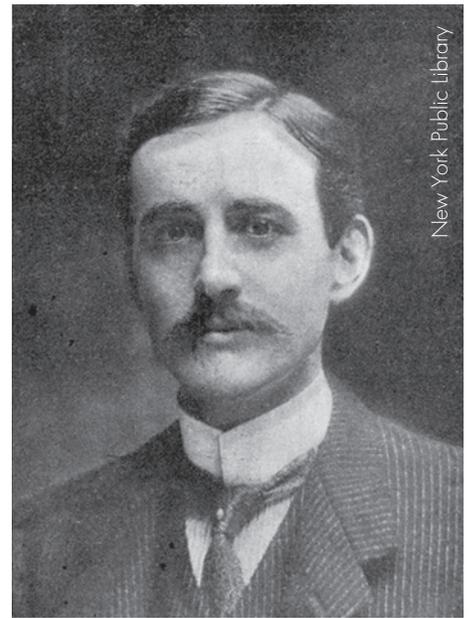
This mixing of the armies was exactly what King George V had envisioned when he told Pershing it would mean a great deal “after the war to be able to say that the two English-speaking peoples had fought side by side in this great struggle.”<sup>93</sup> American Brig. Gen. Charles G. Dawes, who served as chief of supply procurement for the AEF, agreed with this sentiment. He believed “there is no tie like the tie of blood,” and although “the English and I have at times almost fought, it has ended in our loving each other as brothers because we were sincerely united in a common purpose.”<sup>94</sup> But language and blood did not automatically bring the closer relations that many leaders hoped they would.

The British and American soldiers had several misconceptions about each other that serving together quickly dispelled. American Lt. Col. Lloyd C. Griscom wrote the British “had expected our men and theirs to fall on each other’s necks, play games, and follow out the old idea that blood was thicker than water.” The problem with this assumption was that many American soldiers had no blood in common with their English counterparts. Griscom’s 77th Division was made up of draftees from New York City and contained a majority of “Polish, Austrian, German, Irish, and even Chinese” soldiers. This came as a rude shock to the British who expected a more racially homogenous U.S. Army. When a British intelligence officer told Griscom he should assign an intelligence officer to keep watch on any men with German names, Griscom replied that his unit contained roughly three thousand

men who fit that criteria. The astounded British officer replied, “For God’s sake, you don’t mean that seriously?”<sup>95</sup> His response reflected the British Army’s suspicions regarding ethnic Germans serving in frontline units.

Even the language of the two armies could be an obstacle as much as an asset. British slang was often unintelligible to American soldiers, who sometimes had their own thick American or European accents. One American officer thought, “A foreign language doesn’t cause as much irritation as your own language spoken differently.”<sup>96</sup> The different words for common things frustrated attempts at communication because both sides assumed they would understand each other perfectly. In addition, Griscom noted other small areas where it was difficult to find common cultural ground. “The British played cricket, we played baseball; they drank tea, we drank coffee.”<sup>97</sup> American soldiers often mixed better with Canadian and Australian soldiers as a result. Fortunately, the fraternization between British and American officers was much easier.

Despite persistent policy disagreements between the armies, British and American officers got along remarkably well. A postwar survey of American officers noted that “the American officer found his British cousin, English and Imperial, cordial and friendly, easy to get along with, and always, except perhaps in the case of some of the lower grades, of good



Lloyd C. Griscom, shown here as the U.S. ambassador to Italy

morale.” The survey’s author further concluded American officers maintained “cordial relations with officers from all elements of the British Empire, even when [their soldiers] got along badly with those of other commands.”<sup>98</sup> As men who had entered the same profession and now fought a common enemy, the officers in both groups came to respect each other after witnessing their mutual battlefield successes. A shared professional outlook and organizational similarities of the British and American armies aided in forming this respect. Moreover, unlike the enlisted men in the U.S. Army, its officer corps was largely of Anglo-Saxon descent and much more likely to admire British culture. British and American officers possessed similar educations and an affinity for shooting and riding sports that gave them much to talk about outside military affairs. Language was also less of a barrier because higher-ranking officers used far less slang in their speech. American and British officers frequently formed personal friendships with one another that rested on their similar experiences in the war. Though formed in a brief period of time, these friendships often lasted for decades after the war.

### FIGHTING ALONGSIDE THE FRENCH

Even though many Americans had contact with the BEF during the war, they spent much less time with their British counterparts than with the French.



Charles G. Dawes, shown here as a colonel

With the exception of the 27th and 30th Divisions, most Americans' experiences with British soldiers during World War I lasted only a few weeks. This limited contact was an unexpected advantage for the British. Colonel Mott wrote that in comparison to extensive AEF relations with the French Army, in Anglo-American relations "the points of contact that might become irritation were fewer and the issues less important."<sup>99</sup> The prolonged frustrations of working with the French eroded the initial goodwill that existed between those two armies when the United States entered the war.

In the American Army, many officers began the war with great respect for the French military and French culture. General Bullard thought "Americans carried with them to France a great affection for the French there can be no doubt of it."<sup>100</sup> These feelings stemmed from sympathy for a nation being bled dry by the German Army and the close ties the nations enjoyed going back to France's aid in the American Revolution.<sup>101</sup> A large number of American officers, including Pershing, had studied French, and they appreciated France's martial accomplishments thus far in the war.

Because the U.S. Army was to fight on French soil, Pershing went out of his way to maintain the best possible relations with French leaders. Col. (later Maj. Gen.) Fox Conner related the precarious position of the AEF when he wrote a memorandum for the U.S. Army chief of staff in December 1917, "We are operating on French soil and due to our long overseas communications are far more dependent upon good understanding with the French than are the British."<sup>102</sup> Fighting thousands of miles away from its bases of supply, the AEF had to procure massive amounts of materiel in France itself. In addition, American forces had to arrange for lines of communications and the establishment of new training facilities on French ground.<sup>103</sup> Though Pershing tried to emphasize Allied cooperation, the AEF's closer ties with the French frustrated British officers. Conner observed that "the relations between the French and British have for a long time left much to be desired. Both are jealous of our immediate cooperation."<sup>104</sup>

Despite the strong strain of Francophilia permeating the AEF, cordial relations soon soured as the French bureaucracy delayed Pershing's efforts to establish his army in



Fox Conner, shown here as a major general

France. Journalist Repington wrote that whatever the Americans do "they find before them a French wall of difficulties which they have to get over, under, or round." He recalled that when the AEF wanted to build a hospital, "The indent for the ground has to go to Compiègne, and then the engineers have long discussions with the French Mission and French public departments how the building material is to be obtained, where the wood is to be cut, and how it is to be brought up. All this takes time."<sup>105</sup> Colonel Conner called the French "masters in politely presenting" difficulties and obstacles.<sup>106</sup> Colonel Harbord noted, "It will be a wonder if we do not feel as much like fighting [the French] as we do the Germans before the war is over."<sup>107</sup> Adding insult to injury, French officers and leaders constantly complained to American officers that they were not building up their forces fast enough.

The more intimately acquainted American officers became with the French Army of 1917, the less highly they thought of its combat prowess. When Colonel Griscom visited the French War Office and then the French general headquarters at Chantilly in early 1918, French officers gave Griscom a general impression "of the utmost despondency." Astonished by one general's candor, Griscom sat with him for nearly an hour as the latter lamented, "France is on the brink of catastrophe. She is exhausted. Every bayonet is in the front line, we've drained our factories of their best workmen, we've crippled

our service of supply, our railroads can hardly operate."<sup>108</sup> Even General Bullard, a professed Francophile, commented that French soldiers "were the most war-worn, war-exhausted poor fellows that the world has ever held."<sup>109</sup> The marked contrast with the higher morale and aggressive spirit seen among British Army officers greatly influenced American officers.

Far more American soldiers trained or fought with the French than with the British. This prolonged exposure to a greater number of American soldiers, the equivalent of twenty-five divisions in all, gradually exacerbated disagreements and mutual irritations.<sup>110</sup> The French, like the British, looked down on the inexperienced Americans and took no pains to conceal their attitude. Major Joyce wrote how "From the Division Commander on down through the echelons of the staff, there seemed to be an assumption of superiority that was difficult for us to justify in the light of the performance in the war of French arms."<sup>111</sup> French officers' condescending attitudes frequently reminded the Americans that the French considered even professional American officers to be novices. Pershing recorded in his diaries that he frequently encountered condescending French instructors and officials.<sup>112</sup> The French attitude of superiority left some of the AEF rank and file "with a feeling of resentment," wrote Colonel Mott.<sup>113</sup> Mott, who spoke fluent French, regretted the ill will that formed between the two armies' soldiers.

American enlisted men found countless lesser grievances in France as well. They especially resented price gouging by French shopkeepers.<sup>114</sup> Lt. William Hervey Allen complained that on the roads, "French drivers were absolutely regardless of infantry, and cut right across a column wherever they could."<sup>115</sup> In the summer of 1918, a rumor spread among AEF doughboys that the United States was paying rent to France for use of its trenches. This bitter rumor spread so widely that Pershing issued a cablegram clarifying the United States was only leasing training areas from individual French landowners.<sup>116</sup> Just one of these incidents was enough to create bad impressions that persisted in the minds of soldiers for a lifetime.

When the crisis of the spring 1918 German offensive compelled the Allies to name France's Marshal Foch as the supreme Allied commander, Franco-American relations deteriorated even

further. Foch pressed for the amalgamation of American units into the French Army, yet resisted Pershing's demands to let American divisions take over their own share of the front. By the summer of 1918, with Foch in ostensible command of the Allied effort, the British largely abandoned any ideas of amalgamation, but the French never ceased in their demands. "This 'amalgamation' idea," wrote Colonel Conner, "which was never quieted until the last American soldier left the Rhine was only military in so far as the French, in the bottom of their hearts, consider no American quite sane enough for either command or staff duty."<sup>117</sup> In his new position as supreme commander, Foch continued to press Pershing on the issue, and frequently disregarded American interests when making decisions. Colonel Mott reminded Foch that American officers "considered him officially as much an American as he was a Frenchman and we looked to him to take into consideration our sentiments or even our prejudices as though they were his own." Tellingly, Mott received no acknowledgment and "received the impression that the Marshal thought I was talking nonsense."<sup>118</sup> These insults stung all the more because of Americans' high initial expectation for good relations with the French.

### THREE-SIDED TENSIONS

Relations between the British and French Armies, already strained in 1917, grew even more tenuous with the arrival of the AEF. The British felt the BEF shouldered a disproportionate amount of the fighting and casualties, and the observations of American officers only supported this belief. With the French maintaining a defensive posture throughout the second half of 1917, it was up to Haig's forces to maintain pressure on the German Army and retain the initiative. Adding to British feelings of unfairness, once the AEF took over its own section of the front in early 1918, the Americans relieved only French units.<sup>119</sup> This meant that the British faced the same manpower demands, while the French rested and consolidated units withdrawn from the front. In spite of this apparent breathing room, the morale of the French Army recovered slowly. A British staff officer assigned to the French War Office told Colonel Griscom in spring

1918, "We spend most of our time trying to buck up the French. It's our principal function."<sup>120</sup>

Adding to the British frustration with their longtime ally, the British strongly suspected that the French were trying to frustrate Anglo-American military relations. In January 1918, French Marshal Joseph Joffre, the former French commander in chief on the Western Front from 1914 to 1916, strongly opposed the British plan to ship over American battalions because the Americans would be commanded by British officers and staffs.<sup>121</sup> Although Pershing agreed with this critique, the French Army's efforts to amalgamate Americans into French units under French officers revealed the hypocrisy of Joffre's objection. As the leader of a French mission in the United States, Joffre also tried to prevent any American soldiers from setting foot on British soil by shipping them directly to French ports, even though France plainly lacked sufficient deepwater harbors to accommodate the full flow of transatlantic traffic.<sup>122</sup> Prime Minister Lloyd George told Secretary Baker in September 1918 that "he was earnestly desirous for opportunity of the American and British soldiers to fraternize," but it seemed "there was some influence at work to monopolize American soldiers for the assistance of the French and to keep them from the association of the British."<sup>123</sup> An equally frustrated Field Marshal Haig complained in his diary on 7 August 1918 that "the French desire to keep the Americans as far away from the British

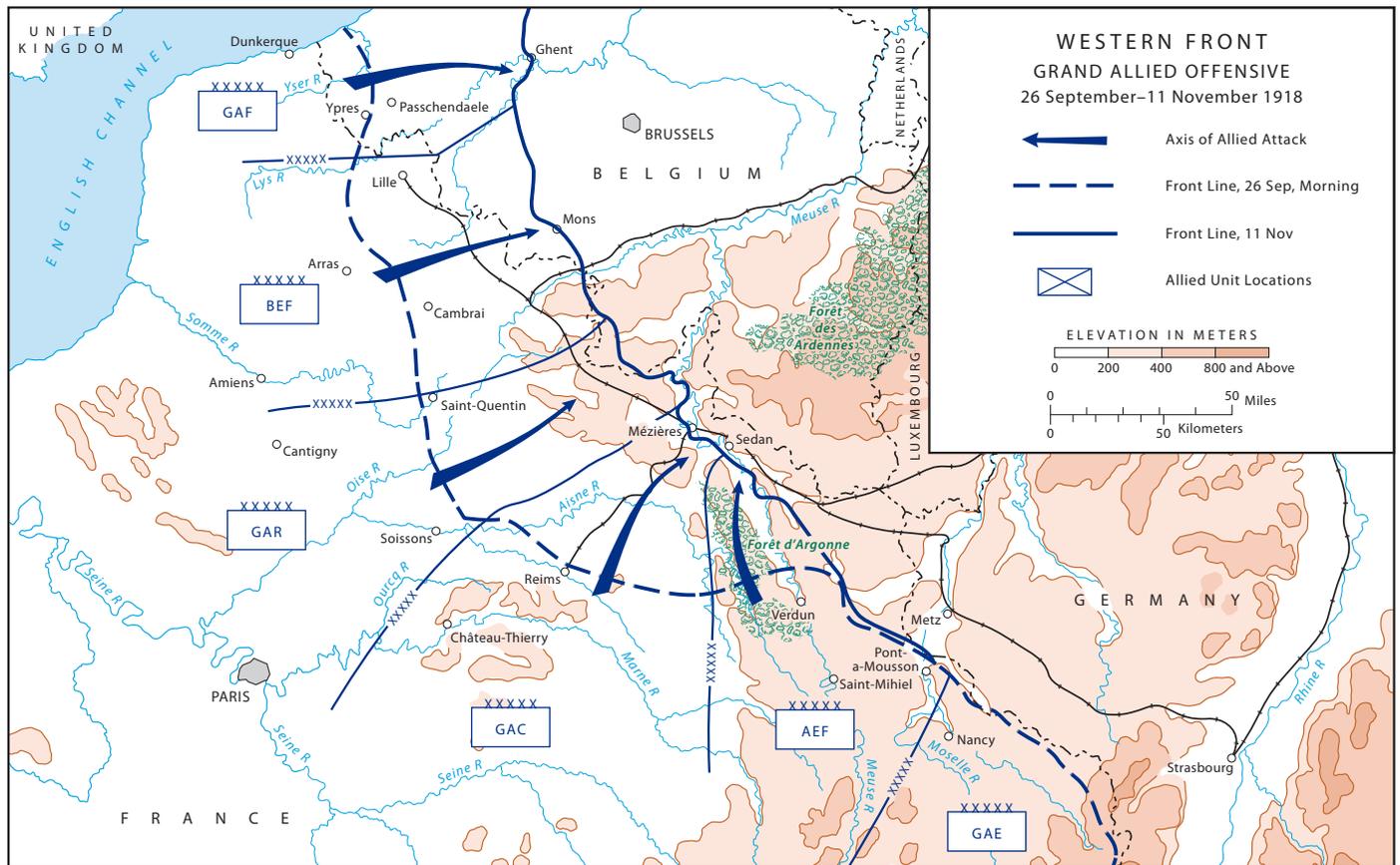
as they can!"<sup>124</sup> Historian Robert B. Bruce concluded that the British grievances had some merit. Bruce believed French leaders secretly planned to place American forces in the Lorraine sector so that American forces would act solely in support of future French offensives. French leaders then may have subtly persuaded Pershing to support placing his AEF in Lorraine while letting him believe he had selected it for strategic reasons.<sup>125</sup> Even though British leaders offered the AEF use of their infrastructure and shipping, AEF commanders prioritized relations with the French because the ports, food, and weapons they needed had to come from France. The British accepted this explanation, but further French actions made it clear their officers harmed Anglo-American relations.

In early 1918, Colonel Griscom arrived in London to serve as Pershing's personal representative to the British War Office. He quickly found that the British officers there, including CIGS General Sir Henry H. Wilson, held a negative opinion of American soldiers and were grossly misinformed about American aid to the Allies. After seeking out the source of this misinformation, Griscom discovered "the English were receiving their impressions and basing their judgment of the American Army entirely from French accounts, a perfectly natural procedure, since our troops were fighting with French armies." These reports, however, "were extraordinarily inaccurate, colored, and even biased. The result was that the whole War Office was remarkably misinformed of what our troops were doing or even what they had already done."<sup>126</sup> As the AEF successfully pressed its Meuse-Argonne Offensive in October 1918, Griscom realized that French officers sent false reports to the British War Office saying the Germans had mauled American forces and brought the advance to a halt.<sup>127</sup> This blatantly incorrect information astonished Griscom, who spent a large amount of time trying to correct false impressions held by British officers in London.<sup>128</sup> British officers in France knew a great deal more about the success of American forces, but this misinformation colored French impressions of the AEF after the war.<sup>129</sup>

The disputes between British and French officers over joint operations were three years old by the time the AEF arrived in



Marshal Joffre



France, but they stemmed from deep-seated historical rivalries. AEF General Dawes noted, “In the breasts of our allies in Europe were the hereditary influences of centuries of military and commercial contest among themselves.”<sup>130</sup> This competition spilled over into their exchanges with the U.S. Army and the result was worse relations for the U.S. and French Armies and better relations for the U.S. and British Armies. In this way, Pershing’s commitment to closer relations with the French Army paradoxically strengthened Anglo-American ties.

## CONCLUSION

By the end of World War I, British and American Army relations had markedly improved. It had been an intense introduction for the two forces. As Charles Repington wrote, “Before [the Americans] arrived they all thought that the French had been doing all the fighting, and our Army is a complete revelation to them.” After over a year of training and fighting together, the two forces had learned a great deal about each other and formed strong personal ties that carried into the postwar era. During his time spent with the AEF

and its staff, Repington found “a steady increase of the pro-English sentiment.”<sup>131</sup> Still, he urged caution to his fellow Britons, lest they assume a greater affinity than actually existed.

British officers had done a great service to the AEF by helping equip and train it for trench warfare. They watched the Americans fight well despite overconfidence and inexperience, and they had developed a healthy respect for their American counterparts. Many in the British Army thought that doughboys came out of the conflict feeling a renewed sense of cultural kinship for the British and would gladly stand with them again when needed. Yet even though American officers did feel a sense of goodwill toward the British, they still harbored suspicions about British imperial motives. It was this respectful yet nuanced attitude among American officers that led some of their British peers to reflect, years after the war, on what they could have done differently to improve relations with the U.S. Army. The famed British military writer Capt. Basil H. Liddell Hart wrote an article to this effect in 1931 titled “If the Americans Had Not Been Discounted as Amateurs.”<sup>132</sup>

Nevertheless, American officers held British organization, weapons, morale, and fighting ability in high regard. In a postwar

survey, an American brigade commander wrote the British officers “are splendid and tireless, and uniformly courteous and helpful, and they seemed to have the greatest admiration for the Americans, and we saw no spirit of jealousy or pettiness in our contact with them.”<sup>133</sup> Though other officers expressed contradictory sentiments, the balance of postwar memoirs reaffirmed this favorable impression. Both British and American memoirs glossed over serious disagreements between the two forces by suggesting, for example, that General Pershing and Field Marshal Haig “understood each other and their friendship had never faltered from the day they met.”<sup>134</sup> Many of these same memoirs reiterated the belief that the French Army lacked an aggressive spirit and that most American soldiers came to resent the French people for their treatment of the AEF. Though these simplifications overlooked and mischaracterized key aspects of relations, they captured the way officers wished to portray their experience to their colleagues and successors.

A similar officer culture helped bring the British and Americans together, and career officers who staffed the interwar armies focused on this comradery and

mutual admiration. Long-serving officers formed the soul of the two institutions and their opinions and experiences serve as institutional memory. They frequently shared their experiences with their subordinates in both formal and informal interwar settings. In this way, they set the tone for two armies to stay on a friendly footing over the next two decades.

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General Pershing

## NOTES

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32. Pershing, *My Experiences*, vol. 1, p. 268.

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## ARMY HISTORY

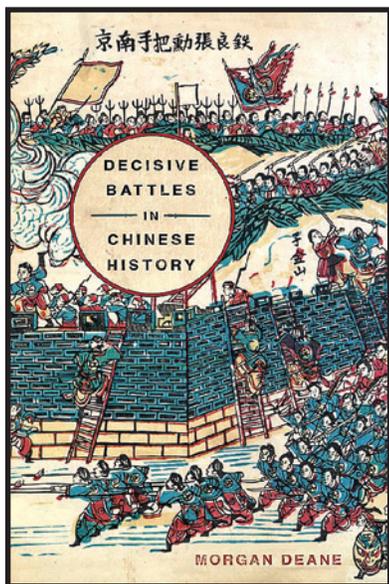
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# BOOKREVIEWS



## *Decisive Battles in Chinese History*

By Morgan Deane

Westholme Publishing, 2018

Pp. xiv, 196. \$30

### Review by Andrew Montiveo

China's increased presence on the global stage has attracted greater interest in its long military history. With five millennia behind it, East Asia's dominant power is certainly no stranger to armed conflict. While that immense scope may seem daunting, author Morgan Deane offers a highly accessible survey with *Decisive Battles in Chinese History*.

Deane, a former marine, explains in his introduction: "There are many books about major or decisive battles, but few have more than a handful of non-Western battles, nor do they examine the battles with the expertise of a Chinese military historian. If they do include non-Western battles, it is usually because of their association with (and defeat by) the West" (p. xiii). Deane largely succeeds in crafting a book "designed for general readers and students to learn major themes and issues in Chinese history and military history through key moments of conflict" (p.

xiv). The author limits his focus to twelve battles, spanning from the fourth century BC to the twentieth century AD. Each chapter includes quotes from relevant sources, a description of the battle and its participants, and an examination of broader historical and strategic context. Readers will find snippets from renowned historical works. Those include the familiar treatises of Sūn Zǐ and Máo Zédōng, reports by Marco Polo and Zhèng Hé, and correspondences from the Qiánlóng Emperor and General Chiang Kai-shek.

The "decisiveness" of the book's battles tend to regard their dynastic impact. The Battle of Hǔláo (Ch. 6), for instance, highlights the ascendance of Emperor Tàizōng and the Táng dynasty in the seventh century. Conversely, the Battle of Xiāngyáng (Ch. 7) serves to highlight the final descent of the Sòng dynasty in the thirteenth century. Other selections emphasize strategic concepts or technological trends. The author, for instance, uses the various succession battles for Luòyáng in the early fourth century (Ch. 3) to analyze the process of gradual decentralization in imperial government. Additionally, the Battle of Fěi River (Ch. 4), serves to analyze another precept in the frailty of a loosely aligned army, as when Fú Róng's polyglot force shattered because of miscommunications.

Some selections, however, serve to challenge prevailing wisdom. The Battle of the Red Cliffs (Ch. 2) introduces the vital role of the Yangtze River and the complex topography of Southern China—a boon to defenders and bane to invaders. By contrast, the Siege of Pyeongyang (Ch. 9), in which the Chinese expelled Japanese forces from northern Korea, argues against the notion that the late Míng period was one of decline. In another instance, Deane uses a chapter on the Nationalists' third encirclement campaign (Ch. 10) to tackle a common view on China's most consequential leaders of the twentieth century: "The prevailing impressions of Mao Zedong and Chiang

Kai-shek suffer from inaccurate perceptions of history. Mao was not nearly the military genius and father of revolutionary warfare that people assume. Chiang was not the corrupt leader of a military junta and ineffectual forces. Mao did end up being the leader of the Communist insurgency and all of China, but it wasn't because of his great military skill" (p. 158).

Inconsistent editorship can undermine Deane's work. Notably, the text veers back-and-forth between the Wades-Giles and pinyin transliterations, which can lead to confusion over names for the introductory audience Deane targets. Is the dynasty in question *Qín* or *Chin*? Is the city *Qīngdǎo* or *Tsingtao*?

Deane's effort to squeeze approximately 2,500 years into twelve chapters inevitably results in substantial compromises. There are some lengthy gaps in time between chapters. The leap from the Battle of Mǎlǐng to the Red Cliffs (Chapters 1 and 2, respectively) tallies more than five centuries. The jump from the medieval battles of Hǔláo to Xiāngyáng is even longer at six-and-a-half centuries. As a result, whole epochs are brushed over.

Then there are dubious instances where Deane boasts of Chinese strength. Early on, he states how ancient China "fielded armies as big as half-a-million soldiers during the Warring States period, or roughly the same time that Rome was little more than a collection of huts on a few hillsides" (p. xiii). The Warring States period corresponds to European High Antiquity, an era which saw—to use Deane's words—that Italian "collection of huts" hegemonize the western Mediterranean. In another instance, he contrasts medieval Kǎifēng's estimated population of one million to "the largest city of Europe during this time" of "roughly sixty thousand people" (p. 87). However, Deane seems oblivious to the hefty populations of Córdoba and Constantinople at the time.

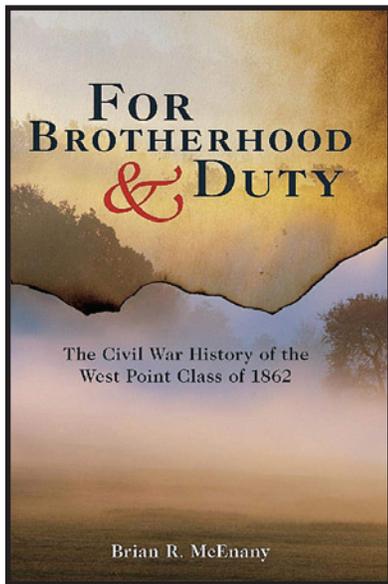
*Decisive Battles in Chinese History* makes many compromises in detail for the sake of brevity. Nevertheless, Morgan Deane has

made a fair step toward offering general readers an introductory guide to China's rich military heritage.

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***For Brotherhood and Duty: The Civil War History of the West Point Class of 1862***

By Brian R. McEnany  
University Press of Kentucky, 2015  
Pp. xii, 494. \$45

**Review by Christian A. Garner**

The United States Military Academy (USMA) has a long and distinguished history, with many of its graduates serving the nation with great distinction in times of war and peace. As a result, certain classes from West Point have gained notoriety due to the success of their collective students, often the result of extraordinary circumstances brought about by wartime necessity. The Class of 1846 had such famous graduates as George B. McClellan, Thomas J. “Stonewall” Jackson, Ambrose Powell Hill, John Gibbon, and George Pickett, who all went on to prominent roles in the American Civil War. Likewise, the Class of 1915—“The Class the Stars Fell On”—had notable alumni such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar Bradley, and James Van

Fleet; in total, 59 of the 164 graduates that year reached the rank of brigadier general or higher. Much has been written about these illustrious classes, and Brian McEnany’s *For Brotherhood and Duty: The Civil War History of the West Point Class of 1862* is another addition to previous works, yet in a slightly different vein.

Although *For Brotherhood and Duty* discusses West Point class history in a manner similar to John Waugh’s *The Class of 1846*, McEnany’s book diverges in that it does not chronicle the rise of prominent senior officers. Instead, it examines the cadet experiences and battlefield roles of primarily junior officers serving as battery commanders and staff officers during the Civil War. At the core of this work, the reader must consider the Class of 1862’s motto, *In Causam Communem Coniuncti*—“Joined in a Common Cause.” Seventy-five cadets started with this class in September 1858; by June 1862, only twenty-eight cadets remained and graduated from the academy. Not only having to survive the academic and disciplinary rigors of West Point, the cadets had to navigate and confront the growing topic of secession that gripped the nation at the time.

In Part One, the author thoroughly examines cadet life at the academy. The reader is introduced to central figures such as Tully McCrea, John Egan, Ranald S. Mackenzie, James Dearing, and others during this formative period in their respective lives. Cadet life of the period—ranging from summer training, holidays, meals, and academics—is covered in abundant detail that transports one to the banks of the Hudson River in the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to daily discipline and schooling, the ever-increasing possibility of civil war gripped the academy and the corps of cadets. Each man faced the ultimate decision: “to either serve the country he swore an oath to uphold or return home to protect his family and state” (p. xi). From the text one gains a greater appreciation of the decision these men confronted, resulting in more than half the class resigning from West Point to either enlist in the Union Army or join the military of their seceding state. Likewise, the reader learns and understands the sentiments of those who stayed, struggling through a compressed curriculum brought about by the war, the desire for commissioning and assignment to their units, and the internal struggles with the possibility of facing former classmates on the battlefield.

Part Two focuses on the Civil War careers of the Class of 1862, describing and analyzing

the graduates’ contributions, both large and small. McEnany examines the exploits of twelve Union and four Confederate classmates during the various campaigns in which they participated, spanning the multiple geographic theaters of the war. Members of the class found themselves in critical engagements such as Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, Petersburg, and Appomattox. The contributions of John H. Calef and Ranald Mackenzie during the Battle of Gettysburg, for instance, are well known to Civil War historians and enthusiasts alike. Other members participated in campaigns and battles far from the Army of the Potomac and its central role in the conflict, such as Albert Murray’s capture during the Battle of Atlanta and his death in a Confederate prison camp, along with James Sanderson’s death during the Battle of Pleasant Hill in western Louisiana and his burial in an unmarked grave. The Class of 1862 found itself still fighting former classmates at the end of the war; Ranald Mackenzie, whose cavalry division helped halt Robert E. Lee at Appomattox, found his classmate James Dearing dying in a hospital in nearby Lynchburg, Virginia. In discussing all these events—both well known and obscure—McEnany conveys the viewpoints of these officers, offering fresh perspectives of the decisions they faced, thus making this work valuable to anyone examining the role of junior-grade military leadership in combat.

McEnany concludes his work by examining the likely motivations of the graduates and their service. Unlike members of other classes, the majority of the Class of 1862 chose to stay in the Regular Army, rejecting the potential for faster promotions sometimes found in volunteer units. Although McEnany finds it difficult to definitively determine exactly why the graduates took this path, he suggests a few possible explanations: animosity toward (and from) civilian soldiers, the negative attitudes of congressmen who praised volunteer soldiers and denigrated the USMA and its graduates, battlefield experiences, initial assignments, and concerns over postwar promotions. In addition, McEnany provides an appendix with brief biographical sketches of the individuals who graduated in 1862. Each entry provides a detailed list of Civil War assignments as well as postwar positions held in both military and civilian capacities.

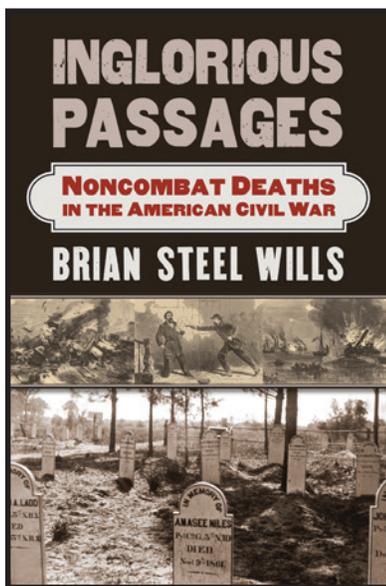
A graduate of the USMA Class of 1962, McEnany offers useful contributions to studies on the Civil War, the history of the

academy, and the impact of its graduates. This book clearly illustrates the challenges of men thrust from the classroom into the crucible of ground combat after graduation and offers historical value to any newly commissioned officer. Though some members of the Class of 1862 gained promotion and fame, many did not, but instead fulfilled their assignments to the fullest and in accordance with their class motto: "Joined in a Common Cause."

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***Inglorious Passages: Noncombat Deaths in the American Civil War***

By Brian Steel Wills  
University Press of Kansas, 2017  
Pp. ix, 404. \$34.95

**Review by Robert L. Glaze**

In recent years, few topics have enraptured academic historians as much as death has. Nowhere is this trend more evident than in American Civil War literature. Upon its publication in 2008, Drew Gilpin Faust's *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the*

*American Civil War* (New York, 2001), became one of the most significant modern books on America's most studied conflict. It became a fixture in undergraduate courses and graduate seminars and inspired future dissertations, articles, and books. In exploring death, Faust showed that historians could unveil hitherto understudied aspects of society, culture, economics, warfare, and politics. Consequently, the history of death is now one of the most vibrant subfields in Civil War studies.

This emergence—along with the proliferation of studies on guerrilla warfare, physical and mental trauma, diseases, and other topics that strip the war of any romance and glory—produced the term a “dark turn” in Civil War scholarship. Celebrated by some and lamented by others, this development brings vigorous debate among the war's scholars and interested readers. In his most recent work, Brian Steel Wills embraces this development; indeed, it is hard to imagine a book darker or more devoid of romance than *Inglorious Passages: Noncombat Deaths in the American Civil War*.

This “dark turn” led to a reevaluation of the war's human costs, and historians now postulate as many as 750,000 Americans perished during the conflict (for decades, the accepted estimate was 620,000). Most wartime fatalities were not the result of battle. In this meticulous study, Wills chronicles the myriad ways death stalked the United States between 1861 and 1865. Regardless of whether life ended because of disease, accidents, murder, “acts of God,” execution, or suicide, these noncombat deaths had one thing in common: they “did not occur as a result of a formalized encounter with an opponent in which one had the opportunity to defend oneself and put his counterpart at the same risk for injury or death” (p. 10). The various manners of dying discussed in this book all denied their victims what nineteenth-century Americans would characterize a “good death.”

*Inglorious Passages* is chronologically and geographically broad in scope. Apart from the first chapter, which explores death in the war's opening stages, the book is organized topically, with each chapter discussing a cause or location of death. For contemporaries, the war was a military conflict of an unparalleled scale. In his first chapter, Wills shows how the mobilization of millions of men, the pressure on the home front, and the strain on logistics and transportation networks all led to many deaths occurring

before fighting began in earnest. For citizens of a young nation at war with itself, these early and seemingly random and senseless deaths were hard to reconcile with their notions of wartime sacrifice and honor.

Subsequent chapters chronicle death in camp, on the railroad, because of nature, due to accidents with animals, by comrades (through accidental weapon discharges, murders, and duels), in the Navy, in factories, on the home front, and by military execution. Each chapter is an exhaustive collection of vignettes chronicling death's campaigns. In the war's early days, encamped soldiers—typically for the first time in their lives—found themselves surrounded by arms, ammunition, gunpowder, and explosives. Wills shows that absentmindedness and ignorance claimed many lives. “Fatal mischief,” as Wills labels many such accidents, was the bane of officers trying to control novice soldiers (p. 68).

Surviving encounters with Civil War weaponry was only one way to avoid death's embrace. Some soldiers committed suicide after their first exposure to the chaos and carnage of battle. Men who had never travelled on the railroad fell from moving cars while others were victims of train collisions beyond their control. Blue water and brown water sailors were victim to exploding boilers, storm surges, and naval collisions.

Weather claimed numerous lives through lightning strikes, drownings, freezing temperatures, heat exhaustion, and felled trees. Soldiers inexperienced on horseback were thrown from their saddles while others died due to a swift kick from a hooved animal. Factory workers were also susceptible to accidental deaths. Early in the war, workers—often as inexperienced at their craft as were soldiers—died in explosions and other factory accidents. Few facilities were prepared to evacuate their workers in the event of a fire, much less effectively fight a blaze. Modern warfare's industrial demand brought civilians into constant contact with death.

Each chapter explores the manner of death, as well as witnesses' reactions to that death. This is one of the book's greatest assets, offering readers additional insight into the intellectual and emotional lives of Civil War Americans. However, it does lead to some unanswered questions. What do these reactions reveal about American values? Do they show a further cultural divide between North and South? Do they add nuance to our understanding of what

constituted a “good death” during the war? Do they reinforce or challenge what we comprehend about spirituality in Civil War America?

Regardless of the cause of death, Wills uncovers numerous commonalities throughout his book. First, nothing aided death in its grim tasks during the war as much as alcohol. Drownings, duels, suicides, equestrian accidents, and murders were all more frequent because of alcohol abuse. Robert J. Wynstra’s recent book, *At the Forefront of Lee’s Invasion: Retribution, Plunder, and Clashing Cultures on Richard S. Ewell’s Road to Gettysburg* (Kent, Ohio, 2018), reached a similar conclusion regarding alcohol and its relationship with plunder, vandalism, and violence. Wills, Wynstra, and others implicitly show how Civil War scholarship would benefit from a sustained cultural analysis of alcohol during the conflict.

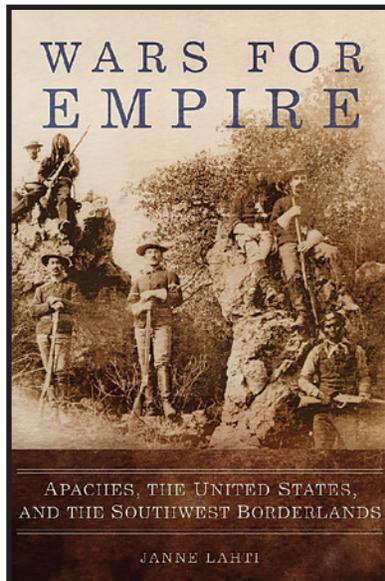
Second, witnesses to noncombatant, particularly accidental deaths were struck especially hard if they had known the victim in the antebellum years. Given the organization of companies and regiments during the war, this brand of grief abounded. Third, accidental deaths were all the harder for witnesses to process when the victim was not involved in the initial mishap that initiated the chain of events leading to death. Dying because of one’s own actions—and certainly as a result of battle—made a certain sense to observers. However, the senselessness of a soldier dying due to another’s negligence was especially hard to reconcile.

Those looking to explore the “dark turn” in Civil War history will find Wills’ book enlightening; readers are guaranteed to come away with a greater understanding of the challenges soldiers and civilians faced. Meticulous in its detail and comprehensive in its scope, *Inglorious Passages* succeeds in its stated goal of chronicling the harsh realities of death in the Civil War. Above all, Wills shows, for a nation at war, the Grim Reaper’s work does not relent when an army is at rest.

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***Wars for Empire: Apaches, the United States, and the Southwest Borderlands***

By Janne Lahti

University of Oklahoma Press, 2017

Pp. x, 318. \$34.95

**Review by Nicholas Roland**

In *Wars for Empire*, Finnish historian Janne Lahti seeks to explain how the Apaches—a relatively small population that lacked conventional military strength—“brought the [imperial expansion of the] United States to a temporary standstill, exposed the limitations of its power, frustrated its efforts, and countered its attempts at domination” (p. 6) in one of the longest conflicts in American history. In the introduction, Lahti argues that our understanding of warfare suffers from Eurocentrism, and that “the course and final outcome of any violent conflict, no matter how uneven the sides appear in their level of technology, material resources, or demography, should not be seen as inevitable or preordained” (p. 8). Lahti’s account therefore draws on familiar themes of borderlands history, emphasizing the agency of indigenous peoples, the frequent weakness of states in newly claimed territory, and the contingencies of cultural accommodation and conflict in what Richard White dubs the “middle ground.”<sup>1</sup>

The book has two very different parts. Part 1, *Cultures of War*, consists of three chapters entitled *Ethos*, *Body*, and

*Operations*. In Chapter 1, *Ethos*, Lahti contrasts the nineteenth-century U.S. Army’s fixation on battle and linear tactics with the Apache way of war: speed, surprise, individual skill, and outright avoidance of battle. By the time notional American authority arrived in the wake of the Mexican-American War, the Apaches were enmeshed in a pattern of raiding and warfare motivated by “revenge, resource acquisition, and notions of status and manhood inside the Apache communities” (p. 29).

The second chapter is the most interesting in the book, and contrasts the intense physical and martial skills training pursued by the Apaches with the almost total disinterest most Army officers and soldiers manifested toward the same. Army officers had no training in the tactics required in the Southwest, and mind-numbing fatigue duty and frequent bureaucratic shuffling prevented the frontier Army from developing as an effective fighting force for most of the period. The Apaches, by contrast, were trained as warriors from youth and adhered to a leadership style that emphasized initiative and agility. The result was an impressive Apache lethality in combat—if they could be brought to a fight in the first place. As one Army officer noted in reference to the physical prowess of hired Apache scouts, “They made us feel like babies when it came to mountain work.” It was “no wonder our [white] soldiers could not catch people like these” (p. 49).

The final chapter of Part 1 points out American officers consistently sought out battle but generally failed to bring it to fruition, whereas Apache raiding parties could reliably strike isolated ranches and frontier settlements and escape their pursuers. The Army had more success in locating and attacking Apache villages and destroying materiel. The period of greatest success for the Army came during the 1870s and 1880s, when it turned to recruiting already pacified Apaches. In orders issued by Maj. Gen. George Crook in 1885, these Apache troops were to receive maximum operational freedom because they “know best how to do their work. They understand this business better than we do” (p. 80).

The second part of Lahti’s work is a chronological account of the U.S.-Apache wars. Four chapters cover the

different phases in the intermittent fighting: Containment, Extermination, Internment, and Insurgency. Chapter 4, Containment, encompasses the years between the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, when the United States was too weak to defeat its Apache foes outright. Among the different Apache peoples, the Lipans in Texas and Jicarillas in northern New Mexico experienced the most pressure, while in the case of the Chiricahuas, the Army resorted to payments to keep them from interfering with key transportation routes passing through their territory.

The outbreak of the Civil War dramatically altered conditions in the Southwest. As described in Chapter 5, the war initially drew regular troops out of Texas and New Mexico Territory, only to fill the vacuum with the volunteer forces of both the Union and Confederacy. After Union forces turned back Brig. Gen. Henry H. Sibley's invasion of New Mexico, Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, his volunteer troops, and armed civilians waged a brutal series of campaigns against the Navajos and Apaches. Carleton broke the military power of the Navajos and the Mescalero Apaches and concentrated the survivors on the Bosque Redondo reservation.

The Civil War permanently tipped the balance of power in *Apacheria* and campaigns premised on extermination continued until the early 1870s. The initiation of President Ulysses S. Grant's so-called Peace Policy in 1872 saw a new "humanitarian" federal policy of internment on reservations, the subject of Chapter 6. Unfortunately, the reservation system was plagued by corruption, bureaucratic ineptitude, and poor leadership, and various Apache groups would periodically depart the reservations or take up raiding, initiating new rounds of violence.

The last chapter covers the final campaigns of 1882 to 1886, the period of the four-decade conflict most familiar to Americans today. Geronimo and other recalcitrant Chiricahua leaders were remarkably effective guerrilla leaders whose small bands of insurgents could seemingly elude the Army indefinitely. Nonetheless, the use of Apache auxiliaries made Army efforts much more effective during this period, and pressure across

the border in Mexico also took its toll on the Apache holdouts. In the end, Geronimo and his followers surrendered due to exhaustion rather than battlefield defeat. An epilogue traces the eventual fate of Geronimo and the Chiricahuas: detention as prisoners of war until 1913.

In the introduction, Lahti states his desire to explain the differing motives, goals, and methods of the U.S. Army and its Apache adversaries. He has done so ably, and his arguments in Part 1, especially the second chapter, are an excellent introduction to martial cultures in the nineteenth-century American Southwest. Lahti's work also provides a narrative history of the U.S.-Apache conflict in Part 2, but he misses ample opportunities to dig deeper. The account tends to jump from one raiding incident or army patrol to another against the backdrop of a conventional story told elsewhere. Tantalizing clues are left unexplored that might help to analyze the process of Anglo-American conquest in the Southwest. For instance, the role played by armed civilians in Mexico and the United States, the gradual denial of a safe haven in northern Mexico during the *Porfiriato* (the presidency of General Porfirio Díaz), and the employment of Apache auxiliaries are all mentioned but are not fleshed out to explain the eventual Apache defeat. The vast terrain, and many groups covered in rapid succession, might also be confusing for readers who are not intimately familiar with the region and its indigenous history, and readers must rely upon a single map in the introduction. Distractingly, the diction is frequently awkward and would benefit from more active editorship. Lahti achieved his stated goals, but readers looking for a thorough analysis of how the United States brought one of its longest wars to a successful conclusion should look elsewhere.

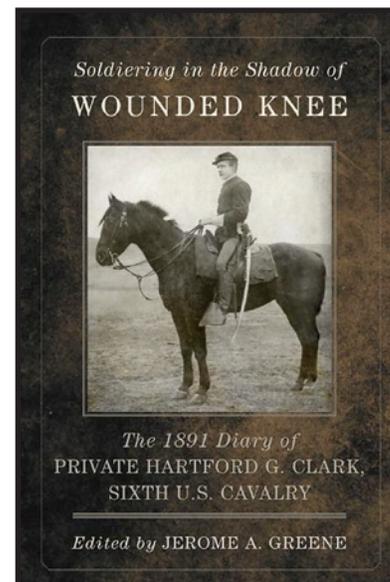
#### NOTE

1. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

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**Nicholas Roland** is a historian at the Naval History and Heritage Command and currently serves in the Virginia National Guard. His first book, *Violence in the Hill Country: The Texas Frontier in the Civil War Era*, is forthcoming from University of Texas Press.

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#### *Soldiering in the Shadow of Wounded Knee: The 1891 Diary of Private Hartford G. Clark, Sixth U.S. Cavalry*

By Hartford G. Clark; Edited by Jerome A. Greene  
The Arthur H. Clarke Co., 2016  
Pp. 210. \$29.95

#### Review by Peter L. Belmonte

In the 1960s, National Park Service historian Don Rickey Jr. began to research the Indian Wars. During this process, he established contact with Pearl Calvert Clark, the widow of frontier cavalryman Hartford G. Clark, and she sent Rickey some of her husband's diaries—eleven of the twelve volumes, each written in a small, cloth-bound memoranda book, associated with 1891 (the volume containing February 1891 is missing). Rickey transcribed the diaries in longhand and typewriting, but they had arrived too late for him to use in his published work. About fifty years later, Jerome A. Greene, a retired National Park Service research historian, used Rickey's onionskin carbon copies for the present volume.

Hartford G. Clark was born in 1869 in Charleston, South Carolina. At the age of nine, Clark moved with his family to Exeter, New Hampshire. After completing school, he worked as a salesman in Boston, Massachusetts. On 28 July 1890, Clark enlisted in the Army, and he was sent to the cavalry recruit depot at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, for several months of training. By the time he finished training in December 1890, Clark's unit—Troop G, Sixth Cavalry Regiment—was stationed along Wounded

Knee Creek in South Dakota. It was hoped their presence would “help quell potential disturbances” related to Indian Ghost Dance activity in the area (p. 18). Clark joined Troop G on New Year’s Eve; the next day, he and his troop engaged Indians in combat at Grass Creek, a bracing introduction to the new unit by any definition. Describing the engagement, Clark was unruffled and concluded, “Let her go, that is what I enlisted for, to fight, and I just as live [to] go out like today as not. It is exciting” (p. 29).

Clark wrote of his experiences daily. After moving to Fort Niobrara in northern Nebraska, he engaged in patrols, drills, and target practice. He enjoyed horsemanship and racing his horse, and he was an accomplished pitcher for his regimental baseball team. Clark’s initial enthusiasm for fighting and killing Indians cooled as the year went on.

The Sixth Cavalry received a new troop, Troop L, whose enlisted component consisted of specially recruited Indians, the first to join the Army in other than “scout” capacity. Clark befriended one of these troopers, Yellow Hand, and they became good friends. On one occasion, Yellow Hand rescued Clark who was lost on the prairie in the middle of the night. Yellow Hand once told Clark if he ever needed help, Clark should fire his revolver into the air twice in rapid succession. Then he, Yellow Hand, would reply in kind. Clark, lost in the dark, fired his revolver twice, and sure enough, Yellow Hand replied and came to his rescue.

Even though Clark was able to travel around the area in his free time, he was not overly impressed with northern Nebraska. He witnessed blinding snowstorms, oppressive heat waves, prairie fires, and “sand blizzards.” He offered this brief assessment: “This is the most godforsaken country I ever was in” (p. 91).

Readers unfamiliar with the frontier army might be surprised at the number of courts-martial, confinements, fines, and dishonorable discharges—many associated with drunkenness—recorded by Clark in his diary. Clark was a teetotaler and determined to avoid liquor and trouble, especially for the sake of a local girl: “I never will drink any intoxicating drinks, for Minnie’s sake. The boys tried to make me drink today, but I could not. No, No, No, I said, and that settled it” (p. 187). Earlier, Clark succinctly summed up his impression of some of his fellow soldiers: “Drunkards everywhere” (p. 147).

There is nothing earth-shattering in Clark’s diary, but enthusiasts will find some nice nuggets. We learn that a “bobtail discharge” is one in which the “Character” portion of the discharge certificate is physically torn away, a graphic indication of the soldier’s dishonorable service. Additionally, Clark uses the term “doughboy” in referring to U.S. infantrymen at least twice in the narrative.

Clark was discharged from the Army in July 1893, and after a brief sojourn back in New Hampshire, he moved to Utah Territory where he eventually became chief of Indian police at a “reservation community.” Clark married and began a family; in addition to his law enforcement duties, he kept a general store. Later, he engaged in horse trading and hotel management. In 1918, Clark moved to Salt Lake City where, following a series of illnesses, he died in June 1920.

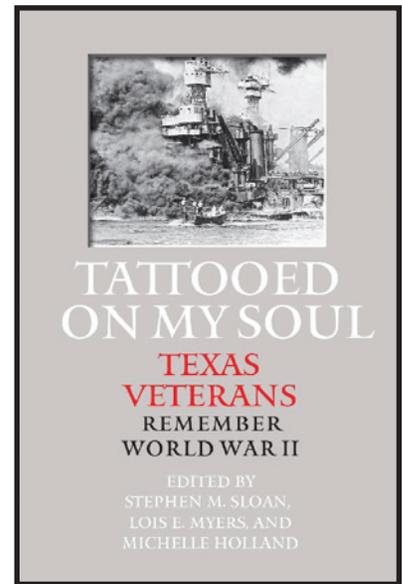
There are two maps that depict Clark’s area of operations, and several photographs provide adequate visual support to the narrative. Greene’s footnotes are extremely helpful; he provides background information, when available, on every soldier or civilian named in the diary. Greene’s supporting material consists of primary and secondary sources, including manuscript materials, government publications, newspapers, and books. Of special note, Greene uses records available through the online Ancestry.com database. Researchers would do well to consider having this Internet tool readily at hand.

Unfortunately, Clark’s original diaries vanished after Don Rickey mailed them back to Clark’s widow fifty years ago. Therefore, Greene could not confirm whether the onionskin copies contained Clark’s original, unedited entries or whether Rickey had made any transcription errors. Still, the result is worthwhile and an excellent read, providing a delightful depiction of an ordinary soldier serving on the rapidly vanishing American frontier. It would be a fine addition to any library or collection of U.S. military history books.

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*of Perfect Hell: The U.S. 26th Infantry Regiment in the Meuse-Argonne Offensive, October–November 1918* (Schiffer Publishing, 2015); and, with Alexander F. Barnes, *Forgotten Soldiers of World War I: America’s Immigrant Doughboys* (Schiffer Publishing, 2018).



***Tattooed on My Soul: Texas Veterans Remember World War II***

Edited by Stephen M. Sloan,  
Lois E. Myers, and  
Michelle Holland  
Texas A&M University Press, 2015  
Pp. xv, 283. \$29.9

**Review by Steven D. Rosson**

This year we commemorate the 75th anniversary of the end of World War II. To complement our understanding of life during the war for more than 12 million Americans, Baylor University Oral History Institute has added an oral history contribution to the field of ample scholarship. In the finest traditions of past World War II oral histories, such as *The Good War* by Studs Terkel, Baylor’s 2015 offering, *Tattooed on My Soul: Texas Veterans Remember World War II*, is a welcome edition adding clarity and emotion to long-ago events.

In 1970, the Institute for Oral History at Baylor University began interviewing prominent citizens with a Texas connection. Although the focus was on law, religion, and business, World War II obviously left such an indelible mark upon the personalities that the interviews included many wartime memories. Organized into three sections, the book covers the

United States' 1941–1942 entry into the war and buildup, the North Africa and Mediterranean campaigns with the early Pacific expansion of 1943–1944, and seven interviews that cover the climatic events of 1944 until the surrender of Germany and Japan in 1945.

This extremely readable book will not add new knowledge into the field of study or enlighten the reader on the strategic, operational, or tactical conduct of the war. However, it is a deeply personal account, filled with raw emotion filtered only by the passage of time. The seventeen former servicemen and women who contributed interviews are not famous, and any localized acclaim they earned was a result of their postwar impacts in their communities and professions.

The book's chronological sequencing starts with Frank Currie Jr., who in 1941 was in the U.S. Navy assigned to the battleship USS *Tennessee*. He had a front-row seat during the demise of the USS *West Virginia*, USS *Oklahoma*, and USS *Arizona* on 7 December 1941. Currie describes in vivid detail his attempts to save personnel from the stricken USS *West Virginia* and the grisly duty of working a motor launch recovering the dead and wounded from the nearby waters. You can still feel his helplessness and shock when you read his account nearly eighty years later.

Frank Pool was initially assigned to the 5th Armored Division, took part in Operation TORCH, and served later under Maj. Gen. George S. Patton. Pool mastered armored maneuver warfare and participated in the Normandy campaign and the battle for the Falaise pocket, before proceeding onto Paris. Late 1944 found Pool in the hell of the Huertgen Forest before finally breaking the Siegfried Line, only to withdraw in reaction to the German counterattack in the Battle of the Bulge. By the spring of 1945, Pool's unit was along the Elbe River, where it linked up with advancing Soviet forces.

Herbert Stern was a German immigrant, drafted into the Army, and trained as a combat medic. Soon after arriving in North Africa, his cultural knowledge and language skills were put to use as an interrogator of German prisoners of war. Moving to the European Theater of Operations, Stern participated in Operation COBRA, the breakout from the Normandy beachhead; barely missed being captured at Malmedy during the Battle of the Bulge;

and eventually found himself face-to-face with the evil of Nordhausen concentration camp.

In the Pacific theater, Dick Cole's description of the Doolittle Raid, launched from the deck of the USS *Hornet*, is well known to anyone who studies World War II. What may be less familiar is the postraid ditching of his B-24 Liberator in China and his journey through India where he flew C-47s over the hump—that is, the Himalayas—before finally arriving back in the United States.

Navy officer Fred Harris served on various aircraft carriers and on 18 March, 1945, was controlling the deck of the USS *Franklin* when it sustained catastrophic damage from a Japanese bombing attack. Harris describes the desperate fight to save the beleaguered ship, “[W]e burned four or five days . . . passageways were flooded. I finally got down below . . . all the silly things of reading the blueprints. I don't know how many lives that saved, of being able to know where you were in that torn up ship” (p.115). Harris earned the Navy Cross, Silver Star, and Purple Heart for his heroism.

Nearly 350,000 women served in uniform during the war. Frances Hardisty from Birdville, Texas, was twenty-eight years old when she joined the Women's Army Corps (WAC) and served both stateside and overseas. She illustrates the process, trials, and challenges of becoming a WAC officer. In New Guinea, Hardisty commanded a WAC company assigned to administrative, communications, and logistic duties. She describes her emotions of accomplishing one of the most difficult tasks for a commander, writing a letter to notify family their loved one has died.

Ruth St. Claire Murphy became a member of the Army Nurse Corps and served in a field hospital moving across France into Germany in the European Theater. Her stories highlight the shared hardships endured by a medical unit located near the front lines, the volume of casualties and work, and the constant need to jump forward to keep up with the advancing troops. Murphy also related the personal side of nursing and how she used a litter of puppies to calm soldiers in an early version of dog therapy. Both Hardisty and Murphy were keen to mention that during their time in service, neither experienced nor witnessed sexual harassment or gender discrimination. They attributed

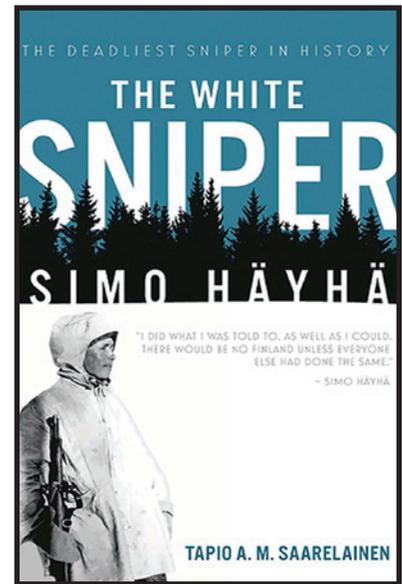
this to the difference in social morals and personal manners of the time.

Like all oral histories, this book expresses the opinions and points of view of those who lived and experienced the events, and those views are often narrow in scope and may be shaped by elapsed time. However, this book provides a needed insight into the everyday life of those who served our country and is certainly worthy of the very short time required to read it.

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**Steven D. Rosson** served twenty-six years as U.S. Army tactical intelligence officer with numerous operational and overseas deployments. Currently he serves as an assistant professor of Army Tactics at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College.

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***The White Sniper: Simo Häyhä***

By Tapio A. M. Saarelainen  
Casemate Publishers, 2016  
Pp. xiii, 192. \$34.95

**Review by Eugene M. Harding**

The story of the sniper in combat is of great interest to anyone interested in reading about combat power force multipliers and their role on the battlefield. Perhaps no other military element is more feared by their adversary than the sniper. In the United States military, our history is dotted with the lone achievements of these individuals, including Carlos Hathcock, Chris Kyle, and even the unknown sniper who shot and killed General Robert Ross during the War of 1812 and effectively took the fight out

of the British Army with this single shot. When examining snipers in the world at large, however, perhaps no other individual possesses more allure and intrigue than the Finnish sniper Simo Häyhä.

In the book *The White Sniper: Simo Häyhä* by Tapio A. M. Saarelainen, we see a glimpse of the achievements of Häyhä during his time in the Finnish Army. I say a glimpse, because unlike Häyhä himself, the author totally misses the mark. This book had much potential, but it is squandered by the recycling of childhood and postwar stories. Of the book's 192 pages, only 21 pages comprise the true "meat and potatoes" of the sniper's accomplishments during the Winter War of 1939–1940. One should not judge a book by its cover, but in this book one might expect to read about the exploits of the world's most accomplished sniper. In the end, it did not provide this story.

The awkwardness of this book may be due to a poor translation—it was first written in Finnish and then translated into English—or perhaps a difference in cultural norms in writing and editing. The book is awkwardly divided into two sections. Rather than giving chapter numbers, the book is then further divided into only chapter names. This issue is further exacerbated as there are no page numbers anywhere in the book. This lack of organization makes it difficult to make notes, as there are no page numbers for referencing.

The second and perhaps most important issue lies in the content of the writing. Saarelainen reminds the reader throughout the course of the text that he had a good and personal relationship with Simo Häyhä, but the text says otherwise. The interviews did not produce any tactics or rules the White Sniper lived by to explain his success during the war. Instead, the actual combat experience described is very mediocre in detail. The bulk of the book is made up of stories from Häyhä's childhood and events following the war. While those are beneficial to the reader as they show Häyhä's human side, they do not offer any military lessons of value. This is a shame as many stories could have been learned had the correct questions been asked. Saarelainen reminds his audience repeatedly that he knew Häyhä well, but the conversation is very superficial.

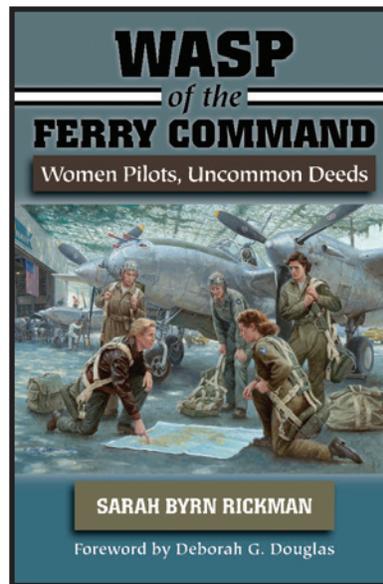
For these reasons, I cannot wholeheartedly recommend this book for an audience interested in learning about the reasons for the success of Simo Häyhä. It lacks substance, which makes it little more than

a pleasant read about a man who suffered a lot throughout war (without really understanding what he suffered) but ultimately ended up living a peaceful life.

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**Capt. Eugene M. Harding** is an armor officer and currently the commander of Delta Company, 2d Battalion, 152d Infantry Regiment, in Bluffton, Indiana. He has been in the Army eight years, is a qualified 5X military historian, holds two history master's degrees, and is pursuing a third. One degree is in ancient and classical studies, another in genocide studies with a focus on the Holocaust. His most recent degree will be in psychology with an emphasis on post-traumatic stress disorder studies.

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***WASP of the Ferry Command: Women Pilots, Uncommon Deeds***

By Sarah Byrn Rickman  
University of North Texas Press, 2016  
Pp. xix, 440. \$29.95

**Review by Alexandra Kolleda**

In 1974, Sally D. Murphy was the first woman to receive her wings and become an Army aviator, but when questioned about her status as the "first" she claimed many women had flown assignments for the Army during World War II—an historical fact long forgotten by the public. As exemplified above, too often that which is impetuously categorized as "women's history" is deemed unimportant to the larger historical narrative and left out entirely. In her book *WASP of the Ferry Command: Women Pilots, Uncommon Deeds*, Sarah Byrn Rickman attempts to remedy this

through her extraordinary research of the Women Airforce Service Pilots (WASP) in World War II. Her account is thoughtful and provocative, mixing oral history with official Army documentation and a wide selection of secondary sources. Any reader will walk away with a deeper understanding and appreciation of these female pilots.

The WASP was created in large part due to the efforts of two impressive aviators, Nancy Harkness Love and Jacqueline Cochrane. In her first chapters, Rickman describes the necessity of using female pilots during World War II. With few trained male pilots available, many of whom were requisitioned from commercial airlines, the Army Air Forces had little choice but to take advantage of a ready resource of 650 trained female pilots. Using Army memos and official programs of instruction, she compares male and female pilot requirements and effectively proves the early women were as well (if not better) trained than the male pilots commissioned into the Army.

Rickman continues by describing the two different organizations that were formed: the Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron (WAFS) and the Women's Flying Training Detachment (WFTD). Nancy Harkness Love helped stand up the WAFS, who were assigned to ferrying groups across the continental United States and ferried a wide range of aircraft for the Army. Jacqueline Cochrane was placed in charge of the WFTD, which focused on training more female pilots for the Army. Initially, many of the women who graduated from this program were also assigned to ferrying groups. In 1943, in what Rickman refers to as "Cochrane's Power Play," she had herself named as director of women pilots, effectively circumventing the authority of Love. In August of that year, the WAFS and WFTD would combine to become the single organization of the WASP with Cochrane at the head.

More than 1,000 female pilots would join the WASP before the war's end. While they performed duties ranging from flight testing aircraft to training pilots to towing gunnery targets, Rickman focuses specifically on those assigned to ferry aircraft for the Ferrying Division. After discussing the creation of the WASP, Rickman effectively organizes the book by the ferrying groups to which the WASPs were assigned. By doing so, she outlines the aircraft typically ferried by female pilots. Early in the creation of the WAFS, it was deemed necessary for

women to be subject to the same transition program as men—essentially, they needed to qualify on low-powered, single engine (Class I) aircraft before moving up to aircraft that were more difficult to fly. If women were relegated to fly only Class I aircraft, they would prevent men from getting the training necessary to fly bombers (Class V). This would have caused a significant problem because women were restricted from ferrying overseas, where Class V aircraft were desperately needed to sustain the air war.

Unfortunately, as the war progressed, the production of Class I aircraft dwindled as trainers became less important to the war effort. In order to allow male pilots to continue to qualify up to Class V aircraft, it became necessary to train more women on pursuit aircraft as it was found that qualification on pursuit aircraft was not necessary for men to reach Class V. It naturally followed that allowing women to monopolize these classifications freed up men to ferry overseas and prevented a stall in the qualification process.

In outlining this decision, Rickman impresses upon her reader the significance of the WASP in World War II. The ferrying of pursuit aircraft was absolutely essential to the effectiveness of the Army Air Forces' objectives. Pursuits provided bombers with protection throughout the mission, leaving them less vulnerable to attack. Those WASPs trained to ferry pursuits thus helped to ensure the air war was sustainable. In fact, when the WASP was inactivated at the end of 1944, sixty-six pursuits sat on a runway at Long Beach unable to be delivered because the Army had just sent

home 117 willing and ready female pursuit pilots. This action would cost the Army \$1,085,312 and five months of training to replace these WASP members.

It is in the discussion of the inactivation of the WASP, however, where Rickman shows her background as a journalist rather than a historian. Unlike the Women's Army Corps, the WASP was never brought into the folds of the Army, and the women served as civilians throughout the war, receiving no military status until 1977. It is her opinion on this fact that causes Rickman to balance precariously on the line between objectivity and subjectivity in her description of Jacqueline Cochrane. She spends a significant portion of the book describing Cochrane's power play in detail, emphasizing her own ambition and chauvinism, to which she attributes the inactivation of the WASP. Although much of the existent scholarship argues a similar thesis, there are many more factors in play, including the small size of the WASP and the shift of focus to the Pacific Theater. By spending so much time attempting to discredit Cochrane, Rickman does exactly what she says she will not do in her introduction—she overemphasizes Cochrane's role in the WASP to the detriment of the larger story.

Additionally, while her extensive use of firsthand accounts from the WASPs themselves may allow the reader to better empathize with the service and sacrifice of these women, they also lead to disjointed story-telling. In an effort to share the biographies of hundreds of WASPs to whom Rickman has developed a personal connection, she loses sight of what she claims is the true purpose of the book—to

show that “the full story of the WASP is much bigger and far more complex” than most existing scholarship argues (p. 1). Her research and knowledge provides her with the material to write a truly revealing history of the significance of this program and its importance to the historical record as a whole, not simply as “women's history.” Instead, she leaves the reader overwhelmed with tidbits of information that have little significance to the larger picture.

Regardless, in 2018 the WASP celebrated its seventy-fifth birthday, and despite its shortcomings, *WASP of the Ferry Command* is a profound way to celebrate the contributions of its pilots. This book helps to fill a significant gap in U.S. and Army history and tells the story of a group of women long taken for granted. For any researcher studying World War II aviation, Rickman's important research is a valuable resource.

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# CHIEF HISTORIAN'S FOOTNOTE

JON T. HOFFMAN



## COVID-19, DIRECT HIRING ACTIONS, AND MORE

**T**hey say a plan never survives contact with the enemy. In the case of the new coronavirus, we didn't even know the enemy existed a few months ago. As I write this in early April, we have no idea what the battlefield will look like a few months hence, but we continue to plan that victory will be achieved and life will return to something like normalcy. In the meantime, we are adapting and overcoming as best we can, with some aspects of the history program affected more than others.

Hiring actions continue almost normally. We recently selected two historians for positions covered by the Army's centrally funded apprenticeship program. One will be at work with the Histories Directorate by the time this is in print. The other selectee will be delayed in joining Field Programs Directorate because he currently resides out of state and all change-of-station moves are on hold. In addition, for the first time the Center of Military History has received allocations to fill vacant positions using Direct Hire Authority, which Congress granted to the Department of Defense in 2017. This program allows us to advertise outside USAJobs (the federal government online hiring portal) and select qualified individuals without restrictions such as veteran preference. It is particularly valuable in a field such as history, where an applicant who has completed an undergraduate degree with a 3.5 grade point average meets the minimum qualifications for a GS-7 position (the beginning grade of our apprenticeships). Thus, in a standard hiring action, a veteran with a bachelor's degree will block nonveterans with doctoral degrees. Although we are glad to hire veterans, a graduate-level education is critical in our field. It provides necessary skills for doing extensive primary research, judging the quality and reliability of sources, and analyzing facts to produce insightful narratives. Direct Hire Authority gives us greater opportunity to select the most highly qualified candidates. We are initiating two hiring actions of this type, learning as we go about the best way to do so.

Within Histories Directorate, most of our work goes ahead with little disruption. The Department of Defense's health protection conditions, which maximize remote work for all eligible employees during a pandemic, primarily affect two authors working on volumes related to Iraq and Afghanistan, as they deal with classified sources and the manuscripts must

be written on the classified network. They currently spend their time researching available secondary literature and unclassified sources, but necessarily, writing will be delayed. All other historians have brought their research home and continue to write without interruption. Editors and visual information specialists are still working to turn manuscripts into printed products, although there may be delays in actually getting things printed. Right now, there are no books at this stage of production. The editorial board continues to meet with authors virtually and review their work.

The Field Programs Directorate is not quite as fortunate, as some of its work (such as lineage and honors and organizational history) depends heavily on paper records. Although historians can cover their current tasks based on material they accessed before mass telework began, as new requirements arrive they may not be able to respond fully until we return to the office. We had to end staff rides, of course, but this provides time for historians to build new products that we hope to offer in the future. In that respect, the pause is timely, as we recently started an initiative to develop programs attuned to the needs of high-level staffs at Headquarters, Department of the Army; Training and Doctrine Command; and so forth. One example is a mobilization staff ride that looks at the Army's buildup for World War II in terms of staffing, training, and industrial expansion. The Army undergoes this type of national mobilization so rarely that no one currently serving has ever experienced anything remotely like the scale required for a global conflict. A staff ride thus gives senior leaders and staffs the opportunity to think about issues outside the day-to-day focus of their jobs, and to learn how the Army grappled with mobilization in the past. It will serve them well if we ever have to fight that type of war again. Given current experience, the unexpected is perhaps not as unlikely as we would have thought.

In sum, the Army historical program continues to function and look forward to the future, even as we respond to the current crisis.



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