Notes

Introduction

1 Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC H4 15-6, Prostitution. For a full account of this exchange, see chapter 6.


6 AMGOT stood for Allied Military Government for Occupied Territories. On AMGOT, see Régine Torrent, La France américaine: controverses de la Libération (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004), chap. 2.

7 Most recently, Jean Edward Smith has argued that Eisenhower favored plans to include General de Gaulle and his CFLN organization in the reconstruction of liberated France. In response to Eisenhower’s support of de Gaulle, the War Department sent a representative, John J. McCloy, to the White House in order to convince FDR to soften his stance against the French general. See Eisenhower in War and Peace (New York: Random House, 2012), 338.


Coulet was the first commissaire whom Charles de Gaulle appointed in Bayeux. There he dealt mostly with British troops. However, Coulet soon assumed the role of regional commissaire for all of Normandy. In this position he dealt frequently with the Americans.


AN, Séries F1a 4005, Documents François Coulet, report dated 1 July 1944. Hurstfield, America and the French Nation, 207.


André Siegfried, Les États-Unis d’aujourd’hui (Paris: Armand Colin, 1927); translated as America Comes of Age (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1928). Siegfried is widely considered to be the founder of French political science.


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2 This is the fatality figure provided by the US National D-Day Memorial Foundation. See http://www.ddaymuseum.co.uk/faq.htm.


See a description of this type of propaganda in *La presse cherbourgeoise*, 20 July 1944; André Siegfried, “Pourquoi les américains font la guerre,” *Le figaro*, 12 October 1944.


Julien Septeuil, *Jours tranquilles sous l’occupation* (Brive: Écritures, 1999), 181; Archives nationales (hereafter AN), Séries F1a 3743, Opinion publique (hereafter AN), Séries F1a 3743, “La vie et l’opinion des parisiens en 1943.”

AN, F1a 3743, “La réaction en face de bombardements alliés, rapport du 1 octobre 1943.”


AN, F1a 3743, “Une opinion sur les bombardements alliés, rapport du 16 mai 1944.”


AN, F1a 3743, “Réaction de l’opinion publique française.”

35 IHTP, Fonds Émile Delavanay (hereafter FED), Interviews with Vincent Auriol, Eduard Froment, and Juste Evrard, all 28 October 1943. These interviews were led by the European Intelligence Department in London of people recently arrived from metropolitan or colonial France.


37 IHTP FED, Interview with Edward and René Banbanast, 6 August 1942, and Interview with M. Bouvier, 28 April 1942.

38 IHTP FED, Interview with Captain Bucknall, 29 March 1943.


40 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Claude Tatard, “Claude Bourdon, réfugiée de St.-Lô—1944 été,” 904.


43 National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEF) (hereafter RG 331), General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945, Entry 47 (hereafter Entry 47), Box 28, Civil Affairs Weekly Summary, no. 7, 28 July 1944.


45 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, Civil Affairs Weekly Summary no. 13, 8 September 1944; and see also Louis Eudier, *Notre combat de classe et de patriotes 1934–1945* (Le Havre: L. Eudier, 1982), 125.

46 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, “Report on Le Havre,” 19 October 1944.


52 NARA, RG 331, General Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Operations File Entry 54 (hereafter Entry 54), Box 111, “Report from the Field on Reactions of Local Population in Normandy, No. 6, 14 August 1944.”

54 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Freese, “Private Memories,” 17.
55 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 3 August, 1944.
57 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Raymond Avignon, 28.
60 Lucie Aubrac, *Cette exigeante liberté: entretiens avec Corinne Bouchoux* (Paris: L’Archipel, 1997), 146. See also ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105.
63 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Raymond Avignon, 28–29.
64 Kaiser, *Veteran Recall*, 89.
65 Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front*, 32.
66 *Liberté de Normandie*, 23 December 1944.
67 *Liberté de Normandie*, 8 June 1945.
69 AN, Séries F1a 4005, Mission Militaire de Liaison Administrative, 1944–46 (hereafter F1a 4005), “No. 415, Le Maire, St-Mère-Église à Coulet à Bayeux, 6 juin 1944.”
70 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 111, “Report from the Field on Reactions of Local Population in Normandy, no. 1, nd.”
72 Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front*, 72.
73 Rooney, *My War*, 166, 161. See also ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Fenand, 342. Fenand had one brother killed and knew a family who lost all four of their children, ages sixteen, fifteen, ten, and nine.
75 See also Archives Départementales du Calvados (hereafter ADC), 9 W 101, Débarquement des troupes alliés, 1944. The first folder in this dossier contains often poignant letters to the préfet from French men unable to get in touch with their relatives in the area. The letters range in date from mid- to late June.
76 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Pierre Launey.
77 Vercors, *Souffrances de mon pays* (Paris: Collections des 150, 1945), 16. The article appeared in *Life*, 6 November 1944. The original French version was published some months later. Vercors was a novelist whose *Silence de la mer* became extremely well known in France.


81 Giles, G.I. Journal, 34–35, 45–46. See also Hovsepian, Your Son and Mine, 80; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Wendell Albert, “For the Duration . . . and Six Months,” 59.


83 Orval Eugene Faubus, In This Faraway Land (Conway, AR: River Road, 1971), 248. On this point, see also Hurkala, The Fighting First Division, 148, and the British memoir, Charles Hargrove, Asnelles 6 juin 1944 (Lisieux: EFE, 2004).


85 Paul Boesch, Road to Heurtgen-Forest in Hell (Houston, TX: Gulf, 1962), 48.


87 Irgang, Etched in Purple, 19. See also MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Joseph Edinger, diary entry dated 6 February 1945; and Liebling, Normandy Revisited, 103.

88 Giles, Journal, 41. For the same complaint from some of the free French who were fighting farther east, see Gwenn-Aël Bolloré, Commando de la France libre: Normandie, 6 juin 1944 (Paris: France-Empire, 1985), 179.

89 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Freese, “Private Memories,” 17. See also Jack Plano, Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 252.

90 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Charles Haug, “Courageous Defenders as I Remember It,” 3.

91 MHI, Chester Hansen diary entry dated 9 June 1944.

92 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 28, Civil Affairs Summary No. 5, 4 July 1944. See also RG 331, Entry 54, Box 111, “Report from the Field on Reactions of Local Population in Normandy No. 7, 18 August 1944.”

93 Faubus, In This Faraway Land, 256. See also MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Murray Shapiro, “Letters Home,” letter of 20 October 1944; and Terkel, The Good War, 379.

94 Eustis, War Letters, 213–14. See also Faubus, In This Faraway Land, 232.


96 Tapert, Lines of Battle, 228–229.


Perret, *Caen, 6 juin, 47*; Herval, *Bataille de Normandie*, 1:37, 52.


Kaiser, *Veteran Recall*, 73.

Ibid., 89.


Ibid., 1:189.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Jacques Vautier, 976.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Marguerite Pottier, 416.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Georgette Leduc Le Bourg, 443.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Pottier, 416.

Ibid., 1:39.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105. See also Paris, *Paroles de braves*, 36.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Odette Eudes, 333.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83.


Ibid., 1:39.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105. See also Paris, *Paroles de braves*, 36.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83.


Ibid., 1:39.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105. See also Paris, *Paroles de braves*, 36.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83.
NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 111, “Memo to Civil Affairs, 22 June 1944,” and “Report from the Field on Reactions of Local Population in Normandy No. 2, 8 July 1944.”
NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, “First Report on U.S. Zone of Operations in France,” 25 June 1944; and see also Easton, Love and War, 224.
Edward Rogers, Doughboy Chaplain (Boston: Meador, 1946), 158.
Bertin, ed., Histoires extraordinaires, 118.
MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 2 July 1944.
MHI Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 10 June 1944; MHI, The John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 120; Coquart and Huet, Le jour le plus fôu, 61–62, 73; Leveel, Rails et haies, 83.
Coquart and Huet, Les rescapés, 83.
Sampson, Look Out Below, 69.
Kayser, Un journaliste sur le front, 41. See also ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jouet Monpied, 603.
Kayser, Un journaliste sur le front, 53.
Faubus, In This Faraway Land, 248.
Giles, Journal, 97.
MHI, World War II Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Joseph Edinger, diary entry dated 6 February 1945.
Gourbin, Une jeunesse occupée, 110.
Poule, Cahiers de mémoire, 28.
Bré, Chroniques du Jour, 61–62. See also Gourbin, Une jeunesse occupée, 113.
Bowen, Dearest Isabel, 70.
Wisconsin State Veterans’ Museum, Unpublished mss., 2001, Norbert Koopman, “I Was Just Lucky: Memoirs of a World War II Private,” 35. For stories concerning GIs who stopped a battle in order to protect civilians, see ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Geneviève Jouet Monpied, 603; and Témoignage de Ma-

175 Kaiser, *Veteran Recall*, 91. See also ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Lucienne Letourneau, 736; Lepoittevin, *Mémoires de guerres*, 104; Delpierre, *Une enfance normande*, 149.

176 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Odette Eudes, 333.

177 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Francine Leblond, 651.


184 Hautecloque, *La guerre chez nous*, 110.


186 Poule, *Cahiers de mémoire*, 22.


190 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Jacques Vautier, 978–79.


194 Poule, *Cahiers de mémoire*, 72–73.

195 Jourdain, *Petites surprises*, 140.


197 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83.


Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front*, 98; and also Leveel, *Rails et haies*, 122.


MHI, World War II Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Mark Goodman, “Unit History of Company A,” 50.

Danièle Philippe remembers an American intelligence officer who came to her family’s house one night for dinner. After eating, the officer played on the piano, and in the silence that followed, he stated flatly that he had lost his twenty-one-year-old son, Joe, on D-day at Omaha Beach. Philippe’s family comforted him and shared their last bottle of champagne. Philippe, *J’avais quinze ans*, 167.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Georgette Leduc Le Bourg, 392.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Anonymous Témoignage, 1017–18.

Poule, *Cahiers de mémoire*, 73.


Collet, *A vingt ans dans la Résistance*, 139.


*Stars and Stripes*, 5 July 1944. For a similar tribute in Bréhal, see *Stars and Stripes*, 7 August 1944. In the memoir literature, see Sampson, *Look Out Below*, 75.


*ADC, 13 T II/41, L’entente nouvelle*, June 1945.

Jourdain, *Petites surprises*, 133.


“Chewing gum with a cigarette on their lips” was how the mayor of Sainte-Mère-Église portrayed the GIs while they liberated his town on the sixth of June. See AN, Séries F1a 4005. The image quickly became classic. For example, see Raibaud and Henric, *Des polytechniques racontent*, 185.

Perret, *Caen, 6 juin*, 127.

*L’avenir du nord de l’Aisne*, 10 September 1944.

Petit, *Au cœur de la bataille*, 86

Among many other possibilities, see ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Dold-Lomet, 284, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83; and Anonymous “Le Débarquement,” 1017–18; Bré, *Chroniques*, 78; Philippe, *J’avais quinze ans*, 144.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Christianne Denis, 249.


Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front*, 129.


Philippe, *J’avais quinze ans*, 144, 188.


For an American view of how Civil Affairs worked with French officials, see Maj.

228 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Alvin Griswold, “Letters from Hughes.”

229 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 99th Infantry Division, Roger Foehringer, “Untitled Reminiscences,” 7. See also Box 71st Infantry Division, Lewington S. Ponder, “Recollections of World War II,” 72.

230 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Joseph Edinger, diary entry dated 5 February 1945.


233 Faubus, In This Faraway Land, 325.


235 Stars and Stripes, 1 August 1944.

236 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Joseph Messore, “28th Infantry Division: A Recollection Fifty Years Later,” 26. See also Box 36th Infantry Division, Anthony Harlinski, “The Purple Road Back,” 4.

237 The story was retold in Sacco, Where the Birds Never Sing, 211.

238 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, John Earle, “Letter to His Parents.”

239 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Messore, “28th Infantry Division,” 59.

240 Rooney, My War, 277.


243 Hovsepian, Your Son and Mine, 79.


245 Eric Posselt, GI Songs, Written, Composed and/or Collected by Men in the Service (New York: Sheridan House Publishers, 1944), 72–73.


247 Andy Rooney, My War, 225.

248 Stars and Stripes, 26 July 1944.

249 Lepoittevin, Mémoires de guerres, 105; Giles, Journal, 28.

250 Gourbin, Une jeunesse occupée, 113. See also Egger and Otts, G Company War, 69.

251 Giles, G.I. Journal, 27.

252 Peter Belpulsi, A GI’s View of World War II (Salem, MO: Globe Publishers. 1997), 94.

253 Andy Rooney, My War, 225.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Louis Blaise, 83, 86.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Jacques Vautier, 979.

Poule, *Cahiers de mémoire*, 76.


Poule, *Cahiers de mémoire*, 72–73.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 115.


ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105.


Jourdain, *Petites surprises*, 139.

Cane, *Fighting Fascism in Europe*, 121.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Pierre Launey, 641–42.


Giles, *Journal*, 41. See also Peckham and Snyder, *Letters from Fighting Hoosiers*, 119. For the same opinion in the south of France, see Winston, *V...-Mail*, 152.


*Stars and Stripes*, 2 September 1944. Kalamazoo River is in Marshall, Michigan.

Ibid. For more complaints about the castle, see Petesch, *War through the Hole of...
a Donut, 151, 162. For a positive view of a French castle, see Capell, Surviving the Odds, 108–9.

281 Hillel, Vie et moeurs des GI’s en Europe, 135.

282 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 36.

283 Petesch, War through the Hole of a Donut, 145.


285 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 61.


287 Litoff et al., Miss You, 198. See also Rogers, Doughboy Chaplain, 154.


290 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 2 July 1944.

291 Harvey Levenstein, We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 88.


293 Quoted in Schrijvers, Crash of Ruin, 229.


298 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 61–64.


300 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 9 September 1944.

301 Boesch, Road to Heurtgen-Forest in Hell, 92. See also Schrijvers, Crash of Ruin, 239.

302 Le Mémorial de Caen, TE 243, Témoignage de Sergent Chef Dargols, 1.


305 Le Mémorial de Caen, TE 277, Marcelle Hamel-Hateau, “Des mémoires d’une
petit maîtresse d’école de Normandie: souvenirs du débarquement de juin 1944,”
308 Hillel, Vie et mœurs, 163. Not every GI thought such practices were offensive. See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Bert Damsky, “Shipping Order___ APO___,” 38–39.
309 Litoff et al., Miss You, 237.

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2 Rhetoricians consider photography to be a peculiarly democratic visual form because it calls upon the individual to represent the whole. See Lucaites and Hariman, “Visual Rhetoric”; Cara A. Finnegan, Picturing Poverty: Print Culture and FSA Photographs (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 118.
3 As Susan Sontag writes in On Photography (New York: Picador, 1973), 5, “a photograph passes for incontrovertible proof that a given thing happened.”
4 Ibid., 23.
7 Finnegan, Picturing Poverty, 170, 242.
12 Stars and Stripes, 24 June 1944.


15 French women greeting GIs with delirious happiness was a textual as well as visual element of *Stars and Stripes* reportage. See “‘They Don’t Parlay English, but It’s ‘Welcome’ All Right,’” 2 August 1944, and G. K. Hedenfeld, “Beer—Ice Cold—Flows in Rennes,” 8 August 1944.


18 *Stars and Stripes*, 9 September 1944.

19 Ibid.


22 *Stars and Stripes*, 28 August 1944.

23 *Stars and Stripes*, 29 August 1944.

24 *Stars and Stripes*, 24 August 1944.

25 *Stars and Stripes*, 26 August 1944.

26 *Stars and Stripes*, 24 August 1944.

27 *Stars and Stripes*, 29 September 1944.

28 The six newspapers are *Le parisien libéré*, *Le populaire*, *Ce soir*, *France libre*, *Le franc-tireur*, and *L’aube*.

29 For the vagueness concerning “les libérateurs,” see *France libre*, 26 August 1944. For textual accounts of the Liberation that appeared in these newspapers at the time, and which also contrast sharply with the American version of events, see Suzanne Campaux, ed., *La libération de Paris (19–26 août 1944): récits de combattants et de témoins réunis* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1945).
30 Ce soir, 30 August 1944.
32 Le parisien libéré, 26 August 1944.
34 Le franc-tireur, 27 August 1944.
39 On Ralph Morse, see Roeder, The Censored War, 95.
40 Life, 25 September 1944.
41 Stars and Stripes, 20 September 1944.
44 The GIs referred to looting as “liberating.” See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 76. In general, theft was not considered to be morally reprehensible. Some rules applied. Engagement rings, for example, were not considered legal loot. See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, “I Was There,” 89, and Box 85th Infantry Division, Hal O’Neill, “Looting.” For the official military response to looting, see National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Rec-
ords of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEF) (hereafter RG 331), General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945, Entry 47, Box 28, Civil Affairs Weekly Summary, no. 9, 11 August 1944; NARA, RG 331, General Correspondence, 1944–45, Entry 6, Box 11, “Looting by Troops and Relations with Civilian Population.” SHAEB headquarters set up a formal commission in Normandy for the reparation of French goods stolen by GIs, politely called “irregular requisitions” by the French. See ADM, 158 W, Réquisitions américaines, 1944–46, 159–202, réquisitions irrégulières. One measure of the breadth of these complaints is that they fill up forty-three boxes.

45 For the occurrence of these accidents in Le Havre, see the Faits divers column of Havre-éclair during the summer of 1945. On 26 June, for example, the column notes that a three-year-old child had been killed by an American vehicle. For the same sort of accident in Caen, see Archives Départementales du Calvados, 726 W 16 905, “Correspondance avec les autorités militaires alliées au sujet de sepultures alliées et enemies,” where an angry letter from the Sous-préfet de Bayeux complains about a jeep running over a small child. In Reims, the police chief reported on 9 February 1945 that civilians believed the Americans to be aiming at them on purpose. See ADM, 132 W 276, Mission militaire française de liaison auprès de l’armée américaine, rapport du Commissaire de Police. In this file, see also an undated document titled “Difficultés avec les américains,” which describes as “frequent” “mortal accidents” with American jeeps.

46 Coquart, La France des G.I.s, 74. In Naître ennemi: les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la seconde guerre mondiale (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2009), 193–94. Fabrice Virgili notes that in early 1944 rapes by German soldiers against French women were very infrequent.

47 For a full exploration of these rape charges, see chapter 7. On GI misbehavior, see also Footitt, War and Liberation in France, 163–64.

48 Archives de la Préfecture de la Police (hereafter APP), BA 1822 Libération. This file contains scores of police reports, dated from December 1944 through February 1946, and concerning armed robbery and assault, allegedly at the hands of American soldiers.

49 While there are over a hundred reports of crimes committed by the Americans in the police file APP, BA 1822 Libération, not one report implicated a British soldier, and only three cases targeted Canadian soldiers. These reports represent only a fraction of alleged crimes against the GIs, as the American military police often handled problems without the French police. No arrondissement of Paris was spared from American violence, although trouble centered on the grands boulevards and in red light districts of the eighth, ninth, and tenth arrondissements. In Liberators: The Allies and Belgian Society, 1944–1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 243, Peter Schrijvers notes that similar types of crimes in Belgium—assault, public drunkenness, rape, and theft—were overwhelmingly American.

50 APP, Name of dossier withheld, A-1945/6 (F. 32.795). The man in question had a long police record, mostly for robbery, and worked for the Gestapo during the war. On 8 September 1945, he became seriously wounded, and when the doctor was called, he claimed to have been attacked by American GIs. The police later concluded it had been a fight, most likely resulting from a “paying of debts with people of his sort.”


AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 8 October 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 26 November 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 10 September 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, petition dated 19 September 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 30 October 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-5, Joe Weston, “The GIs in Le Havre,” manuscript; *Life*, 31 December 1945.


Archives Départementales du Finistère, Fonds Roger Bourrières, 202J9, Libération du Finistère après le 6 juin: rapports, récits, témoignages, région centre. The accounts of violence come from the diary of an unnamed member of the FFI who was put in charge of guarding the village of Botmeur. See also in this archive Fonds Alain Le Grand, 200 W 75, Attentats, sabotages, vols, actes de terrorisme, report dated 26 août 1944.

Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), F1A 4023, Rapports du commissaire de la République, Marseille, 15 Juillet 1945.

AN, Fic III, Préfet de Moselle, September 1945.

Service historique de la gendarmerie nationale, Vincennes, 027720, Troisième légion R/2 1944–45, Rouen, Synthèse mensuelle sur l’état d’esprit des populations, February 1945. There are scores of such crimes reported in the archives of the Gendarmerie nationale. A sampling would include 76 E 7 Compagnie de la Seine-Inférieur à Rouen, registres de correspondance courante au départ, 6 avril au 9 novembre 1945, report of 24 December 1944; 76 E 163 Section de Rouen, registres de correspondance courante au départ, 6 avril au 9 novembre 1945, report of 24 December 1944; 76E 114 Section du Havre, registres de correspondance courante au départ (R/2), 23 avril 1945 au 17 janvier 1946, letter to the Provost Marshall dated 23 July 1945.


ADMar, 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américains: rapports 1944–46, letter dated 26 June 1945 and letter dated 17 July 1945. For police reports of these crimes, see the same file, three reports all dated 22 June 1945, which concern assaults by GIs in a French home, backyard, and a local café. See also ADMar, 8 U 180, Rapports de gendarmerie et de police concernant des faits de guerre, report dated 15 May 1945; 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, 1945, in particular the report dated 22 October 1945 describing broken windows, demands for alcohol and women, and the rape of a mother of eight children, all in Reims. Since Polish and French soldiers also wore American uniforms in this area, it is possible that the GIs were being wrongly accused of violence committed by these two groups.


ADMar, 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliés, notes et correspondance, letter dated 8 August 1945 from “A group of indignant fathers of families.”

ADMar, 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated 15 August 1945.


Stars and Stripes, 1 July 1944.

The origin of this cartoon could have been an incident that occurred during General Eisenhower’s entry into Paris in late August. In an awkward moment, a man approached the general on his jeep and gave him a kiss. See MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry 27 August 1944. According to Hansen, Gen. Omar Bradley also was kissed somewhat awkwardly by a woman, but he bragged: “Well I did better than Ike; he had a man kiss him.”

Stars and Stripes, 31 July 1944.

The classic work is Fabrice Virgili, La France “virile”: des femmes tondues à la Libération (Paris: Éditions Payot et Rivages, 2000); English trans., Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France (Oxford: Berg, 2002). There were tonte rituals elsewhere in Europe, namely, Belgium and Italy. See, for example, Schrijvers, Liberators, 77–78.


Virgili, Shorn Women, 84, 219, 237.

See Virgili’s exhaustive analysis of the photo in Naitre ennemi, 176–79.

For the equation of the Liberation with the tonte, see Virgili, Shorn Women, 83.

Stars and Stripes 9 September 1944.

Kapitola 3


3 French Swiss novelist Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz defined the “defense of the sacred” in this way: “the nation, most importantly, is a simple corner of the earth: this is my house, my fields, my village, my family, my things . . . so I defend it against those who would ruin the earth, set fire to the houses and perhaps take the lives of my wife and children.” See C.-F. Ramuz, “Défense du sacré,” in *La patrie se fait tous les jours, textes français, 1939–1945*, ed. Jean Paulhan and Dominique Aury (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1947), 57–58.


5 For such images of homelessness, see Jean-Paul Sartre, *Troubled Sleep* [*La mort dans l’âme*] (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1951; orig. 1947), 18–19; André Malraux, *The Walnut Trees of Altenburg* [*Les noyers d’Altenburg*] (New York: Howard Fertig, 1989; orig. 1948), 16; Jean Dutourd, *Les taxis de la Marne* (Paris: Gallimard, 1956), 12. Sartre was drafted into the army in 1939, and captured by the Germans in Padoux. After nine months as a prisoner of war, he was released for health reasons. Malraux fought in the battle of 1940 and was captured by the Germans. He later escaped and joined the Resistance. Dutourd was drafted in 1940, briefly taken prisoner by the Germans, then escaped to Paris.


National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEF) (hereafter RG 331), Entry 47, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 47), Box 27, RECCE Report on Cherbourg. RECCE was a SHAEF mission undertaken in late June through early July 1944 to gauge French opinion in liberated territory. For the notion that the French were “maîtres chez eux,” see also *L’Amérique en guerre*, 12 April 1944.


NARA, RG 331, Entry 54 General Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Operations File (hereafter Entry 54), Box 193, analysis sheet from OSS to SHAEF Headquarters dated October 1944.


26 NARA, RG 331, Entry 53, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Planning File, 1943–July 1945, Crane Brinton, “Memorandum on the Situation in France” dated December 1943.


29 Wladimir d’Ormesson in *Le figaro*, 15 September 1944. In October, the French chief of police, Lt. Col. Girard, noted that civilians “do not understand that France no longer occupies the place on the world stage that is its right to hold.” Archives Nationales, Série 72AJ, 384, La gendarmerie nationale, synthèse pour la période du 15 septembre au 15 octobre 1944.

30 *Paris Normandie*, 23 September 1944.


33 This argument has been taken up by Régine Torrent, *La France américaine: controverses de la libération* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004).


35 ADC, 21 W 15/2, Rapports mensuels du préfet: documents préparatoires de synthèse, 1944, 18 December 1944. On the issue of de Gaulle, see same dossier 5 February and 11 March 1945.

36 *Front national*, 12 September 1944.

37 *Combat*, 23 August 1944.

38 MHI, World War Two Survey Collection (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 36th Infantry Division, Anthony Harlinski, “The Purple Road Back,” 6.


46 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, George J. Koch survey.
47 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait.”
49 Schrijvers, Crash of Ruin, 43; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Andrew Wright survey.
50 Schrijvers, Crash of Ruin, 45.
51 Ibid., 42.
52 Ibid., 43, 46.
53 Toole, Battle Diary, diary entry dated 26 November 1944, 61.
57 Phibbs, Other Side of Time, 100, 166, 185–94.
58 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, John E. Bistrica survey and Warren R. Eames survey; Nat Frankel and Larry Smith, Patton’s Best: An Informal History of the 4th Armored Division (New York: Hawthorn, 1978), 31; William M. McGonahay, MD, Battalion Surgeon (Rochester, MN: W. McGonahay, 1966), 86; Paul Boesch, Road to Heartgen-Forest in Hell (Houston, TX: Gulf Publishers, 1962), 85; Orval Eugene Faubus, In This Faraway Land (Conway, AR: River Road, 1971), 254. The GIs were particularly impressed by female members of the FFI, and often tried to seduce them. See MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 202–4, 227–8, 270; Easton, Love and War, 248; John Hurkala, The Fighting First Division: A True Story (New York: Greenwich Book Publishers, 1957), 158.
59 MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 205.
MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, John E. Bistrica survey.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, William Lee survey; Lucien Guen-neau, André Goaocolou, and Alain Le Bris, eds., Résistants et maquisards dans le Finistère: témoignages (Spézet: Les Amis de la Résistance du Finistère-ANACR, 2008), 48.


NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 27, memo dated 5 September 1944; and see also Box 28, Civil Affairs weekly summary no. 13, 8 September 1944.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, Civil Affairs report, 18 August to 23 August 1944.

MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 27 August 1944.

Archives Départementales du Finistère, Fonds Roger Bourrières, 202J9 Libération du Finistère après le 6 juin: rapports, récits, témoignages, Région Sud, Anonymous manuscript, 63. The author was a member of the Resistance group “Vengeance” in Quimper.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, report dated 30 September 1944.


MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Rocco Moretto survey.

Phibbs, Other Side of Time, 172.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, Civil Affairs report 18 August to 23 August 1944.

MHI Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 27 August 1944. For a more positive account of the same phenomenon, see MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 195: “I had observed the FFI about town. They were having a high old time, tearing through the streets in captured or seized cars, always carrying arms and taking liberties almost at will. This was their day in the sun so to speak, the day they had been working for and waiting for, for so long. I felt that they were entitled to this moment of power and glory while the flush of liberation lasted, provided they did not get out of hand.”

NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, report dated 27 October 1944 and Civil Affairs weekly summary, 8 September 1944. See also RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, report dated 19 October 1944. For a contrasting positive report, see same box, report dated 30 September 1944. In the secondary literature, see Wall, Making of Postwar France, 25.


MHI, WWII Survey, 452nd Quartermaster Laundry Company, Leslie Brown, untitled memoir, np; Phibbs, The Other Side of Time, 167.

For the discomfort of the GIs with the tone ritual, see Archives Départementales du Morbihan, 1 J 641, Fonds du Comité d’Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale, Paul Rollando, “4 Août 1944: La libération de Vannes” (1944), 41. In the Ameri-


84 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, report 18 August to 23 August 1944; Entry 54, Box 111, analysis sheet of the Langelon Report, dated 4 August 1944. Also in Box 111, see “Summary of Findings of Civilian Investigations” dated 25 June 1944, and report dated 2 August 1944. In the French memoir literature, see Jean Leloup, *La sanglante bataille de la Seine: témoignage* (Almenèches: Humusaire, 2003), 117.


89 Guenneau et al., *Résistants et maquisards dans le Finistère*, 33.

90 Archives Départementales du Finistère (hereafter ADF), Fonds Roger Bourrières (hereafter FRB), 202J 9, Libération du Finistère après le 6 juin: rapports, récits, témoignages (hereafter 202J 9), Région Centre, reports dated 15 June 1944, 27 June 1944, 22 September 1944, and Anonymous “Les Quimperois dans les Combats de la Presqu’île de Crozon.” See also Jean-Jacques François and Colette François-Dive,

For a good example of this kind of narration, see Claude Monod, *La région D: rapport d’activité des maquis de Bourgogne-Franche-Comté* (Saint-Etienne-Vallée-Française: AIOU, 1994), 72–75.

Reuchet, *Le désarroi*, 213; François and François-Dive, *De la Résistance à la Libération*, 104–5.

Reuchet, *Le désarroi*, 213.


MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Raymond Huntoon survey.


Curtis *Les forêts de la nuit*, 251.

Peyré, *Soldat chez les hommes*, 93–94, 139, 150.

Monod, *La région D*, 80–81. FFI leader of the Burgundy “D” region, Monod joined the First French Army in 1944 and was killed some months later in Germany.

In order to investigate the responses of these French men to their American liberators, I read scores of memoirs of French *deportés* and forced labor workers who were residing in German camps at the end of the war. Most of these testimonies have been written in the last two decades.


Bureau, *Un soldat menteur*, 349.


Foncine, *Un si long orage*, 274.


Conversy, *Quinze mois à Buchenwald*, 203.


Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 52; Robert Cardot, *L’abeille reste indom-

134 Cardot, L'abeille reste indomptée, 105.


136 Lessaře, Des bruyères d’Auvergne, 184.

137 Victor Dufaut, La vie vient de l’ouest (Paris: Promotion et Édition, 1969), 199. See also Foncine, Un si long orage, 275. Those prisoners lucky enough to be liberated by their own army were thankful for both its warmth of reception and its model of French manhood. See Caussé, Mémoires d’un tarnais S.T.O., 160; Ganter, Une jeunesse heureuse assassiné, 68.


139 Nidub, Quand les jours noirs proliféraient, 308–309.

140 Such women were called “DP” or “displaced person” girls. While sleeping with German women was considered fraternizing with the enemy, the GIs were free to cavort with “DP girls.” See Stephen E. Ambrose, Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler’s Eagle’s Nest (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 263.

141 Dufaut, La vie vient de l’ouest, 202–4.

142 Michel, Mes moires II, 113. See also Torrent, La France américaine, 231.

143 Dufaut, La vie vient de l’ouest, 199. See also Louis Le Bonniec, Dans le vent de l’est, journal de route d’un déporté du travail (Rennes: d’Oberthur, 1954), 238; Castex, Au-delà du Rhin, 230.

144 Léon Blum, Le dernier mot (Paris: Éditions Diderot, 1946), 88–89. Blum was a well-known politician who served as the French prime minister in 1936. No doubt his fame and status enhanced his treatment by the Americans.

145 Arnaud, Les STOs, 422.

146 Charles Joyon, Qu’as-tu fait de ma jeunesse? (Paris: Lacoste, 1957), 54.

147 Raibaud and Henric, Témoins de la fin du IIIe Reich, 352–53.

148 Michel Gerbeaux, 20 ans un déporté se souvient (Chartres: M. Gerbeaux, 1965), 207. Some déportés claimed that the Russians took even longer to get displaced persons home. See, for example, Yannick Rodrigues, Le STO en Vaucluse: une jeunesse dechirée (Mazan: Études Comtadines, 2006), 153.


150 Bazin, Deporté du travail, 351. See also Querillac, J’était STO, 291.

151 Cochet and Vaisse, Les exclus de la victoire, 52; La Javie, Prêtre ouvrier, 192.

152 Cochet and Vaisse, Les exclus de la victoire, 60.

153 Michel, Mes moires II, 121.

154 Oriot, La fille du boulanger, 378.


156 Eudier, Notre combat de classe, 125. See also IHTP, ARC 116, untitled memoir of Michael Geoffrey, 33.

157 Torrent, La France américaine, 231–32.

158 Archives Nationales, Sérés AJ 384, La gendarmerie nationale, synthèse pour la période du 15 janvier–15 février 1945; ADMar, 161 W 323 Incidents franco-américains, rapports, 1944–46, news clip titled “Une délibération du Conseil Municipal” and

Les Archives de la Préfecture de Police (hereafter APP), BA 1822 Libération.

ADMar, 162 W 355, undated report [August 1945]. For two other similar incidents, see also 162 W 355, police reports dated 6 July 1945 and 27 July 1945.

Finucane, “What’s Wrong with Our GIs Abroad?,” 197.


Finucane, “What’s Wrong with Our GIs Abroad?,” 195.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Warren R. Eames survey.


ADMar, 162 W 355, letter dated 27 August 1945.


Ibid., 34–35, 85, 119.

See Morris’s autobiography under the name Gilles Morris-Dumoulin, *Le forçat de l’Underwood* (Levallois-Perret: Éditions Manya, 1993), 66–68, 72; and his autobiographical novel, *Assassin, mon frère* (Monaco [Paris]: Éditions de Rocher, 1990), 10, 19–20, 107. The pseudonym “Morris” comes from “Camp Philip Morris,” the GI camp where he worked. (Many of the GI camps in France were named after cigarette brands.)

Throughout Curzio Malaparte’s *The Skin* (which became a best seller and was immediately translated into French), the Italian journalist explores how sexual relations between the GIs and Italian women both diminish Italian manhood and materialize American dominance. Malaparte describes “the virgin of Naples” who opens her legs for the price of a dollar. In long lines, the GIs queue to see her. When an American officer voices his disgust at the sight, his Italian companion angrily responds: “If you had lost the war there would be an American virgin on that bed instead of that poor Neapolitan girl.” See *The Skin* (London: Alvin Redman Limited, 1952; orig. 1949), 60.

The GIs also did not respect the French police. See APP, BA 1822 Libération; ADC 21 W 16, Préfet report dated January to March 1945 and police report dated 5 March 1945; ADMar, 162 W 355 report dated 22 October 1945 and “Programme de mesures franco-américaines de Police.”

**Kapitola 4**

1 Pierre Aubéry, *Les américains au Havre* (Paris: La Bibliothèque Française, 1948), 14, 16–17. Aubéry was also a journalist for the local *Havre-éclair* in the years 1945 to 1946.

2 Ibid., 73, 77.
7 Jack Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses: Memories of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s* (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 254.
23 Christiane Delpierre, *Une enfance normande* (Le Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 1999), 150. See also ADM, MT, Carnet de Monsieur Albert Allix, 11; témoignage de Monsieur Yves Boudier, 101.
24 “Calvados was the true coin of exchange,” noted Norman Marcel Leveel, author of *Rails et haies: la double bataille d’Elle et de Lison* (Marigny: Éditions Eurocibles,


28 Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale, Vincennes (hereafter SHGN), 76E6 Compagnie de la Seine-Inferieur à Rouen, registres de correspondance courante au départ (hereafter 76E6), report dated 19 October 1944. See also 76E6, report dated 2 August 1945; and 76E 113 Section du Havre, registres de correspondance courante au départ (R/2), report dated 10 August 1945.

29 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Frank Freese, “Private Memories of World War II (A Small Piece of a Big War),” 17.

30 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Mark Goodman, “Unit History of Company A,” 48.


37 Grenard, *La France du marché noir*, 261. Grenard notes that officials were too “intimidated by their liberators” to actually regulate or stop the barter.


39 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, “I Was There,” 93.


41 Hamel, “Les Américains au Havre,” interview with Mr. Adam, np.

42 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 49.

43 On the cigarette camps, see Jean-Claude Marquis, *Les camps “cigarettes”* (Rouen: Éditions Médianes, 1994); Valérie Moulin, Daniel Baccara, and Jean-Michel Harel,

45 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 36th Infantry Division, Anthony Harlinski, “The Purple Road Back,” 8.

46 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Robert Ryan survey.


50 ADM, 1366 W , MT, témoignage of Christianne Denis, 249.

51 ADM, 1366 W , MT, témoignage of Madame Dold-Lomet, 284.

52 ADM, 1366 W , MT, Jacques Nicolle, “J’avais quinze ans,” 811. Nicolle started to smoke when the soldiers arrived, giving it up definitively a year later. He put it this way: “my smoking was historical.”


59 *Ouest-France*, 9 August 1944.

60 *Journal de la Marne*, 22 August 1945.

61 Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), 130 W 9, Rapports mensuels sur la situation générale adressées par le Sous-Préfet au Préfet septembre–décembre 1944, report dated 11 September 1944.


65 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 7th Infantry Division, John Earle, Letter to his mother, 9 March 1945. See also Box 36th Infantry Division, Harlinski, “The Purple Road Back,” 9.


National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, *Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEF)* (hereafter RG 331), Entry 47, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 47), Box 28, Civil Affairs Miscellaneous Reports, report dated 27 October 1944.


SHGN, 76E162, Section de Rouen, registres de correspondance courante au départ, reports dated 15 November 1944 and 15 December 1944. In SHGN, 76E6 Compagnie de la Seine-Inférieur à Rouen, registres de correspondance courante au départ, see reports dated 19 October 1944 and 2 August 1945. See also SHGN, 76E112, Section d’Elbeuf, registres de correspondance confidentielle au départ (R/4), report dated 13 October 1944; and 76E113, Section du Havre, registres de correspondance courante au départ (R/2), report dated 10 August 1945.


For Le Havre, see Hamel, “Les américains au Havre,” interview with Max Bengston,” np; Aubéry, *Les américains*, 52–54; Moulin et al., *Le Havre 16th Port of Embarkation*, 31, 35. For Reims, see Clause, *Reims autour du 7 mai*, 391. Marseilles was the other port town that became a major center for black market activity.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, Civil Affairs Miscellaneous Reports, report dated 27 October 1944. The MPs established a system of checks at the main outlets of Paris, where a test was made of the gas in the tank. If the car was found to be running on Allied gas supplies, it was confiscated for a month, and its owners were prosecuted. About 10 percent of cars tested were caught with Allied gas and prosecuted.

On the subject of African American soldiers and the black market, see Aubéry, *Les américains*, 34–38. For German POWs, see Laroque Lucie, “Le Ravitaillement des Havrais de 1939 à 1949” (Université du Havre, Maîtrise d’histoire contemporaine, 2001), 105.


*Ce soir*, 8 September 1944. For a similar situation, see *Journal de la Marne*, 6 September 1944.

The GIs also began to engage in trickery around the sale of cigarettes. Just as they were leaving a train station, for example, they would sell cigarette cartons emptied of their contents and filled with sawdust. As the train left the station, they would get a big laugh watching enraged French men discover their error. See Andrew A. Thomson, “‘Over There’ 1944/45, Americans in the Liberation of France: Their Perceptions of, and Relations with France and the French” (PhD thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, 1996), 187; and also Hillel, *Vie et moeurs*, 156.


MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Earle, letter with unclear date [1945], np. See also MHI, Payne Templeton Papers, “A Complete Change of Life—into World War II,” 63.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, James J. Coletti, “It Made a Man

84 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 63–64.


87 See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 76.


89 Aubéry, Les américains, 34–35.


91 Archives Nationales, F1a 4023, Rapports du commissaire de la République, report dated 15 June 1945. See also Mencherini, “Les américains à Marseille.”


93 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Warren R. Eames survey. The historian Louis Chevalier has noted how prostitutes were rich with cigarettes and dollars in this period. See his Les ruines de Subure: Montmartre de 1939 aux années 80 (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1985), 82.

94 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 64.


96 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 18th Infantry Division, Bert Damsky, “Shipping Order___APO___,” 45.

97 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, William Meissner survey.

98 McConahey, Battalion Surgeon, 174.


100 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There” 93–94.


102 Brown, Up Front, 562; Gimlette, Panther Soup, 27.

103 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 8 September 1944.

104 ADM, Séries 3 U, Justice, Fonds du Tribunal de première instance de Cherbourg Procés-verbal (hereafter Séries 3 U), report dated 14 November 1944. See also APP, Registres de commissariats, CB39.98, Entry 1220.

In September 1945, the American provost marshal for Normandy uncovered a large-scale black market operation including rooms of American items to be traded for sexual services. See SHGN, 76E 200, Brigade territoriale de Cany-Barville, registres de correspondance courante au départ, report dated 25 September 1945. A similar operation was discovered in Reims, where gasoline sold by German prisoners was used to smuggle French prostitutes into POW camps. See Jacques Pernet and Michel Hubert, Reims: chronique des années de guerre (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Éditions Alan Sutton, 2003), 73.

Aramais Hovsepian was the exception when he wrote his father that the French whores were “real nice. No gold-diggers. Just girls knowing what men like us need.” See Your Son and Mine (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 80.

Peters, For You, Lili Marlene, 58.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 198–99.

Saylor, Remembering the Good War, 246.

Litoff et al., Miss You, 204

Plano, Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses, 252

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 18th Infantry Division, Damsky, “Shipping Order,” 38–39.

Gripes about the French, 43.

Litoff et al., Miss You, 204

Plano, Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses, 252

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 18th Infantry Division, Damsky, “Shipping Order,” 38–39.

Gripes about the French, 43.

Harve libre, 13 August 2003. See also Aubéry, Les américains en France, 38.

Panther Soup, 159.

MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 20 September 1944.


MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 62.

Jacques-Pierre-Georges Pénau, La Prostitution (vers un contrôle humain) (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Librairie Delmas, 1945), 117.

Ouest-France, 9 August 1944. See also Havre-éclair, 6 June 1945.

Journal de la Marne, 24 January 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, Rapports sur la prostitution, letter dated 5 October 1945, and letter dated 13 October 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, letter dated 21 September 1944.


APP, DB409, Articles de presse, affaires diverses, imprimés, cartes de visites (hereafter DB409), Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers, 9 September 1946.

APP, DB409, Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers, 31 July 1947

Jean-Charles Bertier, La Prostitution à Bordeaux de 1939 à 1945, son contrôle sanitaire (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Librairie Delmas, 1945), 12. For the same fears in the Marne, see ADMar, 162 W 359, report dated 13 April 1945.

France libre, 5 September 1944; and see also France libre, 27 September 1944.

Le populaire, 9 September 1944.

Marie-Claire, 17 November 1944.


Aubéry, Les américains, 56. 112 Gripes about the French, 46, admonished soldiers: “Don’t judge France by the Montmartre: the Montmartre caters to foreign tourists in search of the risqué.”

Le figaro, 15 September 1944.

Havre-éclair, 6 June 1945. See also Journal de la Marne, 21 September 1944.

Vercors, “A Plea for France: A Nation Weak and Uncertain Needs Our Understanding,” Life, 6 November 1944. The image is not in the text. Instead, Life editors chose to illustrate the article with a photograph of a woman praying in a church, her hand covering her eyes in contrition.

Kapitola 5


3 For the characterization of Paris as the “brothel of Europe,” see Alfred Scheiber, Un fléau social: le problème médico-policier de la prostitution (Paris: Librairie de Médecis, 1946), 115. For Paris as the favored destination of American GIs, see Judy Barrett Litoff, David C. Smith, Barbara Wooddall Taylor, and Charles E. Taylor, Miss You: The World War II Letters of Barbara Wooddall Taylor and Charles E. Taylor (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 147. The other major destination for GIs on leave was Nice. According to Harvey Levenstein, We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 79, six thousand GIs a week spent leaves there by the end of the war.
4 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 99th Infantry Division, Roger Foehringer, untitled memoir, 34.
7 Litoff et al., Miss You, 240.
8 Brown, Up Front with U.S., 561.
10 Défense de la France, 13 September 1944. MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Shapiro, “Memoirs of Murray Shapiro,” np, and Box 1st Infantry Division, Bert Damsky, “Shipping Order___APO___,” 38.
18 William M. McConahey, MD, Battalion Surgeon (Rochester, MN: Author, 1966), 176.
20 Stars and Stripes, 6 March 1945.
21 Whiting, Battle of Hurtgen Forest, 66.
22 For the case of Reims, for example, see Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar) 162 W 359, Rapports sur la prostitution (hereafter 162 W 359), letter dated 15 April 1945; 16 W 268, Affaires réservées: incidents avec les troupes alliées, report dated 26 June 1945; 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliées, notes et correspondance, report dated 9 August 1945; and 16 W 323, Incidents franco-américain, rapports 1944–46 (hereafter 16 W 323), report dated 26 June 1945.


26 For the persistence of the French system in the twentieth century, see Molly McGregor Watson, “The Trade in Women: ‘White Slavery’ and the French Nation” (PhD thesis, Stanford University, 2000); and Michelle Rhodes, “‘No Safe Women’: Prostitution, Masculinity, and Disease in France during the Great War” (PhD thesis: University of Iowa, 2001).

27 On these three houses of prostitution, see APP, DB408, *Paris villages*, no. 9 (1985): 40–55.


29 Meinin, *Wehrmacht et prostitution*, 142–48, 151. We don’t know how many women were actually prosecuted under this law. In *Le vice ou la vertu: Vichy et les politiques de la sexualité* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2005), 232, Cyril Olivier argues that regulations were put in place after an explosion of clandestine prostitution at the beginning of the war.


31 For an example of how this custom prevented the French police from entering into a room, see APP, BA1822, Libération, undated report signed by policemen René Lhermite, and Pierre Bihan.


33 For women who did compulsory labor in Germany, see K. H. Adler, “Reading National Identity,” 53.


36 Speech of Marthe Richard, *Bulletin municipal officiel*. For the diminution of the legal system in the Marne, see ADMar, 161 W 323, report dated 31 August 1945; and 162 W 359, report dated 2 July 1945 and charts titled “Dénombrement des maisons de tolérance.”


39 For this Marthe Richard earned the nickname “la veuve qui clôt” after the *maison de champagne* Veuve Clicquot. See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marthe_Richard.


41 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, “I Was There,” 65. See also MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Damsky, “Shipping Order,” 38–39.

42 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 246; Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 247. For the segregation of brothels in Cherbourg, see Archives Départementales de la Manche (hereafter ADM), Rapports américains, 13 num 2521.

43 AMH, FC I1 49-2, “Prostitution, conférence tenue à la mairie du Havre le 9 octobre 1945.”


45 See MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 224.


48 Pinard, “De la propagation des maladies vénériennes,” 36. See also Marthe Richard’s condemnation of the abattoirs in *Bulletin municipal officiel*.

49 Van der Meersch, *Femmes à l’encan*, 20.

50 Pinard, “De la propagation des maladies vénériennes,” 36.


53 Boudard, *La fermeture*, 139.

54 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100 Special Staff, Headquarters Command, Decimal File, 1944–45 (hereafter Entry 100), Boxes 40, 41.

55 Registres d’écrou at La Petite Roquette in 1945 denote several *souteneurs* who stated their profession as “gérante hôtel” or “hôtelière” or “employée d’hôtel.” See Archives de Paris (hereafter AP), 1433 W 47 1945, 166, 252, 399. On the *hôtels*
de passe, see also APP, DB408, “La ruine des tauliers”; Delpêche, *Les dessous de Paris*, 159.


57 For the use of hotel bars and cafés, see Scheiber, *Fléau*, 184; NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41.

58 For a prostitute who lived in a hotel, see also APP, A 1949/1 (H.428.877). Out of 145 arrest reports on prostitutes recorded in APP, CB 39.98, 39ème commissariat de police du quartier de la porte Saint-Martin, 31 October 1944–22 October 1945 (hereafter CB 39.98) and APP, CB 10.43, 10ème commissariat de police des Enfants Rouges, June 1945–October 1945 (hereafter CB 10.43), 21.4 percent of the women were homeless and resorted to hotels for their domicile. Others said they lived with friends or relatives; still others gave a permanent address outside of Paris.


60 *Bulletin municipal officiel*. See also Archives Nationales, Séries AN F1a 4023, report of 15 June 1945.

61 APP, BA 1822, Libération, report dated 1 July 1945.

62 To sketch a profile of the Parisian prostitute at this time, I examined registres d’écrou at La Petite Roquette, a common prison for prostitutes, as well as a sample of police arrest records. See AP, 1443 W 45, no. 1-603, 1945 (30 January–18 April); 1433 W 46, no. 1-903, 1945 (18 April–31 July); 1443 W 47, no. 1-603, 1945 (31 July–15 September); 1443 W 48, no. 10600, 1945 (15 September–3 November). For similar results in the police records, see APP, CB 39.98, 31 October 31 1944–22 October 1945; and APP, CB 10.43, June 1945–October 1945. Of course, women could have been married and not reported that fact to the police. At the same time, the figures roughly match Scheiber’s profile of prostitutes before the war in 1936 (*Fléau*, 27). See also Croubois, *Prostitution en Touraine*, 1:125, where he also argues that single prostitutes outnumbered married ones roughly two to one.

63 See APP, CB 10.43, June 1945–October 1945; CB 39.98. For the case of Normandy, see Archives Départementales du Calvados (hereafter ADC), 726 W 16 865 Prostitution, police report dated 22 December 1945. For the Marne, see ADMar, 162 W 359, letter dated 25 June 1945; report dated 2 July 1945.

64 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41.

65 AP, Registres d’écrou, La Petite Roquette, 1433 W 45, 1945 (30 January–18 April); 1433 W 46, no. 1-903, 1945 (18 April–31 July); 1433 W 47, 1945 (31 July–15 September); 1433 W 48, 1945 (5 September–3 November). In the provinces, the situation was much the same. For the Marne, for example, see ADMar, 8 U 197, Tribunal civil de Châlons-sur-Marne, 1945; 162 W 359, report dated 2 July 1945.

66 Paul Gemählung, “Le proxénétisme en France, son organisation, les moyens de le combattre,” in Gemählung et al., *Les scandales de la prostitution réglementée*, 18. According to van der Meersch, *Femmes à l’encan*, 25, some of these women were as young as twelve.

APP, CB, 39.98 and 10.43. See also *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.


See APP, CB 39.98; AP, Registres d’écrou, La Petite Roquette, 1433 W 45, 1433 W 46, 1433 W 47, 1433 W 48, 1945. Croubois found that 206 prostitutes in Tours during the years 1940–44 had similar professions before going into prostitution. As in my sample, couturière came up frequently as a profession in Croubois’s study, causing him to call it “l’anti-chambre de la prostitution.” The profession of couturière, he argued, was both badly paid and very competitive. See Croubois, *Prostitution en Touraine*, 1:127–30.

APP, CB 10.43, 1778; APP, A 1949/1 (H.428.877); APP, BA1822, Libération “Déclaration par soldat américain de suspicion d’entêoler.” An American GI identified a sexual contact as “Elaine, Polish, 24 Brunette.” See NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40. For Polish prostitutes in the Marne, see ADMar, 161 W 323, report dated 26 June 1945; and 162 W 359, letter dated 6 September 1944.

*La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, undated letter to the prefect [April or May 1945].


NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40.


MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 224.

MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, “WW II as I Remember It,” 58.


APP, CB 39.98, 636, 1008, 1066, 1067. See also APP, CB 10.43, 1508.


Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses*, 254. For Cherbourg, see also ADM, Séries 3 U, reports dated 14 November 1944 and 1 March 1945.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, “Memoirs of Murray Shapiro,” np.


Marie-Thérèse, Histoire d’une prostituée, 75–76.

Ibid., 80, 86–87; Chevalier, Les ruines de Subure, 82.

Chevalier, Les ruines de subure, 82.

Whiting, Battle of Hurtgen Forest, 65.

APP, A-1949/1 (H.428.877); A-1945/1 (F.477.872); A-1946/8 (H.95.707); A-1945/5 (F.491.058). All names have been changed. The four murders took place on 1) rue Rochechouart, ninth quartier; 2) rue Victor Massé, ninth; 3) rue Thorel near boulevard Bonnes Nouvelles, second; and 4) rue Mont-Doré, seventeenth. For the importance of the second and ninth quartiers to the prostitution trade, see René Delpêche, L’hydre aux mille têtes: un document sur la prostitution à Paris et en France (Paris: Éditions Karolus, 1961), 30. Two of the four murder cases resulted in the arrest of a suspect. One suspect confessed; the other’s fate is unknown.

Henriette remained conscious for some time, so was able to tell this story to the police. It resembles another case recorded in APP, DB454, report dated 22 December 1944. This case concerned the attempted murder of a prostitute who had picked up an American soldier on the boulevard de la Madeleine. He initially offered her two thousand francs, then later three thousand more to go to Montmartre with him. When they arrived there, he shot her behind the ear and stole her money. The wound was not serious and the woman survived.

On this case, see also APP, BA1822, Libération, report dated 30 September 1945. Still another police case concerned a prostitute shot by a group of men at the café Le Campi on the rue de Picpus. See APP, A-1945/4 (F.480.001).

Orval Eugene Faubus, In This Faraway Land (Conway, AR: River Road Press, 1971), 450.

For prostitutes working together, see APP, CB39.98, 1836–37, 98–99, 100, 1008–9, 1211–12, 1254–55, 1259–60, 1305–6, 1408–9, 1456–57. In CB36.43, see 575–77, 1127, 1132, 791–92. For sisters, see CB 39.98, 1657–58, 1241–42, 1397–98, 1657–58; and also Peters, For You, Lili Marlene, 58–59. For outside of Paris, see the case recorded by the Cherbourg police in ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 19 may 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, Letter dated 17 November 1945.

APP, CB 39.98, 914.

Marie-Thérèse, Histoire d’une prostituée, 73.

See APP, CB 36.43, 1596–98, arrests made at L’Hôtel Crétet.

APP, BA1822, Libération, Undated report signed by policemen René Lhermite and Pierre Bihan.

Whiting, Battle of Hurtgen Forest, 65.
Chevalier, *Les ruines de Subure*, 82. For the observation that the MPs only looked big to the French, I thank Dor Hesselgrave, who was an American MP in Paris during the war.


APP, BA1822, Libération, “Declaraison par soldat américain de suspicion d’entêler.”

APP, CB 39.98, 1427; APP, CB 36.43, 1224.

MHI, Pleas B. Roberts Papers, 1917–45, letter dated 17 November 1944. See also NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40. Soldiers had an uncanny memory of the dates on which they were exposed, probably because they remembered the dates during which they had leave.


MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, “Memoirs of Murray Shapiro,” np.

Whiting, *Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 64.

Capell, *Surviving the Odds*, 214; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Lewington S. Ponder, “Recollections of World War II,” 133.

For the boulevards, see APP, A-1949/1 (H.428.877); for Pigalle, see MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Jordan, “Bull sessions,” 161; for the avenue de l’Opéra, see APP, BA1822, Memo 4 juin 1945.


APP, BA1822, Libération, unsigned letter dated 4 June 1945.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 75.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40. GIs filling out army VD surveys recorded that they had met their women “outside Red Cross Club” or had sex “in room above bar near American Red Cross.” For the Red Cross in Paris and the services it provided to the GIs, see MHI, Payne Templeton Papers, “A Complete Change of Life,” 63.

APP, DB409, Libération soir, 26 and 28 September 1946. For the prostitutes at Versailles, see NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41. For the cigarette camps, see MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Damsky, “Shipping Order,” 98.

APP, A-1949/1 (H.428.877). See also La marseillaise, 21 November 1945. For a prostitute who specialized in black soldiers, see ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 18 February 1946.

See, for example, the café on the rue Tour Carrée in Cherbourg, ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 18 February 1946.

*Stars and Stripes*, 16 December 1944.

MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 64.

For prostitutes that picked up GIs in bars and cafés, see APP, A-1949/1 (H.428.877) and A-1945/3 (H.7.002).

For a waitress who was propositioned in this way, see APP, A-1945/5 (F.486.741); Scheiber, *Fléau*, 178.

Whiting, Battle of Hurtgen Forest, 64; Boesch, Road to Heurtgen, 103.
Scheiber, Fléau, 185.
Marie-Thérèse, Histoire d’une prostituée, 77.
NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41. For the name “Lili,” see APP, A-1945/10 (F.459.164). German women were the most unknown to the GIs, not only because of language differences, but also because, in contrast to France, there was no infrastructure of prostitution in Germany by the spring of 1945. GIs had sex with women in parks, woods, wheat fields, bombed-out houses, and along the autobahn.
Marie-Thérèse, Histoire d’une prostituée, 74.
Faubus, In This Faraway Land, 450.
MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Karl Clarkson, “The Story of G.I. Joe (Karl): A Combat Infantryman in World War II,” 13. See also Leder, Thanks for the Memories, 121. Paul Fussell claimed that “Voulez vous coucher avec moi” was the French phrase most familiar to the GIs. See his Boy’s Crusade, 239.
MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 61.
Peters, For You, Lili Marlene, 57; Walter Brown, Up Front with U.S., 46, 369.
Usage of the word was not confined to France. In Salzburg, Austria, a lewd show put on by an American military unit featured signs saying “Beaucoup Zig-Zag.” See NARA, RG 498, Records of Headquarters, ETO, US Army, 1942–46, Adjutant General’s Section Administration Branch, Classified General Correspondance, 1945, 250–50.2, Box 363, “Report of Investigation with Regard to Allegedly Indecent Show Produced by the 798th AAA Automatic Weapons Battalion.”
Plano, Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses, 253.
See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Mark Goodman, “Unit History of Company A,” 48.
On this problem, see APP, A1949/1 (H.428.877).
According to historical conversion charts, the 1945 franc was worth 0.11 Euro in 2008. Therefore, the equivalent to the price of sex in 1945 in 2008 terms would be twenty-two to thirty-three euros. Five dollars in 1945 would be worth $59.91 in 2010.
MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 62.
MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Shapiro, “Memoirs of Murray Shapiro,” 87. When Marie-Thérèse started “doing” Americans, she charged about one hundred to two hundred francs a “pass.” But when she and another women got to Rouen, they charged two hundred and fifty francs, with fifty francs going to their pimps. See Histoire d’une prostituée, 74.
112 Gripes about the French, 44.
Gen. Charles H. Gerhardt (1895–1976) was educated at West Point, graduating in 1917. He assumed command of the Twenty-Ninth Division in July 1943. On Ger-

2 National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEF) (hereafter RG 331), Headquarters Twelfth Army Group, Special Staff, Adjutant General Section, Administrative Branch, Decimal File, 1943–45, Entry 198 (hereafter Entry 198), Box 83: 250.1 to 250.2, Morals and Conduct (hereafter Box 83), Report of Investigation to Determine the Facts Surrounding the Establishment of a House of Prostitution for Members of the 29th Division, Conducted by Lt. Col Francis B. Lineman, IGD, 14–17 November 1944 (hereafter Lineman Report), 31.

3 NARA, RG331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 28. The Twenty-Ninth Infantry Division is nicknamed the “Blue and Gray” because it was composed of men from both northern and southern states who had fought each other in the American Civil War.

4 Ibid., 20. Word of the new “cathouse” had “got around like fire,” according to one officer.

5 During those five hours, seventy-six men managed to avail themselves of the Corral’s services, for an average of nineteen men per woman.

6 According to Perret, *There’s a War to be Won*, 471, the Twelfth Army Group G-2 Section also started its own whorehouse. France was also not the only country in which the US military unofficially supervised prostitution. According to Yuki Tanaka, similar brothels were established in the Caribbean, Ecuador, Australia, North Africa, Liberia, Eritrea, and New Caledonia. See *Japanese Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the U.S. Occupation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 92, 99–100, 102, 106, 107.

I Remember It,” 62. Official denial of such whorehouses was common. See, for example, NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Special Staff, Medical Division, Decimal File, January 1944–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 65), Box 7, memo dated 16 May 1945.

8 NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 5.


10 In the First World War, French authorities blamed women as dangerous carriers of disease and threats to men’s health. See Michelle Rhodes, “‘No Safe Women’: Prostitution, Masculinity and Disease in France during the Great War” (PhD thesis, University of Iowa, 2001), 14, 138. For the same attitude among Vichy officials in the Second World War, see Fabrice Virgili, Naître l’ennemi: les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la seconde guerre mondiale (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2009), 77. For the similar Belgian example, see Peter Schrijvers, Liberators: The Allies and Belgian Society, 1944–1945 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 217.

11 This was de Gaulle’s perspective as he relates a conversation with President Roosevelt’s emissary Harry Hopkins in January 1945. See The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle (New York: Collins, 1955), 761.


13 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Planning File, 1943–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 56), Box 121, memo dated 31 December 1943.

14 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 April 1944.

15 Cosmas and Cowdrey, The Medical Department, 72–73, 137–38, 143.

16 Heaton, Communicable Diseases, 141.

17 Thomas Parran and R. A. Vonderlehr, Plain Words about Venereal Disease (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941), 1.


21 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memos dated 22 April and 13 December 1944; Wiltse, *The Medical Department*, 258–59; Cosmas and Cowdry, *The Medical Department*, 172.

22 Quoted in Wiltse, *The Medical Department*, 258.

23 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, General Staff Divisions, G-5 Division, Secretariat, Numeric File, August 1943–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 47), Box 47, 2514/2 Public Health Branch: Venereal Disease (hereafter Box 47), Extract from the minutes of the Sixth Meeting of the Combined Civil Affairs Committee, 16 May 1944. For the language of “protection,” see NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 28, 850/6 Internal Affairs Branch: Weekly Report Civil Affairs Summary No. 6, 21 July 1944.

24 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 April 1944.


28 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 2 June 1944.


30 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 2 June 1944. Bonner argued that the high rate of disease among black soldiers was caused by “congested housing conditions, lack of medical facilities, poor educational opportunities, social segregation, general poverty and so forth.” On the issue of VD among black troops, see also The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Layla Lane Papers, 1933–51, Sc MG 54, Correspondance, Box 1, Folder 1, letter from Norridge S. Maylan dated 17 August 1945.

31 For an example of this blame, see NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 28 April 1944. Even official army histories do not agree on VD statistics for black men. Cosmas and Cowdrey argue that black troops throughout the war had a venereal rate about four and a half times that of white troops; see Graham A. Cosmas and Albert E. Cowdry, *The Medical Department: Medical Service in the European Theater of Operations* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1992), 147. Heaton puts the rate at eight to twelve times higher; *Communicable Diseases*,
Heaton gives the following reasons for higher venereal rates among “Ne-gro” soldiers: low educational level, inadequate repression of prostitution in black communities, and “lack of recognition of the seriousness of the problem, together with reluctance to face the facts.” He also argues that “the failure to control venereal disease among Negroes in the Army was, at least in part, a reflection of the failure of society through individual and governmental efforts to develop a satisfactory race relationship between the white and Negro populations”; ibid., 196. In The Employment of Negro Troops (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1966), 277, Ulysses Lee maintains “the presence of venereal diseases bulwarked personal prejudices in the training and use of Negro troops.” On the issue of a higher venereal disease rate among black soldiers, see also Samuel A. Stoffier et al., The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 545–50; Sun Yom, “Sex and the American Soldier,” 85–86. Sun Yom argues that white doctors stigmatized black men (but not whites) by officially registering their venereal disease. White men with VD were often not accepted into the military, whereas black men were, “based on the conviction that virtually all blacks were malingerers or carried disease.” Sun Yom gives these statistics: among the first two million draftees in the late 1930s, forty-eight out of one thousand white men were found to carry syphilis, whereas 272 out of one thousand black men were registered with the disease.

32 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 24 May 1944.
34 Rose, “The ‘Sex Question,’” 901.
35 Ibid., RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 April 1944.
37 Susan Gubar, “‘This Is My Rifle, This Is My Gun’: World War II and the Blitz on Women,” in Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars, ed. Margaret Higon-net et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 249–50.
38 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Bert Damsky, “Shipping Order___ APO____.” 98.
41 Jack Plano, Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses: Memories of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 255.

43 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 24 May 1944.

44 Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 143; NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, Circular 49 dated 2 May 1944


48 Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 144–45.

49 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 2 May 1944.

50 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 143. In January 1943, the War Department discovered that air force pilots had been doing missions while treating their unreported VD with sulfa drugs. Such drugs were known to impair a man’s ability to navigate an airplane, and had already led to one pilot’s death by anoxemia. In response to pressure from the air surgeon, the War Department repealed a law docking a soldier’s pay if he contracted VD, and instead made concealing contraction the punishable offense.

51 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 9 September 1944; NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 41, memo dated 11 March 1945.

52 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 20 September 1944 and memo dated 8 November 1944.

53 Ibid., memo dated 13 December 1944.


55 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 13 September 1944.

56 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 20 September 1944. Because antivenereal posters had to be locally made and mimeographed, they were crudely designed. The army held poster-design contests, but they seemed to generate excitement only for the leave passes awarded as prizes. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 226. See also NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 17 November 1944; Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 143.

57 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 227.


60 Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 144–45.


62 See NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, ETOUSA Circular 49 dated 2 May 1944. For copies of the reports, see NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41. See also Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 173, 541.

63 For the German system, see Insa Meinin, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2006), 112.

64 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 249.
65 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41.
66 Heaton, Communicable Diseases, 246; Costello, Virtue under Fire, 247. Brothels were also segregated in Cherbourg and other minor cities. See Archives Départementales de la Manche (hereafter ADM), Rapports américains, 13 num 2521.
67 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, letter dated 15 September 1944.
68 Costello, Virtue under Fire, 95.
69 Archives de la Préfecture de la Police (hereafter APP), DB409, Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers, 7 August 1947.
70 It is not clear from Mauldin’s cartoon whether this is a French bar or a brothel, both of which could have been off-limits to Americans. (Many bars also served as brothels.) Besides the American MP, Mauldin portrays several members of the French Resistance dressed in American uniforms.
71 ADM, Rapports américains, 13 num 2770–71, report dated 10 August 1944. See also the statement of Adj. Gen. T. J. Davis in NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 13 December 1944.
72 See, for example, NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report. For the importance of the circular, see also Heaton, Communicable Diseases, 241.
73 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, Circular 49 dated 2 May 1944.
74 Sonya Rose also notes the mixed message given soldiers in the ETO, although her focus is on American soldiers in the UK. See “The ‘Sex Question,’” 899–900.
75 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 31 December 1943 and 5 June 1944.
76 “Clean, active, sound minds and bodies of the members of a command are of primary importance in the endeavor to control venereal disease,” wrote one adjutant general. See NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 12 September 1944; and also NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40; NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 April 1944; and Cosmas and Cowdrey, The Medical Department, 143.
77 Heaton, Communicable Diseases, 224.
79 Schrijvers, The Crash of Ruin, 181.
81 Cosmas and Cowdrey, The Medical Department, 540.
82 Quoted in Heaton, Communicable Diseases, 249. By December, headquarters so mistrusted commanders in the air force, where VD rates were very high, that it established nonmedical VD advisors whose role it was “to informally impress others,” including “other officers, particularly junior officers” in the methods of VD prevention. See NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memos dated 17 November 1944 and 15 December 1944.
84 NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 1. The Corral was the object of an official investigation led by Lt. Col. Francis B. Lineman in November 1944.
85 Ibid., 2, 76; in fact, Louis Gosom was the acting chief of staff in the last week of August when Gerhardt gave his instructions about the brothel. McDaniel was not implicated in its creation, but he did testify in the investigation.
86 Ibid., 4, 6, 50, 90.
87 Ibid., 2.
88 Ibid., 1, 26, 60.
89 Ibid., 1.
90 See, for example, NARA, Record Group 338, Records of US Army Operational, Tactical and Support Organizations, XV Corps Subject Files, 1942–46, Box 75. Report of Investigation Concerning Alleged Cases of Rape Occurring at Closfontaine, France, 31 August and 2 September 1944. The belief that prostitution could prevent rape was widespread at the time. See, for example, Philip S. Broughton, *Prostitution and the War*, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 65 (Washington, DC: Public Affairs Committee, 1942), 19.
91 ADM, Rapports américains, 13 num, 2766–68.
92 Balkoski, *Beyond the Beachhead*, 45–46, 48; Perret, *There’s a War to be Won*, 471. Less than a week after the Corral had been shut down, Gerhardt tried once again to establish a brothel in Brest. This time, however, Civil Affairs officer Asa Gardiner made it clear that if the business could not be “handled in such a way as to prevent information about it being noised abroad, he would not be responsible for it.” See NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 39. Gerhardt received no penalty for the Blue and Gray Corral. Although he was downgraded to the rank of colonel after the war, army historians speculate that his demotion resulted from high casualty rates in his division rather than any moral lapse. See http://www.arlingtoncemetery.net/cherhardt.htm.
93 NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Letter from Gerhardt to General Bradley. Gerhardt did repeat the same arguments to Bradley concerning hygiene and rape prevention. For example, he boasted that soldiers who frequented the Corral had reported no cases of venereal disease. (Considering the house was open five hours, this was no great accomplishment.)
94 Ibid.
95 Benjamin, “Morals versus Morale,” 199. See also Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 166.
97 Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 150. Rose argues that some fifty thousand men a year were discharged from the military as a result of a homosexual charge. For the official army position on discharge of homosexuals, see NARA, RG 498, Records of Headquarters, ETO, US Army, 1942–46 (hereafter RG 498), Box 363, Adjutant General’s Section Administration Branch, Classified General Correspondence, 1945, 250–50.2, memo dated 31 October 1945.
99 NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 7, 50, 81. Comments made by the Commanding General to Assembled Chaplains, 29th Infantry Division, October 1944.
For another case of cooperation, see MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, “WW II as I Remember It,” 62.

Valérie Moulin, Daniel Baccara, and Jean-Michel Harel, *Le Havre 16th Port of Embarkation, Northern District Normandy Base Section* (Le Havre: Maison des Gens de Mer, 1997), 35.


Parran and Vonderlehr, *Plain Words*, 90.


See the report filed by Chef Defrene in Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale, (hereafter SHGN), 76E6, 200 Brigade territoriale de Cany Barville, registres de correspondance courante au départ (hereafter 76E6, 200), report dated 5 September 1945.

Emphasis mine. NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 January 1945.

See chapter 5.

For more on Le Havre as a port of the ETO, see Jean-Claude Marquis, *Les camps “cigarette”* (Rouen: Éditions Médianes, 1994); Moulin et al., *Le Havre 16th Port of Embarkation*.


Roger Gobled, Voici Le Havre de 1944 à 1963: recueil de documents écrits et photographiques (Le Havre: Imprimerie M. Etaix, 1963), 12–17; Legoy et al., Le Havre, 1517–1986, 44–53. There were five thousand deaths, eighty thousand left homeless, and 12,500 buildings ruined.

See also Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC I 1 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated 7 November 1944.

Ibid.

SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 October 1945.

AMH, FC I 1 49-2, Prostitution, letters dated 30 January 1945 and 2 February 1945.


Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), 16 W 266, report dated 9 August 1945.

Because the camps constituted American military domain, the French police had no jurisdiction there. See SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 September 1945.

AMH, FC I 1 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated 24 January 1946.

AMH, FC H 4 15-6, Prostitution, letter dated 14 March 1945.

AMH, FC H 4 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated 17 November 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 4 September 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 13 June 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 9 October 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 6 December 1944.

Ibid., letter dated 10 September 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 2 July 1945. Still another popular spot was the public baths on the rue Dr. Richard. Here, according to one citizen, the GIs brought women at night and stayed until the early hours of the morning. See ibid., letter dated 8 October 1945; AMH, 15-6, Prostitution, report dated 6 July 1945.


AMH, FC H 4 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated 4 July 1945.

AMH, FC H 4 15-5, Armée et autorités américains, letter dated 20 September 1945. Weed was born in Texas in 1892, and had served in the army twenty-nine years at the time of his stewardship of the Le Havre port.

AMH, FC H 4 15-6, Prostitution, memo dated 29 August 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 30 August 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 2 July 1945. Still another popular spot was the public baths on the rue Dr. Richard. Here, according to one citizen, the GIs brought women at night and stayed until the early hours of the morning. See ibid., letter dated 8 October 1945; AMH, 15-6, Prostitution, report dated 6 July 1945.


NARA, RG 498, Box 27, Adjutant General’s Section Administration Branch, General Correspondence (1944–45), 250.1 Morale & Conduct, translation of letter from Central Commissaire de Police dated 18 [month unclear], 1944.


AMH, FC H 4 15-6, Prostitution, letter dated 30 August 1945.
Ibid., letter dated 1 September 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 10 September 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 17 September 1945.

Ibid., letter dated 4 January 1945.

While there is no evidence that the Americans supplied hospitals in Le Havre with penicillin, SHAEF did this elsewhere in France beginning in early 1945. See Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin*, 182.

According to Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 95, Eisenhower’s staff also gave “very serious consideration that licensed houses should be provided under Army supervision” in Germany because the nonfraternization policy posed a “problem” to order and discipline.


Bailey and Farber, “Hotel Street,” 58–59. Not all of the women were white. Some were Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, and Japanese. Also, brothels were segregated.

Ibid., 63.


NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 16 May 1945.


Roeder Jr., *The Censored War*, 114. When the chaplain of the Twenty-Ninth Division caught wind of the Blue Gray Corral, he was shrewd enough to fight it by urging his men to write their pastors and folks back home. See NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Lineman Report, 3.


SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 October 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated 6 July 1945.

ADMar, 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américains, rapports, 1944–46, report dated 26 June 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, Rapports sur la prostitution (hereafter 162 W 359), report dated 2 July 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, report dated 13 October 1945; 16 W 268, report dated 26 June 1945.

ADMar, 162 W 359, reports dated 21 April 1945 and 20 July 1945; 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américains, rapports, 1944–46, report dated 26 June 1945; 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliées, notes et correspondance, report dated 6 December 1944, letter dated 11 December 1944.

ADMar, 16 W 268, Affaires réservées; incidents avec les troupes alliées, report dated 26 June 1945.

AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, report dated 4 May 1946.

Ibid.

Ibid., letter dated 31 January 1946. There is some evidence that the regulatory apparatus in the garrison city of Reims was also intensified to satisfy the Americans. See ADMar, 16 W 266, “Exposition de bon voisinage pour les GIs.” Prostitutes also tried to escape from venereal wards in Reims. See 162 W 355, letter dated 3 August 1945.


Note the parallels between how the Americans managed sexual commerce in France and how Linda Bryder describes colonial sexual management by the European powers: “In the colonies, the systems designed to regulate sex between European men and indigenous women were imposed by the imperial powers. It was assumed that men needed an outlet for their sexual energies and prostitution was the preferred one. There was little concern for the rights or health of the women involved, who were blamed for the spread of venereal disease.” Bryder, “Sex, Race and Colonialism: An Historiographical Review,” International History Review 20, no. 4 (1998): 821.

AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, report dated 4 May 1946.

Ibid., letter dated 1 April 1946.

Ibid., letter dated 3 April 1946.

SHGN, 76E6, 200, report dated 5 October 1945.


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1 National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 498, Records of Headquarters, ETO, US Army, 1942–46 (hereafter RG 498), Adjutant General’s Section Administration Branch, General Correspondence (1944–45), Box 27, 250.1 (hereafter Box 27), report dated 10 October 1944. It is possible that
some of these rapes were committed in Belgium. The theater provost marshal was in charge of the military police throughout the ETO. According to the judge advocate general’s office, between July 1942 and November 1945, there were 904 rape accusations in the ETO; 526 of those accused were proclaimed guilty as charged. See History Branch Office of the Judge Advocate General with the United States Forces, European Theater, July 18, 1942–November 1, 1945 (hereafter HBO-JAG), 2 vols. (St. Cloud, France: Branch Office of the Judge Advocate General, 1945), 1:13. In Taken by Force: Rape and the American GIs in Europe during World War II (New York: Palgrave McMillan, 2007), 12, 106–7, Robert Lilly argues that the JAG figures above grossly underrepresent the number of rapes that took place in the ETO because it is such an underreported crime. There are no composite statistics on how many rapes were reported by the French police. Therefore it is impossible to know to what extent the military police and the French police were reporting the same rape accusations. In my own research, I have found some overlap in the rape charges (identifiable by the accuser’s name), but also many cases in which charges appearing in the French police records do not appear in the official case record of the military courts, Holdings and Opinions, Board of Review, Branch Office of the Judge Advocate General, European Theater of Operations: Judge Advocate General Corps. Board of Review (hereafter HOBR), 34 vols. (Washington, DC: Office of the Judge Advocate General, 1943–46). This means that such rape accusations were not legally prosecuted in the US military courts, either because they did not come to the attention of the military police, or because no one individual was charged with the alleged rape.

2 HBO-JAG, 10, 13. Of those men in the ETO sentenced to death, 86 percent were black and 14 percent were white. The judge advocate’s general corps was responsible for military justice in the ETO. The JAG provided legal services to the army at all levels of organization; it was composed of officers who were also lawyers. The JAG conducted and reviewed court-martial trials and kept statistics on crime in the European theater. These kinds of executions also occurred in Italy, most famously to Louis Till, an American soldier who fought in Italy and was executed 2 July 1945 for the crime of rape and murder. Till was the father of Emmett Till, whose murder in 1955 for talking with a white woman became a cause célèbre for the civil rights movement.


4 See Alice Kaplan, The Interpreter (New York: Free Press, 2005); and Lilly, Taken by Force.

5 While such accusations were most often aimed at African American soldiers, some targeted colonial West African or other nonwhite soldiers. For examples where the “problem” clearly concerns North African soldiers, see Archives Départementales du Calvados (hereafter ADC), 9W 45, Rapports du préfet, rapports mensuels et bimensuels, 1945, reports dated 10 April, 30 April, 10 May, 24 May, 10 June, and 25 June.

6 Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC H4 15-6, letters
dated 18 November and 21 November 1944, 25 June 1945. See also the letters dated 14 June, 19 June, and 19 July 1945.

7 HBO-JAG, 1:13.

8 For such a case, see HOBR, Court Martial Case (hereafter CMC) 5017, 14:53–63.


12 HBO-JAG, 1:10.

13 HBO-JAG, 1:249. There is no documentary evidence of mass rape in the Pacific Theater. However, Yuki Tanaka has used eyewitness testimonies and Japanese police intelligence reports to argue that there were gang rapes in Okinawa in March of 1945, and significant numbers of rapes in the Japanese homeland after it was occupied by the Americans in September 1945. See Yuki Tanaka, *Japan’s Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the U.S. Occupation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 110–11, 116–17.


15 See HBO-JAG, 1:10–13, 237.

16 In its final report, the Twelfth Army Group noted that in August 1944, “by far the greatest number of known offenders and suspects” for the crime of rape were “colored service troops.” See US Army, *Twelfth Army Group, Final After-Action Report*, 15 vols. ([Bad-Hamburg?]: Twelfth Army Group, 1945), 10:223.

17 HBO-JAG, “Introduction,” 1: np. That percentage was up from 23 percent in June, and it dipped to 28 percent in August. Although these figures are for the European theater as a whole, they apply mostly to France, where the majority of American troops were fighting during the late summer months. The rape figures for Belgium were minimal.


22 On Hastie’s appointment, see McGuire *Taps*, xxxi; McGuire, *Hastie*, xiv.

23 For the complaint letters that Hastie received at the War Department, see the William Henry Hastie Papers, Harvard Law School Library, Part IX, Segregation, Discrimination: Armed Services, Boxes 102-8 to 102-14. For the complaint letters that Hastie received through the NAACP, see Papers of the NAACP, Part 18, Special Subjects, 1940–55, Series B, General Office Files, William H. Hastie, and Part 9, Series A, Discrimination in the US Armed Forces, 1918–55, General Office Files on Armed Forces’ Affairs. Most of these complaints date from the years 1940–41 and also concern discrimination in training and promotion. In the secondary literature, see Clayborne Carson et al., *African American Lives: The Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Pearson Longman, 2005), 406.


25 A pamphlet given to white officers was meant to address the “special” issues of commanding black soldiers. See *Command of Negro Troops*, War Department Pamphlet No. 20-6, 29 February 1944.


27 SCRBC, Layle Lane Papers, Sc MG 54 (hereafter LLP) Box 1, Folder 1, Correspondence, Soldiers, 1942–46 (hereafter 1.1 Corr.), letter dated 26 February 1943.

28 Ibid., letter dated 9 May 1943.

29 Ibid., letter dated 27 April 1943.

30 Ibid., letter dated 9 May 1943.

31 SCRBC, Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, Sc MG98, Folder 2, Hearings before Commission of Inquiry into the Effects of Segregation and Discrimination on the Morale and Development of the Negro Soldier (hereafter Folder 2). This folder contains a written transcript of hearings before a Commission of Inquiry into the Effects of Segregation and Discrimination on the Morale and Development of the Negro Soldier, May 1948. It includes testimo-
nies from black soldiers concerning their training and deployment in the Second World War.


33 SCRBC, LLP, 1.1 Corr., letter dated 6 April 1944.

34 SCRBC, Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, Sc MG98, Folder 2.

35 SCRBC, LLP, 1.1 Corr., letter dated 10 March 1943.

36 Ibid., letter dated 14 August 1944.


38 SCRBC, LLP, 1.1 Corr., letter dated 24 December 1944.


40 SCRBC, LLP, 1.1 Corr., letter dated 24 December 1944.


44 SCRBC, Alan Morrison Papers, “Negro Service Troops Overseas,” unpublished ms., nd, 12–18. Morrison was the first black reporter for Stars and Stripes in the ETO.

45 Morehouse, Jim Crow Army, 4; Lee, Employment of Negro Troops, 348–79, 437.


48 For the liberation of Cherbourg and its function as a major supply port, see Robert Lerouvillois, Et la liberté vint de Cherbourg: la bataille logistique de la Libération (Cherbourg: Isoète, 1987); and André Picquenot, Cherbourg sous l’Occupation (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 1983), 95–96.

49 For statistics, see NARA, RG 498, Box 27, “Offenses by Colored Soldiers.” For the provost marshal’s remarks, see ibid., “Recapitulation of Major Crimes.”

50 Lee, Employment of Negro Troops, 631.


52 Régine Torrent, La France américaine: controverses de la Libération (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004), 236.


54 US Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks (hereafter MHI), World War Two Veterans Survey (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 18th Infantry Division, Warren E. Eames survey.

55 These concerns are voiced in Twelfth Army Group, Final After-Action Report, 10:28.

56 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, “Offenses by Colored Soldiers” dated 22 August 1944.

57 Hodes, White Women, Black Men, 2. See also John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 297, where the authors remark that between 1930 and 1964, 90 percent of men executed for rape were African American.

58 SCRBC, Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, Sc MG98, Folder 2.


60 Archives Départementales de la Manche (hereafter ADM), Rapports américains, 13 num (hereafter 13 num), 3045. The “13 num” series is a collection of SHAEF Intelligence reports from Normandy that were photographed by ADM personnel at the NARA for their own archives.

61 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, memo dated 24 October 1944. In the French archives, see ADC, 21 W 15/2, Rapports mensuels du préfet: documents préparatoires de synthèse, 1944, reports dated 16 December 1944, 3 February and 1 March 1945.


63 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, “Recapitulation of Major Crimes.”

64 HOBR, CMC 4172, 11:53–63.


66 In order to explore the rape accusations in France during the period 1944–45, I looked at seventy-six summaries of court cases described in HOBR by the reviewing judges of the JAG office. These were cases in which the accused was tried for
rape, attempted rape, or rape and murder. From these cases, I requested, pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act, fifteen records of court-martial trials from the US Army. I chose cases that appeared to have unanswered questions concerning evidence, the identification of the accused, and/or the credibility of the accuser. Because the sample is biased toward “problem” cases, I don’t claim it to be representative. The large majority of these cases fell into the period July–October 1944, when the first rape wave was said to occur. To learn how the rape accusations were handled by the French authorities, I read police and prefect reports in Le Havre (AMH, FC H4 15-6); in Saint-Lô (ADM, Séries 3 U, Justice, Fonds du Tribunal de première instance de Cherbourg, procès-verbal [hereafter Séries 3 U]); in Caen (ADC, Cabinet du préfet, 9 W 52–55 Police); and Reims (Archives Départementales de la Marne [hereafter ADMar], 8 U 180, 196–97.)


69 USAJ, CMC 3858, Arthur E. Davis and Charles H. Jordan. The legal limit of time between formal charge and trial was five days, except in cases of military necessity. In the review of the case by the judge advocate general’s office, the judges acknowledged the brief period between the formal charge and trial, but they argued “it appears that there has been substantial compliance in that ample opportunity was afforded for the preparation of their defense.” The two men had for their defense counsel a field officer and a captain in the JAG Office. Neither counsel appeared to be a lawyer. The two soldiers were executed on 22 November 1944.

70 USAJ, CMC 4775, Wilford Teton and Arthur Farrell.

71 USAJ, CMC 3691, Eugene Houston; CMC 2740, Sanders, Wilson, Anderson; CMC 3750, Leonard Bell. See also CMC, 4589, Edward Powell, Andrew Clay, Ebbie Sweet, and J. B. Ketchum.


75 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, carrier sheet dated 16 November 1944.

76 SCRBC, Alan Morrison Papers, “Armed Forces,” unpublished mss., nd, 7–8. Morrison also states here that it “cannot be denied that many Negro soldiers were guilty of criminal offenses which warranted severe punishment.”


78 To determine if the rape charges followed any geographical pattern, I mapped their locations in August and September 1944, as reported in HOBR, vols. 16–23.
Of seventy rape accusations during these months, only five were made in Cherbourg. There were no rape accusations at all in small cities such as Rennes, Brest, Saint-Lô, Saint-Malo, and Coutances, where the GIs had a presence during these months. There was one rape accusation in Le Mans, two in Morlaix, and one in Valognes. Otherwise, the accusations arose in small and often obscure rural villages. It is possible that the alleged rapes took place in locations where there was greater war damage, more fervent Catholicism, or more collaborationist activity. But such distinctions are difficult to analyze systematically given the paucity of information about the small villages and towns where most of the rapes occurred.


80 Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 94.

81 ADM, Séries 3 U, reports dated 11 July, 17 August, 5 September, and 2 October 1944.

82 HOBR, CMC 5170, 14:227–39.

83 HOBR, CMC 5363, 15:357–65.

84 HOBR, CMC 7209, 18:7–13.

85 USAJ, CMC 3858, Davis and Jordan, 30. The accuser claimed that one of her attackers was short, the other tall. But Davis and Jordan were the same height. For other cases in which the crimes took place after dark, see HOBR, CMC 5362, 14:339–55; CMC 6585, 17:153–61; CMC 8166, 19:65–69; CMC 9246, 20:157–63.

86 HOBR, CMC 3859, 10:391–407. See also USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson.

87 HOBR, CMC 5362, 14:339–55.

88 HOBR, CMC 6193, 16:157–73.

89 HOBR, CMC 7209, 18:7–13.


91 USAJ, CMC 18599, Joseph E. Striggle.


94 Ibid., 23.

95 One of the accused left a raincoat at the crime scene with his name and unit written in it. But the owner of the raincoat had reported it lost several days before the alleged rape, so he did not become a suspect in the case.

96 Ibid., 22.

97 Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 38.

98 USAJ, CMC 4775, Teton and Farrell.

99 Three cases in which no medical evidence was presented are USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson; HOBR, CMC 3141, 8:351–61; HOBR, CMC 3749, 10:283–87. Two cases in which the medical exam occurred several days afterward are HOBR, CMC 5362, 14:339–55; HOBR, CMC 6545, 17:87–91. A case of medical examination by candlelight was HOBR, CMC 10103, 22:91–95.

100 See, for example, ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 4 November 1944. Pregnancy was not an issue in any case I examined.

101 USAJ, CMC 3933, Ferguson and Rorie, 23–24.

102 See, for example, USAJ, CMC 8163, Tommie Davison; ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 28 August 1944.

ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 17 August 1944. Peronneau took possession of the soldiers’ dog tags, which was how she was able to identify them.

Extortion could explain what happened in Le Havre some months later when a prostitute was allegedly assaulted in her home by a black soldier who wanted to have sexual relations with her. When a fight broke out between them, the soldier shot her and fled. See AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 11 May 1945.


USAJ, CMC 14986, John Robert Louis Phenix. A physical examination of Rouvrière “showed no evidence of external violence or trauma.”


USAJ, CMC 14986, Phenix. The original sentence for Phenix was hard labor for life. But the reviewing judges claimed to find no strong evidence of lack of consent on the part of Rouvrière, so they changed the charge from “Rape” to “Intent to Rape,” and reduced Phenix’s sentence to ten years. Phenix requested and was denied clemency in 1947 and 1948.

Another case that came down to “the relative credibility of the witnesses,” according to the JAG review was USAJ, CMC 8163, Davison. Davison was sentenced to death by hanging, and he proclaimed his innocence on the scaffold.

USAJ, CMC 3933, Ferguson and Rorie, 23–25. For another case in which a refugee was an accuser, and whose uncorroborated testimony was key to the conviction of the defendant, see USAJ, CMC 4309, Theron McCann.

USAJ, CMC 3933, Ferguson and Rorie.

USAJ, CMC 4589, Powell, Clay, Sweet, and Ketchum. Once a conflicting testimony had been resolved by court-martial in favor of the accuser, it could not be changed by the board of review. See USAJ, CMC 8163, Davison; HOBR, CMC 9246, 20:157–63. For two other cases in which black soldiers were prosecuted for rape and the word “orgy” was used, see USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson; and USAJ, CMC 3933, Ferguson and Rorie.

USAJ, CMC 4155, Ora Broadus.

Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale, (hereafter SHGN), 76E 200, Brigade territoriale de Cany-Barville, registres de correspondance courante au départ, 7 September 1944 to 11 December 1946, report dated 8 August 1945. For other positive civilian assessments of black behavior, see SHGN, 76E 173, Section Yvetot, registres de correspondance courante au départ, 16 July 1945 to 12 April 1946, report dated 11 August 1945; NARA, RG 338, Box 14, Folder “Race; Walter White, A Rising Wind.”

Terkel, The Good War, 276.

Ibid., 369.


Lilly, Taken by Force, 90, 93.
122 Hodes, *White Women, Black Men*, 201–2.

123 USAJ, CMC 3750, Bell, 10, 14. Bell was sentenced to hard labor for twenty years. His requests for clemency were repeatedly denied.

124 See also USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson, 22.


126 See USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson; USAJ, CMC 8163, Davison. For still other cases, see also HOBR, CMC 3691, 9:183–87; CMC 4072, 11:337–43; CMC 5009, 14: 53–65.


128 USAJ, CMC 3691, Houston, 32. Houston was sentenced to life in prison.

129 USAJ, CMC 8163, Davison.

130 HOBR, CMC 6227, 16: 233–38.

131 See USAJ, CMC 309176, Wilbur Starr. Starr was a Chippewa Indian from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. See also USAJ, CMC 3740, Sanders, Wilson, and Anderson; HOBR, CMC 3691, 9:183–87; CMC 4072, 11:337–43; CMC 5009, 14: 53–65.


133 USAJ, CMC 3750, Bell; USAJ, CMC 4775, Teton and Farrell.

134 USAJ, CMC 4194, Scott.


136 Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 61–63. On this point, see also Barbeau and Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers*, 144.

137 HBO-JAG, 10.

138 Terkel, *The Good War*, 391–92; NARA, RG 338, Box 75. Correspondence in this box reveals attempts by the American military to find an experienced hangman.


140 For the motive of deterrence, see NARA, RG 498, Box 27, memo dated 16 November 1944.

141 NARA, RG 498, Adjutant General’s Section Administration Branch, General Correspondence (1944–45), Box 28, 250.1–250.4 (hereafter Box 28), memo dated 31 August 1944.

142 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, “Let’s Look at Rape.” The pamphlet is not dated but given its placement in the file, it was probably circulated to black chaplains in the fall of 1944. According to a letter in the file by Brig. Gen. Benjamin O. Davis, the pamphlet was written by Chaplain Beverly War, Sixty-Fourth Ordnance. Davis claims that the pamphlet received a positive response from black soldiers.

143 See ADM, 145 W 26, Relations avec les autorités alliés.

144 Ibid.


146 ADM, 13 num 3133.

147 ADM, 13 num 3135.

148 I found very few cases concerning violence on the part of British and Canadian troops in all the archives I consulted, and certainly no evidence of any widespread problem.
ADM, 13 num 3172.

ADM, 13 num 3172. The British also began to use the Cherbourgaise rhetoric of terror to describe African American troops. See, for example, ADC, 726 W 16 905, “Correspondance avec les autorités militaires alliées au sujet de sépultures alliées et ennemies,” undated memo titled “Violation of French Women by American Black Soldiers.”

ADM, 13 num 3177. The British also began to use the Cherbourgaise rhetoric of terror to describe African American troops. See, for example, ADC, 726 W 16 905, “Correspondance avec les autorités militaires alliées au sujet de sépultures alliées et ennemies,” undated memo titled “Violation of French Women by American Black Soldiers.”


IHTP, USA, 1, 2, nd; ARC 1074-62 Alliés (2), Voici nos alliés, Les États-Unis, no. 2 (nd); L’Amérique en guerre, 12 April 1944.

Voici nos alliés, no. 2 (nd); USA, 1, 2. Les combattants des États-Unis (Washington, DC: OWI, 1944) contains a portrait of a “red-skinned American” as a “typical” American soldier “who is very proud that his ancestors were the first Americans.”

In Rennes, for example, a “Gala Cinema Night” was held 11 August at the Royal, the Celtic, and the Select theaters downtown. Here civilians applauded films on the American jeep and an oil pipe built across Texas, as well as newsreels lauding Allied military victories. See Ouest France, 11 August 1944.

NARA RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, memo dated 17 February 1945.

Saturday Evening Post, 21 October 1944.


Roeder Jr., The Censored War, 44.


Roeder Jr., The Censored War, 4, 8, 44–47, 56–57.

Kim Munholland, “Donald Duck in the South Pacific, or the Americanization of New Caledonia, 1942–1945” (unpublished ms.). Munholland argues, 10, that between February and November 1943 there were twenty-five cases of rape, attempted rape, or assault with intention to commit rape. Of the twenty-five accused, eighteen were African American. On New Caledonia, see also Peery, Black Fire, 233. In New Guinea, six black soldiers were convicted and executed by rope for allegedly raping two white nurses in March 1944. On this case, see Ray Luszki, A Rape of Justice: MacArthur and the New Guinea Hangings (Lanham, MD: Madison Books, 1991); and Moore, Fighting for America, 214–16. For black soldiers in Australia, see Chicago Defender, 3 June 1944.

According to MacGuire, Haste, 87–88, these problems included a forced confession and inadequate acknowledgment on the part of the court that the accuser
had a reputation for dishonesty and sexual promiscuity. A French colony, New Caledonia was occupied by American troops during the Second World War in order to use as an air base. It was the French governor of the colony who brought the original charges against the two black soldiers, and who also stated to the press that “the colored troops are the terror of the white women of Caledonia.” See *Chicago Defender*, 8 January 1944.

165 For a full account of the case, see Moore, *Fighting for America*, 211–15.

166 For commentary in the black community on the role of the British press, see *New York Amsterdam News*, 24 June 1944; *Atlanta Daily World*, 14 June 1944; *Pittsburgh Courrier*, 17 June and 1 July 1944; *Richmond African American* and *Baltimore African American*, 17 June 1944; *Chicago Defender*, 30 September 1944; *Crisis*, July 1944.

167 On the petition campaign, see *Pittsburgh Courier*, 24 June 1944, and *New York Amsterdam News*, 29 July 1944.


171 *The Crisis*, March 1944.

172 *The Crisis*, June 1944.

173 *The Crisis*, July 1944.

174 *New York Amsterdam News*, 8 July 1944.

175 *Chicago Defender*, 14 October 1944.

176 *Pittsburgh Courrier*, 1 July 1944.

177 NAACP’s *The Crisis* (March 1944) christened the Caledonia case the “Army Scottsboro Case,” linking it to the overturned 1931 convictions of nine black men for allegedly raping two white women in Scottsboro, Alabama. Because one of the accusers in the Scottsboro case had admitted to lying about the alleged rapes, it produced what Glenda Gilmore calls a “tectonic shift” in the southern landscape, after which white women claiming rape could no longer count on racist stereotypes of black men to avoid court chauvinism (*Defying Dixie*, 125). The *Pittsburgh Courrier* made the same comparison with the Scottsboro case on 22 July 1944.

178 NARA, RG 498, Entry 82, Special Staff, Public Relations Division, Executive Branch, Decimal File, 1943–45 (hereafter Entry 82), Box 6, Folder “Negroes.”

179 Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 164.


183 White, *A Man Named White*, 244. White recalled that Eisenhower ordered the
judge advocate general of the European theater to investigate specific cases and take corrective action both on them and on court-martial procedure more generally. According to White, “some of the more flagrant injustices were corrected.”

White, *A Rising Wind*, 24, 48–49. See also SCRBC, Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, Sc MG98, Folder 2, 8 May 1948.


Ibid., memo dated 4 April 1945.

NARA, RG 498, Box 27, memo dated 21 November 1944.

An exhaustive search of the African American press during the period 1944–45 did not turn up any mention of the rape accusations and court-martial trials in France. Some black newspapers did report on charges of sexual assault made against black soldiers in Germany. See *Pittsburgh Courier*, 16 June 1945, and *Chicago Defender*, 28 March, 21 April, 26 May, and 21 July 1945.

Papers of the NAACP, 1940–55, General Office File, Part 16, Board of Directors, Correspondence; ibid., William Hastie, 1943–45. Hastie spent at least part of the summer in New York reorganizing the offices of the NAACP. In the Correspondence file, see a letter dated 25 August 1944 from White to Lewis Gannett, a reporter for the *Herald Tribune* posted in France. White expresses his pride with black accomplishments in France, and writes to Gannett “I envy you for being in the midst of the accomplishment of that which I saw being prepared.”

USAJ, CMC 3858, Davis and Jordan. Neither was she given her son’s personal effects, including “a valuable wrist watch and war bonds.”

Col. Benjamin O. Davis was promoted to brigadier general as part of the same arrangement in 1940 between Roosevelt and black leaders that brought Judge William Hastie to the War Department. After refusing to end segregation in the army, Roosevelt sought to win back the black vote in the election of 1940. See McGuire, *Taps*, xxxi. Davis does not mention the trip to France in his memoir, *Benjamin O. Davis, Jr.: An Autobiography* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

NARA RG 331, Entry 82, Box 6, memo dated 7 July 1944.

*Chicago Defender*, 19 August 1944. Toles was a black correspondent with the First Army in France. I was unable to find memoirs of African Americans who served in France. For black-authored novels about the ETO, see William Gardiner Smith, *The Last of the Conquerors* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, 1948); Avery Kolb, *Jigger Witchett’s War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1959).


*Congressional Record*, 29 June 1945; Asch, *Senator and Sharecropper*, 114–18. For the NAACP’s response to Eastland’s filibuster, see Papers of the NAACP, 1940–55, General Office File, Part 18, Special Subjects, Series B, “James Eastland.”

*Congressional Record*, 29 June 1945. Eastland’s fantasy of the violent hypersexual black male extended beyond African Americans to the peoples of the French Empire. The senator went on to describe an alleged mass rape in Stuttgart where, he claimed, Senegalese soldiers in the French Army sexually assaulted “christian German girls from good families.” The French were quick to dismiss Eastland’s story. See *Chicago Defender*, 30 June, 7 July, 18 August 1945; *New York Amsterdam

197 For the mainstream press response, see Los Angeles Times, 30 June 1945; and the New York Times, 30 June 1945.

198 Atlantic Daily World, 6 July 1945; Chicago Daily Tribune, 3 July and 6 July 1945; Chicago Defender, 14 July 1945, and Pittsburgh Courier, 14 July 1945.

199 Atlantic Daily World, 8 July 1945. The statement was at best disingenuous. Eastland had connected the alleged rapes in Normandy to the fact that black soldiers were given guns. There was a difference between saying that black troops did not engage in combat and saying that they were not armed. See also The Crisis, August 1945.

200 Eastland’s remarks were reprinted extensively in southern newspapers. In places such as Charleston, South Carolina, and Columbia, Missouri, the papers were censored to leave out the most offensive of Eastland’s statements. See Atlanta Daily World, 17 July and Chicago Defender, 21 July 1945. In August The Crisis reprinted Eastland’s remarks, describing them as “vicious and shocking.” In December 1945, Negro Digest again reprinted an edited version of Eastland’s filibuster in the form of a roundtable addressing the question, “Are Negroes Good Soldiers?”

201 Pittsburgh Courier, 7 July 1945; Atlanta Daily World, 1 July, 5 July, and 8 July 1945; New York Amsterdam News, 7 July 1945. For the comparison to the Nazis, see also New York Amsterdam News, 14 July 1945.


204 New York Amsterdam News, 2 September 1944. See also Ollie Stewart’s account of the Liberation in the Richmond African American, 2 September 1944.

205 As Lentz-Smith argues for the First World War (Freedom Struggles, 99), “women became a means through which both black and white Americans expressed their thinking about manhood and civil rights.”

206 New York Amsterdam News, 2 September 1944.

207 Richmond African American, 26 August and 14 October 1944.

208 Chicago Defender, 30 September 1944.

209 Baltimore African American, 7 July 1945.

210 Chicago Defender, 11 August 1945.

211 Chicago Defender, 11 August 1945.

212 Chicago Defender, 18 August 1945.

213 Chicago Defender, 21 July 1945.

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1 La presse cherbourgeoise, 17 October 1944.

2 In particular the paper was responding to an incident that occurred in La Pernelle, east of Cherbourg. Three African American soldiers, Milbert Bailey, John
Williams, and James L. Jones, were accused of raping a woman in La Pernelle, then murdering her father when he tried to protect his daughter. The three were condemned by court-martial on 14 December 1944 and executed in La Pernelle on 19 April 1945. See *Holdings and Opinions, Board of Review*, *Branch Office of the Judge Advocate General, European Theater of Operations: Judge Advocate General Corps. Board of Review* (Washington, DC: Office of the Judge Advocate General, 1943–46) (hereafter HOBR), Court Martial Case (hereafter CMC), 7518, 18:157–65; Archives Départementales de la Manche (hereafter ADM), 145 W 26, Relations avec les autorités alliées, letter dated 16 October 1944; Hilary Footitt, *War and Liberation in France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 85.

3 National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operational and Occupation HQ, World War II (SHAEF) (hereafter RG 331), Entry 6, General Correspondence, 1944–45, Box 16, “Extracts of Censorship Submissions on Relations of Allied Personnel with Civilians” dated 24 November 1944.

4 Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC H4 15-6, letter of 18 November 1944.

5 Archives Départementales du Calvados (hereafter ADC), 726 W 16 905, letter dated 5 November 1944. In this same dossier, see also the letters of 15 September and 3 October 1944, which refer to “the atmosphere of fear and worry” in the region of La Cambe and Maisy.

6 Archives Nationales, (hereafter AN), Séries AJ 384, Gendarmerie, synthèse pour la période du 15 octobre au 15 novembre 1944.

7 ADC, 9 W 45, Rapports du préfet, rapports mensuels et bimensuels, 1945, report dated 23 December 1944.


9 AMH, FC H4 15-6, letters dated 10 September 1945 and 8 October 1945.

10 ADM, Rapports américains, 13 num (hereafter 13 num) 3051 and 13 num 3136.


13 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, General Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Operations File, 1943–July 1945 (hereafter Entry 54), Box 111, Relations with General and Special Staffs, Psychological Warfare Division (hereafter Box 111), report dated 25 June 1944. See also ADM, 13 num 3039 and 13 num 3105.

14 Footitt, *War and Liberation*, 76.

15 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 111, report dated 14 August 1944.


18 Prashant Bordia and Nicholas DiFonzo, “Problem Solving in Social Interactions

19 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 111, report dated 25 June 1944. For a French acknowledgment that rumors were circulating, see Marcel Leveel, *Rails et haies: la double bataille de l’Elle et de Lison* (Marigny: Éditions Eurocibles, 2004), 126.

20 ADM, 13 num 3051.
21 ADM, 13 num 3046.
22 ADM, 13 num 3045.
23 ADM, 13 num 3084.


26 Les Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris (hereafter APP), BA 1822 Libération. This thick file contains scores of police reports with charges against American soldiers for theft and fighting, but not a single rape case. The archive also holds (*sous dérogation*) dossiers concerning African American soldiers charged with homicide, but again there are no accusations of rape. See also AN, F1a 3350, report dated 12 December 1945; Louis Chevalier, *Les ruines de Subure: Montmartre de 1939 aux années 80* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1985), 82, 91–92.


NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, report dated 16 March 1945.

The parallel to 1789 is again helpful. Fear was a pervasive emotion in the French countryside in 1789, not only because of political upheaval but also low grain supplies.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, report dated 28 November 1944.

Quoted in Footitt, *War and Liberation*, 91.


HOBR, CMC 3859, 10:391–407.

MDC, Séries FN–France Normandie, Trevières, “Américains—Normands—Omaha—1944.” 35. Marguerite Gidon was twenty-six in 1944. Bernesq is a small village at the base of the Cotentin Peninsula. In this document, see also the témoignage of Madame Marie Jeanne Leneveu, 43.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, report dated 15 December 1944.

NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, report dated 21 November 1944.


NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, report dated 1 April 1945.

ADC, 9 W 45, Rapports du préfet, rapports mensuels et bimensuels, 1945, reports dated 30 April, 20 May, 24 May, 10 June, 25 June. See also ADC, 9 W 55/2 Police, rapports bimensuels de gendarmerie, report dated 3 May 1945; ADC, 21 W 17, Rapports mensuels de préfet, documents préparatoires de synthèse, 1945, reports dated 20 April, 19 June.

ADC, 9 W 45, Rapports du préfet, rapports mensuels et bimensuels, report dated 23 December 1944. See also ibid., reports dated 23 February, 28 February 1945; and ADC, 21 W 16, Rapports mensuel du préfet, documents préparatoires de synthèse, report dated 19 March 1945.

AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 19 September 1945. Voisin himself so disliked African American soldiers that on the first anniversary of the liberation of Le Havre, he ordered his assistant to call local American officials in order to let them know that “only white soldiers will be admitted” to the celebration. See AMH I1 46-7, letter dated 6 September 1945.

There were accusations of rape in the Marne. See Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), 16 W 268, Affaires réservées: Incidents avec les troupes alliées, report dated 20 September 1944. Overwhelmingly, however, the police reported thefts and minor assaults.

See chapter 7.

See chapter 1.

Herval, Bataille de Normandie, 1:70.

ADM, 13 num 3047.

For complaints about American requisitioning of property in Le Havre, see AMH, FC H4 14-15; FC I1 68-4; FC H4 15-5. For the Marne, see ADMar, 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliées; ADMar, 132 W 276, Mission militaire française de liaison après de l’armée américaine. For Caen, see ADC, 21 W 16, Rapports mensuels du préfet: documents préparatoires de synthèse, report dated 19 February 1945; ADC, 726 W 16 905, Correspondance avec les autorités militaires alliées au sujet de sépultures alliées et enemies.


Le Havre-éclair, 12 August 1945.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, memoir of Raymond Avignon, 30.

ADM, 1366 W, MT, diary of Henri Dabrin, 175.

Footitt, War and Liberation, 72, 86. She concludes that “the population felt swamped by the presence of the Liberators.”

ADC, 726 W 16, 865 Prostitution, report dated 5 March 1945. In November 1944, Yvette Mesnil, accused by the police of prostitution in Cherbourg, knew to evade the charge by arguing she was too “disgusted” to have sex with the black soldiers at a nearby camp. See ADM, Séries 3 U, Justice, Fonds du Tribunal de première instance de Cherbourg, procès-verbal (hereafter Séries 3 U), report dated 14 November 1944.

ADM, Séries 3 U, reports dated 24 January 1945 and 26 July 1945.


Pamela Scully, “Rape, Race, and Colonial Culture: The Sexual Politics of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Cape Colony, South Africa,” American Historical Review 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 338. The Indian mutiny of 1857 is perhaps the most famous example of the links between political rebellion and sexual transgression. See Jenne Sharpe, Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1991), 57–84. Historian Ann Stoler has observed the coincidence of political tensions in interwar Algeria with the widespread diffusion of images defining Algerian men as sexually hyperaggressive. See Stoler, Carnal...


70 TARAUD, *La Prostitution coloniale*, 351–52.


72 See chapter 3.


74 ADM, 13 num 3054, 13 num 3068. See also ADMa, 132 W 276, Mission militaire française de liaison après de l’Armée américaine.

75 ADC, 9 W 53, Police, rapports journaliers, reports dated 21 April and 26 April 1945.

76 ADM, 13 num 3128.

77 ADM, 13 num 3039; NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 111, reports dated 1 August and 14 August 1944.

78 See ADMar, 130 W 9, Rapports mensuels sur la situation générale adressés, report dated 28 December 1944.


84 Two other sets of rape accusations point to the links between sexual violence and national humiliation during these years. First, in the Italian campaign of 1943–44, rumors circulated of Moroccan soldiers committing rape after the population was liberated by the French Army. See Olivier Wieviorka, *La mémoire désunie: le souvenir politique des années sombres, de la Libération à nos jours* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2010), 262. Second, there were widespread rumors that Senegalese troops had supposedly raped German women in Stuttgart. American senator James Eastland referred to these rapes in his filibuster against the Fair Employment Practices Committee. See chapter 7.


91 Ibid., 67–70.

92 Ibid., 41.

93 Ibid., 78.

94 For wartime propaganda about the United States as the “greatest democracy in the world,” see Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent, ARC 074-61 Alliés (1) and (2); ARC 074-62 Alliés (2); and ARC 074-67 Alliés (7)—États Unis.

Závěr

1 Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris, F.446.559. In accordance with French law, I have changed the names of those involved in the accident.


3 For an analysis of the photograph as a form of public culture, see John Louis Lucaites and Robert Hariman, “The Time Square Kiss: Iconic Photography and
Civic Renewal in U.S. Public Culture,” *Journal of American History* 94, no. 1 (June 2007): 122–31. Another photograph that appears evocative in relationship to “Time Square Kiss,” is Robert Doisneau’s “Le Baiser de l'Hôtel de ville.” This equally famous photo shows a French man kissing a French woman in front of the Parisian City Hall. Taken in 1950, five years after the war, the photo can be read as an iconographic response to both Robert Morris’s 1944 photograph of a GI kissing a French woman and Eisenstadt’s “Time Square Kiss.” Doisneau posed the picture on an assignment for *Life* magazine, where the other two photographs initially appeared.