

Poznámky

Úvod

- 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.
- 2 See Janice Holt Giles, *The G.I. Journal of Sergeant Giles* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1965), 27.
- 3 AMH, FC H4 15-5, Joe Weston, “The GIs in Le Havre,” manuscript. The article was printed in *Life* magazine, 31 December 1945. In fact, such stereotypes of the French predated 1917. See Jean Yves Le Naour, *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: les moeurs sexuelles des Français, 1914–1918* (Paris: Aubier, 2002), 205.
- 4 Charles Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 154–55.
- 5 See Irwin Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945–1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 34, 195, 198.
- 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.
- 8 On the French challenge to the Anglo-American bid for military government, see Julian G. Hurstfield, *America and the French Nation, 1939–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 194–224; Wall, *The United States*, chap. 1.
- 9 For the conflict between FDR and Charles de Gaulle, see Charles Cogan and Andrew Knapp, “Washington at the Liberation, 1944–1947,” in *The Uncertain Foundation: France at the Liberation, 1944–1947*, ed. Andrew Knapp (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 183–206.

- 10 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), 8. Thomson argues that AMGOT did not die out completely in 1944.
- 11 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.
- 12 Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), Séries AN Fra 4005, Mission militaire de liaison administrative, 1944–46 (hereafter 4005), report of 27 June 1944. The clearest historical account of the liberation from the French political perspective is Robert Aron, *Histoire de la libération de la France, juin 1944—mai 1945* (Paris: A. Fayard, 1959).
- 13 AN, Séries Fra 4005, Documents François Coulet, report dated 1 July 1944.
- 14 Hurstfield, *America and the French Nation*, 207.
- 15 Jacques Kaiser, *Un journaliste sur le front de Normandie : carnet de route juillet–août 1944* (Paris: Arléa, 1991), 32.
- 16 Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, US Army, 2004), 729.
- 17 In *The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:433, Samuel A. Stouffer argues that servicemen of the Second World War made very little effort "to give the war meaning in terms of the principles and causes involved."
- 18 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.
- 19 André Siegfried, "Les États-Unis à la croisée des chemins," *Le figaro*, 26 March 1945. For more on Siegfried as an important figure in the French anti-Americanist tradition, see Philippe Roger, *L'ennemi américain: généalogie de l'antiaméricanisme français* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002), 373–79.
- 20 See Stephen E. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany, June 7, 1944–May 7, 1945* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 337–38; *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler's Eagle's Nest* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 169–70, 263, 286–87. In *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), Paul Fussell also marginalizes sexuality, treating it in a separate chapter titled "Drinking Far Too Much, Copulating Too Little."
- 21 See Maria Höhn, *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003); John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 135–36; Mire Koikari, "Rethinking Gender and Power in the U.S. Occupation of Japan, 1945–1952," *Gender and History*, 11, no. 2 (1999): 313–35; Naoko Shibusawa, *America's Geisha Ally: Reimagining the Japanese Enemy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 38–40.

Kapitola 1

- 1 Cornelius Ryan, *The Longest Day: June 6, 1944* (New York: Touchstone, 1959), 105–7.
- 2 This is the fatality figure provided by the US National D-Day Memorial Foundation. See <http://www.ddaymuseum.co.uk/faq.htm>.
- 3 See Robert M. Citino, “Review Essay: Military History Old and New; A Reintroduction,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 4 (October 2007): 1070–71.
- 4 Stephen E. Ambrose, *Citizens Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany, June 7, 1944–May 7, 1945* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 50.
- 5 See Ambrose, *Band of Brothers: E Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne from Normandy to Hitler’s Eagle Nest* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 73. By contrast, see the more inclusive Olivier Wieviorka, *Histoire du débarquement en Normandie: des Origines à la libération de Paris, 1941–1944* (Paris: Seuil, 2007). On Normans as traitors, see Ambrose, *June 6, 1944, D-Day, The Climactic Battle of World War II* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 315.
- 6 Ambrose, *June 6, 1944*, 214, 307, 313.
- 7 Ambrose, *Band of Brothers*, 253.
- 8 Jean Quellien and Bernard Garnier, *Les victimes civiles du Calvados dans la bataille de Normandie: 1er mars 1944–31 décembre 1945* (Caen: Éditions-Diffusion du Lys, 1995), 13–20; William I. Hitchcock, *The Bitter Road to Freedom: A New History of the Liberation of Europe* (New York: Free Press 2008), 27–28. The casualties for France throughout the entire Second World War are 217,600 military deaths and an estimated 350,000 civilian deaths.
- 9 Jacques Perret, *Caen, 6 juin 1944, une famille dans le débarquement* (Paris: Éditions Tirésias, 1994), 127.
- 10 Jacques-Alain de Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensante sous l’occupation, 1940–1945* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1998), 141.
- 11 Jacques Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front de Normandie: carnet de route juillet–août 1944* (Paris: Arléa, 1991), 72.
- 12 US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks (hereafter MHI), World War Two Survey Collection (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 99th infantry Division, John W. Baxter, “World War II Experiences,” 14.
- 13 Aramais Hovsepian, *Your Son and Mine* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 79.
- 14 Janice Holt Giles, *The G.I. Journal of Sergeant Giles* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1965), 40.
- 15 Howard H. Peckham and Shirley A. Snyder, *Letters from Fighting Hoosiers* (Bloomington: Indiana War History Commission, 1948), 119.
- 16 Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 57; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, “I Was There,” 64–65; Frank J. Irgang, *Etched in Purple* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1949), 149.
- 17 Anne Frank, *The Diary of a Young Girl, the Definitive Edition* (New York: Bantam Books, 1995), 307. For the theme of “hope,” see Jean-Louis Bory, *Mon village à l’heure allemande* (New York: Éditions de la Maison Française, 1945), 309.

- 18 Françoise Seligman, *Liberté quand tu nous tiens* (Paris: Fayard, 2000), 226.
- 19 Philippe Bertin, ed., *Histoires extraordinaires du jour le plus long* (Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France, 1994), Story of Yvonne (no family name given), 81–82.
- 20 Wiewiorka, *Histoire du débarquement*, 151–55. See also Torrent's thorough discussion of the effects of bombardment on civilians in Régine Torrent, *La France américaine: controverses de la libération* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004), chap. 1; and Eddy Florentin, *Quand les alliés bombardaient la France* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1997).
- 21 Wiewiorka, *Histoire du débarquement*, 159.
- 22 Jean Quellien, "Le Département du Calvados à la veille du débarquement," in *Normandie 44: du débarquement à la libération*, ed. François Bédarida (Paris: Albin Michel, 1987), 144; Régine Torrent, "L'image du soldat américain en France de 1943 à 1945," in *Les américains et la France, 1917–1947: engagements et représentations*, ed. F. Cochet, Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, and Hélène Trocmé (Reims: Maison-neuve et Larose, 1994), 233.
- 23 Jean Collet, *A vingt ans dans la Résistance, 1940–1944* (Paris: Graphein, 1999), 124.
- 24 Quellien, "Le département du Calvados," 145. See also Michel Boivin, Gérard Bourdin, and Jean Quellien, *Villes normandes sous les bombes (juin 1944)* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 1994).
- 25 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.
- 26 Institut d'histoire du temps présent (hereafter IHTP), ARC 074-62 Alliés (2), "Les armées de l'air américaine adressent ce message au peuple français"; *L'amérique en guerre*, 3 May 1944; *Le courrier de l'air*, 15 July 1943; Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Séries 30 Actualités, Box 28, Propagande alliée, tracts, affiches.
- 27 Julien Septeuil, *Jours tranquilles sous l'occupation* (Brive: Écritures, 1999), 181; Archives nationales (hereafter AN), Séries F1a 3743, Opinion publique (hereafter F1a 3743), "La vie et l'opinion des parisiens en 1943."
- 28 AN, F1a 3743, "La réaction en face de bombardements alliés, rapport du 1 octobre 1943."
- 29 De Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensant*, 141. The same feelings were prevalent in the south of France. See Arthur Layton Funk, *Hidden Ally: The French Resistance, Special Operations, and the Landings in Southern France, 1944* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 256.
- 30 AN, F1a 3743, "Une opinion sur les bombardements alliés, rapport du 16 mai 1944."
- 31 AN, F1a 3743, "Réaction de l'opinion publique française en regard des bombardements anglo-américains," nd [early 1944]. See also Torrent, "L'image du soldat américain," 231, 235.
- 32 AN, F1a 3743, "L'opinion et la position des américains vis-à-vis Vichy, rapport de mai 1944," and "La vie et l'opinion des parisiens en 1943." In the secondary literature, see Irwin Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945–1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 25.
- 33 AN, F1a 3743, "Réaction de l'opinion publique française."
- 34 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, October 1996), 59–60, 67–69.

- 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.
- 36 Alfred Fabre-Luce, *Journal de la France, juin 1943–août 1944* (Paris: Auteur, nd), 75.
- 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.
- 39 Augustin Maresquier, *Journal d'un exode (août 1944)* (Cherbourg: Éditions Isoète, 1994), 32.
- 40 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Claude Tatard, "Claude Bourdon, réfugiée de St.-Lô—1944 été," 904.
- 41 On this point, see Crane Brinton, "Letters from Liberated France," *French Historical Studies*, 2, no. 1 (Spring 1961): 4–5.
- 42 Georges Duhamel, "The Ordeal of Paris," *New York Times*, 17 September 1944. For a personal response to the bombing of Le Havre, see Roger Hilliquin, *Les années de guerre d'un adolescent havrais, 1939–1945* (Lunery: Éditions Bertout, 2002), 115.
- 43 National Archives and Records Administration (hereafter NARA), Record Group 331, Records of Allied Operation and Occupation, Headquarters, World War II (SHAEP) (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.
- 44 Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front*, 75. On this issue, see also Brinton, "Letters from Liberated France," letter dated 29 August 1944, 10.
- 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.
- 47 Antoine Anne, *J'aurais aimé vous conter une autre histoire* (Saint-Georges d'Elle: A. Anne, 1999), 65–66.
- 48 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Robert Simon, "Printemps 1944—je vais avoir bientôt 12 ans," 886.
- 49 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Madame Marie-Thérèse Dold-Lomet, 285.
- 50 Jacques Petit, *Au coeur de la bataille de Normandie: souvenirs d'un adolescent, de Saint-Lô à Avranches, été 1944* (Louviers: Ysec, 2004), 116. See also René Herval, *Bataille de Normandie: récits de témoins recueillis et présentés par René Herval*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de "Notre Temps," 1947), 1:87–89.
- 51 Bertin, *Histoires*, 35; Petit, *Au coeur de la bataille*, 114. In *Bataille de Normandie*, René Herval refers, 1:85, to "the Passion of Saint-Lô." For a detailed description of the Allied destruction at Saint-Lô, see M. Lantier, *Saint-Lô au bûcher* (Saint-Lô: Imp. Jacqueline, 1969). See also Augustin Le Maresquier, *La Manche libérée et meurtrie* (Corbeil: Imprimerie Crété, 1946).
- 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."
- 53 MHI, Templeton Payne Papers, "A Complete Change of Life—into World War II," 31.

- 54 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Freese, "Private Memories," 17.
- 55 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 3 August, 1944.
- 56 Bertin, *Histoires extraordinaires*, 34–35.
- 57 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Raymond Avignon, 28.
- 58 Bertin, *Histoires extraordinaires*, 146.
- 59 Hilary Kaiser, *Veteran Recall: Americans in France Remember the War* (Paris: H. Kaiser, 1994), 83.
- 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.
- 61 Andy Rooney, *My War* (New York: Random House, 1995), 166. See also Angela Petesch, *War through the Hole of a Donut* (Madison, WI: Hunter Halverson Press, 2006), 141.
- 62 Hilary Footitt, *War and Liberation in France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 43.
- 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.
- 68 An excellent source for the progress of the battle is Stéphane Simonnet, *Atlas de la libération de la France, 6 juin 1944–8 mai 1945* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2004).
- 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."
- 71 John Hurkala, *The Fighting First Division: A True Story* (New York: Greenwich Book Publishers, 1957), 150.
- 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.
- 74 Guillaume Lecadet, *Valognes: le Versailles normand aux heures tragiques* (Paris: Office d'Édition du Livre d'Histoire, 1997 [1946–47]), 240. Abbé Brunet remembers the liberation of Caen in this way: "joy to know oneself liberated, but also a return to the most terrible of realities: the ruins and the many dead bodies they contained." See François Lefaiivre, ed., *J'ai vécu les bombardements à Condé-sur-Noireau* (Condé-sur-Noireau: C. Corlet, 1994), Témoignage of Abbé Brunet, 41.
- 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.
- 78 Kaiser, *Veteran Recall*, 74–75.

- 79 Morton Eustis, *War Letters of Morton Eustis to His Mother: February 6, 1941 to August 10, 1944* (New York: Spiral, 1945), 213. See also A. J. Liebling, *Normandy Revisited* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958), 125; Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 200–201.
- 80 Robert and Jane Easton, *Love and War: Pearl Harbor through V-J Day* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press), 241.
- 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.
- 82 Sidney Bowen, *Dearest Isabel, Letters from an Enlisted Man in World War II* (Manhattan, KS: Sunflower University Press, 1992), 73.
- 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).
- 84 Annette Tapert, ed., *Lines of Battle: Letters from American Servicemen, 1941–1945* (New York: Times Books, 1987), 165.
- 85 Paul Boesch, *Road to Heurtgen-Forest in Hell* (Houston, TX: Gulf, 1962), 48.
- 86 Quoted in Studs Terkel, *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1985), 38. See also Lawrence Cane, *Fighting Fascism in Europe: The World War II Letters of an American Veteran of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 113.
- 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.
- 95 Raymond Gantter, *Roll Me Over: An Infantryman’s World War II* (New York: Ivy Books, 1997), 7–8.
- 96 Tapert, *Lines of Battle*, 228–229.
- 97 Giles, *Journal*, 35, 44–46.
- 98 Georgia H. Helm, *From Foxhole to Freedom: The World War II European Journal of Captain H. Dale Helm of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, 1996), 40.

- 99 Françoise de Hauteclouque, *La guerre chez nous: en Normandie, 1939–1944* (Paris: Éditions Colbert, 1945), 99
- 100 Claude Hettier de Boislambert, *Les fers de l'espoir* (Paris: Éditions Plon, 1978), 9–10.
- 101 Perret, *Caen, 6 juin*, 47; Herval, *Bataille de Normandie*, 1:37, 52.
- 102 Bernard de Cagny, *Jour J comme jeunesse* (Condé-sur-Noireau: Éditions Corlet, 2003), 46.
- 103 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Jacques Lepage, “Combats sur le Lozon,” 379.
- 104 Kaiser, *Veteran Recall*, 73.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 89.
- 106 De Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensante*, 131; Marcel Leveel, *Rails et haies: la double bataille de l'Elle et de Lison* (Marigny: Éditions Eurocibles, 2004), 82.
- 107 Herval, *Bataille*, 1:44, 52.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 1:189.
- 109 *Ibid.*, 1:54; Irgang, *Etched in Purple*, 19.
- 110 Anne, *J'aurais aimé vous conter*, 59–60.
- 111 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Carnet de Michel Braley, 105.
- 112 Herval, *Bataille*, 1:32, 121.
- 113 Petit, *Au coeur de la bataille*, 9–12.
- 114 Claude Paris, *Paroles de braves: d'Omaha la sanglante à Saint-Lô, capitale des ruines, 7 juin–18 juillet 1944* (Condé-sur-Noireau: Éditions Charles Corlet, 2007), 146.
- 115 Anne, *J'aurais aimé vous conter*, 61. See also Paris, *Paroles de braves*, 148.
- 116 Herval, *Bataille*, 1: 62.
- 117 Leveel, *Rails et haies*, 97.
- 118 Christiane Delpierre, *Une enfance normande* (Angers: Cheminements, 1999), 148–49. See also Herval, *Bataille*, 1:35, 204.
- 119 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Jean-Jacques Vautier, 976.
- 120 J. Raibaud and H. Henric, eds., *Témoins de la fin du IIIe Reich: des polytechniciens ractentent . . .* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 352–53. The first jeeps were developed in the early 1940s by American Bantam, Willys-Overland, and the Ford Motor Company. On the jeep, see also Simone Signoret, *La nostalgie n'est plus ce qu'elle était* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil), 81; ADM, 1366 W, MT, Jacques Nicolle, “J'avais quinze ans,” 81; IHTP, ARC 116, Michel Geoffroy, “Libération: visage de Paris”; Leveel, *Rails et haies*, 94; Petit, *Au coeur de la bataille*, 85; de Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensante*, 152.
- 121 Torrent, *La France américaine*, 15.
- 122 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Lepage, “Combats sur le Lozon,” 379–80.
- 123 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage d'Auguste Couillard, 419. See also Bernard Gourbin, *Une jeunesse occupée: de l'Orne au Bessin; 1940–1944* (Le Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 2004); Herval, *Bataille*, 1:29, 165.
- 124 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Marguerite Pottier, 416.
- 125 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Témoignage de Georgette Leduc Le Bourg, 443.
- 126 In the French autobiographical literature, see Le Mémorial de Caen, Séries FN—France Normandie, Trevières, “Américains—Normands—Omaha—1944,” témoignage of André Morel, 27; Hargrove, *Asnelles 6 juin 1944*, 9; Paris, *Paroles de braves*, 36–37; Herval, *Bataille*, 1:28, 153, 177, 335, 337. In the American memoir literature, see MHI, WWII Survey, Box 84th Infantry Division, Freese, “Private Memories,” 17.
- 127 Gilles Bré, *Chroniques du Jour J* (Paris: Éditions Christian, 2006), 233; ADM, 1366

- W, MT, *Témoignage d'André Julien*, 610–12; Frédérick Lemarchand, ed., *Vivre dans le bocage bas-normand au XXe siècle: témoignages d'un siècle: un récit à plusieurs voix* (Caen: Université Inter-âges de Basse-Normandie, 2003), memoir of Francine Morin, 388–89; Geneviève Duboscq, *Bye Bye Geneviève!* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1978), or the English translation by Richard S. Woodward, *My Longest Night* (New York: Seaver Books, 1981); Edouard Marie, *Souvenirs d'un marin pêcheur de Chausey* (Granville: Éditions Formats, 1995); Elizabeth Coquart and Philippe Huet, *Le jour le plus fou: 6 juin 1944, les civils dans la tourmente* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 32–35; and Coquart and Huet, *Les rescapés du Jour J: les civils dans l'enfer du 6 juin 44* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999), 60–73.
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- 225 Philippe, *J'avais quinze ans*, 144, 188.
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Kapitola 2

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- 6 Bodo Von Dewitz and Robert Lebek, eds., *Kiosk: Eine Geschichte der Fotoreportage, 1839–1973 / A History of Photojournalism, 1839–1973* (Gottingern: Steidl, 2001), 162, 190.
- 7 Finnegan, *Picturing Poverty*, 170, 242.
- 8 Andrew Mendelson and C. Zoe Smith, "Part of the Team: Life Photographers and Their Symbiotic Relationship with the Military during World War II," *American Journalism* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 278–87.
- 9 Alfred Cornbise, "American Armed Forces Newspapers in World War Two," *American Journalism* 12, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 213–24.
- 10 Andy Rooney, *My War* (New York: Random House, 1995), 98. On censorship in *Stars and Stripes*, see George H. Roeder Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 99.
- 11 See Jack E. Pulwers, *The Press of Battle: The GI Reporter and the American People* (Raleigh, NC: Ivy House Publishing, 2003), 407–95; Francis Caron, *Hexalogie ou mes souvenirs* (Aubenas d'Ardèche: Le Regard du monde, 1992), 73, 86.
- 12 *Stars and Stripes*, 24 June 1944.

- 13 Peter Belpulsi, *A GI's View of World War II* (Salem, MO: Globe Publishers, 1997), 80; Orval Faubus, *In This Faraway Land* (Conway, AR: River Road, 1971), 232. See also Aramais Hovsepian, *Your Son and Mine* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 80.
- 14 Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, Séries 30, fonds actualités, box 32, Presse américaine, Doris Fleeson, "Into the Heart of France" np, nd. See also Cecil E. Roberts, *A Soldier from Texas* (Fort Worth, TX: Branch-Smith, 1978), 45; Hilary Footitt, *War and Liberation in France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 60–61.
- 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. Hedenfield, "Beer—Ice Cold—Flows in Rennes," 8 August 1944.
- 16 See Mrinalini Sinha, "Gender and Nation," in *Women's History in Global Perspective*, ed. Bonnie G. Smith, 3 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 1:229–74.
- 17 Robert Westbrook, "'I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James': American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly* 42, no. 4 (1990): 587–614. On pinups in World War II, see also Joanne Meyerowitz, "Women, Cheesecake, and Borderline Material: Responses to Girlie Pictures in Mid-Twentieth Century U.S.," *Journal of Women's History* 8, no. 3 (1996): 9–35; Maria Elena Buszek, *Pin-Up Grrrls: Feminism, Sexuality, Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 210–13.
- 18 *Stars and Stripes*, 9 September 1944.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Hilary Kaiser, *Veteran Recall: Americans in France Remember the War* (Paris: Author, 1994), 91. See also Archives Départementales de la Manche, Saint-Lô (hereafter ADM), 1366 W, Comité vérité historique, *Liberté 44, la Manche témoigne: de l'occupation à la libération; les manchois se souviennent* (hereafter MT), Témoignage de Lucien Hélye, 515; Christiane Delpierre, *Une enfance normande* (Angers: Cheminements, 1999), 149; Danièle Philippe, *J'avais quinze ans . . . en juin 44 en Normandie* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1994), 150.
- 21 Maurice Larkin, *France since the Popular Front: Government and People, 1936–1996* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 116. The classic account is Dominique Lapierre and Larry Collins, *Is Paris Burning?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965).
- 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.
- 31 Maurice Boverat, *Du Cotentin à Colmar avec les chars de Leclerc* (Paris: Éditions Berger-Levrault, 1947), 59.
- 32 *Le parisien libéré*, 26 August 1944.
- 33 In French republican culture, such conjugality symbolized social and moral stability. See Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
- 34 *Le franc-tireur*, 27 August 1944.
- 35 Christopher Forth and Bertrand Taithe, “Introduction: French Manhood in the Modern World,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, ed. Forth and Taithe (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 5.
- 36 Christina Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 15–16.
- 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 Higonnet et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 197–226. On the contrast between American and French women, see Elisabeth Coquart, *La France des G.I.s: Histoire d’un amour déçu* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), 74–75.
- 38 Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 253.
- 39 On Ralph Morse, see Roeder, *The Censored War*, 95.
- 40 *Life*, 25 September 1944.
- 41 *Stars and Stripes*, 20 September 1944.
- 42 Examples of such a joyous greeting are too numerous to mention here, but a sampling would include the following. In the American memoir literature, see Robert Adleman and George Walton, *The Champagne Campaign* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), 171; Annette Tapert, ed., *Lines of Battle: Letters from American Servicemen, 1941–1945* (New York: New York Times Books, 1987), 165. In the archival literature, see US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, (hereafter MHI), World War Two Survey (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 5th Infantry Division, Robert Russell, “World War II Memoirs,” 19, and Mark Goodman, “Unit History of Company A,” 41, 46. In the French memoir literature, see André Hamel, *La canton des pieux: six ans de guerre, 1939–1945 et la 9th division U.S. d’Utah Beach à Goury* (Cherbourg: Le Canton des Pieux, 1994), 116; Michel Béchet, *L’attente: “Overlord” vécu à cent kilomètres du front* (Montsûrs: Résiac, 1994), 91–94.
- 43 Marc Bergère, “Français et américains en Basse-Seine à la Libération (1944–1946): des relations ambivalentes,” *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’ouest*, 109, no. 4 (2002): 203–15. See also Marc Hillel, *Vie et moeurs des GI’s en Europe, 1942–1947* (Paris: Balland, 1981), 148–55, 172. In the American literature, see “The Wrong Ambassadors,” *Time*, 19 November 1945.
- 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.” SHAEF 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.”

- 51 On deserters in Paris, see Jack Capell, *Surviving the Odds* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007), 213–14.
- 52 Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC H4 15-6, Daily Police Report, 10–11 June 1945.
- 53 AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 8 October 1945.
- 54 AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 26 November 1945.
- 55 AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 10 September 1945.
- 56 AMH, FC H4 15-6, petition dated 19 September 1945.
- 57 AMH, FC H4 15-6, letter dated 30 October 1945.
- 58 AMH, FC H4 15-5, Joe Weston, “The GIs in Le Havre,” manuscript; *Life*, 31 December 1945.
- 59 Régine Torrent, “L’image du soldat américain en France, de 1943 à 1945,” in *Les américains et la France (1917–1947): engagements et représentations*, ed. François Cochet, Marie-Claude Genet-Delacroix, and Hélène Trocmé (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1999), 239.
- 60 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.
- 61 Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), F1A 4023, Rapports du commissaire de la République, Marseille, 15 Juillet 1945.
- 62 AN, F1c III, Préfet de Moselle, September 1945.
- 63 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, 8 février au 22 mai 1945, report of 15 February 1945; 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.
- 64 Régine Torrent, *La France américaine: controverses de la Libération* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004), 230–31. Torrent bases her argument on prefectural reports from Cherbourg in the summer of 1944.
- 65 See, in particular, Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), 16 W 266, Relations avec les autorités alliés, notes et correspondance, letter dated 6 December 1944 and report dated 13 August 1945. Scores of thefts and assaults by American soldiers are also reported in 16 W 268 Affaires réservées: incidents avec les troupes alliées. For American violence in Reims, see Daniel Pellus, *La Marne dans la guerre 1939/1945* (Le Coteau: Éditions Horvath, 1987), 159–60; Georges Clause, *Reims autour du 7 mai 1945* (Nîmes: Christian Lacour, 1997), 388–92; Jacques Pernet and Michel Hubert, *Reims: chronique des années de guerre* (Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire: Éditions Alan Sutton, 2003), 53–87; Jacques Pernet and Michel Hubert, *1944 il était une fois . . . les américains* (Reims: Éditions de l’Atelier Graphique, 1994), 67–68, 93–95, 107–9, 111–21; Jean-Pierre Husson, *La Marne et les marnais à l’épreuve de la seconde guerre mondiale*, 2 vols. (Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 1995), 1:308–10, 2:76–77, 92–93.

- 66 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.
- 67 ADMar, 132 W 276, Mission militaire française de liaison auprès de l'armée américaine, letter dated 21 October 1945.
- 68 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."
- 69 ADMar, 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated 15 August 1945.
- 70 Maurice Chevance-Bertin, *Vingt mille heures d'angoisse, 1940–1945* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1990), 170.
- 71 *Stars and Stripes*, 1 July 1944.
- 72 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."
- 73 *Stars and Stripes*, 31 July 1944.
- 74 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.
- 75 Luc Capdevila, "The Quest for Masculinity in a Defeated France," *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 3 (2001): 444–45.
- 76 Corran Laurens, "'La femme au turban': les femmes tondues," in *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*, ed. H. R. Kedward and Nancy Wood (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1995), 156, 176–77; Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 83–84.
- 77 Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 84, 219, 237.
- 78 See Virgili's exhaustive analysis of the photo in *Naître ennemi*, 176–79.
- 79 For the equation of the Liberation with the *tonte*, see Virgili, *Shorn Women*, 83.
- 80 *Stars and Stripes* 9 September 1944.

Kapitola 3

- 1 See Michael Kelly, "The Reconstruction of Masculinity at the Liberation," and Corran Laurens, "'La femme au turban': Les femmes tondues," in *The Liberation of France: Image and Event*, ed. H. R. Kedward and Nancy Wood (Oxford: Berg

- Publishers, 1995), 117–28, 155–96; Luc Capdevila, “The Quest for Masculinity in a Defeated France,” *Contemporary European History* 10, no. 3 (2001): 444–45.
- 2 For the figure of two million, see Fabrice Virgili, *Shorn Women: Gender and Punishment in Liberation France* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 2002), 302. For the Service du Travail Obligatoire (STO), see Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 247–80.
 - 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.
 - 4 Important studies of the *chef de famille* are Sylvia Schafer, *Children in Moral Danger and the Problem of Government in Third Republic France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); and Judith Surkis, *Sexing the Citizen: Morality and Masculinity in France, 1870–1920* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).
 - 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.
 - 6 Vercors [Jean Bruller], *Le silence de la mer* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1943; orig. 1942). On the importance of the novel, see Fabrice Virgili, *Naitre ennemi: les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2009), 54–56. Bruller, who fought in the Battle of France, later recounted to an American audience, “Oh helplessness, lamentable, intolerable helplessness of a France covered with crimes and shame!” See Vercors, “A Plea for France: A Nation Weak and Uncertain Needs Our Understanding,” *Life*, 6 November 1944; *Souffrances de mon pays* (Paris: Collections des 150, 1945), 21, 41.
 - 7 For how veteran shame is portrayed, see Sartre, *Troubled Sleep*, 109, 125, 172, 201–2, 281–82; Général d’Armée Victor Bourret, *La tragédie de l’armée française* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1947), 21. Bourret was the commander of the French Fifth Army in 1940. In this literature, Great War veterans scorn the younger generation, lending legitimacy to the author’s angry judgment concerning those who lost in 1940. See, for example, the character of Babtiston in Antoine Blondin, *L’Europe buissonnière* (Paris: Éditions Jean Froissart, 1949); Girard in André Chamson, *Le dernier village: roman* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1946); and the veterans of Verdun haunting the dreams of Buissières in Joseph Peyré, *Un soldat chez les hommes* (Paris: Éditions Bernard Grasset, 1946), 23. Chamson fought in 1940 as a captain of the *chasseurs alpins*.
 - 8 Chamson, *Dernier village*, 240. See also Henri Macé, *44: la remontée* (Liège: Éditions A. Maréchal, 1945), 10.

- 9 Jacques Debû-Bridel, *Déroute* (Paris: Gallimard, 1942), 248–49. Debû-Bridel was drafted in 1939 and fought in the Battle of France.
- 10 See Mrinalini Sinha, “Gender and Nation,” in *Women’s History in Global Perspective*, ed. Bonnie G. Smith, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 1:229–74.
- 11 Nicoletta F. Gullace, “*The Blood of Our Sons*: Men, Women, and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship during the Great War (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), chap. 1. For the sexualization of the Second World War, see also Peter Paret and Beth Irwin Lewis, *Persuasive Images: Posters of War and Revolution in the Hoover Archives* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); 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 Higonnet et al. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 227–59.
- 12 The custom far precedes the twentieth century according to Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic History of Institutions* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), 22–25.
- 13 Dutourd, *Les taxis de la Marne*, 59. See also Sartre, *Troubled Sleep*, 174–75.
- 14 See Jean-Louis Bory’s *Mon village à l’heure allemand* (New York: Éditions de la Maison Française, 1945), which won the Prix Goncourt in 1945. See also Jean-Louis Curtis, *The Forests of the Night [Les forêts de la nuit]* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1951; orig. 1947), 289–90. Both Bory and Curtis were drafted in 1939, and participated in the Battle of France.
- 15 Virgili, *Naitre ennemi*, chap. 3, 193–94, 215. In the primary literature, see Jacques Perret, *Le caporal épinglé* (Paris: Gallimard, 1972; orig. 1947), 114–15.
- 16 Virgili, *Shorn Women*, chap. 8.
- 17 Antoinette Oriot, *La fille du boulanger* (Charenton-Le-Pont: Presses de Valmy, 1998), 347–48.
- 18 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.
- 19 US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks (hereafter MHI), Letters of Lt. Col. Bealke, letter dated 4 August 1944.
- 20 Robert and Jane Easton, *Love and War: Pearl Harbor through V-J Day* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 224.
- 21 Alfred Fabre-Luce, *Journal de la France, juin 1943–août 1944* (Paris: Auteur, nd), 85.
- 22 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.
- 23 Andrew Knapp, “Introduction: France’s ‘Long’ Liberation, 1944–1947,” in *The Uncertain Foundation: France at the Liberation, 1944–1947*, ed. Andrew Knapp (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 2, 12.
- 24 Charles Cogan and Andrew Knapp, “Washington at the Liberation, 1944–1947,” in Knapp, *The Uncertain Foundation*, 184.

- 25 Irwin Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945-1954* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 21, 23, 25.
- 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.
- 27 Crane Brinton, "Letters from Liberated France," *French Historical Studies* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1961): 6, letter dated 23 August 1944.
- 28 Robert de Saint Jean in *Le figaro*, 22 September 1944.
- 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.
- 31 Louis Martin Chauffier, "Ma patrie, la langue française," in Paulhan and Aury, *La patrie se fait tous les jours*, 199. Chauffier's statement is undated in the text.
- 32 Archives Départementales du Calvados (hereafter ADC), 9 W 45, Rapports du préfet, rapports mensuels et bimensuels, 25 June 1945; 9 W 53, Police, rapports journaliers, 12 April 1945; 21 W 16, Rapports mensuels du préfet: Documents préparatoires de synthèse. For the Marne, see Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), "Bulletin quotidien d'information, chapitre 1," 7 June 1945.
- 33 This argument has been taken up by Régine Torrent, *La France américaine: controverses de la libération* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004).
- 34 *La presse cherbourgeoise*, 1 July and 25 October 1944. In the memoir literature, see Oriot, *La fille du boulanger*, 373. ADMar, "Bulletin quotidien d'information: la situation intérieure et l'opinion publique," 28 May 1945.
- 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.
- 39 Easton, *Love and War*, 239, 339.
- 40 Quoted in Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 43. See also MHI, WWII Survey, Box Quartermaster Laundry Company, Leslie Brown, untitled memoir, np.
- 41 John Toole, *Battle Diary* (Missoula, MT: Vigilante Press, 1978), 22.
- 42 Bill Mauldin, *Willie and Joe: The World War II Years*, 2 vols. (Seattle: Fantagraphics Books, 2008), 2:196: "The French army started tearing up the roads," Mauldin explained, "and they made our worst quartermaster drivers seem like timid old ladies." See also Bill Mauldin, *Up Front* (New York: H. Holt and Co., 1945), 107-8. See also Brendan Phibbs, *The Other Side of Time: A Combat Surgeon in World War II* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1987), 101.
- 43 Wall, *Making of Postwar France*, 12.

- 44 US Army Service Forces, Army Info Branch, *A Pocket Guide to France* (Washington, DC: War & Navy Departments, 1944), 6–8.
- 45 Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 47.
- 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.”
- 48 Jack Sacco, *Where the Birds Never Sing: The True Story of the 92nd Signal Battalion and the Liberation of Dachau* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 201.
- 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.
- 54 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Warren R. Eames survey; Jack Sacco, *Where the Birds Never Sing*, 209; Phibbs, *The Other Side of Time*, 101. In the secondary literature, see Marc Hillel, *Vie et moeurs des GI's en Europe, 1942–1947* (Paris: Balland, 1981), 134.
- 55 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 25 August 1944. See also 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), 135–36.
- 56 Hilary Footitt, *War and Liberation in France* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 106.
- 57 Phibbs, *Other Side of Time*, 100, 166, 185–94.
- 58 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, John E. Bistrice 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. McConahey, MD, *Battalion Surgeon* (Rochester, MN: W. McConahey, 1966), 86; Paul Boesch, *Road to Heurtgen-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.
- 60 See Arthur Layton Funk, *Hidden Ally: The French Resistance, Special Operations, and the Landings in Southern France, 1944* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), 121, 253–56.
- 61 See Institut d’histoire du temps présent (hereafter IHTP), typescript, Claude Collin, “L’attitude des résistants face aux ‘libérateurs’ américains: un mélange d’admiration et de méfiance,” “Les américains en Lorraine, septembre 44–mai 45, Actes du colloque historique franco-américain,” Thionville, 10 November 1989, 102. See also Thomson, “Over There,” 75, 142.
- 62 H. R. Kedward, *Occupied France: Collaboration and Resistance, 1940–1944* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1985), 75.

- 63 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, John E. Bistrica survey.
- 64 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, William Lee survey; Lucien Guenneau, André Goacolou, and Alain Le Bris, eds., *Résistants et maquisards dans le Finistère: témoignages* (Spézet: Les Amis de la Résistance du Finistère-ANACR, 2008), 48.
- 65 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Robert Russell, "World War II Memoirs," 19, and Mark Goodman, "Unit History of Company A," np.
- 66 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 27, "850/2 Civil Affairs Summaries—21 Army Group"; RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, "France Documents Copied from Hist. Files from Com Z," report dated 19 October 1944; Brinton, "Letters from Liberated France," 140; Thomson, "Over There," 142.
- 67 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.
- 68 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, Civil Affairs report, 18 August to 23 August 1944.
- 69 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 27 August 1944.
- 70 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.
- 71 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, report dated 30 September 1944.
- 72 On the *épuration*, see Philippe Bourdrel, *L'épuration sauvage, 1944–1945* (Paris: Éditions Perrin, 2002); Peter Novick, *The Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators in Vichy France* (London: London, Chatto & Windus, 1968).
- 73 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Rocco Moretto survey.
- 74 Phibbs, *Other Side of Time*, 172.
- 75 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box 194, Civil Affairs report 18 August to 23 August 1944.
- 76 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."
- 77 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.
- 78 Allan Lyon, *Toward an Unknown Station* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1948), 135.
- 79 MHI, WWII Survey, 452nd Quartermaster Laundry Company, Leslie Brown, untitled memoir, np; Phibbs, *The Other Side of Time*, 167.
- 80 For the discomfort of the GIs with the *tonte* rituals, 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-

- can autobiographical literature, see Robert Adleman and George Walton, *The Champagne Campaign* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), 236–39; Frank Irgang, *Etched in Purple* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1949), 28; MHI, Charles Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 82; Faubus, *In This Faraway Land*, 255; Andy Rooney, *My War* (New York: New York Times Books, 1995), 213; Alan Moorehead, *Eclipse* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1945), 114 (Moorehead is British, but he describes the American response to the *tontes*); Sacco, *Where the Birds Never Sing*, 201; Ken Parker, *Civilian at War* (Traverse City, MI: Author, 1984), 88; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Chester Jordan, “Bull Sessions: World War II, Company K, 47th Inf, 9th Division from Normandy to Remagen,” 79; Box 1st Infantry Division, William Faust survey; Box 28th Infantry Division, Joseph Messoro survey.
- 81 Lawrence Cane, *Fighting Fascism in Europe: The World War II Letters of an American Veteran of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 122.
- 82 Georgia H. Helm, *From Foxhole to Freedom: The World War II European Journal of Captain H. Dale Helm of Indiana* (Indianapolis: Guild Press of Indiana, 1996), 14.
- 83 S. L. A. Marshall, *Bringing Up the Rear: A Memoir* (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1979), 97. See also Francis L. Sampson, *Look Out Below: A Story of the Airborne by a Paratrooper Padre* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1958), 751. Many French civilians also suspected that some members of the FFI were “resistors of the last minute,” meaning that they joined the FFI at the Liberation in order to cover up wartime collaboration. For a sampling of these views, see François Lefavre, *J’ai vécu les bombardements à Condé-sur-Noireau* (Condé-sur-Noireau: C. Corlet, 1994), 166–67; Oriot, *La fille du boulanger*, 347; Bernard Gourbin, *Une jeunesse occupée: de l’Orne au Bessin:1940–1944* (Le Coudray-Macouard: Cheminements, 2004), 114; Claude Boisse, *Jeunesse ardente, 1943–1945* (Montségur-sur-Lauzon: C. Boisse, 1997), 33.
- 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.
- 85 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Donald Lyddon, “My Memories of World War II,” 26. See also Jack Capell, *Surviving the Odds* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007), 110.
- 86 Yves Cazaux, *Journal secret de la libération, 6 juin 1914–17 novembre, 1944* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1975), 294. See also Fabre-Luce, *Journal de la France*, 84.
- 87 C. L. Flavian, *Ils furent des hommes* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1948), 11.
- 88 IHTP, Collin, “L’attitude des résistants”; and see also Collin, *L’été des partisans: Les F.T.P. et l’organisation de la Résistance en Meuse* (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1992); MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Charles F. Carré Jr. survey.
- 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 Quimerois dans les Combats de la Presqu’île de Crozon.” See also Jean-Jacques François and Colette François-Dive,

- De la Résistance à la libération* (Luisant: Durand S.A., 2001), 213; Guenneau et al., *Resistants et maquisards*, 48; Pierre Servagnat, *La Résistance et les Forces Françaises de l'Intérieur dans l'arrondissement d'Épernay* (La Chapelle–Montligeon: Imprimerie de Montligeon, 1946), 141; Jean Reuchet, *Le désarroi, la souffrance, l'espoir vécu par les combattants de la Résistance de Haute-Saône* (Pantin: Éditions Crimée, 1996), 213.
- 91 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.
- 92 Reuchet, *Le désarroi*, 213; François and François-Dive, *De la Résistance à la Libération*, 104–5.
- 93 Reuchet, *Le désarroi*, 213.
- 94 IHTP, Fonds Émile Delavaney, testimonies of Vincent Auriol, Eduard Froment, and Juste Evrard, 28 October 1943; ADF, FRB, 202J9, Région Sud, Capt. C. G. W. Blathway, Capt. P. Charron, and Sgt. N. Wood, "Report on Word of Jedburgh Team Gilbert," 11–12; Guenneau et al., *Resistants et maquisards*, 145. There were also squabbles over confiscated German property. See MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 202.
- 95 Funk, *Hidden Ally*, 149, 255–56.
- 96 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Raymond Huntoon survey.
- 97 See IHTP Collin, "L'attitude des résistants," 102; Boisse, *Jeunesse ardente*, 27.
- 98 Jean Aby, *Interprète volant: avec la 72e escadrille de liaison américaine, France-Allemagne, 1944–1945* (Paris: B. Arthaud, 1946), 22.
- 99 Pierre Douguet, *17 ans, résistant* (Brest: Télégramme, 2001), 173.
- 100 Curtis *Les forêts de la nuit*, 251.
- 101 Peyré, *Soldat chez les hommes*, 93–94, 139, 150.
- 102 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.
- 103 In order to investigate the responses of these French men to their American liberators, I read scores of memoirs of French *déportés* 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.
- 104 Marcel Conversy, *Quinze mois à Buchenwald* (Geneva: Éditions du Milieu du Monde, 1945), 192–93.
- 105 François Cochet and Maurice Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire: histoire de prisonniers de guerre, déportés, et STO* (Paris: S.P.M., 1992), 48.
- 106 Aimé Bonifas, *Prisoner 20–801: A French National in the Nazi Labor Camps* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987). See also the touching liberation story of André Pontoizeau in *Dora-la-Mort: de la Résistance à la libération par Buchenwald et Dora* (Tours: C.O.S.O.R., 1947), 142.
- 107 Jacques Bureau, *Un soldat menteur* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1992), 349.
- 108 Paul Fournier Berger, *Nuits bavaroises ou les désarrois d'un STO: chroniques 1943–45* (Romilly-sur-Seine: P. Fournier Berger, 1999), 335. According to one ex-prisoner, the British were the same in their closed demeanors. See Paul Assens, Henri Henric, and Jean Raibaud, eds., *Témoins de la fin du IIIe Reich: des polytechniciens racontent* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2004), 329.
- 109 André Nidub, *Quand les jours noirs proliféraient: ma jeunesse 1939–1945* (Paris: La Pensée Universelle, 1981), 308–9.

- 110 André Castex, *Au-delà du Rhin, 1943–1945* (Bidache: La Ronde, 1945), 95.
- 111 See Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 51.
- 112 Edouard Daladier, *Journal de captivité (1940–1945)* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991), 350.
- 113 Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 52.
- 114 Robert Lessafre, *Des bruyères d’Auvergne aux ronces du S.T.O.* (Paris: Les Lettres Libres, 1986), 184.
- 115 Georges Caussé, *Mémoires d’un tarnais S.T.O. en Allemagne, 1943–1945* (Toulouse: Graphi Midi-Pyrénées, 1997), 159.
- 116 Jean-Louis Foncine, *Un si long orage: chronique d’une jeunesse, les eaux vertes de la Flöha*, 2 vols. (Pouilly-sur-Loire: Héron Éditions, 1995), 2:278.
- 117 Bureau, *Un soldat menteur*, 349.
- 118 Caussé, *Mémoires d’un tarnais S.T.O.*, 159; see also Jean Damascène La Javie, *Prêtre ouvrier clandestin* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1967), 194. On this issue, see also Patrice Arnaud, *Les STO: histoire des français requis en Allemagne nazie, 1942–1945* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010), 418.
- 119 Foncine, *Un si long orage*, 274.
- 120 Paul Finance, *Trois ans de ma vie, 1942 à 1945* (Riquewihr: La Petite Imprimerie, 1993), 117.
- 121 Jacques-Alain de Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensante sous l’occupation, 1940–1945* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1998), 152.
- 122 Caussé, *Mémoires d’un tarnais S.T.O.*, 159.
- 123 Jean-Louis Querillhac, *J’étais STO* (Paris: Folio, 1991), 291. See also Lessafre, *Des bruyères d’Auvergne*, 190; Bernard Duneau, *Les insoumis du STO: épopée de la seconde guerre mondiale* (Alençon: Éditions des Vérités, 2005), 427.
- 124 André Michel, *Mes moires II: en liberté dans cette cage, en cage dans ces libertés* (Gentilly: A. Michel, 1995), 122.
- 125 Charles-Henri-Guy Bazin, *“Déporté du travail”: à la BMW-Eisenach, 1943–1945* (Paris: Cubnezais, 1986), 351.
- 126 Brigitte Friang, *Regarde-toi qui meurs: 1943–1945* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1970), 307.
- 127 Michel, *Mes moires II*, 114; Raibaud and Henric, *Témoins de la fin du IIIe Reich*, 141, 312; Archives Départementales de la Manche, Saint-Lô (hereafter ADM), 1366 W, Comité vérité historique, *Liberté 44, la Manche témoigne: de l’occupation à la libération; les Manchois se souviennent* (hereafter MT), Anonymous, “Le débarquement,” 1017–18; Béatrice Poule, ed., *Cahiers de mémoire: vivre et survivre pendant la bataille de Normandie* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados, 1994), 76. In the secondary literature, see Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin*, 236.
- 128 André Chassaignon, *Retours vers la France: récits de la captivité* (Paris: Éditions Littéraires Artistiques, 1944), 153; René and Christian Taramini, *Villégiature en Thuringe: souvenirs d’un prisonnier de guerre* (Coeuvres-et-Valsery: Atelier Ressoüvenances, 1999), 205–6.
- 129 Aimé Bonifas, *Prisoner 20-801: A French National in the Nazi Labor Camps* (Carbonale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 129.
- 130 Raibaud and Henric, *Témoins de la fin*, 329. See also Foncine, *Un si long orage*, 275; Caussé, *Mémoires d’un tarnais S.T.O.*, 159.
- 131 Conversy, *Quinze mois à Buchenwald*, 203.
- 132 Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 49.
- 133 Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 52; Robert Cardot, *L’abeille reste indomp-*

- tée (Paris: Éditions des Écrivains, 2003), 103; Louis Eudier, *Notre combat de classe et de patriotes, 1934–1945* (Le Havre: L. Eudier, 2001), 122.
- 134 Cardot, *L'abeille reste indomptée*, 105.
- 135 Caussé, *Mémoires d'un tarnais S.T.O.*, 159. Jean-Pierre Ganter, *Une jeunesse heureuse assassiné* (Paris: La Pensée Universelle, 1994), 68.
- 136 Lessafre, *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.
- 138 Bazin, "Déporté du travail," 340–341.
- 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 Bonnicie, *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 déchirée* (Mazan: Études Comtadines, 2006), 153.
- 149 See Cochet and Vaisse, *Les exclus de la victoire*, 49–51; Duneau, *Les insoumis du STO*, 427; Michel, *Mes moires II*, 121; Jean-Charles, *Suivez le cancre* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1983), 105–6.
- 150 Bazin, *Déporté du travail*, 351. See also Querillac, *J'étais 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.
- 155 Finance, *Trois ans de ma vie*, 119–20.
- 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, Séries 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

- 162 W 355 Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes (hereafter 162 W 355), undated report [August 1945]. See also Ludivine Hamel, "Les américains au Havre et dans sa région, 1944–1946: réalisations et impacts" (Mémoire de maîtrise d'histoire, Université du Havre, 2001), np; James Finucane, "What's Wrong with Our GIs Abroad?," *American Mercury*, February 1946, 195.
- 159 Les Archives de la Préfecture de Police (hereafter APP), BA 1822 Libération.
- 160 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.
- 161 Finucane, "What's Wrong with Our GIs Abroad?," 197.
- 162 Jean-Pierre Vittori, *Eux, les STO* (Paris: Temps Actuels, 1982), 216.
- 163 Finucane, "What's Wrong with Our GIs Abroad?," 195.
- 164 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Warren R. Eames survey.
- 165 Jacques Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front de Normandie: Carnet de route juillet-août, 1944* (Paris: Arléa, 1991), 119, 164, 187. Kayser uses the word *filles* to refer to these women; *fille* is a term for a prostitute. See also "L'attitude populaire," *Journal de la Marne*, 21 September 1944; Irgang, *Etched in Purple*, 146–47; René Loisel, "Des liens avec trois GI's," *Havre libre*, 13 August 2003.
- 166 "Les réflexions de l'homme de la rue," *Journal de la Marne*, 24 June 1945.
- 167 ADMar, 162 W 355, letter dated 27 August 1945.
- 168 Pierre Aubéry, *Les américains au Havre* (Paris: La Bibliothèque Française, 1948), 38.
- 169 *Ibid.*, 34–35, 85, 119.
- 170 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.)
- 171 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.
- 172 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.

- 3 Gilles Morris, *Le forçat de l'Underwood* (Levallois-Perret: Éditions Manya, 1993), 74.
- 4 See T. J. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994).
- 5 Philippe Roger, *L'ennemi américain: généalogie de l'antiaméricanisme français* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002), 359–60.
- 6 On wartime hardship, see Richard Vinen, *The Unfree French: Life under the Occupation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 223–24, chap. 7; Fabrice Grenard, *La France du marché noir, 1940–1949* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2008), 227.
- 7 Jack Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses: Memories of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s* (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 254.
- 8 John Gimlette, *Panther Soup: Travels through Europe in War and Peace* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008), 168–69.
- 9 For a similar situation in Japan, see Sarah Kovner, “Prostitution in Postwar Japan: Sex Workers, Servicemen, and Social Activists, 1945–1956” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 24–25; and Kovner, “Base Cultures: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Postwar Japan,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 3 (August 2009): 777–804.
- 10 Stephen E. Ambrose, *Citizen Soldiers: The U.S. Army from the Normandy Beaches to the Bulge to the Surrender of Germany, June 7, 1944–May 7, 1945* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), 337.
- 11 Alan Moorehead, *Eclipse* (Paris: Coward-McCann, 1974), 112.
- 12 Grenard, *La France du marché noir*, 256, 258, 261–63.
- 13 For the origins of the black market in 1940, see Dominique Veillon, *Vivre et survivre en France, 1939–1947* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 1995), 478–79.
- 14 See Philippe Burrin, *France under the Germans: Collaboration and Compromise* (New York: New Press, 1996), 279–80.
- 15 Vinen, *The Unfree French*, 223–25.
- 16 Veillon, *Vivre et survivre*, 180.
- 17 On this transition, see Robert Mencherini, “Les américains à Marseille,” in *Marseille et les américains, 1940–46*, ed. Musée d'Histoire de Marseille (Marseille: Musée d'Histoire de Marseille, 1996), 45.
- 18 Elizabeth Coquart, *La France des G.I.s: histoire d'un amour déçu* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), 68.
- 19 Ludvine Hamel, “Les Américains au Havre et dans sa région, 1944–1946: réalisations et impacts” (Université du Havre, Mémoire de Maîtrise d'histoire, 2001), interview with Max Bengston, np.
- 20 Archives Départementales de la Manche, Saint-Lô (hereafter ADM), 1366 W, Comité vérité historique, *Liberté 44, la Manche témoigne: de l'occupation à la libération; les manchois se souviennent* (hereafter MT), témoignage of Marie-Madeleine Jacqueline, 572.
- 21 Mémorial de Caen, Séries FN–France Normandie, FN 61 Trévières, “Américains-Normands-Omaha-1944,” témoignage of Madame Renée Porrée, 9.
- 22 Simone Signoret, *La nostalgie n'est plus ce qu'elle était* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil), 82.
- 23 Christiane Delpierre, *Une enfance normande* (Le Coudray-Macouard: Cheminevements, 1999), 150. See also ADM, MT, Carnet de Monsieur Albert Allix, 11; témoignage of 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,

- 2004), 141. See also René Herval, *Bataille de Normandie: récits de témoins recueillis et présentés par René Herval*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de "Notre temps," 1947), 1:183; Hilary Kaiser, *Veteran Recall: Americans in France Remember the War* (Paris: H. Kaiser, 1994), 79.
- 25 US Army US Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks (hereafter MHI), World War II Veterans Survey Collection (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, "I Was There," 61. On the purchase of eggs, see also John Toole, *Battle Diary* (Missoula, MT: Vigilante Press, 1978), 19.
- 26 Peter A. Belpulsi, *A G.I.'s View of World War II* (Salem, MO: Globe Publishers, 1997), 94.
- 27 Lawrence Cane, *Fighting Fascism in Europe: The World War II Letters of an American Veteran of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 90–91.
- 28 Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale, Vincennes (hereafter SHGN), 76E6 Compagnie de la Seine-Inférieur 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.
- 31 Janice Holt Giles, *The G.I. Journal of Sergeant Giles* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1965), 80.
- 32 Ken Parker, *Civilian at War* (Traverse City, MI: Author, 1984), 94; Annette Tapert, ed., *Lines of Battle: Letters from American Servicemen, 1941–1945* (New York: New York Times Books, 1987), 165. See also Toole, *Battle Diary*, 19.
- 33 Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1944), 285.
- 34 Belpulsi, *G.I.'s View*, 94. On eggs as a gift, see also Edward K. Rogers, *Doughboy Chaplain* (Boston: Meador, 1946), 158.
- 35 Béatrice Poule, ed., *Cahiers de mémoire: vivre et survivre pendant la bataille de Normandie* (Caen: Conseil Général du Calvados, 1994), 28.
- 36 Claude Boisse, *Jeunesse ardente, 1943–1945* (Montségur-sur-Lauzon: C. Boisse, 1997), 36.
- 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.
- 38 Vinen, *The Unfree French*, 225; Veillon, *Vivre et survivre*, 178.
- 39 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, David Ichelson, "I Was There," 93.
- 40 Richard Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes: America's Hundred-Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 112–13.
- 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 Médiannes, 1994); Valérie Moulin, Daniel Baccara, and Jean-Michel Harel,

- Le Havre 16th Port of Embarkation, Northern District Normandy Base Section* (Le Havre: Éditions USST, 1997), 28–29.
- 44 Association historique et culturelle de Montbourg et son canton, *Montebourg se souvient, 6 juin–19 juin, 1944* (Condé-sur-Noireau: Éditions Corlet, 1994), 55.
- 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.
- 47 Abbe H. Dufour, *La guerre chez nous: souvenirs, Le Lorey, 1940–1944* (Coutances: Imprimerie OCEPS, 1986), 43.
- 48 Paul Boesch, *Road to Huertgen: Forest in Hell* (Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing Company, 1962), 73.
- 49 *L’avenir du Nord de l’Aisne*, 10 September 1944. See also Jacques Pernet and Michel Hubert, *1944 il était une fois . . . les américains* (Reims: Éditions de l’Atelier Graphique, 1994), 40–41.
- 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.”
- 53 MHI, The John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 227–28.
- 54 Michel Béchet, *L’attente: (Overlord) vécu à cent kilomètres du front* (Montsûrs: Résiac, 1994), 85.
- 55 Paul Finance, *Trois ans de ma vie, 1942 à 1945* (Riquewihr: La Petite Imprimerie, 1993), 117.
- 56 Jacques-Alain de Sédouy, *Une enfance bien-pensante sous l’Occupation, 1940–1945* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1998), 171. See also Bernard Festoc, *La vie à Airel et Saint-Fromont pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Périers: Imprimerie X. Garlan, 1994), 89.
- 57 Danièle Philippe, *J’avais quinze ans . . . en juin 44 en Normandie* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1994), 193. For the same situation in Reims, see Georges Clause, *Reims autour du 7 mai 1945* (Nîmes: Christian Lacour, 1997), 329.
- 58 Keith Winston, *V . . . -Mail: Letters of a World War II Combat Medic* (Chapel Hill, NC: Algonquin Books, 1985), 107.
- 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.
- 62 *Le Franc-tireur*, 28 August 1944.
- 63 *Havre-éclair*, 12 August 1945. See also Jacques Kayser, *Un journaliste sur le front de Normandie: carnet de route juillet-août 1944* (Paris: Arléa, 1991), 44, 129.
- 64 Walter Brown, *Up Front with U.S.* (np: W. Brown, 1979), 563.
- 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.
- 66 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Karl Clarkson, “The Story of G. I. Joe (Karl): A Combat Infantryman in World War II,” 14.
- 67 William M. McConahey, MD, *Battalion Surgeon* (Rochester, MN: Author, 1966), 176.

- 68 Peter Belpulsi, *A GI's View of World War II* (Salem, MA: Globe Publishers, 1997), 174. See also Thomas Saylor, *Remembering the Good War: Minnesota's Greatest Generation* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2005), 246.
- 69 Winston, *V . . . -Mail*, 178.
- 70 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.
- 71 Grenard, *France du marché noir*, 261.
- 72 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.
- 73 Jack Capell, *Surviving the Odds* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007), 212.
- 74 Marc Hillel, *Vie et moeurs des GI's en Europe, 1942–1947* (Paris: Balland, 1981), 156.
- 75 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.
- 76 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.
- 77 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.
- 78 Lucie, “Le Ravitaillement des Havrais,” 105–6.
- 79 *Ce soir*, 8 September 1944. For a similar situation, see *Journal de la Marne*, 6 September 1944.
- 80 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.
- 81 *112 Gripes about the French* (Fontenay-aux-Roses: US Army, 1945), 21, 68–69.
- 82 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.
- 83 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, James J. Coletti, “It Made a Man

- Out of You,” np. For other commentaries on the outrageousness of the prices, 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), 236, 240.
- 84 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 63–64.
- 85 Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History US Army, 2004), 747–48.
- 86 Robert Adleman and George Walton, *The Champagne Campaign* (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), 225.
- 87 See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, “Hurry Up and Wait,” 76.
- 88 Louis Guilloux, *Ok, Joe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003; orig. 1973), 81.
- 89 Aubéry, *Les américains*, 34–35.
- 90 G. Morris, *Assasin, mon frère* (Paris: Éditions de Rocher, 1990), 19–20; Morris, *Le forçat de l’Underwood*, 71.
- 91 Archives Nationales, F1a 4023, Rapports du commissaire de la République, report dated 15 June 1945. See also Mencherini, “Les américains à Marseille.”
- 92 Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Paris (hereafter APP), BA1822, reports dated 4 June 1945 and 1 July 1945. See also Michel Renouard and Manonmani Restif, eds., *Les malouins et la Libération: combats et vie quotidienne* (Saint-Malo: Éditions Cristel, 2006), 192.
- 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.
- 95 See Leonard D. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases Transmitted through Contact or by Unknown Means*, vol. 5 of *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, 9 vols., (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1960), 5:245; Hillel, *Vie et moeurs*, 147.
- 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.
- 99 Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 182.
- 100 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There” 93–94.
- 101 Nat Frankel and Larry Smith, *Patton’s Best: An Informal History of the 4th Armored Division* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1978), 77.
- 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 Procès-verbal (hereafter Séries 3 U), report dated 14 November 1944. See also APP, Registres de commissariats, CB39.98, Entry 1220.
- 105 Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 55. See also MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Chester Jordan, “Bull Sessions: World War II, Company K, 47th Inf., 9th Infantry Division from Normandy to Remagen,” 87–88.

- 106 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.
- 107 Aramais Hovsepien 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.
- 108 Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 58.
- 109 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 198–99.
- 110 Saylor, *Remembering the Good War*, 246.
- 111 MHI, John McGinnis Papers, untitled memoir, 58–60.
- 112 *112 Gripes about the French*, 43.
- 113 Litoff et al., *Miss You*, 204
- 114 Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses*, 252
- 115 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 18th Infantry Division, Damsky, “Shipping Order,” 38–39.
- 116 *112 Gripes about the French*, 43.
- 117 *Havre libre*, 13 August 2003. See also Aubéry, *Les américains en France*, 38.
- 118 Gimlette, *Panther Soup*, 159.
- 119 MHI, Chester Hansen Collection, diary entry dated 20 September 1944.
- 120 Frank Costigliola, “The Nuclear Family: Tropes of Gender and Pathology in the Western Alliance,” *Diplomatic History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1997): 170.
- 121 Quoted in Kenneth Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 36.
- 122 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, “I Was There,” 62.
- 123 Jacques-Pierre-Georges Pénaud, *La Prostitution (vers un contrôle humain)* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Librairie Delmas, 1945), 117.
- 124 *Ouest-France*, 9 August 1944. See also *Havre-éclair*, 6 June 1945.
- 125 *Journal de la Marne*, 24 January 1945.
- 126 ADMar, 162 W 359, Rapports sur la prostitution, letter dated 5 October 1945, and letter dated 13 October 1945.
- 127 ADMar, 162 W 359, letter dated 21 September 1944.
- 128 Alfred Scheiber, *Un Fléau social: le problème médico-policiier de la prostitution* (Paris: Librairie de Médecis, 1946), 195.
- 129 APP, DB409, Articles de presse, affaires diverses, imprimés, cartes de visites (hereafter DB409), *Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 9 September 1946.
- 130 APP, DB409, *Qui? Police l’hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 31 July 1947
- 131 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.
- 132 *France libre*, 5 September 1944; and see also *France libre*, 27 September 1944.
- 133 *Le populaire*, 9 September 1944.
- 134 *Marie-Claire*, 17 November 1944.
- 135 Lucie Aubrac, *Cette exigeante liberté* (Paris: Éditions de l’Archipel, 1997), 153.

- 136 APP, DB409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 13 October 1946.
- 137 John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 135–36.
- 138 *Journal de la Marne*, 24 June, 25 June, and 2 July 1945.
- 139 Scheiber, *Fléau*, 130–31.
- 140 As the historian K. H. Adler has put it, prostitution “became a metaphor for the uncertain status of national identity.” See K. H. Adler, “Reading National Identity: Gender and Prostitution during the Occupation,” *Modern and Contemporary France* 7, no. 1 (1999): 50, 52. See also Adler, *Jews and Gender in Liberation France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 42–44.
- 141 Scheiber, *Fléau*, 125. On this issue, see also Sarah Fishman, *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 47–50; Fabrice Virgili, *Naître ennemi: les enfants de couples franco-allemands nés pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2009), 71–73.
- 142 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.”
- 143 *Le figaro*, 15 September 1944.
- 144 *Havre-éclair*, 6 June 1945. See also *Journal de la Marne*, 21 September 1944.
- 145 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

- 1 On the sometimes violent treatment of prostitutes at the Liberation, see Louis Chevalier, *Les ruines de Subure: Montmartre de 1939 aux années 80* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1985), 84. In *La prostitution en Touraine à l'époque des maisons closes (1920–1946)*, 2 vols. (Chambray-lès-Tours: C.L.D., 1999–2001), 1:271, Claude Croubois argues that the FFI did not go after the professional prostitutes.
- 2 Marie-Thérèse [Cointré], *Histoire d'une prostituée* (Paris: Éditions Gonthier, 1964), 70–73. For prostitutes at the Liberation, see also US Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks (hereafter MHI), World War II Veterans Survey Collection (hereafter WWII Survey), Box 9th Infantry Division, Chester Jordan, “Bull Sessions: World War II, Company K, 47th Inf., 9th Infantry Division from Normandy to Remagen,” 84–85.
- 3 For the characterization of Paris as the “brothel of Europe,” see Alfred Scheiber, *Un fléau social: le problème médico-policiier 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.
- 5 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 99th Infantry Division, Casimir Rompala, untitled memoir, 47. Leonard D. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases Transmitted through Contact or by Unknown Means*, vol. 5 of *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, 9 vols. (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1960), 5:245.
- 6 *Stars and Stripes*, 27 October 1944; Walter Brown, *Up Front with U.S.* (Oakland, ME: Author, 1979), 558–59; Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 58.
- 7 Litoff et al., *Miss You*, 240.
- 8 Brown, *Up Front with U.S.*, 561.
- 9 Peter Belpulsi, *A G.I.'s View of World War II* (Salem, MO: Globe Publishers, 1997), 173. See also MHI, Payne Templeton Papers, “A Complete Change of Life—into World War II,” 32.
- 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.
- 11 *How to See Paris: For the Soldiers of the Allied Armies* (Paris: Commissariat Général au Tourisme, 1945?), 32. See Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Série 30, Fonds actualités, Box 35, Guerre 39–45.
- 12 Belpulsi, *A G.I.'s View*, 174.
- 13 Wisconsin Veterans Museum, Oral History Collection, OH74, Transcript of an oral history interview with William C. Brunsell, 1994. See also Jack Capell, *Surviving the Odds* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 2007), 213.
- 14 Charles Whiting, *The Battle of Hurtgen Forest: The Untold Story of a Disastrous Campaign* (New York: Orion Books, 1989), 64.
- 15 The American Expeditionary Forces served in the First World War. Omar Bradley, *A Soldier's Story* (New York: Modern Library, 1995), 384.
- 16 Paul Fussell, *The Boy's Crusade: The American Infantry in Northwestern Europe, 1944–1945* (New York: Modern Library, 2005), 39.
- 17 Janice Holt Giles, *The G.I. Journal of Sergeant Giles* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1965), 85. See also Paul Boesch, *Road to Heurtgen: Forest in Hell* (Houston, TX: Gulf Publishing Company, 1962), 103.
- 18 William M. McConahey, MD, *Battalion Surgeon* (Rochester, MN: Author, 1966), 176.
- 19 See speech of M. Amiot in *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris*, “Débats des assemblées de la ville de Paris et du département de la Seine, Conseil Municipal de Paris, séance du 17 déc., 1945.”
- 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.

- 23 John Gimlette, *Panther Soup: Travels in Europe in War and Peace* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 2008), 158.
- 24 For a clear summary of the French system, see Jacques-Pierre-Georges Pénaud, *La prostitution (vers un contrôle humain)* (Bordeaux: Delmas, 1945), 13–14. The classic work on the history of French prostitution is Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire: Prostitution and Sexuality in France after 1850* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.) For this period, see also Insa Meinin, *Wehrmacht et prostitution sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2006); K. H. Adler, "Reading National Identity: Gender and Prostitution during the Occupation," *Modern and Contemporary France* 7, no. 1 (1999): 47–57; Alphonse Boudard, *La fermeture: 13 avril 1946: la fin des maisons closes* (Paris: R. Laffont, 1986); Fabienne Jamet, *One two two* (Paris: Olivier Orban, 1975).
- 25 Archives de la Préfecture de la Police, Paris (hereafter APP), DB409, *Libération soir*, 27 September 1946; Speech of Amiot, *Bulletin municipal officiel*; Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC II, 49-2, "SOS à la santé publique, communication du Docteur Abel Lahille sur la prostitution." See also 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 31, memo dated 21 February 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.
- 28 Meinin, *Wehrmacht et prostitution*, 112. On the Japanese system of prostitution, see Yoshiaki Yoshimi, *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military during World War II* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- 29 Meinen, *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.
- 30 Philippe Aziz, *Tu trahiras sans vergogne* (Paris: Éditions Fayard, 1970), 271.
- 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.
- 32 Roxanne Pitt, *The Courage of Fear* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1957), 75–76. See also John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War Two Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), 218.
- 33 For women who did compulsory labor in Germany, see K. H. Adler, "Reading National Identity," 53.
- 34 For the bombing of Hamburg, see Jörg Friedrich, *The Fire: The Bombing of Germany, 1940–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 165–68.

- 35 Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 343, 347.
- 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.”
- 37 APP, DB409, *Libération soir*, 28 September 1946.
- 38 Boudard, *La fermeture*, 37–38; Speech of Marthe Richard in *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris*; APP, DB409, *Libération soir*, 2 October 1946.
- 39 For this Marthe Richard earned the nickname “la veuve qui clôt” after the *maison de champagne* Veuve Cliquot. See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marthe_Richard.
- 40 The story is told by Andy Rooney in *My War* (New York: Public Affairs, 1995), 215.
- 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 II 49-2, “Prostitution, conférence tenue à la mairie du Havre le 9 octobre 1945.”
- 44 For some of the problems of the system in 1944–45, see Paul Reboux, *Le guide galant* (Paris: Éditions Raoul Solar, 1953), 67; Adolphe Pinard, “De la propagation des maladies vénériennes,” in *Les scandales de la prostitution réglementée*, ed. Paul Gemähling et al. (Paris: Éditions de l’Union Temporaire, 1938), 37; Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d’une prostituée*, 84–85; René Delpêche, *Les dessous de Paris: souvenirs vécus par l’ex-inspecteur principal de la brigade mondaine Louis Métra* (Paris: Les Éditions du Scorpion, 1955), 153.
- 45 See MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 224.
- 46 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 31, report dated 21 February 1945. In the French sources, see ADMar, 130 W 11, Rapports mensuels sur la situation générale adressés par le Sous-Préfet, letter dated 28 August 1945.
- 47 On the *abattoirs*, see Boudard, *La fermeture*, 31, 127; Maxence van der Meersch, *Femmes à l’encan* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1945), 20–22; Reboux, *Le guide galant*, 68.
- 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.
- 51 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d’une prostituée*, 78–79. See also Scheiber, *Fléau*, 187. In the secondary literature, see Jane Mersky Leder, *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex and World War II* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006), 121.
- 52 Chevalier, *Les ruines de subure*, 81–82; Leder, *Thanks for the Memories*, 121.
- 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’érou 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.

- 56 Scheiber, *Fléau*, 183.
- 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, 39^{ème} 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, 10^{ème} 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.
- 59 Corbin, *Women for Hire*, 343; Adler, “Reading National Identity,” 51. In *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991), 47–50, Sarah Fishman argues that French officials provided high numbers of married prostitutes as a ploy to get better allocations for wives of French POWs when they faced resistance from the minister of finances.
- 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 Gemähling, “Le proxénétisme en France, son organisation, les moyens de le combattre,” in Gemähling 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.

- 67 Jack Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses* (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 252. Not all prostitutes were young. See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Jordan, "Bull Sessions," 127–28; Brown, *Up Front with U.S.*, 153. Nor were all prostitutes single. See APP, A-1945/3 (H.7.002); APP, BA1822, "Déclaration par soldat américain de suspicion d'entôler."
- 68 APP, CB, 39.98 and 10.43. See also *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.
- 69 APP, A-1946/8 (H95.707).
- 70 APP, DB409, *Libération soir*, 26 September 1946; Scheiber, *Fléau*, 26.
- 71 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.
- 72 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40.
- 73 APP, CB 10.43, 1778; APP, A 1949/1 (H.428.877); APP, BA1822, *Libération* "Déclaration par soldat américain de suspicion d'entôler." 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.
- 74 *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.
- 75 ADMar, 162 W 359, undated letter to the prefect [April or May 1945].
- 76 Scheiber, *Fléau*, 9, 24, 29. See also Reboux, *Le guide galant*, 50; and Jean-Charles Bertier, *La prostitution à Bordeaux de 1939 à 1945, son contrôle sanitaire* (Bordeaux: Imprimerie Librairie Delmas, 1945), 11.
- 77 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Boxes 40, 41.
- 78 NARA, RG 331, Entry 100, Box 40.
- 79 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 9th Infantry Division, Jordan, "Bull Sessions," 84–85.
- 80 MHI, John J. Maginnis Papers, untitled memoir, 224.
- 81 MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, "WW II as I Remember It," 58.
- 82 For the economy at the time of the liberation, see Antony Beevor and Artemis Cooper, *Paris after the Liberation, 1944–1949* (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 103–5; Raymond Ruffin, *La vie des français au jour le jour, de la Libération à la victoire, 1944–1945* (Paris: Cheminements, 2004).
- 83 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), 201.
- 84 APP, DB 409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 31 July 1947. See also APP, A-1945/1 (F.477.872).
- 85 APP, CB 39.98, 636, 1008, 1066, 1067. See also APP, CB 10.43, 1508.
- 86 APP, CB 39.98, 36, 1945; ADM, Séries 3 U, Justice, Fonds du Tribunal de première instance de Cherbourg, procès-verbal (hereafter Séries 3 U), report dated 16 April 1945.
- 87 APP, A-1946/8 (H95.707).
- 88 Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses*, 254. For Cherbourg, see also ADM, Séries 3 U, reports dated 14 November 1944 and 1 March 1945.

- 89 112 *Gripes about the French* (Fontenay-aux-Roses: US Army, 1945), 43.
- 90 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro," np.
- 91 Dor Hesselgrave, "Paris Recollections, ca. 1944–1946," unpublished mss., 2008.
- 92 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 115–16. For another case of a boyfriend-souteneur, see APP, A-1945/10 (F.459.164).
- 93 APP, DB409, *Libération soir*, 2 October 1946. For *souteneurs*, see Pénaud, *La Prostitution*, 24–25; van der Meersch, *Femmes à l'encan*, 18. For a fascinating look at a wartime pimp, see Cyril Olivier, "Un proxénète écrit à Suzy en 1941," *clio* 17 (2003): 115–36.
- 94 APP, DB409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 31 July 1947.
- 95 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 75–76.
- 96 *Ibid.*, 80, 86–87; Chevalier, *Les ruines de Subure*, 82.
- 97 Chevalier, *Les ruines de subure*, 82.
- 98 Whiting, *Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 65.
- 99 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.
- 100 Henriette remained conscious for some time, so was able to tell this story to the police. It resembles another case recorded in APP, DB545, 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.
- 101 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).
- 102 Orval Eugene Faubus, *In This Faraway Land* (Conway, AR: River Road Press, 1971), 450.
- 103 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.
- 104 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Letter dated 17 November 1945.
- 105 APP, CB 39.98, 914.
- 106 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 73.
- 107 See APP, CB 36.43, 1596–98, arrests made at L'Hôtel Crétet.
- 108 APP, BA1822, *Libération*, Undated report signed by policemen René Lhermite and Pierre Bihan.
- 109 Whiting, *Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 65

- 110 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.
- 111 Meinin, *Wehrmacht et prostitution*, chap. 4.
- 112 APP, A-1946/8 (H.95.707).
- 113 APP, BA1822, Libération, "Déclaration par soldat américain de suspicion d'entôler."
- 114 APP, CB 39.98, 1427; APP, CB 36.43, 1224.
- 115 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.
- 116 Brown, *Up Front with U.S.*, 561.
- 117 Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 57. For the Parisian geography of prostitution, see also Louis Chevalier, *Histoires de la nuit parisienne* (Paris: Fayard, 1982), 65–83.
- 118 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro," np.
- 119 Whiting, *Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 64.
- 120 Capell, *Surviving the Odds*, 214; MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Lewington S. Ponder, "Recollections of World War II," 133.
- 121 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.
- 122 Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 57–58.
- 123 APP, BA1822, Libération, unsigned letter dated 4 June 1945.
- 124 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 1st Infantry Division, Leroy Stewart, "Hurry Up and Wait," 75.
- 125 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.
- 126 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.
- 127 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.
- 128 See, for example, the café on the rue Tour Carrée in Cherbourg, ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 18 February 1946.
- 129 *Stars and Stripes*, 16 December 1944.
- 130 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, "I Was There," 64.
- 131 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).
- 132 For a waitress who was propositioned in this way, see APP, A-1945/5 (F.486.741); Scheiber, *Fléau*, 178.
- 133 Delpêche, *Les dessous de Paris*, 159.

- 134 APP, A-1945/3 (H.7.002).
- 135 APP, A-1946/8 (H.95.707).
- 136 Whiting, *Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 64; Boesch, *Road to Heurtgen*, 103.
- 137 Scheiber, *Fléau*, 185.
- 138 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 77.
- 139 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.
- 140 APP, DB 409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 7 August 1947; Jean Bazal, *Marseille galante* (Marseille: Éditions Paul Tacussel, 1980), 205.
- 141 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 74.
- 142 Faubus, *In This Faraway Land*, 450.
- 143 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.
- 144 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, "I Was There," 61.
- 145 Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 57; Walter Brown, *Up Front with U.S.*, 46, 369.
- 146 Pierre Aubéry, *Les américains au Havre* (Paris: La Bibliothèque Française, 1948), 34–35.
- 147 *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989, vol. 20, sv "zigzag."
- 148 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."
- 149 Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses*, 253.
- 150 Vernon McHugh, *From Hell to Heaven: Memoirs from Patton's Third Army* (Ardmore, PA: Dorrance and Company, 1980), 8.
- 151 See MHI, WWII Survey, Box 5th Infantry Division, Mark Goodman, "Unit History of Company A," 48.
- 152 On this problem, see APP, A1949/1 (H.428.877).
- 153 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.
- 154 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 71st Infantry Division, Ichelson, "I Was There," 62.
- 155 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.
- 156 *112 Gripes about the French*, 44.

- 157 APP, CB 39.98, entry 1976.
- 158 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 89. For a similar kind of prostitution in Africa, see Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
- 159 APP, DB409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 9 September 1946 and 7 August 1947. See also APP, CB 39.98, 702, 1259, 1699.
- 160 For a Cherbourg case in which the prostitutes tried to bribe the police, see ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 19 May 1945.
- 161 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 85; Scheiber, *Fléau*, 13. See also Delpêche, *L'hydre aux mille têtes*, 46.
- 162 APP, CB 39.98, 734, 1326. Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 83–84.
- 163 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, Shapiro, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro," 87.
- 164 APP, DB409, *Qui? Police l'hebdomadaire des faits divers*, 7 August 1947.
- 165 Service Historique de la Gendarmerie Nationale (hereafter SHGN), 76E173, Section Yvetot, registres de correspondance courante au départ, 16 juillet 1945 au 12 avril 1946, report of 29 November 1945. See also ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 4 November 1944; ADC, 726 W 16 865, Prostitution, police reports dated 22 December 1945 and 9 October 1944.
- 166 *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.
- 167 APP, BA 1822, Libération, report dated 4 June 1945.
- 168 APP, BA 1822, Libération, report dated 1 July 1945.
- 169 See APP, BA 1822, Libération, reports dated 1 July and 1 November 1945.
- 170 SHGN, 76E173, Section Yvetot, registres, report dated 29 November 1945.
- 171 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 248. For this situation in the Marne, see ADMar, 130 W 9, Rapports mensuels sur la situation générale adressés par le Sous-Préfet au Préfet septembre–décembre 1944 (hereafter 130 W 9), letter dated 7 December 1944, and 162 W 355, Rapports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated 22 October 1945.
- 172 APP, DB409; *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945.
- 173 Dor Hesselgrave, "Paris Recollections."
- 174 *La marseillaise*, 21 November 1945; ADMar, 130 W 9, letter dated 7 December 1944.
- 175 Brown, *Up Front with U.S.*, 366.
- 176 Raymond Gantter, *Roll Me Over: An Infantryman's World War II* (New York: Ivy Books, 1997), 11. See also Whiting, *The Battle of Hurtgen Forest*, 63.
- 177 Nat Frankel and Larry Smith, *Patton's Best: An Informal History of the Fourth Armored Division* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1978), 75.
- 178 Aramais Hovsepian, *Your Son and Mine* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 114.
- 179 Giles, *The G.I. Journal of Sergeant Giles*, 73.
- 180 Gimlette, *Panther Soup*, 169.

Kapitola 6

- 1 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-

hardt, see Geoffrey Perret, *There's a War to be Won: The United States Army in World War II* (New York: Random House, 1991), 311; Andy Rooney, *My War* (New York: Random House, 1995), 180; A. J. Liebling, *Normandy Revisited* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1958), 72–73. The French praised Gerhardt for his liberation of Breton towns. See, for example, Bernard Festoc's memoir, *La vie à Airel et Saint-Fromont pendant la seconde guerre mondiale* (Périers: Imprimerie X. Garlan, 1994). Gerhardt's personal papers are in the US Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania. On how quickly the house of prostitution was established, see also Joseph Balkoski, *Beyond the Beachhead: The 29th Infantry Division in Normandy* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1989), 48.

- 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.
- 7 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), 540; Leonard D. Heaton, *Communicable Diseases Transmitted through Contact or by Unknown Means*, vol. 5 of *Preventive Medicine in World War II*, 9 vols. (Washington, DC: Office of the Surgeon General, Department of the Army, 1960), 5:243. Further evidence of so-called GI brothels can be found in the 1944 Preventive Medicine Report, where French health officials related their frustration at “the operation of brothels in Commercy and elsewhere by the United States Army.” Quoted in Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 5:249. Paratrooper Robert E. Seale remembers how the medical staff of his infantry regiment set up a brothel in Soissons they called the “Idle Hours Athletic Club” with the full cooperation of the local female mayor, who helped recruit prostitutes from Paris. See US Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, (hereafter MHI), Robert E. Seale Papers, “WW II as

- I Remember It," 62. Official denial of such warehouses 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.
 - 9 Peter Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin: American Combat Soldiers in Europe during World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 181.
 - 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, *Naitre 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.
 - 12 In referring to American political, military, and cultural dominance in Europe during the Cold War, I argue for the more nuanced notion of Americanization that has emerged in recent years, which sees American dominance as a two-way process of appropriation and cultural coproduction between the United States and Europe. See, among many other possibilities, Heidi Fehrenbach and Uta G. Poiger, eds., *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), xiii–xl; Jonathan Zeitlin, "Introduction," in *Americanization and Its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-War Europe and Japan*, ed. Jonathan Zeitlin and Gary Herrigel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Richard Pells, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture since World War II* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), particularly 278–324; Oliver Schmidt, "No Innocents Abroad: The Salzburg Impetus and American Studies in Europe," in *"Here, There and Everywhere": The Foreign Politics of American Popular Culture*, ed. Reinhold Wagnleitner and Elaine Tyler May (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000), 64–79; Malachi Haim Hacohen, "The Congress for Cultural Freedom in Austria: Forum, the Rémigrés, and Postwar Culture," *Storiografia* 11 (2007): 135–45.
 - 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.
 - 18 For the May Act, see Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 162–63; Sonya O. Rose, "'The 'Sex Question' in Anglo-American Relations in the Second World War," *International History Review* 20, no. 4 (1998): 890. For a longer

- history of commercial sex and the military, see Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).
- 19 Charles M. Wiltse, *The Medical Department: Medical Service in the Mediterranean and Minor Theaters* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, 1987), 60.
 - 20 Heaton, *Communicable Diseases*, 208, 213–16, 220.
 - 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.
 - 25 For the Victorian emphasis on manly sexual self-control, see John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 69–72, 179–80; George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: H. Fertig, 1985), 13.
 - 26 On the connection between masculinity and military strength, see Christina S. Jarvis, *The Male Body at War: American Masculinity during World War II* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2004), 10–55; and Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*.
 - 27 For a similar case during and after the First World War, see Judith Surkis, “Enemies Within: Venereal Disease and the Defense of French Masculinity between the Wars,” in *French Masculinities: History, Culture and Politics*, ed. Christopher E. Forth and Bertrand Taithe (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 116.
 - 28 NARA, RG 331, Entry 56, Box 121, memo dated 2 June 1944.
 - 29 On the issue of stigmatizing African American GIs as overly sexual, see Sue Son Yom, “Sex and the American Soldier: Military Cinema and the War on Venereal Disease, 1918–1969,” (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003), 91–92.
 - 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*,

188–89. Heaton gives the following reasons for higher venereal rates among “Negro” 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. Stoffer 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.
- 33 John Hinchman Stokes, “A Statement on Prostitution in Venereal Disease Control,” in *Morals in Wartime*, ed. Victor Robinson (New York: Publishers Foundation, 1943), 155–56.
- 34 Rose, “The ‘Sex Question,’” 901.
- 35 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 April 1944.
- 36 *Ibid.*, memo dated 4 May 1944. For samples of this literature, see Eliot Ness, *What about Girls?* (Washington, DC: Office of Community War Services, Federal Security Agency, 1943); *Important! Venereal Disease Information for Military Personnel* (Atlanta: Atlanta Army Air Base, Office of the Base Surgeon Army Airport, 1944); RG 331, Entry 100, Special Staff, Headquarters Command, Decimal File, 1944–45 (hereafter Entry 100), Box 40. In the secondary literature, see Elizabeth Alice Clement, *Love for Sale: Courting, Treating and Prostitution in New York City, 1900–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 248–58; Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, 163; George H. Roeder Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 52–53.
- 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 Higonnet 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.
- 39 Robert Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 60.
- 40 Thomas Saylor, *Remembering the Good War: Minnesota’s Greatest Generation* (St. Paul, MN: Historical Society Press, 2005), 246.
- 41 Jack Plano, *Fishhooks, Apples and Outhouses: Memories of the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s* (Kalamazoo, MI: Personality Press, 1991), 255.

- 42 Paul Fussell, *Wartime: Understanding and Behavior in the Second World War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 256.
- 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
- 45 Raymond Gantter, *Roll Me Over: An Infantryman's World War II* (New York: Ivy Books, 1997), 5.
- 46 Michel Renouard and Manonmani Restif, eds., *Les malouins et la Libération: combats et vie quotidienne* (Saint-Malo: Éditions Cristel, 2006), 192; Claude Boisse, *Jeunesse ardente, 1943-1945* (Montségur-sur-Lauzon: C. Boisse, 1997), 28.
- 47 Fussell, *Wartime*, 256.
- 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.
- 54 Quoted in Clement, *Love for Sale*, 248.
- 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 anti-venereal 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.
- 58 John Costello, *Virtue under Fire: How World War Two Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), 98-99.
- 59 Elizabeth Coquart and Philippe Huet, *Le jour le plus fou: 6 juin 1944, les civils dans la tourmente* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 22.
- 60 Cosmas and Cowdrey, *The Medical Department*, 144-45.
- 61 MHI, WWII Survey, Box 28th Infantry Division, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro," 87. See also MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, "World War II as I Remember It," 62; and Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 60.
- 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), Rappports 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, Rappports 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.
- 78 Wisconsin Veterans Museum, Oral History Collection, OH29, Transcript of an oral history interview with John W. Dunn, 1994.
- 79 Schrijvers, *The Crash of Ruin*, 181.
- 80 Wisconsin Veterans Museum, Oral History Collection, OH74, Transcript of an oral history interview with William C. Brunsell, 1994.
- 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.
- 83 Harry Benjamin, "Morals versus Morale in Wartime," in Robinson, *Morals in War-time*, 193.
- 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., I, 26, 60.
- 89 Ibid., I.
- 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, Rappports 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/chgerhardt.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.
- 96 Allan Berube, *Coming Out under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990), 192. See also John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 31–32, 38. In *Wartime*, 109, Fussell argues that homosexuality was a common practice among men in POW camps.
- 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 Correspondance, 1945, 250–50.2, memo dated 31 October 1945.
- 98 Peters, *For You, Lili Marlene*, 21–22.
- 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.
- 100 Ibid., 2; Costello, *Virtue under Fire*, 97, 245. See also Ben Tumey, *G.I.’s View of World War II: The Diary of a Combat Private* (New York: Exposition Press, 1959), 24.
- 101 Edward M. Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898–1941* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), particularly chap. 10.

- 102 NARA, RG 331, Entry 198, Box 83, Testimony of Edward H. McDaniel, np.
- 103 For another case of cooperation, see MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, "WW II as I Remember It," 62.
- 104 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.
- 105 Quoted in Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation*, 36.
- 106 See *Complete War Memoirs*, 669–77, 771–98. See also Antony Beevor and Artemis Cooper, *Paris after the Liberation, 1944–1949* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 103–5; Raymond Ruffin, *La vie des Français au jour le jour, de la Libération à la victoire, 1944–1945* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 2004); Andrew Knapp, "Introduction: France's 'Long' Liberation, 1944–47," in *The Uncertain Foundation: France at the Liberation, 1944–47* ed. Knapp (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 9.
- 107 NARA, RG 331, Entry 47, Box 31, 931 Public Safety: Control of Civil Population, Brothels, Prostitution and V.D., report dated 25 January 1945.
- 108 Paul Reboux, *Le guide galant* (Paris: Éditions Raoul Solar, 1953), 67; Pinard, "De la propagation des maladies," in Gemähling et al., *Les Scandales de la prostitution réglementée* (Paris: Éditions de l'Union Temporaire, 1946), 37.
- 109 Marie-Thérèse, *Histoire d'une prostituée*, 84–85.
- 110 René Delpêche, *Les dessous de Paris: souvenirs vécus par l'ex-inspecteur principal de la brigade mondaine Louis Métra* (Paris: Les Éditions du Scorpion, 1955), 153. See also the testimony of Marthe Richard in *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris*, "Débats des assemblées de la ville de Paris et du département de la Seine, Conseil Municipal de Paris, séance du 17 décembre 1945."
- 111 Parran and Vonderlehr, *Plain Words*, 90.
- 112 US Army Service Forces, Army Information Branch, *A Pocket Guide to France* (Washington, DC: War Department, 1944), 16.
- 113 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.
- 114 NARA, RG 331, General Staff, G-5 Division, Information Branch, Historical Section, Numeric-Subject Operations File, Entry 54 (hereafter Entry 54), Box 193, "Minutes of Second Meeting on Public Health and Welfare."
- 115 Emphasis mine. NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 22 January 1945.
- 116 *Ibid.*, memo dated 17 November 1944.
- 117 Clement, *Love for Sale*, 245–46.
- 118 See chapter 5.
- 119 For more on Le Havre as a port of the ETO, see Jean-Claude Marquis, *Les camps "cigarette"* (Rouen: Éditions Médiannes, 1994); Moulin et al., *Le Havre 16th Port of Embarkation*.
- 120 See Gilles Morris, *Assasin, mon frère* (Paris: Éditions de Rocher, 1990), 22.
- 121 For a detailed account of the liberation of Le Havre, see Jean Legoy et al., *Le Havre, 1517–1986; du Havre d'autrefois à la métropole de la mer* (Rouen: Éditions du P'tit Normand, 1987), 43; Eddy Florentin, *Le Havre 44 à feu et à sang* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1985); Georges Godefroy, *Le Havre sous l'occupation, 1940–1944* (Le Havre: L'Imprimerie de la Presse, 1965).

- 122 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.
- 123 See also Archives Municipales de la Ville du Havre (hereafter AMH), FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated 7 November 1944.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 October 1945.
- 126 AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, letters dated 30 January 1945 and 2 February 1945.
- 127 Armand Frémont, *La mémoire d'un port, Le Havre* (Paris: Arléa, 1997), 115.
- 128 Archives Départementales de la Marne (hereafter ADMar), 16 W 266, report dated 9 August 1945.
- 129 Because the camps constituted American military domain, the French police had no jurisdiction there. See SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 September 1945.
- 130 AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, letter dated 24 January 1946.
- 131 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Prostitution, letter dated 14 March 1945.
- 132 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated 17 November 1945.
- 133 Ibid., letter dated 4 September 1945.
- 134 Ibid., letter dated 13 June 1945.
- 135 Ibid., letter dated 9 October 1945.
- 136 Ibid., letter dated 6 December 1944.
- 137 Ibid., letter dated 10 September 1945.
- 138 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.
- 139 André Corvisier, *Histoire du Havre et de l'estuaire de la Seine* (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1983), 272.
- 140 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Agressions, déprédations, méfaits, letter dated 4 July 1945.
- 141 AMH, FC H4 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.
- 142 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Prostitution, memo dated 29 August 1945.
- 143 Ibid., letter dated 30 August 1945.
- 144 SHGN, 76E6, 200, report dated 5 October 1945.
- 145 Rhodes, "No Safe Women," 10; Christelle Taraud, *La prostitution coloniale: Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc (1830–1962)* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2003), 341–42. In the primary literature, see Alfred Scheiber, *Un fléau social: le problème médico-policié de la prostitution* (Paris: Librairie de Médecis, 1946), 115.
- 146 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.
- 147 Once again in this case, fear of publicity lay at the heart of the American refusal to institutionalize sex labor. See Jean Yves Le Naour, *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: les moeurs sexuelles des français, 1914–1918* (Paris: Aubier, 2002), 205–11.
- 148 AMH, FC H4 15-6, Prostitution, letter dated 30 August 1945.

- 149 Ibid., letter dated 1 September 1945.
- 150 Ibid., letter dated 10 September 1945
- 151 Ibid., letter dated 17 September 1945.
- 152 Ibid., letter dated 4 January 1945.
- 153 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.
- 154 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.
- 155 For the Hawaiian brothels, see Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (New York: Free Press, 1992); Bailey and Farber, "Hotel Street: Prostitution and the Politics of War," *Radical History Review* 52 (1992): 54–77. See also Maria Höhn and Seungsook Moon, eds., *Over There: Living with the U.S. Military Empire from World War Two to the Present* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).
- 156 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.
- 157 Ibid., 63.
- 158 Stokes, "A Statement on Prostitution" in Robinson, *Morals in Wartime*, 157.
- 159 NARA, RG 331, Entry 65, Box 7, memo dated 16 May 1945.
- 160 See Sarah Kovner, "Prostitution in Postwar Japan: Sex Workers, Servicemen, and Social Activists, 1945–1956" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004), 24–25. See also "Base Cultures: Sex Workers and Servicemen in Occupied Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies* 68, no. 3 (August 2009): 777–804.
- 161 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.
- 162 MHI, Robert E. Seale Papers, "WWII as I Remember It," 62.
- 163 MHI, WWII Survey, 28th Infantry Division, Murray Shapiro, "Memoirs of Murray Shapiro," 87.
- 164 See D'Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 257, 260.
- 165 Clement, *Love for Sale*, 242.
- 166 For the myth of the manly GI, see chapter 2 and Mary Louise Roberts, "Le mythe du G.I. viril: genre et photojournalisme en France pendant la seconde guerre mondiale," *Le Mouvement social* 217 (2007): 35–56.
- 167 SHGN, 76E6, 200, report of 5 October 1945.
- 168 ADMar, 162 W 355, Rappports journaliers des relations avec les troupes, report dated 6 July 1945.
- 169 ADMar, 161 W 323, Incidents franco-américains, rapports, 1944–46, report dated 26 June 1945.
- 170 ADMar, 162 W 359, Rappports sur la prostitution (hereafter 162 W 359), report dated 2 July 1945.
- 171 Archives Départementales du Calvados, 726 W 16 865 Prostitution, letter dated 25 April 1945.

- 172 ADMar, 162 W 359, report dated 13 October 1945; 16 W 268, report dated 26 June 1945.
- 173 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.
- 174 ADMar, 16 W 268, Affaires réservées; incidents avec les troupes alliées, report dated 26 June 1945.
- 175 AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, report dated 4 May 1946.
- 176 Ibid.
- 177 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 GI’s.” Prostitutes also tried to escape from venereal wards in Reims. See 162 W 355, letter dated 3 August 1945.
- 178 *Stars and Stripes*, 18 October 1944 and 20 October 1944; US Army, Twelfth Army Group, *Report of Operations, Final After-Action Report*, 14 vols. (np, 1945), 10:179–80.
- 179 Quoted in David Reynolds, *Rich Relations: The American Occupation of Britain, 1942–1945* (New York: Random House, 1995), 206.
- 180 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.
- 181 AMH, FC I1 49-2, Prostitution, report dated 4 May 1946.
- 182 Ibid., letter dated 1 April 1946.
- 183 Ibid., letter dated 3 April 1946.
- 184 SHGN, 76E6, 200, report dated 5 October 1945.
- 185 Judith Surkis, “AHR Forum: Sex, Sovereignty and Transnational Intimacies,” *American Historical Review* 115, no. 4 (October 2010): 1090.
- 186 For the anti-Americanism of the 1950s, see Harvey Levenstein, *We’ll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), chap. 8. Philippe Roger has argued that French anti-Americanism reached its peak in the interwar rather than the postwar years. See *L’ennemi américain: généalogie de l’antiaméricanisme français* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002).

Kapitola 7

- 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 MacMillan, 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.
- 3 Significantly, the prosecution and execution of African Americans for the crime of rape is not mentioned in the highly regarded, official military history of blacks in the army during World War II, Ulysses Lee, *The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington, DC: Office of the Chief of Military History, US Army, 1966).
- 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.
- 9 To a great extent, of course, rape had already been racialized in the United States. See Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 2–3, 176–208; and Diane Miller Sommerville, *Rape and Race in the Nineteenth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- 10 For a treatment of rape on the eastern front, see Wendy Jo Gertjejjansen, “Victims, Heroes, Survivors: Sexual Violence on the Eastern Front during World War II” (PhD thesis, University of Minnesota, 2004); Birgit Beck, “The Military Trials of Sexual Crimes Committed by Soldiers in the Wehrmacht, 1939–1944,” in *Homefront: The Military, War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum (New York: Berg, 2002), 255–74. For a comparative approach, see Raphaëlle Branche et al., eds., *Viols en temps de guerre* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2011).
- 11 For more on rape and the Red Army, see Catherine Merridale, *Ivan’s War: Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939–1945* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2006), chap. 9. For the rape of German women, see Atina Grossman, “A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers,” *October* 72 (1994): 43–63; and Grossman, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), chap. 3. See also Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 69–140; and Anonymous, *A Woman in Berlin: Eight Weeks in the Conquered City* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005).
- 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.
- 14 Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 16, 76–77, 91.
- 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.

- 18 Maggie M. Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army: Black Men and Women Remember World War II* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 3.
- 19 Stephen E. Ambrose, "Blacks in the Army in Two World Wars," in *The Military and American Society: Essays and Readings*, ed. Stephen E. Ambrose and James A. Barber Jr. (New York: Free Press, 1972), 178, 182–83.
- 20 See Richard Dalfiume, *Desegregation of the US Armed Forces, Fighting on Two Fronts, 1939–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 31–33, 64–81.
- 21 Phillip McGuire, ed., *Taps for a Jim Crow Army: Letters from Black Soldiers in World War II* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1983), xxx–xxxvi; McGuire, *He, Too, Spoke for Democracy: Judge Hastie, World War II and the Black Soldier* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), 31; Graham Smith, *When Jim Crow Met John Bull: Black American Soldiers in World War II Britain* (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., Ltd., 1987), 21–24. On the boycott and the role of the black press, see Neil Wynn, *The Afro-American and the Second World War* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), 22–26; and Allan Brandt, *Harlem at War: The Black Experience in World War II* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 109.
- 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.
- 24 Wynn, *The Afro-American*, 27; Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 137.
- 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.
- 26 The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library (hereafter SCRBC), James Watson Papers, Sc MG 464. See also Ruth Wilson, *Jim Crow Joins Up* (New York: William J. Clark, 1944), 10; Brandt, *Harlem at War*, 101–2; McGuire, *Hastie*, 67.
- 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.
- 32 Lee, *Employment of Negro Troops*, 300. See also Kenneth Rose, *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 135.
- 33 SCRBC, LLP, I.I Corr., letter dated 6 April 1944.
- 34 SCRBC, Committee against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, Sc MG98, Folder 2.
- 35 SCRBC, LLP, I.I Corr., letter dated 10 March 1943.
- 36 *Ibid.*, letter dated 14 August 1944.
- 37 *Ibid.*, letter dated 24 December 1944. See also Walter White's exposé of racist practices in the military in England: *A Rising Wind* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1945), 16; and excerpts from *Militant*, 30 September 1944; "Britons Reject Racist Indoctrination," in *Fighting Racism in World War II*, ed. C. L. R. James et al. (New York: Monad Press, 1980), 311. In the secondary literature, see Smith, *When Jim Crow*, 133–34, 139–41; and Neil R. McMillen, "Fighting for What We Didn't Have," in *Remaking Dixie: The Impact of World War Two on the American South*, ed. McMillen (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1997), 97.
- 38 SCRBC, LLP, I.I Corr., letter dated 24 December 1944.
- 39 On interracial hostilities of this type in England, see NARA, RG 338, Records of US Army Operational, Tactical and Support Organizations, V Corps Adjutant General Section, Central Decimal File, 1940–45 (hereafter RG 338), Box 14, reports dated 18 and 22 May 1944; Samuel Stouffer et al., *The American Soldier: Adjustment during Army Life*, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:544–50; Lawrence Cane, *Fighting Fascism in Europe: The World War II Letters of an American Veteran of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 64. In the secondary literature, see Smith, *When Jim Crow*, 150, 188–89; Lee, *Employment of Black Troops*, 440; Wynn, *The Afro-American*, 29; Christopher Paul Moore, *Fighting for America: Black Soldiers, the Unsung Heroes of World War II* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2005), 173.
- 40 SCRBC, LLP, I.I Corr., letter dated 24 December 1944.
- 41 William Weaver, *Yankee Doodle Dandy* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Press, 1958), 216–19; and see also George H. Roeder Jr., *The Censored War: American Visual Experience during World War II* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993), 56–57.
- 42 For African American soldiers in combat roles, see Alexander Bielakowski, *African American Troops in World War II* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2007); Charles Sasser, *Patton's Panthers: The African American 761st Tank Battalion in World War II* (New York: Pocket, 2005); Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, *Brothers-in-Arms: The Epic Story of the 761st Tank Battalion* (New York: Broadway Books, 2005); Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 160; Paul Goodman, *A Fragment of Victory in Italy: The 92nd Infantry Division in World War II* (Nashville, TN: Battery Press, 1993).
- 43 Wynn, *Afro-American*, 35–36; Mary Motley, *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1975).
- 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.

- 46 *L'Occupation et la Libération de Saint-Clair-Sur-Elle: témoignages de ses habitants* (Saint-Lô: Ateliers Beuzelin/Esnouf, 1984), np.
- 47 For a clear explanation of how ComZ functioned, see Steven R. Waddell, "The Communications Zone (ComZ): American Logistics in France" (PhD thesis, Texas A&M, 1992).
- 48 For the liberation of Cherbourg and its function as a major supply port, see Robert Lerouillois, *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.
- 51 SCRBC, Alan Morrison Papers, "Negro Service Troops Overseas," 14.
- 52 Régine Torrent, *La France américaine: controverses de la Libération* (Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2004), 236.
- 53 Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (New York: Henry Holt, 1944), 318.
- 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.
- 59 Ambrose, "Blacks in the Army," 183; NARA, RG 338, XV Corps Subject Files, 1942–46, Box 75 (hereafter Box 75), "Report of Investigation Concerning Alleged Cases of Rape Occurring at Closfontaine, France, on 31 August and 2 September 1944" (hereafter "Report"), 12–13.
- 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.
- 62 US Army Judiciary, Arlington, Virginia, (hereafter USAJ), CMC 3740, James B. Sanders, Florine Wilson, and Roy W. Anderson, 5; and *ibid.*, CMC 3933, George Ferguson and Henry Rorie, 3, 6.
- 63 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, "Recapitulation of Major Crimes."
- 64 HOBR, CMC 4172, 11:53–63.
- 65 HOBR, CMC 8270, 19:161–69.
- 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.)

- 67 See US War Department, *A Manual for Courts-Martial* (Washington, DC: Army, Judge Advocate General’s Department, 1943).
- 68 Frederick Bernays Wiener, *Military Justice for the Field Soldier* (Washington, DC: Infantry Field Journal, 1943), 25. Wiener’s book was meant as a more comprehensible field guide to accompany *A Manual for Courts-Martial*. See also John A. McComsey and Morris O. Edwards, *The Soldier and the Law* (Harrisburg, PA: Military Service Publishing Co., 1941).
- 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.
- 72 These issues are raised in Gail Williams O’Brien, *The Color of Law: Race, Violence, and Justice in the Post–World War II South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1999).
- 73 Wiener, *Military Justice*, xi–xii.
- 74 Hilary Kaiser, ed., *Veteran Recall: Americans in France Remember the War* (Paris: Graphics Group, 1994), 108.
- 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.”
- 77 MHI, WWII Survey, Box Quartermaster, Companies, Unprocessed, William R. Preston survey. See also the testimony of MP Alvin Bridges in Studs Terkel, ed., *The Good War: An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1985), 390.
- 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.
- 79 Marcel Leveel, *Rails et haies: la double bataille de l'Elle et de Lison* (Marigny: Éditions Eurocibles, 2004), 182.
- 80 Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 94.
- 81 ADM, Série 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.
- 90 HOBR, CMC 7867, 19:269–83.
- 91 USAJ, CMC 18599, Joseph E. Striggle.
- 92 HOBR, CMC 4292, 12:221–31.
- 93 NARA, RG 338, Box 75, “Report,” 12.
- 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, Série 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, Série 3 U, report dated 28 August 1944.

- 103 See USAJ, CMC 4194, Scott; USAJ, CMC 3750, Bell. See also HOBR, CMC 3141, 8:351–61; CMC 4072, 11:337–43; CMC 4253, 12:185–87; CMC 6224, 16:217–23; CMC 6545, 17:87–91; CMC 7869, 18: 291–301; CMC 11589, 24:219–25; CMC 11590, 24:227–33.
- 104 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.
- 105 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.
- 106 ADM, Série 3 U, report dated 12 June 1945.
- 107 USAJ, CMC 14986, John Robert Louis Phenix. A physical examination of Rouvrière “showed no evidence of external violence or trauma.”
- 108 ADM, Séries 3 U, report dated 12 June 1945.
- 109 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.
- 110 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.
- 111 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.
- 112 USAJ, CMC 3933, Ferguson and Rorie.
- 113 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.
- 114 USAJ, CMC 4155, Ora Broadus.
- 115 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*.”
- 116 Terkel, *The Good War*, 276.
- 117 *Ibid.*, 369.
- 118 See HOBR, CMC 3749, 10:283–287; CMC 4775, 13:281–89; CMC 5170, 14:227–39; CMC 5363, 14:357–65.
- 119 Jack Sacco, *Where the Birds Never Sing: The True Story of the 92nd Signal Battalion and the Liberation of Dachau* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2003), 193–96.
- 120 See Marie-Thérèse [Cointré], *Histoire d’une prostituée* (Paris: Éditions Gonthier, 1964), 75–77.
- 121 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.
- 125 See HOBR, CMC 3707, 10:195–99; CMC 4309, 12:277–83; CMC 4775, 13:281–89; CMC 5009, 14:53–65; CMC 10103, 22: 91–95. See also USAJ, CMC 4309, McCann.
- 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 3707, 10:195–99; CMC 3858, 10:385–89; CMC 4294, 12:239–59; CMC 4775, 13:281–89.
- 127 Walter Brown, *Up Front with U.S.* (np: Author, 1979), 46, 369.
- 128 See 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.
- 132 132 HOBR, CMC 10103, 22:91–95.
- 133 USAJ, CMC 3750, Bell; USAJ, CMC 4775, Teton and Farrell.
- 134 USAJ, CMC 4194, Scott.
- 135 Peter Schrijvers notes that the prosecution of African Americans for alleged rapes against Belgian women also resulted in harsher penalties than in the cases of white soldiers. See Peter Schrijvers, *Liberators: The Allies and Belgian Society, 1944–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 229–30.
- 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.
- 139 Hodes, *White Women*, 2–3, 6, 147–48, 157, 175–208.
- 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.
- 145 See Lilly, *Taken by Force*, 163. See also Frank Irgang, *Etched in Purple* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1949), 163.
- 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.

- 149 ADM, 13 num 3172.
- 150 NARA, RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, letter dated 3 November 1944. Maj. Gen. Alphonse Juin passed along the article to Eisenhower as well as a memo about it written by French Lieutenant General Legentilhomme, at that time commander of the French Third Military Region in Rouen. In the memo, Legentilhomme argued that “if the Americans cannot bring women for the needs of their men, at least let them respect French women.” Eisenhower received a different translation of the “warning” than the one presented by Norman Intelligence. Both translations were bad, which is why I provide my own here.
- 151 ADM, 13 num 3172.
- 152 ADM, 13 num 3177. The British also began to use the Cherbourgeoise 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 sepultures alliées et enemies,” undated memo titled “Violation of French Women by American Black Soldiers.”
- 153 Institut d’Histoire du Temps Présent (hereafter IHTP), ARC 1074–62 Alliés (2), *Voici nos alliés, Les États-Unis*, no. 2; and ARC 074 Alliés (7), Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, *Qu’est-ce qu’un américain?* [reprint of 1774 text] (Washington, DC: OWI, 1943).
- 154 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.
- 155 *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.”
- 156 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.
- 157 NARA RG 331, Entry 6, Box 11, memo dated 17 February 1945.
- 158 *Saturday Evening Post*, 21 October 1944.
- 159 Harvard Sitcoff, “African American Militancy in the World War Two South,” in McMillen, *Remaking Dixie*, 72–74.
- 160 Roeder Jr., *The Censored War*, 44.
- 161 On this issue, see Nelson Peery, *Black Fire: The Making of an American Revolutionary* (New York: New Press, 1994), 52.
- 162 Roeder Jr., *The Censored War*, 4, 8, 44–47, 56–57.
- 163 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.
- 164 According to MacGuire, *Hastie*, 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 Courier*, 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.
- 168** On the militant role of the black press during the war, see Lee Finkle, “The Conservative Aims of Militant Rhetoric: Black Protest during World War II,” *Journal of American History* 60 (1973): 692–713, and Finkle, *Forum for Protest: The Black Press during World War II* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1975).
- 169** Christopher Waldre, *African Americans Confront Lynching: Strategies of Resistance from the Civil War to the Civil Rights Era* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2009), 86.
- 170** Glenda Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919–1950* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008), 394, 397.
- 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 Courier*, 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 Courier* 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.
- 180** Thomas Hachey, “Walter White and the American Negro Soldier in World War II: A Diplomatic Dilemma for Britain,” in *Freedom’s Odyssey: African American History Essays from Phylon*, ed. Alexa Benson and Janice Sumler-Edmond (Atlanta: Clark Atlantic University Press, 1999), 456–57.
- 181** Walter White, *A Man Named White, the Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), 246.
- 182** Hachey, “Walter White,” 463.
- 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.”
- 184 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.
- 185 NARA, RG 498, Judge Advocate Section, Decimal File, 1942–45, 250–250.1, Letter dated 3 April 1944.
- 186 *Ibid.*, memo dated 4 April 1945.
- 187 NARA, RG 498, Box 27, memo dated 21 November 1944.
- 188 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.
- 189 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.”
- 190 USAJ, CMC 3858, Davis and Jordan. Neither was she given her son’s personal effects, including “a valuable wrist watch and war bonds.”
- 191 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).
- 192 NARA RG 331, Entry 82, Box 6, memo dated 7 July 1944.
- 193 *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).
- 194 For Eastland’s trip to Europe, see Chris Myers Asch, *The Senator and the Sharecropper: The Freedom Struggles of James O. Eastland and Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: New Press, 2008), 105–6.
- 195 *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.”
- 196 *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*

- News, 7 July 1945; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 8 July, 18 July, 25 July, 27 July 1945; *New York Amsterdam News*, 14 July 1945.
- 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.
- 202 Adriane Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 99. For a personal account of the French response to African Americans during the First World War, see SCRBC, William Holmes Dyer Memoirs, 1917–18.
- 203 The classic account of African Americans in France is Tyler Stovall, *Paris Noir: African Americans in the City of Light* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996). See also Marc Hillel, *Vie et moeurs des GI's en Europe, 1942–1947* (Paris: Balland, 1981), 136.
- 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.

Kapitola 8

- 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 alliés, 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.
 - 8 US Army Judiciary, Arlington, Virginia (hereafter USAJ), CMC 4194, Richard Scott, 4.
 - 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.
 - 11 ADM, 1366 W, Comité vérité historique, *Liberté 44, la Manche témoin: de l’occupation à la libération; les Manchois se souviennent* (hereafter MT), témoignage de Madame Dold-Lomet, 285.
 - 12 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Colette l’Hermitte, “La bataille de Carentan,” 625. See also ADC, 13 T II/44, *Liberator*, 30 June 1944.
 - 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 III, Relations with General and Special Staffs, Psychological Warfare Division (hereafter Box III), 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 III, report dated 14 August 1944.
 - 16 René Herval, *Bataille de Normandie: récits de témoins recueillis et présentés par René Herval*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions de “Notre Temps,” 1947), 1:191, 195. See also 1:204.
 - 17 Jacques Petit, *Au coeur de la bataille de Normandie: souvenirs d’un adolescent, de Saint-Lô à Avranches, été 1944* (Louviers: Ysec, DL, 2004), 20, 23, 98. See also Herval, *Bataille de Normandie*, 1:38.
 - 18 Prashant Bordia and Nicholas DiFonzo, “Problem Solving in Social Interactions

- on the Internet: Rumor as Social Cognition,” *Social Psychology Quarterly* 67, no. 1 (March 2004): 34. See also Warren A. Peterson and Noel P. Gist, “Rumor and Public Opinion,” *American Journal of Sociology* 57, no. 2 (September 1951): 160. Here the author argues that “sex deviation” is a frequent subject of rumor. In the French historical literature, see Marc Bloch, “Reflexions d’un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre,” *Mélanges historiques*, 2 vols. (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963), 1:41–57; Alain Corbin et al., eds., *De bouche à oreille: naissance et propagation des rumeurs dans la France du XIXe siècle; collection historique* (Paris: Aubier, 2003).
- 19 NARA, RG 331, Entry 54, Box III, 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.
 - 24 Timothy Tackett, “La grande peur et le complot aristocratique sous la Révolution française,” *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 333 (2004): 15–17.
 - 25 Georges Lefebvre, *The Great Fear of 1789: Rural Panic in Revolutionary France* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 159. For other instances in French history where rumor has played an important historical role, see Alain Corbin, *Le village de “cannibales”* (Paris: Flammarion, 1999), and Jean-Yves Le Naour, *Le corbeau: histoire vraie d’une rumeur* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2006).
 - 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.
 - 27 US Army, *Twelfth Army Group, Final After-Action Report*, 15 vols. ([Bad-Hamburg?]: Twelfth Army Group, 1945), 10:225.
 - 28 Brett A. Berliner, *Ambivalent Desire: The Exotic Black Other in Jazz-Age France* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 237.
 - 29 Antoinette Oriot, *La fille du boulanger* (Charenton-Le-Pont: Presses de Valmy, 1998), 351. See also Elizabeth Coquart, *La France des G.I.s: histoire d’un amour déçu* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), 77; André José Lambelet, “‘Liaison Factice’ and ‘Schwarze Schande’: Black Soldiers, French Officers, and the Ideology of Conscription,” *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 28 (2002): 271–81; Christian Koller, “Race and Gender Stereotypes in the Discussion on Colonial Troops: A Franco-German Comparison,” in *Home/front: The Military War and Gender in Twentieth-Century Germany*, ed. Karen Hagemann and Stephanie Schaler-Springorum (New York: Berghahn, 2002), 141.
 - 30 Tyler Stovall, “Love, Labor and Race: Colonial Men and White Women in France during the Great War,” in *French Civilization and Its Discontents: Nationalism, Colonialism, Race*, ed. Tyler Stovall and Georges van den Abbeele (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2003), 299–300. See also William H. Schneider, *An Empire for the Masses* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982), chap. 7.

- 31 Arthur E. Barbeau and Flotette Henri, *The Unknown Soldiers: Black American Troops in World War I* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1974), 143. During this war French women from Lorraine brought charges of rape against black soldiers. See Adriane Lentz-Smith, "Settling Mr. Negro: African Americans at War in the Terrestrial Heaven," unpublished ms., 2, and see also Lentz-Smith, *Freedom Struggles: African Americans and World War I* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Régine Torrent, "L'image du soldat américain en France, de 1943 à 1945," in *Les américains et la France, 1917–1947: engagements et représentations*, ed. F. Cochet et al. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1999), 237; Jean Bazal, *Marseille galante* (Marseille: Éditions Paul Tacussel, 1980), 63.
- 32 Claude Malon, *Le Havre colonial de 1880 à 1960* (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2006), 516–17, 532, 545.
- 33 ADM, 1366 W, MT, Yves Boudier, "La rédaction imaginaire," 101.
- 34 Pierre Aubéry, "Le Camp Tareyton," *Le Havre-éclair*, 12 June 1945.
- 35 Danièle Philippe, *J'avais quinze ans . . . en juin 44, en Normandie* (Paris: Éditions France-Empire, 1994), 144. See also *Front National*, 12 September 1944.
- 36 NARA, RG 33I, Entry 6, Box II, report dated 16 March 1945.
- 37 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.
- 38 NARA, RG 33I, Entry 6, Box II, report dated 28 November 1944.
- 39 Quoted in Footitt, *War and Liberation*, 91.
- 40 Mémorial de Caen (hereafter MDC), TE 277, Marcelle Hamel-Hateau, "Des mémoires d'une petite maîtresse d'école de Normandie: souvenirs du Débarquement de juin 1944," 19.
- 41 HOBR, CMC 3859, 10:391–407.
- 42 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.
- 43 NARA, RG 33I, Entry 6, Box II, report dated 15 December 1944.
- 44 NARA, RG 33I, Entry 6, Box II, report dated 21 November 1944.
- 45 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 February 1945. Not all civilians had a negative view of black soldiers. See, for example, MDC, Séries FN–France Normandie, "Grancamp-Les-Bains-Maisy, 1939–1945, témoignages, ouvrage réalisé par l'association Grexpo," 1994, témoignage of Madame Claude Anquetil.
- 46 NARA, RG 33I, Entry 6, Box II, report dated 1 April 1945.
- 47 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.
- 48 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.

- 49 ADC, 21 W 16, Rapports mensuels du préfet: documents préparatoires de synthèse, report dated 19 February 1945.
- 50 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.
- 51 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.
- 52 See chapter 7.
- 53 See chapter 1.
- 54 Herval, *Bataille de Normandie*, 1:70.
- 55 ADM, 13 num 3047.
- 56 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 ennemies.
- 57 Roger Hilliquin, *Les années de guerre d’un adolescent havrais, 1939–1945* (Luneray: Éditions Bertout, 2002), 118.
- 58 *Le Havre-éclair*, 12 August 1945.
- 59 ADM, 1366 W, MT, memoir of Raymond Avignon, 30.
- 60 ADM, 1366 W, MT, diary of Henri Dabrin, 175.
- 61 Footitt, *War and Liberation*, 72, 86. She concludes that “the population felt swamped by the presence of the Liberators.”
- 62 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.
- 63 ADM, Séries 3 U, reports dated 24 January 1945 and 26 July 1945.
- 64 Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 63. In the secondary literature, see Richard Fogarty, *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), chap. 6.
- 65 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 Jennie Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: The Figure of Woman in the Colonial Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1993), 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*

Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 58–59.

- 66 See Pap Ndiaye, *La Condition noire: Essai sur une minorité française* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2008), 130–33. According to Ndiaye, 134,000 Senegalese soldiers fought in France during the First World War. See also Marc Michel, *Les Africains et la Grande Guerre: l'appel à l'Afrique (1914–1918)* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2003).
- 67 See Raffael Scheck, *Hitler's African Victims: The German Army Massacres of Black French Soldiers in 1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 111–16; Myron Echenberg, *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857–1960* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1991), chap 6; Ndiaye, *La Condition noire*, 148–61.
- 68 Jean Yves Le Naour, *Misères et tourments de la chair durant la Grande Guerre: Les moeurs sexuelles des Français, 1914–1918* (Paris: Aubier, 2002), 204–5; Christelle Taraud, *La prostitution coloniale: Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc (1830–1962)* (Paris: Éditions Payot, 2003), 341–42, 346–47; Fogarty, *Race and War in France*, chap. 6. Some GIs remembered the brothels trailing behind North African units. See Robert Adleman and George Walton, *The Champagne Campaign* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company), 219.
- 69 Vincent Joly, “Sexe, guerres et désir colonial,” in François Rouquet et al., eds. *Amours, guerres et sexualité, 1914–1945*, ed. François Rouquet et al. (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), 67.
- 70 Taraud, *La Prostitution coloniale*, 351–52.
- 71 Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 112–13; Maurice Larkin, *France since the Popular Front, Government and People, 1936–1986* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 119–21.
- 72 See chapter 3.
- 73 Alice Kaplan, *The Interpreter* (New York: Free Press, 2005), 151.
- 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.
- 79 ADC, 21 W 16, Rapports mensuels du préfet: documents préparatoires de synthèse, report dated 3 March 1945.
- 80 Suzanne Bigeon née Arnault, “Journal tenu pendant les jours précédant la Libération de Cherbourg: Le Débarquement. Les Allemands. Les Américains.” MDC, TE 207. Bigeon's journal was recorded in 1944, then revised and edited by Colette Arnault in 1979–80.
- 81 Keith Nelson, “The Black Horror on the Rhine: Race as a Factor in Post-World War I Diplomacy,” *Journal of Modern History* 42 (December 1970): 613. See also Jean-Yves Le Naour, *La honte noire: l'Allemagne et les troupes coloniales françaises, 1914–1945* (Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2003).

- 82 Nelson, “Black Horror.” See also Julia Roos, “Women’s Rights, Nationalist Anxiety, and the ‘Moral’ Agenda in the Early Weimar Republic: Revisiting the ‘Black Horror’ Campaign against France’s African Occupation Troops,” *Central European History* 42, no. 3 (2009): 473–508; Ruth Simms Hamilton, “Orchestrating Race, Nation, and Gender: African Peacekeepers in Germany, 1919–1920,” and Dana S. Hale, “Brothers in Arms? African Soldiers in Interwar France,” in *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora*, ed. Ruth Simms Hamilton, 2 vols. (East Lansing: Michigan State Press, 2007), 1:337, 361.
- 83 Nelson, “Black Horror,” 613, 619.
- 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.
- 85 ADC, 13 T II/44, *Liberator*, 24 June 1944. See HOBR, CMC 7518, 8:351–61 for the case in question.
- 86 SHAEF Intelligence report dated 21 October 1944, quoted in 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), 206–7.
- 87 Jean Galtier-Boissière, *Mon journal depuis la Libération* (Paris: La Jeune Parque, 1945), 35.
- 88 Lucien Lepoittevin, *Mémoire de guerres (1692–1993)* (Cherbourg: Isoète, 1994), 107–8.
- 89 G. Morris, *Assasin, mon frère* (Monaco [Paris]: Éditions de Rocher, 1990), 22, 59.
- 90 Louis Guilloux, *Ok, Joe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 7–9.
- 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.
- 2 André Siegfried, “Les États-Unis à la croisée des chemins,” *Le figaro*, 26 March 1945.
- 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.

- 4 Carol Gluck, “Operations of Memory: Comfort Women and the World,” in *Ruptured Histories: War, Memory and the Post–Cold War in Asia*, ed. Sheila Myoshi Jager and Rana Mitter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 48.