

ARMY HISTORY

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ARMY HISTORY

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Issue Cover: Paratroopers from the 101st Airborne Division patrolling the streets of Carentan in a captured German Volkswagen Kübelwagen (Type 82) /U.S. Army

EDITOR'S JOURNAL

In the Winter 2016 issue of *Army History*, we are pleased to present two engaging articles, the first covering civil affairs following the D-Day invasion and the second analyzing Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene's campaign in South Carolina during the winter of 1781–1782.

Independent historian Steven L. Ossad examines the life of West Point and World War II civil affairs icon Col. David Daniel “Mickey” Marcus. Known to our readers as the author of the excellent article “The Terrills of Virginia: Impossible Loyalties, Irreconcilable Differences,” which appeared in the Spring 2014 issue (No. 91) of *Army History*, Ossad highlights the career of a man who would gain fame not only as an athlete at the U.S. Military Academy, but also as one of the primary architects of U.S. military civil affairs policy during World War II. Marcus would also go on to become the first Israeli *Aluf* (general) following the partition of Palestine and the only officer to be buried at West Point having died while fighting under the flag of a foreign nation. Immortalized in the 1966 movie *Cast a Giant Shadow*, Marcus' exploits gave rise to a large number of fictionalizations. Ossad sets the record straight, which in no way diminishes the legend of this extraordinary individual.

The second article, by Charles B. Baxley, an authority on the southern campaigns of the American Revolution, dissects the actions of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene and the troops under his command in South Carolina during the winter of 1781–1782. Following the surrender of Lt. Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown in October 1781, the British strongholds and their main ports of supply in the southern theater became the primary focus for American forces. Baxley expertly evaluates both British and American maneuvers around Charlestown as Greene attempted to reduce this enemy bastion, protect the low country and more western territory, and reestablish civil governance.

The Artifact Spotlight looks at two recently acquired swords once owned by Revolutionary War officer Josiah Harmar.

With the departure of Dr. Richard W. Stewart, the chief historian and acting director of the Center of Military History, Col. Gregory A. Baker, the current deputy director, will be temporarily taking over both sets of duties. In his first Chief's Corner, Colonel Baker bids a fond farewell to Dr. Stewart and provides some updates about various efforts here at the Center.

Bryan J. Hockensmith
Managing Editor



Winter 2016



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**OUT OF THE
SHADOW AND INTO
THE LIGHT: COL.
DAVID "MICKEY"
MARCUS AND U.S. CIVIL
AFFAIRS IN WORLD
WAR II**

By STEVEN L. OSSAD



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**"AN
ENTERPRISE
UPON JOHNS ISLAND":
NATHANAEL GREENE'S
WINTER CAMPAIGN AND
THE JACKSONBOROUGH
ASSEMBLY, 1781-1782**

By CHARLES B. BAXLEY





THE CHIEF'S CORNER

COL. GREGORY A. BAKER

On 30 October 2015, Dr. Richard W. Stewart retired from federal civilian service after a nearly 29-year career. He spent the last year serving as the executive director and chief historian at the U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH), where he consistently provided outstanding leadership. A member of the Senior Executive Service, he also had a thirty-year military career spanning both active duty and reserve time from 1972 until his retirement from the Army in 2002.

During his tenure at CMH, Dr. Stewart authored or edited many historical publications including *American Military History*, vol. I, *The United States Army and the Forging of a Nation, 1775–1917*; *American Military History*, vol. II, *The United States Army in a Global Era, 1917–2008*; *The Korean War: The Chinese Intervention, 3 November 1950–24 January 1951*; *The United States Army in Somalia, 1992–1994*; *The United States Army in Afghanistan: Operation ENDURING FREEDOM, October 2001–March 2002*; *Operation URGENT FURY: The Invasion of Grenada, October 1983*; *War in the Persian Gulf: Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, August 1990–March 1991*; and U.S. Army Campaigns of the Vietnam War, *Deepening Involvement, 1945–1965*.

Dr. Stewart was an exceptional team member, and it was a great pleasure both to work with and for him over the last seventeen months. He will be fondly remembered and greatly missed. But, as in all times of transition, we are looking forward to the future and how we can continue to better serve the Army and the military history community at large.

Over the next year, a new executive director, Mr. Charles Bowery, will take the controls. He will come to an organization that continues to try to find ways to improve itself and serve the greater good. So, what should you expect from us this coming year? We will publish at least one large official history, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Berlin, 1945–1949*, and continue printing our commemorative pamphlets, completing the Civil War series and kicking off the World War I and Vietnam War commemorations as well. For those with the correct clearance, the digital archives from Operations NEW DAWN, IRAQI

FREEDOM, and ENDURING FREEDOM will be hosted on a Secret Internet Protocol Router Network-based Web site. If all goes well, we will also transition the CMH Web site (www.history.army.mil) from Army Knowledge Online to a cloud-based environment. This will enable CMH to begin digitizing its lineage and honors archives with a goal of making them available to the public in the future. We are also looking forward to changes in our Army Museum System, highlighted by the upcoming ground-breaking ceremony for the National Museum of the United States Army, which is tentatively scheduled to occur in December of this year on Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

The next year holds great expectations for a workforce dedicated to serving the Army and the military history community as a whole.



Dr. Stewart receives his certificate of retirement from Gerald B. O'Keefe, the administrative assistant to the secretary of the Army.

NEWSNOTES

NEW PUBLICATIONS FROM THE U.S. ARMY CENTER OF MILITARY HISTORY

Three new publications in the U.S. Army Center of Military History's U.S. Army Campaigns of the Civil War series are now available. The first of these, *The Civil War in the Trans-Mississippi Theater, 1861-1865*, by Jeffery S. Prushankin, examines the Civil War's "forgotten theater." This pamphlet covers the battles in New Mexico, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, including Pea Ridge in March 1862 and Pleasant Hill in April 1864, as well as the Red River Expedition and Price's Raid. It has been issued as CMH Pub 75-3.

The second brochure, *The Civil War on the Atlantic Coast, 1861-1865*, by R. Scott Moore, discusses the joint Federal military operations to choke Confederate commerce and tie down valuable rebel manpower in key Southern ports. Actions at Charleston, Wilmington, and Battery Wagner, among others, are highlighted. This title has been issued as CMH Pub 75-4.

The third pamphlet, *The Maryland and Fredericksburg Campaigns, 1862-1863*, by Perry D. Jamieson and Bradford A. Wineman, looks at the Maryland Campaign, the Battle of Fredericksburg, and the Battle of Antietam, the bloodiest single day in American history. Whereas the events of September 1862 inspired optimism in the North, the Confederate victory at Fredericksburg in Virginia three months later represented the low point of the Union war effort. This brochure has been issued as CMH Pub 75-6.

All of these publications are available to U.S. government agencies through the normal channels and may be purchased by the public from the U.S. Government Publishing Office.



2016 ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY FOR MILITARY HISTORY

The annual meeting of the Society for Military History (SMH) will be held from 14-17 April 2016 in Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. The conference theme is "Crossing Borders, Crossing Boundaries," and the event is being hosted by the Canadian War Museum and the Canadian Museum of History. For more information, please visit the SMH Web site at <http://www.smh-hq.org/2016/2016annualmeeting.html>.

U.S. ARMY CENTER OF MILITARY HISTORY DISSERTATION FELLOWSHIPS

The U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH) offers two to three Dissertation Fellowships each year. The purpose of these is to support scholarly research and writing among qualified civilian graduate students preparing dissertations in the history of land warfare. One fellowship, funded by the National Museum of the U.S. Army, is designed to support dissertations that explore the material culture of the Army; the other two provide for research in the more general areas of military history in all its many aspects. These fellowships carry a \$10,000 stipend and access to CMH's facilities and technical expertise. Applications and all supporting documents for the Dissertation Fellowships must be postmarked no later than 15 January each year. For more information, please visit CMH's Dissertation Fellowships Web site at <http://history.army.mil/html/about/df-geninfo.html>.



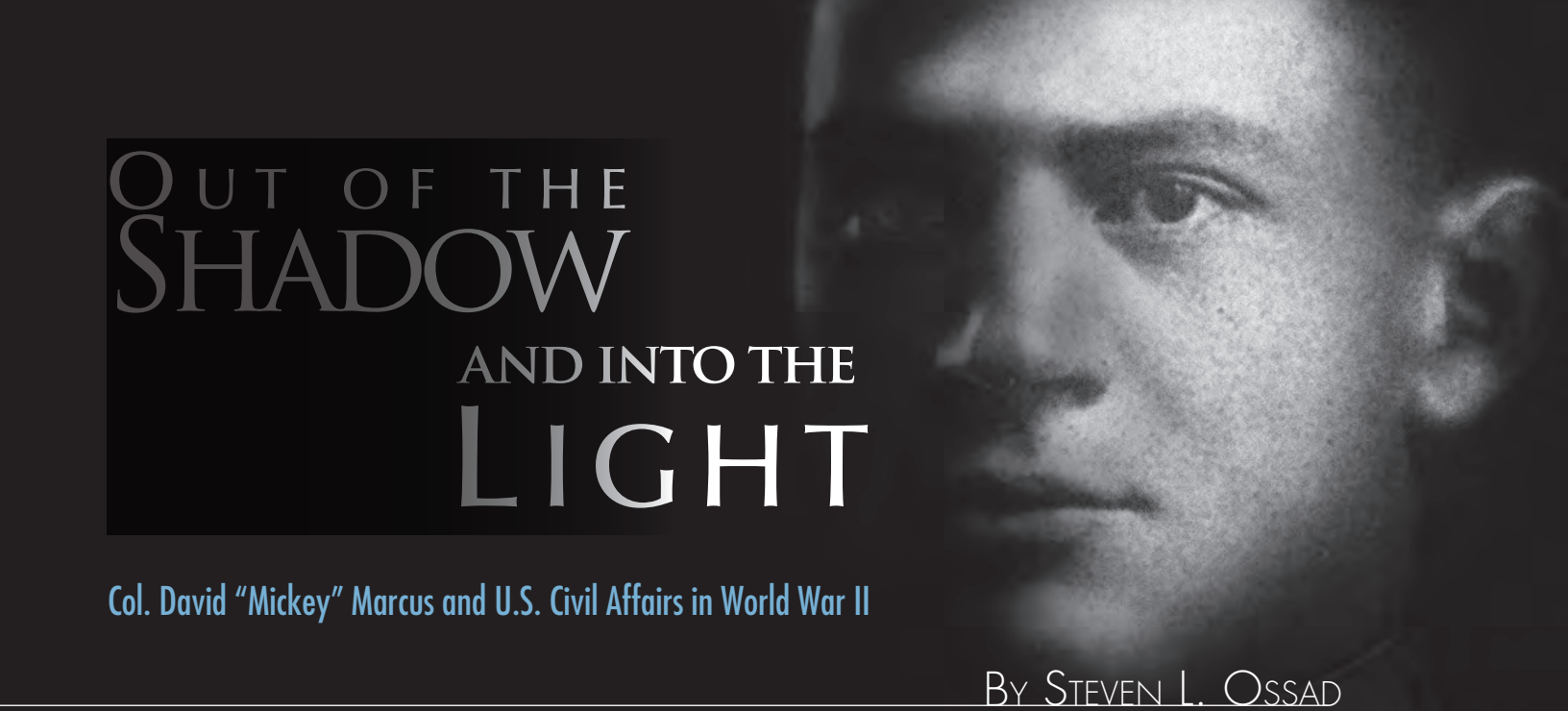
ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Steven L. Ossad

is a retired Wall Street technology analyst focused on leadership, command, and adapting military technology for executive management training. He coauthored with Don R. Marsh *Major General Maurice Rose: World War II's Greatest Forgotten Commander* (Lanham, Md., 2003). In 2014, he received a General and Mrs. Matthew Ridgway Research Award from the Army War College and in 2003 was presented an Army Historical Foundation Distinguished Writing Award. Two of his articles about Civil War figures have appeared in *Army History* (issues no. 63 and no. 91). He holds a bachelor's degree with honors in philosophy from Wesleyan University, a master's degree in political philosophy from the New School for Social Research, and a master of business administration from Harvard Business School. His biography of General Omar Bradley will be published by the University of Missouri Press in 2016.



A German artillery shell hits UTAH Beach amid advancing U.S. troops.



OUT OF THE SHADOW AND INTO THE LIGHT

Col. David “Mickey” Marcus and U.S. Civil Affairs in World War II

BY STEVEN L. OSSAD

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C.,
MAY 1944

In early May 1944, after one year in the Civil Affairs Division (CAD), Col. David Marcus, known since early childhood as “Mickey,” knew that invasion was just weeks away.¹ The expanding importance of civil affairs (CA) in Allied invasion, conquest, and occupation planning—and the key role played by its dynamic and inexhaustible planning genius—was reaching a defining moment. Just three months after the small CA cadre at General Dwight D. Eisenhower’s Supreme Headquarters, Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEP), became a full G-5 (Civil Affairs Division on the General Staff) section, the 1st U.S. Army Group and First U.S. Army, both under command of Lt. Gen. Omar Bradley, followed SHAEP by raising the status and authority of their CA sections, at least on paper.²

These purely administrative changes were accompanied by a rising level of activity in the field. All over southern England, the European Civil Affairs Regiments (ECAR), companies, and detachments—the entire CA establishment, which had been enlisted, trained, and deployed to England during the past year—were assigned to the various corps, divisions, and subordinate units for the invasion. By

6 June, D-Day, fifty detachments of 1,300 men with equipment and weapons—mostly sidearms—were attached to First Army. A similar number was later attached to Third Army.³ By the end of the war, the CA infrastructure in General Bradley’s 12th Army Group—1.23 million men organized into 4 field armies, 15 corps, and 65 infantry, armored, and airborne divisions—would total 12,000 men in hundreds of separate ECAR units.⁴

Mickey’s de facto influence in the Civil Affairs Division was described by *New York Daily News* reporter and West Point buddy Lowell W. Limpus as “standing right beside the throne and under the gun,” but it had not been an easy road to the center of Washington power. While Mickey had a classic storybook American immigrant rise to legend, accounts of his ascent relegate crushing poverty and anti-Semitism to a distant annoyance rather than a life-shaping and daily context. Born on the Lower East Side of Manhattan on 22 February 1901, Mickey was one of six children of an uneducated immigrant Romanian-Jewish vegetable vendor. He died shortly after scraping together enough money to move his family to the Brownsville section of Brooklyn, leaving their mother, Leah, a penniless and strong-willed widow.⁵

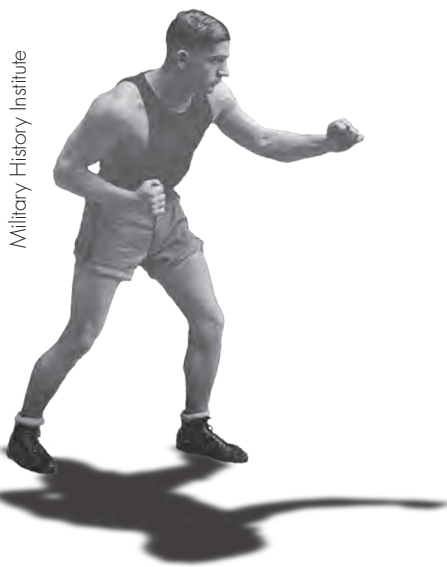
Short, scrawny but scrappy, Mickey relied on his fists and growing strength

to protect kith and kin in the ethnically defined and hostile streets, but academic gifts and athletics were his path to acceptance and success. At Brooklyn’s Boys High School, he was voted best athlete in 1918 and captain of both the baseball and football teams. *The Recorder* yearbook trumpeted his ambition and destination in cap letters: WEST POINT. A year of study at the City College of New York and an excellent performance on the competitive exam made it happen.

From the beginning at cadet basic training, known as Beast Barracks, the high-pitched voice plebe became a prime hazing target, not least because his blouse had a collar several sizes too big because only a large shirt would fit his barrel-like chest and shoulders. Upperclassmen delighted in making him pop his chin back in the collar and called him “Tom Jenkins’ Plebe” after the legendary wrestling coach who picked on heavy-set cadets. Mickey—whose uproarious laugh and parting salutation, “Cheerio,” became trademarks—won fame as West Point intercollegiate welterweight boxing champion in 1923. His left hook, especially against rival upperclassman John “Jazz” Harmony (class of 1923) “began at the floor,” and his loyal fans recognized its arc and “gasped in admiration whether it connected or not.” As the Army’s best horizontal bar gymnast in

1924, the *Howitzer* described Mickey's gymnastic skills as "unequaled in years," winning for him another coveted athletic letter and an invitation to the 1924 Olympic tryouts. For more than a quarter century, and in many and varied circumstances, Mickey's feats as a West Point athlete as well as his "Roaring Twenties" antics on the dance floor with girlfriend Emma Chaison (1905–1982) were recalled as was his extraordinary physique.⁶

Like many graduates right after the war, Mickey faced little opportunity in the postwar Army. Postings for newly minted lieutenants evaporated as the ground forces shrank dramatically. That pressure was exaggerated by an ill-timed sequential 65 percent expansion of the West Point class of 1924 to 425 plebes, then the largest ever, and nicknamed "the Thundering Herd" for the noise they created climbing over the lumber stacked all over for new buildings. The next year, admissions dropped 50 percent, back to prewar levels. It was a one-year window of opportunity, and Mickey barely got through, thus ensuring a free education and a lifelong connection to the military. Without West Point, there would not be a Mickey Marcus legend. After a year serving in the 16th Infantry Regiment and much soul-searching,



Military History Institute

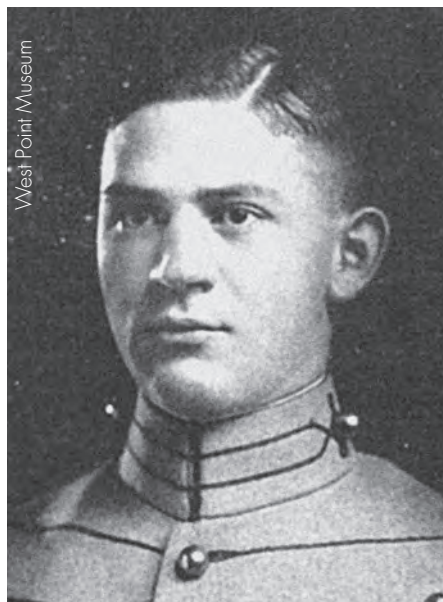
**Mickey, the 1923 intercollegiate
welterweight champion**

he resigned from the regulars, retaining a reserve commission as a second lieutenant in the field artillery. Dozens of his classmates, including roommate and best man Charles E. Stevenson, made the same choice, later returning to service during World War II.⁷

Brooklyn Law School followed and, after getting a job, he married Emma, a very pretty and stylish fifth-grade schoolteacher and pianist whose love

of music complemented his passion for opera.⁸ Mickey began his career as an attorney, first at the Treasury Department and then in the U.S. Attorney's Office. He quickly befriended another civil servant on the rise, senior district attorney and future Republican New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey, who described Mickey as "vigorous, forthright, friendly, a fine person." His colleague and later the under secretary of war, Robert P. Patterson, praised him as "an inspiration to those with enduring affection for the Army and for its traditions." A trusted, front-row participant in the exciting reformist Republican Mayor Fiorella LaGuardia's "Fusion" administration, he was appointed deputy prison commissioner and soon attracted national attention for his ideas on prison reform, including interest from the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.⁹

Known among the eternally cynical press corps as "the most likeable man in the city," Mickey's exploits made great copy, especially the headline-grabbing "Prison Raid on Welfare Island" (now Roosevelt Island) on 24 January 1934, just three weeks into the new city administration. Two separate gangster mobs had corrupted the authorities at the prison and were



West Point Museum

**Mickey's official U.S. Military
Academy portrait**



Military History Institute

**Mickey with his roommate and
best man, Charlie Stevenson**



Military History Institute

**Mickey with his bride, Emma, on their
wedding day, 3 July 1927**



Mickey in late 1940 at Fort McClellan, Alabama, serving as the judge advocate and headquarters commandant for the 27th Infantry Division

running it for their personal comfort and profit.

Mickey personally organized and led the 100-man posse. That crowd-thrilling episode, featuring the swash-buckling young reformer and former boxing champ throttling a thug into submission, along with ongoing exposés of Democrat-protected prison corruption and drug-dealing, were the



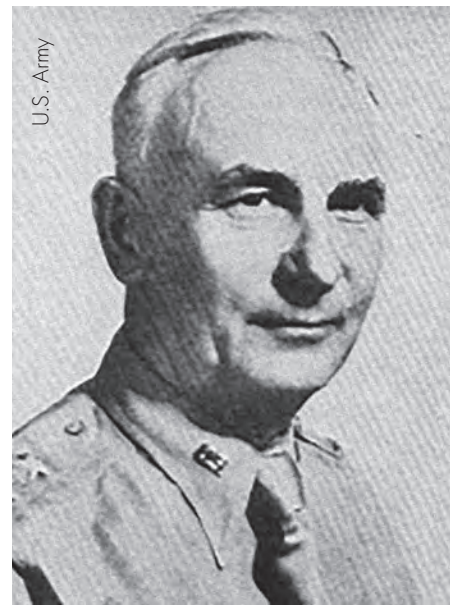
General Smith

source for the Warner Brothers stock movie *Blackwell's Island* (1939) with the young, rising Jewish American actor John Garfield playing the Mickey-inspired, zealous, punch-throwing reformer. So great was Mickey's panache that he took Emma on their first vacation together to watch its filming in Hollywood, financing the trip with his pay as technical adviser. The New York City press loved it and reported on the couple's vacation in the entertainment sections.¹⁰

At the outbreak of World War II in Europe, Mickey sought more active involvement in military affairs. Col. Arthur V. McDermott, judge advocate general (JAG) of the New York National Guard, recommended him to Maj. Gen. William N. Haskell, commanding general, 27th Infantry Division. On 6 September 1940, New York City deputy prison commissioner and reserve JAG, Maj. David Marcus, was inducted into the active Army. His reasons for leaving public service were not entirely appreciated by LaGuardia, other politicians, and friends, not to mention Emma, who was not happy about the decision.¹¹

Mickey had a close working relationship with General Haskell, who said of their service together, "It seemed to me that when any particularly bothersome matter came to my desk, the first man I would send for would be Colonel Marcus for his recommendation." Mickey set a pattern for future service, handling duties well beyond the normal scope of a noncombatant special staff officer. For example, he served as headquarters commandant and provost marshal, as well as ran a division-wide, ranger-type training camp in Hawaii, and "led" an ad hoc unit of headquarters troops during the Army-level Louisiana maneuvers during August–October 1941. After Pearl Harbor, Mickey got his first experience in civil affairs as the executive officer to Haskell's successor, Maj. Gen. Ralph McTyre Pennell, who was responsible for military government and all Hawaiian Island provost affairs including liaison with all the relevant civilian agencies.¹²

As was typical in the early months of the war as General George C. Marshall



General Pennell

and Lt. Gen. Lesley J. McNair continued to comb through generals to find fighting division commanders, rapid turnover in command continued, and Maj. Gen. Ralph Smith—who would eventually lead the 27th Infantry Division into combat and controversy at Saipan—took over from Pennell on 20 November 1942, bringing his own chief of staff, Col. Albert K. Stebbins, a member of the Thundering Herd. Col. John Haskell, son of General Haskell, who by then had become Mickey's



General Hilldring

good friend, went to the War Department to establish an independent Civil Affairs Division and recruit specialists in government, finance, economics, and so forth. For Mickey, it was a uniquely fortuitous and personally defining series of events. As soon as Maj. Gen. John H. Hilldring took the reins of the CAD, Mickey's friends arranged his transfer to their office.

John Hilldring was a University of Connecticut graduate and decorated World War I veteran of the 3d Division, whose performance and demeanor at the Infantry School in 1932 impressed Lt. Col. George C. Marshall, then head of the Academic Department. A respected and discreet military administrator, Hilldring was serving as chief of personnel at the War Department and was ideally suited for the politically sensitive job. His mission was to report to Secretary of War Henry Stimson on "all matters except those of a military nature" representing the secretary in all theaters of operations. While field responsibility would pass to the theater commander when the military situation was right, CAD would ensure that operational planning at the fighting units reflected its doctrine at every step of the process.¹³

Mickey's first job was head of the Government Section, based on his political experience and reputation, and then as executive officer, and finally as the head of the powerful Planning Division for the remainder of the war. Hilldring, who had chronic health problems, relied on Mickey from the beginning, an almost identical replay of Mickey's experience as deputy to Austin H. MacCormick back in New York City. A respected federal penologist appointed by Mayor LaGuardia as prison commissioner, MacCormick was stricken by illness just weeks into the new administration. For five years, he made speeches and outlined policy on a generally leisurely schedule, while Mickey ran the department day to day. Just as LaGuardia felt more secure with the intense, gesticulating, and brilliant deputy watching his jails, General Marshall was reassured by Mickey's presence as Hilldring's right-hand man.



Mickey at the Pentagon in 1944

Mickey represented CAD in Washington—and at the major wartime conferences—and participated in sensitive negotiations with government officials, including President Roosevelt and Secretary of War Stimson and their advisers, as well as Allied governments and agencies where American CA doctrine was formulated and managed.¹⁴ He had specific expertise in the laws of surrender and had played a classified role in the invasion of Sicily and the Italian mainland, "assisting in negotiating and drafting" the Italian surrender document (and later the instrument of unconditional surrender of Germany).¹⁵

SHAEF, LONDON, MAY 1944

After all the staff work, planning, manual-drafting, meetings, telephone conferences, memos, and tens of thousands of man-hours, the whole structure was about to go operational with the invasion of France just weeks away. The Civil Affairs Division was facing questions from all fronts, civilian and military, but especially from SHAEF, charged with coordinating the efforts of the British 21 Army Group and First U.S. Army, as well as the relevant political agencies, touching issues of command author-

ity, security, and other immediate occupation requirements.¹⁶ With so many powerful actors and diverse interests on the stage, the potential for inter-Allied conflict was intense, and Mickey's goodwill with the British, who credited him with a "co-operative and liberal outlook" that assisted in securing agreement on many combined (and maddening) planning problems, helped smooth things over. British respect for the American negotiator eventually included his investment as a Commander of the Order of the British Empire.¹⁷

Mickey was adept at reading Washington dynamics. Everything was focused on Operation OVERLORD, and the action had shifted to London. Watching the increasing volume of top-level correspondence from SHAEF, as well as his daily contact with top military and political officials, Mickey needed to act quickly. All eyes were on "the far shore," and Mickey wanted to get there as soon as possible to observe directly the results of his past year's work. All he needed to do was persuade his boss to allow him to go to London as the War Department liaison officer to the G-5 at SHAEF. That would be enough. The initial conversation took place during a late morning coffee break, while Hilldring and Mickey stood cramped in the far corner of a jammed, fourth floor snack bar at the brand new Pentagon building.¹⁸

There is no doubt that a restlessness of spirit, at best barely controlled, coupled with a hunger for adventure—and vanity—all played a role in Mickey's desire to see what was happening. There is also a strong professional case for a top-ranking liaison officer. He had been a witness to the liberation of Italy and the disappointing CA experience gained in the Mediterranean—a mostly British-handled affair—offered only the barest glimpse of the manifold problems likely to follow the liberation of Europe. CAD had been at the center of all the planning and now the field armies were about to invade; those plans would either work or have to be changed quickly, and someone with authority could identify the problems and expedite their resolution. Issues

of combined Allied planning did not make the task easier. Past experience suggested that liaison officers helped, and the British believed in their efficacy, even if the Americans did not.¹⁹

Mickey had already tangled with the British, the most important U.S. ally, during the Italian campaign, as well as during the initial stages of Operation NEPTUNE planning, especially over French policy and the degree to which the United States should recognize any one politician or faction, especially General Charles de Gaulle and his party.²⁰ During a protracted debate about whether a satellite planning group should be set up in London, Mickey had opposed the idea at first but later acquiesced. He explained his frustration and change of heart: "The British have refused to take affirmative action in Combined Civil Affairs Committee (CCAC) meetings which has resulted in complete frustration with nothing having been accomplished for months. London is the only remedy and if not accepted the CCAC would cease to exist." After his shift and establishment of a London branch, the British resumed full cooperation.²¹

No one knew what to expect and Mickey wanted to be in France when the first CA detachments arrived. This dimension of warfare is largely taken for granted now, such as the specific requirements for civilian relief, refugees, infrastructure support, health, security, lost property claims, governance, and so forth. But in early June 1944, American civil affairs policy and procedures were radically different and distinguished between whether the territory occupied was "liberated" or "enemy." They were as untested as the great bulk of the large citizen-soldier army raised and poised to attack "Fortress Europe."

Even for a specialized unit, the scale of the invasion was enormous. On D-Day and the days to follow, dozens of specially trained teams of mostly reserve officers and enlisted men were gathered, assigned disembarkation locations and schedules, and would soon be governing villages, towns, provinces and cities, including liberated capitals. Mickey made a good argument for his presence by pointing out the

wisdom of conducting an on-the-spot evaluation as soon as the first large area was liberated. Though considered unlikely, future planning might require rapid fine-tuning, maybe even radical alteration, especially with Operation DRAGOON, the invasion of Vichy-controlled southern France, scheduled for mid-August 1944.

There was certainly a bureaucratic justification for dispatching a liaison officer with full War Department authority to "tie up loose ends" in the days before the cross-Channel attack. It would also be good advertising for SHAEF to have a top War Department officer on hand touring a few good size occupied towns. The CA sections of First Army and 12th Army Group were transitioning to combat operations and close observation of those units in London and during the first days of the invasion would prove useful for future operations in other theaters, especially Japan, all within Mickey's responsibility as chief of planning. And there was also the matter of General de Gaulle and his Free French movement and on-the-spot information on that tricky issue would be critical. General Hilldring agreed it was "in our interest to see how

our policies were initially received in France."²² Of course, no one likes having a high-level staff officer without a real job lurking around his headquarters, but Mickey was a good choice.

Col. William Chandler, Hilldring's deputy agreed that Mickey could be spared. Then he could get back to his desk to continue planning for the final year of the war, including a surrender strategy for Germany and Japan, occupation, war crimes trials, and the establishment of a United Nations organization. It made good sense to send Mickey. There would be no fanfare. He would have just a few weeks out of the office, "showing the flag" at SHAEF, some deserved downtime for someone who was working at a furious pace and would appreciate a few weeks of London night life.

Colonel Marcus set out for temporary duty at G-5, SHAEF, via priority air transport on 8 May 1944, drafting his own orders with authority to "provide liaison, and act as observer in the implementation of military government policies for France."²³ The men at SHAEF headquarters in Bushy Park, outside downtown London, had reason to applaud Mickey as the choice for liaison officer. For one

General Holmes receiving a commendation from General Eisenhower



thing, as colleagues who had attended the great wartime conferences with Mickey knew, he generally had access to single-malt scotch of the highest quality in “by the case” quantities and was always available for socializing at any hour when off duty.²⁴ In the Washington office, excitement about the invasion swept over everyone, and it was more than a week later that Hilldring realized that he had not heard directly from Mickey since the end of May. By the second week of June, both he and Chandler began to make discreet inquiries to locate Mickey and get him back to Washington and his real job.²⁵

DETACHMENT B1C1, NEWTON ABBOTT, ENGLAND, LATE MAY—EARLY JUNE 1944

After arriving in England, Mickey dived into the mountain of paperwork, as well as constant meetings, minor crises, and hastily arranged phone conferences. He coordinated his activities with Brig. Gen. Julius C. Holmes, the deputy G-5, SHAEF, and the senior American CA officer in the European Theater of Operations (ETO). It was busy in the echelons just below SHAEF. The 1st U.S. Army Group (soon renamed 12th Army Group) G-5 section, some seventy-five men, was busy assigning advance teams of about a dozen men to each corps and division of the invasion forces to administer CA policies at the lower levels of command.²⁶

Meanwhile, Mickey was making plans for his own “tour” of the first liberated town. He was aware of the key details of Operation OVERLORD and knew the invasion date as well as the order of battle, especially which commanders would be engaged early. He found his instrument in Maj. Gen. Maxwell Taylor, 101st Airborne Division commander. Two years his senior at the academy, as well as a very good friend of Hilldring, Taylor would be Mickey’s ticket to France.

Like others at West Point during the early twenties, General Taylor was a big Mickey fan during the early days of intercollegiate boxing and remembered the epic bouts as well as Mickey’s antics on the dance floor. It would be a relatively easy matter for Mickey to



General Taylor boarding a plane on 17 September 1944 to take part in Operation MARKET GARDEN

engineer the proper transfers through him. Taylor’s 101st Airborne Division was part of Maj. Gen. J. Lawton “Lightning Joe” Collins’ U.S. VII Corps, the first of the three American invasion corps scheduled to occupy a fairly large town, the port of Cherbourg. Spearheaded by two American paratroop divisions making a night drop in the early morning hours of D-Day, the 50,000 men of VII Corps would strike near dawn led by assault companies of the 4th Infantry Division on UTAH Beach. Mickey attached himself to 101st’s headquarters and would land by boat on D plus 2 with some of the first CA soldiers coming in after the combat troops.²⁷

Maj. John J. Maginnis, age fifty, a coal dealer and reserve officer with solid Republican credentials from Worcester, Massachusetts, was one of those CA men. A veteran of the Great War and a one-time student at the Sorbonne, by the end of January 1944 Maginnis was based at Shrivenham in Berkshire, some eighty miles west of London. Situated on the grounds

of a former private school for girls, the crowded base was set up during the summer of 1942 and was the first stop for European field experience for thousands of G-5 personnel, including the now famous Monuments Men.²⁸ Shrivenham offered none of the amenities expected by officers; everyone below the rank of lieutenant colonel was obliged to share quarters with at least a dozen other men.²⁹

Morale was a big problem. General Eisenhower, head of SHAEF, visited the base a day before Mickey arrived in London, calling the soldiers, “as modern as radar and just as important to the command,” and repeating his oft-stated dictum that the job of soldiers was to defeat the enemy. Rejecting any political agenda for G-5, he firmly reminded the officers of their highest priority, “You are not politicians, or anything else, but soldiers.”³⁰ The G-5, like everything in war, was subordinate to military necessity, and, while humanitarian results were good, the main objective, especially for the soldier, was victory as fast as possible.³¹



The members of Detachment C2B1 at Newton Abbot, England, 20 May 1944. Major Maginnis is on the far left. The other officers are identified (left to right) as Capt. H. E. Fletcher, Capt. M. C. Berkeley, and Capt. C. I. Wadsworth.

In mid-April 1944, Major Maginnis took command of Detachment C2B1, fourteen officers and men, and moved to Newton Abbot, VII Corps headquarters, on the southwestern coast of England in Devonshire, sixty miles west of Southampton.³² Compared to Shrivensham, the place was a paradise. Located just down the road from Torquay, the “Riviera of England,” the town had a number of pleasant attractions, not the least being the constantly crowded and pulsating bars at the Central and Imperial Hotels. There was lots of drinking; everyone knew what the invasion would bring.

On 20 May 1944, Maginnis was summoned to the forward headquarters of VII Corps at Plymouth at 1000 and ushered into a conference room actually dug into the granite-rock of the old caves at harbor-side. As he waited, enlisted men stripped the conference room of maps, charts, photos, and documents because Maginnis was not cleared concerning invasion particulars.³³ The naturally cooled room held the senior American civil affairs brass currently assembled in the ETO: Col. Dell B. Hardin, G-5, VII Corps; Brig. Gen. Julius Holmes, deputy G-5, SHAEF (highest-ranking American

G-5 in Europe); Col. Cornelius Ryan, G-5, 12th Army Group; and Col. David Marcus, G-5, chief of planning, War Department.³⁴

General Holmes told Maginnis his unit would be assigned to Headquarters, 101st Airborne Division, and be the first G-5 detachment operating in France. His mission was to run a good-size town (name classified until D minus 1) in a strategic location.³⁵ Mickey would join the detachment at the end of May as an “observer.” Normally such an important officer would be attached to a higher headquarters, but Mickey had insisted on being with the first field unit to go over the beach in the invasion. The potential for conflict was obvious as General Holmes pointedly reminded the visiting colonel that Major Maginnis was in command. Mickey, grateful to be a part of the event, smiled and said he understood, but clearly Mickey’s paper trail of transfers from Washington to SHAEF to VII Corps to 101st Airborne Division had been noticed as the work of an energetic and assertive officer, exactly the type of person to pop up when least expected.³⁶

Mickey joined Maginnis at Newton Abbot on 28 May 1944, a beautiful

spring Sunday. Pulling up in a general staff car, he leapt from the vehicle with a smile and outstretched hand. Cutting a very different figure from their first encounter, he wore an ill-fitting field uniform without insignia or patches—“all of it brand new and none of it seeming to conform to the contours of his body. He was rather short in stature, his dark hair was short and thinning, his face had the suggestion of a smile on it, even in repose, and his most noticeable feature was his broad, powerful upper body.”³⁷

In their first face-to-face talk, described by Maginnis as “casual,” Mickey made it clear he was not there to interfere and was prepared to help in any way he could. In an extraordinary act of personal leadership, both unexpected and unorthodox (not to mention a court-martial offense), Mickey briefed Maginnis on the spot, pointed on the map where they were going and provided the invasion date. He informed the major about his own mission as well: to observe and report to the Pentagon on the operations of G-5 units at all levels, particularly those occupying the first liberated towns, and to assess the political atmosphere in the U.S.-liberated areas, especially the extent to which the population accepted de Gaulle and his followers. French internal politics continued to dominate much of G-5’s



Cornelius Ryan, shown here as a major general, c. 1955

attention, as it had since Operation TORCH a year and a half before.³⁸

This last part was problematic. In spite of his obvious intelligence and deep involvement in the minutiae of French politics, Mickey had no facility with the language and would not be able to talk with the locals. He often complained, “I wish to hell I could talk to these people; I’d like to get to know them better.” Mickey stated that “through an interpreter you can find out the way to the railroad station alright, but not the way to a man’s heart.” Envyng his fellow officers’ language abilities, Mickey said, “It puts you on the inside.”³⁹ Red Reeder, a friend, disabled war hero, legendary West Point coach, and author remembered Mickey’s frustration with French, a rare academic weakness.⁴⁰

From the very beginning of their brief but intense association, Mickey—the outgoing and socially adept New Yorker, “crime busting” attorney, and prison reformer—and Maginnis, the reserved New England businessman, Rotarian, and loyal Republican stalwart, got along amazingly well. They shared many interests and experiences, personal, political, and military, like attendance at the citizens’ military training camps, participation—not always successful—in city politics, stints of reserve training, solid marriages, and strong ties to school, community, church, and synagogue. The binding tension of imminent danger, dedication to the mission, and the intensity of direct involvement in epoch-shaping events drew them together in grave purpose. Once, walking in the ancient English town of Totnes, complete with narrow streets, castle, guildhall, and gate, Mickey struggled for a moment to recall an extraordinary sunset in Oahu and “relied on a word he used rarely but tellingly when reaching for a superlative to describe a person, thing, or situation: “magic.”⁴¹

There were light moments as well. As evidence of Mickey’s resourcefulness, distinctive personality, and ability to wield the tools of Washington power, even on the verge of invasion, with transport at an absolute top need basis only, he had somehow managed to bring a case of single-

malt scotch with him from London. During an evening visit at the temporary home of the Sandifords, a London couple whom Maginnis had befriended, Mickey presented his hosts with a bottle. It was polished off by the time the officers left that evening. Mickey felt bad about being seen as an “Indian-giver,” and the next morning dropped off another bottle. The pattern repeated for a few more days, until one evening the officers did not appear, nor the next night either, so the Sandifords got to keep their gift unshared.⁴²

SOUTHAMPTON, ENGLAND, 4 JUNE 1944

Late on a warm, bright afternoon, after a brief detour to see Stonehenge, Mickey arrived at Southampton for embarkation, but foul weather was to delay the invasion. The detachment got tent assignments, drew blankets and anti-gas impregnated clothing, and waited. All were armed. Mickey, who qualified as a marksman at West Point, slung a M1 carbine over his shoulder.

The next day, Mickey was taking a shower, when he suddenly started

talking in a loud voice to his stall companion Maginnis, “Too bad about the 9th Division.”

“What’s the matter with it?”

“Kind of falling apart from what I hear.”

“Really? What happened to it?”

“Regimental commanders—especially the 47th—are giving them trouble!”

A head with an outraged expression popped up over the stall divider and Mickey, feigning surprise, greeted the angry eavesdropper.

“Why Georgie Smythe, what are you doing here?”

Col. George Smythe, West Point class of 1924 of the Thundering Herd and famed football player, was commander of the 47th Infantry Regiment and on the threshold of a distinguished combat record as well as important postwar G-5 jobs. He shouted back, “Mickey Marcus, what are you doing here—only soldiers are allowed in here.” It was not the only such spontaneous encounter Maginnis would witness over the next several weeks.⁴³

After dinner on 5 June, two couriers from the First Army G-2 delivered



a sealed packet about Carentan, lists of city officials, history, economic data, and maps. Carentan sat astride the road linking the major towns of Normandy from Caen in the east to the port of Cherbourg on the northern coast of the Cotentin Peninsula. The railroad passed through Carentan, which was also an important commerce and communications hub with its own inland port for ships small enough to navigate its shallow canal. Rich dairy country surrounded the town, most of the output of which had been processed by the U.S.-based Carnation milk company. Mickey believed that after looking at the OVERLORD maps that Carentan would be one of the most important objectives in the invasion because it was on the very narrow seam between the OMAHA (V Corps) and UTAH (VII Corps) assault beaches and a natural weak spot.

Sweating out the delay, Mickey found a novel use for some of the French invasion francs that were in the G-2 packet and slated for civilian compensation claims. He started writing personal greetings to friends and relatives across the face of the currency, shifting from 50 franc notes to the 2 franc denomination only when he realized with embarrassment that he had to pay for the personal souvenirs. His summed it up by saying, "Planning good; execution sloppy."⁴⁴ Constant engine humming overhead lasted throughout the next day confirming the invasion was on. Two days later, on the morning of 8 June, the advance party boarded ship along with elements of the 4th Infantry Division. Their large vessel held DUKWs and LCTs (Landing Craft, Tank) for the trip across the Channel to UTAH Beach.

UTAH BEACH, HEADQUARTERS, VII CORPS, AUDOUILLE-LA-HUBERT, 8 JUNE 1944

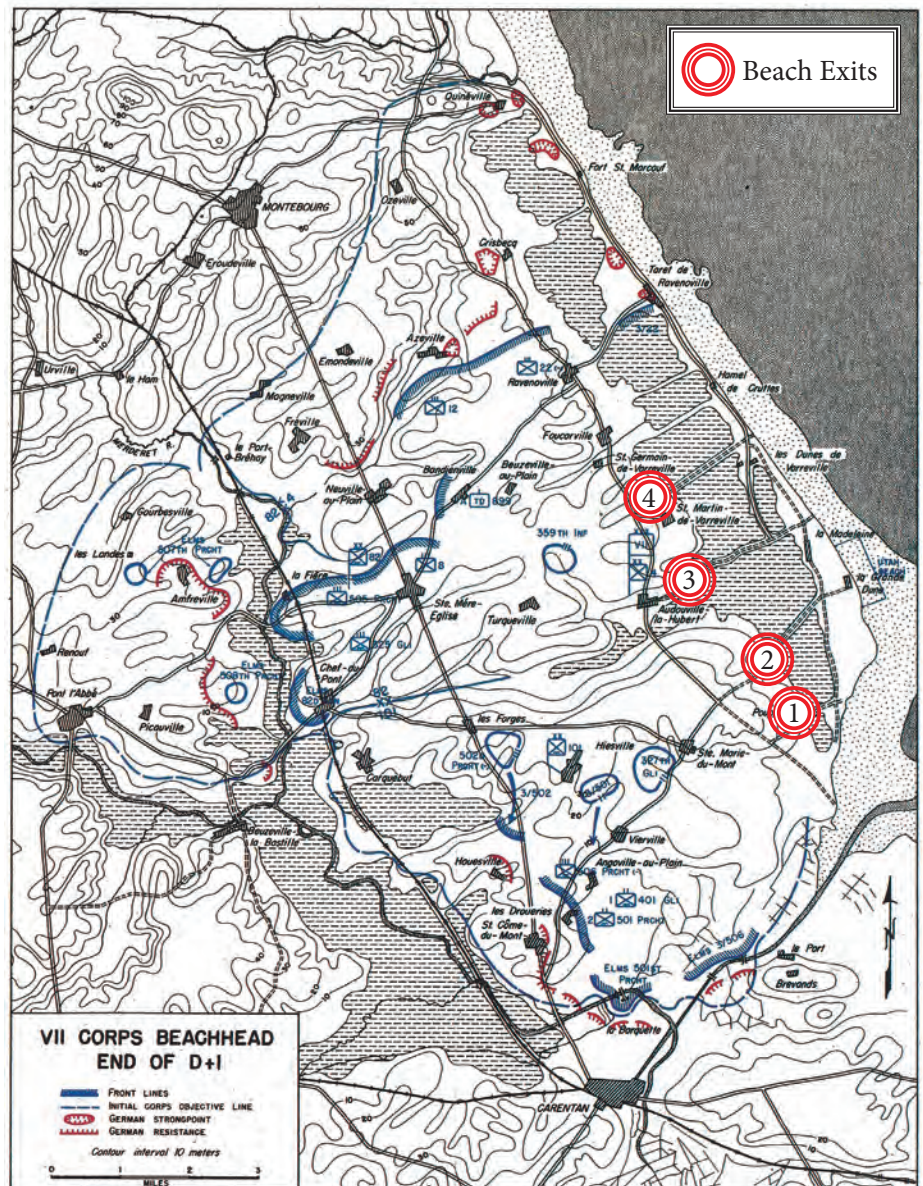
As they left port, leaning over the railing, Maginnis turned to his companion, "Mickey, this is the second time in my life that I am sailing out of Southampton for France and war." Turning very serious, Mickey replied, "John, the reason we have a great

country is because of people like you who are willing to make sacrifices."⁴⁵

After a rough and uncomfortable crossing, their LCT made for shore in the rain amid sporadic artillery fire and enemy strafing. Dumped in the surf far off the beach, their jeep was swamped, and Mickey waded ashore in water up to his chest, lugging his briefcase and gas mask to the VII Corps rally site. That was the closest to a bath Mickey would get in a week. On the beach under continuing shell-fire, the detachment rallied, at one point Mickey taking cover under a truck loaded with ammunition to his embarrassment and the laughter of a nearby sergeant.⁴⁶ That is how Mickey got to France, like tens of thousands of others, scrambling out of a small boat,

wet, miserable, scared, and dragging heavy gear.

Now on foot, his small group made its way across the swamps via Exit 2 off UTAH Beach and to the road where the ten men separated and hitched rides to VII Corps headquarters at Audouville-la-Hubert on the main north-south coastal road. Mickey went directly to the war room, where he encountered some friends and got the latest information from Col. Gerald Higgins, 101st Airborne Division chief of staff. He stressed safety, reminding the CA officers about mines, snipers, and ambushes and that he wanted everybody "whole and healthy." That first night was miserable; Mickey and his companions fended for themselves and slept in a barn loft.⁴⁷





Colonel Higgins

Mickey and Maginnis had not been the first American CA officers in Normandy. That honor—and the distinction of being the first such unit to participate in an airborne operation—fell to Detachment A1B1, a First Army unit that was slated to govern Cherbourg, the main Normandy port and a principal objective of OVERLORD. One of the largest G-5 detachments, it was commanded by a reserve officer, Lt. Col. (later Senator) J. Strom Thurmond, and attached to the 82d Airborne Division for the invasion. Thurmond and his men came in on three separate gliders with the 327th Glider Infantry at 2200 on 6 June 1944. Each glider crash-landed under enemy small-arms fire, and every team member, including Thurmond, was wounded or injured. Other First Army G-5 sections arrived ashore on OMAHA Beach the day after Mickey, and a few days later every division and corps ashore had G-5 men at their headquarters.⁴⁸

On 10 June, Maginnis' detachment gathered at 101st Airborne Division headquarters—code-named KANGAROO—at Hiesville, about six miles northwest of Carentan. Lt. Col. Ned Moore updated Mickey and other G-5 officers about the progress of the division since D-Day. Visible evidence of the fighting was scattered in the countryside around Hiesville and Ste. Marie du Mont. Empty parachutes



Generals Dempsey (left) and Montgomery in northern France, 16 July 1944

dangled from trees amid the smashed remains of gliders covering the fields. Blood stained the earth around the still unburied dead, both German and American.

That night, the *Luftwaffe* bombed the headquarters, hitting the medical company and causing an additional twenty-five casualties. The incident caused a foxhole-digging frenzy. When asked if he would join in, Mickey, like everyone else at headquarters still trying to find a place to roll up in a blanket—indoors or out—rubbed

his chin thoughtfully and responded, “You know I was just thinking that with so many moving out into fox-holes, there might be some attractive bunks available inside. I’m gonna wait and see.”⁴⁹ Heavy fighting in the airborne drop zones made travel difficult, and Mickey estimated that it would still be some time before he would be able to begin his mission, including making contact with British General Bernard Montgomery’s 21 Army Group and Lt. Gen. Miles Dempsey’s British Second Army operating to the east near Caen.⁵⁰



Colonel Thurmond in September 1943 at Governor’s Island, New York, preparing to sail for England

CARENTAN, 11 JUNE 1944

The situation facing the 101st Airborne Division around Carentan was touch and go. General Taylor’s mission was to seize the four exits west of the flooded area behind UTAH Beach, protect the southern flank of VII Corps, and move on Carentan as quickly as possible.⁵¹ Opposing his now bloody paratroopers was the veteran German *6th Fallschirmjäger Regiment*, commanded by Olympic hero and Oxford-educated Maj. Friedrich von der Heydte, a talented officer who would continually bedevil the Allies. Heydte’s men had already fought a desperate battle at Ste. Mere-Eglise early on D-Day, subsequently losing all their vehicles in the first days of the Normandy campaign.



Friedrich von der Heydte, shown here as a captain, c. 1941

As early as D plus 1, the brass expressed growing concern about the separate American landing beaches. On his first offshore tour, General Eisenhower focused attention on the linkage of OMAHA and UTAH and issued orders making that the top priority. Taking Carentan was the key, but the paratroopers remained isolated and exhausted and could count on little immediate help from the 4th Infantry Division moving up from the beaches.

In an ironic stroke of fortune, Mickey—taking a breather from a very hectic desk job and hoping to catch a glimpse of the action—was standing on the most critical real estate in the

whole invasion lodgment. Defeat was possible. If the Germans could prevent a link up of the separate beachheads, the Allies would lose momentum, and the Germans would take the initiative.

Venturing out on a beautiful Sunday afternoon on 11 June 1944 and getting only so close to the fighting as was prudent, Mickey drove southwest down the hedgerow-lined road near Ste. Marie du Mont and then headed southeast to Carentan. Only hours earlier it had been the scene of bloody fighting. Before reaching “Dead Man’s Corner,” a spot just short of the junction of the road to St. Mere-Eglise, he dismounted with carbine ready. Maginnis walked next to him with his M1911 pistol in hand. While he was traveling along the road to get a better vantage point, General Taylor drove by and waved in recognition, calling out a hello to Mickey, who turned to Maginnis, noting with a respectful tone, “If he lives long enough, there goes a future Chief of Staff.”⁵² Taylor would preside at Mickey’s West Point funeral, the only graduate who died fighting under a foreign flag to be buried on academy grounds.

Still on foot, Mickey and Maginnis turned left off the road into a field and came across the corpse of a paratrooper. Fighting an impulse to recover the man, they cut a broad swath around the fallen soldier with Colonel Higgins’ earlier warning about booby traps still fresh in their minds. Mickey found a spot about a

mile from Carentan offering an unobstructed view of the flooded fields, causeway, and bridges where the 502d Parachute Infantry Regiment had been fighting desperately since D-Day.

Carentan was ablaze, and fighting was intense beyond the Madeleine Bridge. Near some buildings northwest of the town, the Germans were trying to push two battalions of the 502d into the swamps. The extent of the destruction obscured the full irony of the observation expressed by Maginnis that “from here it doesn’t look as though there’d be much to occupy.”⁵³ After comprehensive preparation and planning for civil affairs and good governance in the wake of liberation, only rubble and casualties might remain. When they returned to the 101st Airborne Division headquarters, they were alerted to be ready to move into Carentan in the morning.

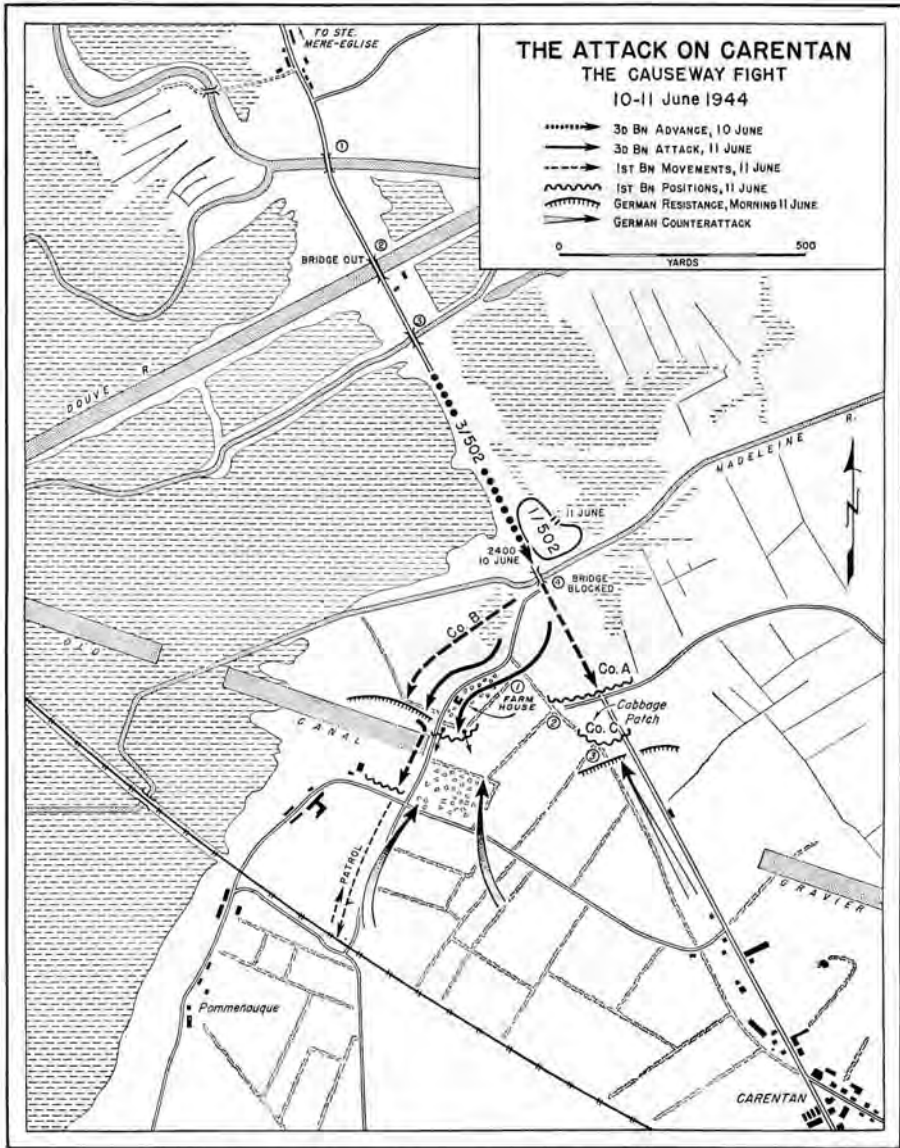
Around midnight of 11 June, Brig. Gen. Anthony C. McAuliffe, artillery chief of the 101st and later a hero of Bastogne, coordinated the assault on Carentan. Enjoying massive fire support, including naval guns and air attacks, the division struck at 0200, driving Colonel von der Heydte’s elite paratroopers from the devastated town six hours later.⁵⁴ In spite of continued sniper fire, a wild celebration greeted the men moving through the town to take position southwest on the outskirts. Flags, friendly citizens, and fine wine long-hidden from the enemy suddenly appeared.



Destroyed railway in Carentan, c. June 1944



General McAuliffe

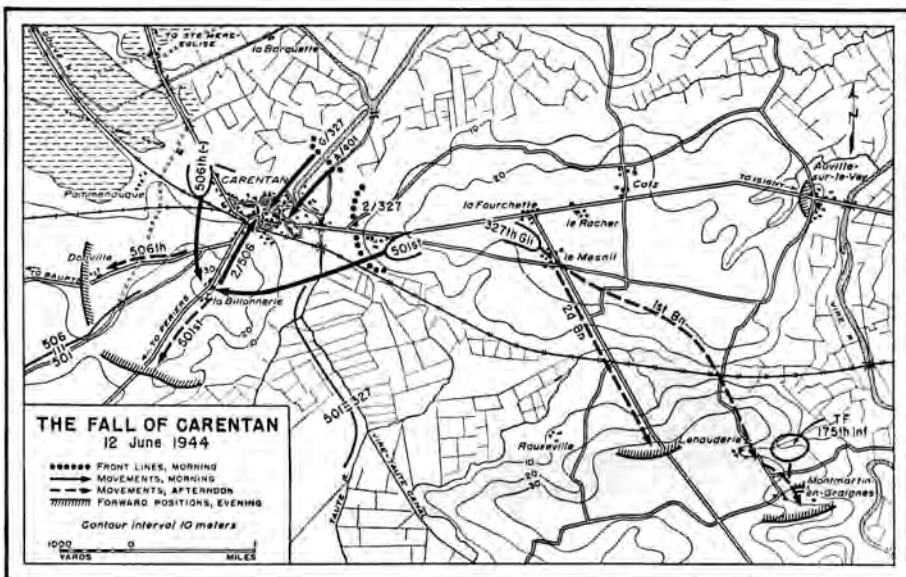


Three hours later at 1100, Mickey and the CA detachment entered Carentan and settled into the damaged Hotel de Ville. Merry-making accompanying liberation was short-lived. The town was a shambles. Fires were rampant, and enemy bodies were still lying about. Shattered equipment and rubble were strewn everywhere. There was no water, electricity, or food, with garbage rotting in the streets, and the whole region was covered with enormous numbers of decaying cattle. Many soldiers, especially farmers, remembered that for years. Worse still, enemy probes, harassing shellfire, and local counterattacks had begun almost immediately after the town was occupied.

Mickey, his carbine in hand, volunteered to make a jeep tour to assess overall conditions and took Larry Lesueur of *Yank* magazine and an armed driver. Even after a review of the area, he could not tell how many people were left in Carentan, or how badly their lives had been disrupted by the bombing and shelling. Maginnis was operating out of a temporary office connected to the radio net through the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment headquarters. The commander, Col. Robert F. Sink (West Point class of 1927) was a plebe the year Mickey won the intercollegiate boxing championship, and they knew each other.

Things around Carentan began to heat up. The detachment would not be settling into town quite yet.⁵⁵ That evening on the steps of city hall, Mickey built a fire to make coffee and shared K-rations with Maginnis to the increasing crescendo of small-arms fire and intermittent shelling by German artillery. At 2200 hours, the detachment loaded up the jeep and headed back to Ste. Marie du Mont for the night, where the officers were billeted opposite the fourteenth-century village church.⁵⁶

On the morning of 13 June, the 101st Airborne Division planned to advance farther to secure Carentan and extend its control west of the town.⁵⁷ The Germans hit first. Early that morning, the 17th SS *Panzergranadier* Division, supported by heavy guns, struck along the Carentan-Baupré-Périers road, the same route the Americans had moved down the previ-





Larry LeSueur, shown here in his war correspondent's uniform, c. 1942



Paratroopers of the 101st Airborne Division look on as a jeep drives by towing a British 6-pounder Mark III antitank gun through Carentan

ous day. Maintenance of a continuous beachhead with strong internal lines now depended on holding Carentan and forcing a German withdrawal.

Daybreak came cool and cloudy with enough rain to dampen, but not extinguish, the dozens of still-smoldering soldiers' fires. The junction of the beachheads and the narrowest stretch of terrain in the whole invasion was still in peril.⁵⁸ Enemy infantry with self-propelled guns overran the forward American positions and drove to within a few hundred yards of the town.

Mickey wanted to get back to Carentan as early as possible that morning, but approaching the causeway the sounds of artillery and small-arms fire were loud and getting closer. Maginnis turned to Mickey, "This firing seems close by, what do you make of it?"

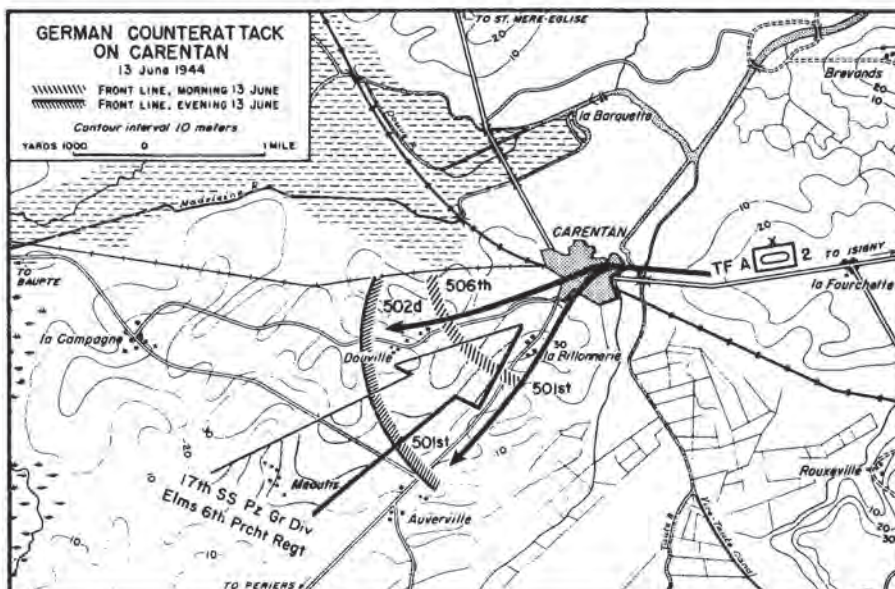
"Seems like it's right in town. What you'd call 'front line stuff.'"

Still driving on the Rue Seblin, they turned right into the cattle market, where rifle, machine-gun, and mortar fire was audible yards ahead. Turning onto Rue Holgate, they noticed paratroopers under cover in doorways

signaling a warning that Mickey and Maginnis were heading down a road under fire. They learned the enemy had counterattacked, and the situation did not look good. Recalling Colonel Higgins' first briefing and his admonition to "stay healthy," Mickey circled past the Hotel de Ville and went out the way they came. He was not looking for a fight.⁵⁹

At Carentan on 13 June, the situation remained tenuous, but the 506th Parachute Infantry Regiment held until Combat Command A (CCA), 2d Armored Division, a tank and mechanized infantry brigade-size formation, entered the battle. Alerted by intelligence, and acting quickly, General Bradley, commanding the First U.S. Army, dispatched the dashing and successful armor veteran of North Africa and Sicily, Brig. Gen. Maurice Rose, and his armored infantry, M3 half-tracks, M4 Shermans, M5 Stewarts, and M7 Priest 105-mm. howitzer motor carriages. They arrived in the nick of time to spearhead the paratroopers in a counterattack that secured the seam of the beachhead.

The 101st Airborne Division lost nearly 1,000 men killed during the Normandy campaign, many times more wounded. Trafford Leigh Mallory's warning of 80 to 90 percent casualties





Maurice Rose shown here as a major general, c. late 1944

proved false, but the bloody tally was horrendous enough topping 30 percent. Casualties of CCA, 2d Armored Division, during the fighting at Carentan were a hundred men and four tanks. The enemy lost roughly 500 men. Carentan was secured, and the junction between VII Corps with V Corps was complete. The cost was heavy to the citizens of Carentan, which was devastated before the attack and remained in range of German artillery for many weeks. More than sixty citizens lost their lives in the fighting, with hundreds more wounded.⁶⁰

SETTING UP CIVIL AFFAIRS OPERATIONS IN THE BEACHHEAD, MID-JUNE 1944

During the next ten days, Mickey worked out of the city hall in close association with Maginnis' detachment. Once an Augustinian convent, the city hall's surviving southwest section housed the municipal offices. They were tied into higher headquarters through the telephone net at KANGAROO, also in the building. It was a beehive of activity, and Mickey encountered a number of top officers during conferences about CA affairs and in other circumstances.

One such meeting took place late in the afternoon just a few days after the occupation of Carentan. An officer entered the room, stopping in a spot

where the sunlight passed through the window blinds and streamed into his face, slowing his ability to focus. Mickey, sitting nearby, bolted up, his head down like a bull in the arena, and charged straight for the visitor, grabbing him around the middle. The well-built adversary was completely stunned, his shock registering in a startled expression. One clear-eyed gaze at his assailant and the recognition was instantaneous.

Col. John F. Williams (West Point class of 1924), senior artillery supply officer, SHAEF, had been subdued by his classmate Mickey. They adjourned down the square to the Hotel de Commerce et Gare, whose owner was "persuaded" to provide table, chairs, and cognac. With enemy artillery still working over the Madeleine Bridge as accompaniment, they held an impromptu twenty-year class reunion on 17 June 1944 (the same day as the "official" West Point gathering of the Thundering Herd in New York) and reminisced about friends and classmates and where the latest news placed them. They talked sports; Williams had been a wrestling champion with Mickey, and they finished the hour break from reality by renaming the venue "Hotel Thayer."⁶¹

For the rest of June, elements of a dozen G-5 detachments, assigned to various units, arrived in France.⁶² During the day, Mickey drove around the First Army area, from Carentan east along the line of invasion beaches and villages just inland, visiting the 4th Infantry Division one day and VII Corps headquarters the next. Conscious of protocol, he paid his respects to the British Second Army.

Mickey's main focus was on the unforeseen CA requirements immediately after the battle: disease control, corpse disposal, cleanup, claims, and so forth. Two examples were the disposal of animal bodies and the number and scale of civilian property claims. In Normandy, lots of dead horses were expected, but what was not anticipated was that the rich dairy country meant many more dead cows. The sheer scale of civilian claims far exceeded the economics' section forecasts. Those kinds of issues—as well as overstaffing

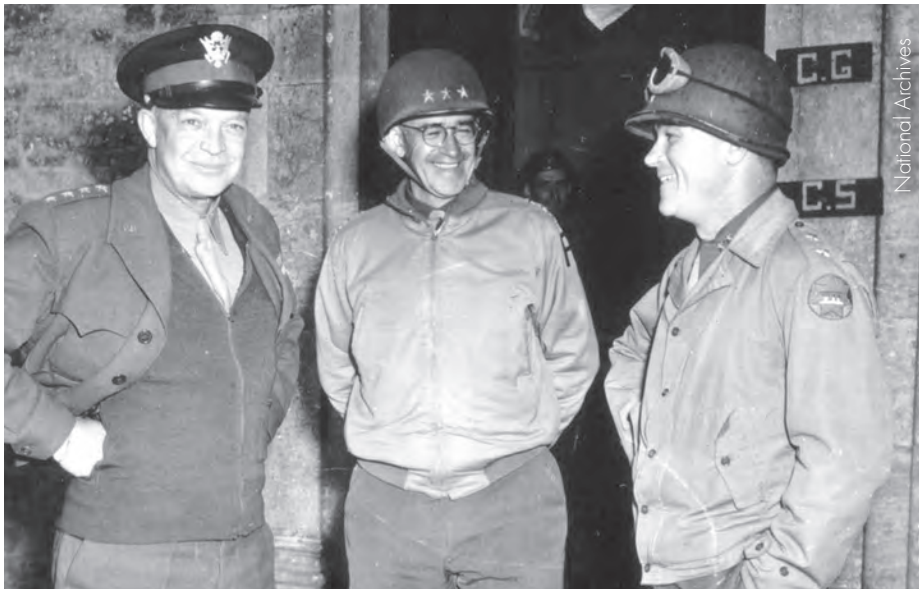
in some areas and under allocation of resources for others—were common at every level of command with varying detail and intensity.⁶³

Each night Mickey returned to the mess at the Hotel de Ville. The officers stayed in the eastern sector, on the Rue Sivard, in what once was an upscale neighborhood. Mickey shared a room with Maginnis, each man bunking on a narrow, ancient, monk's cot, the quarters boasting a huge, ornate bathtub placed on a raised platform unconnected to any water system. The roommates drew water from a public hand pump across the street; a latrine was located in the once-landscaped palm garden in the rear.⁶⁴

Mickey had been at General Taylor's headquarters several times during awards ceremonies. Such an event on 23 June 1944 at the Place de La Republique, in the central square of Carentan, was interrupted by a well-timed concentration of German artillery, during which Mickey and Maginnis were hurled by the explosive force against the north wall of the square. From the targeting of the civilians and the location and duration of the concentration, it was clear internal security had been breached. The enemy was still close and dangerous even miles behind the front line.⁶⁵

A few days later, on 25 June 1944, Mickey received the anticipated recall order. General de Gaulle was coming to Washington, and Hilldring needed Mickey's report on the political situation.⁶⁶ A week earlier, officials supporting de Gaulle had assumed authority in Bayeux, deposing the previous *souprefect*. Strictly a British Second Army matter in that particular case, the French issue was rapidly becoming a front-burner Allied political problem requiring Mickey's special skills.⁶⁷

Maginnis, who regarded the once suspect War Department observer warmly, thought meeting him "a very fortuitous circumstance both for the assistance that he gave us and for the leavening quality of his personality in our day-to-day lives." As they said goodbye, Mickey turned to his wartime roommate, "These days that we were together were American history." Maginnis responded, "Yes, and there



National Archives

From left, Generals Eisenhower, Bradley, and Collins a few miles north of Carentan, 3 July 1944

will be many more. I hope that I will see you again before they are finally over.”⁶⁸ Mickey said they would.

At noon, Mickey left Carentan, taking a lot more time going than coming, arriving back at the CAD office in Washington four days later. The whole interlude in the ETO had lasted less than fifty days.

WASHINGTON, JULY 1944: MYTHS AND LEGENDS

Even before he was back at his desk, a heroic saga of martial deeds was germinating. Tracking Mickey’s paper trail from SHAEF to the 101st Airborne Division, Colonel Chandler and General Hilldring had gone up the chain as far as Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, chief of staff, SHAEF, to find Mickey and get him back to Washington. Of course, he was never really “lost,” and the urgency was probably sparked by the growing concern over what to do about de Gaulle, but that kind of special intervention set people talking.

The rumor started going around that Mickey, loosely interpreting his orders, got transferred to a parachute unit, hopped onto a transport, made the D-Day night airborne drop, and then fought heroically, hand-to-hand,

personally killing the enemy. There he crossed paths with the division commander (Taylor) who unceremoniously shipped him home clad in filthy battle dress and muddy jump boots. Mickey’s biographer dedicated several dozen pages to the fiction. It was a great story. Hollywood adapted it brilliantly in *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1966). John Wayne played Maxwell Taylor. Emma Marcus went along with the script.

Further exaggerations and vaguely attributed details appeared quickly.



Courtesy of the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette

Walter Winchell

Everybody—colleagues, friends, and the casual acquaintance—had a favorite tale. A friend of Colonel Chandler’s, a regular in the 101st Airborne Division, told him that “the Civil Affairs officer we had sent over to help them organize a military government, had instead organized a machine-gun nest and held off the enemy for quite an appreciable time until help could come.”⁶⁹ Famed gossip columnist Walter Winchell—touting the New York connection and untroubled by the truth—claimed that Mickey was “the sixth allied soldier to set foot in France.”⁷⁰

Sources connected to Mickey through West Point were a cornucopia of especially colorful stories. One *Assembly* (West Point alumni magazine) class note claimed that during Mickey’s trip to France, “they borrowed him during a hot fight and made him G-2 of a Corps engaged in combat. During the fracas he got far enough forward to kill four Germans personally. He knocked off the Heine [*sic*] quartet while engaged in showing a patrol how to surround a culvert in which they were hiding.”⁷¹ Another told Charlie Stevenson, Mickey’s former roommate, that he discovered Mickey, “submachine gun close by, behind a jug of fine old cognac at a freedom celebration near Isigny; almost simultaneously, a war correspondent claimed to have spotted the CAD colonel diagramming a reconnaissance raid in a forward post on the other side of the peninsula.”⁷² One vignette, included by reporter Lowell Limpus in his *Saturday Evening Post* profile of Mickey, claimed “a classmate met him up in the front lines, showing a bogged-down patrol how to wipe out a Nazi machine-gun nest. He demonstrated the procedure with an automatic rifle, and when he finally waved them forward, they found six dead Germans beside the machine gun.”⁷³

This was way beyond battlefield exaggeration, especially from a journalist of Limpus’ reputation who reported on Mickey’s career from the start and who spent many long nights with Mickey drinking and talking sports, careers, family matters, as well as mili-

tary strategy and history.⁷⁴ During the war, Limpus was the military affairs correspondent of the *New York Daily News* and thus on many levels passing along the story of Mickey as intrepid frontline warrior was worse than sloppy. He knew how important Mickey's actual work as a pioneer of modern civil affairs and military governance really was, and "nation-building" in wartime, to use the current term, was a passion shared by both men.

Maginnis forwarded Limpus the details of Mickey's adventures in the ETO soon after Mickey's death in 1948, and presumably the college friends had discussed their wartime experiences after 1944, but the *Cast a Giant Shadow* image became a cultural icon. Limpus never published his manuscript about Mickey, although writers, especially author Ted Berkman (*Cast a Giant Shadow*, New York, 1962), used the D-Day adventure and other fictions. The heroic Normandy story was a good yarn and had some very important backers, especially West Point classmates, and they continued trading Mickey stories among themselves for many years.

Generals Hilldring and Taylor had their own accounts about that period of time, but neither actually claimed that Mickey jumped on D-Day. Taylor's recollections stressed the critical importance of Carentan and that he encountered Mickey there just after it was secure. Years later he still felt a "sneaking admiration for a guy who went so far out of his way to be where the war was, when he could be parked in a comfortable hotel room in London."⁷⁵ His recounting of seeing Mickey "stacking sandbags and singing at the top of his lungs" at Carentan rings true. Maginnis documents several meetings, encounters, and events where Taylor and Mickey were present, including the awards ceremony incident on 23 June when the entire division staff and all the regimental commanders were caught in the open by German artillery. Whatever may have occurred during Mickey's time attached to his outfit, Taylor felt genuine warmth toward him as an officer and a man.

Hilldring was the least restrained. He embraced the D-Day parachute myth completely though he was

careful not to attribute it directly to Mickey. His version of his aide's responses to questions about his time in the ETO is consistent with the words of a skilled lawyer who neither admits nor denies anything. None of it was malicious. Mickey was a valued colleague, an excellent staff officer, and the smartest guy in G-5. When asked why he had to jump into Europe with the 101st Airborne Division, Mickey dryly replied, "Transport to Normandy was crowded, sir."⁷⁶ No admission that he jumped. No details of what happened. Simple. Bland. True. Hilldring thought that his fellow members of the Army-Navy Club would love it. He was right.

Neither Emma nor Mickey ever publicly challenged the stories, no doubt appreciating the positive effects of the retelling of a tall tale by others, but it was the movie *Cast a Giant Shadow* and the earlier biography of the same name that fixed the Normandy part of Mickey's myth. That entire narrative, based on an extended and very detailed episodic description, is a paean to frontline combat heroics and is pure fiction.⁷⁷ It undermines the actual significance of Mickey's contribution to his country. And yet the fiction persists and is repeated even by serious historians.⁷⁸

There was no night parachute jump, no fighting through fields or hedgerows with 101st Airborne Division troops, or any of the other fanciful tales of personal heroism (recklessness) attributed to Mickey by Berkman or Limpus or anyone else. None of the accounts based on Army sources describing this period make any claims of a D-Day jump or close-quarters combat. Official documents and historians credit Mickey with "accompanying the 101st Airborne Division in the invasion of Normandy."⁷⁹ Just one of tens of thousands of ordinary stories on D plus 2.

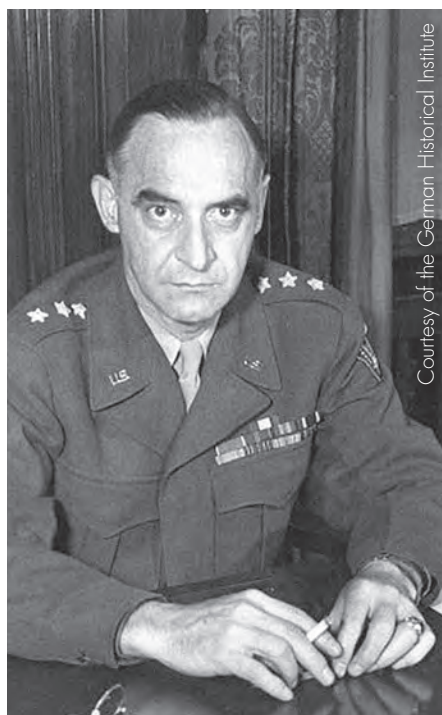
Is it possible that Mickey's adventures went beyond the verifiable incidents recounted by Maginnis? Certainly Mickey's orders gave him the latitude to move around the lodgment area. There were elements of at least a half-dozen large Army units on the continent and a dozen G-5 detach-



Mickey receives the Distinguished Service Medal from General Hilldring in Washington, 18 May 1945

ments in place during the first three weeks of the invasion, and Mickey was able to travel freely. For example, there was a detachment at Isigny, and Mickey visited there (perhaps drinking cognac sometime during the visit) as well as the CA detachments at VII Corps, V Corps, and combat divisions in the field.

During those periods, he might very well have been under desultory shell-fire, or possibly within earshot of the front line, or in the vicinity of recent skirmishing, maybe with bullets fired nearby, and he certainly bumped into, socialized, and drank with combat soldiers, but the suggestion that he fought as a infantryman, or that he wanted to, is unsupported by credible evidence and highly unlikely. It was not why he was there, and he knew the dangers. Mickey's efforts were valued by superiors and colleagues and credited with shaping the Army's civil affairs successes. He knew his own value. While at CAD, Mickey served as a legal and political adviser at military conferences at Cairo, Dumbarton Oaks, Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. Later, during his postwar tour in Germany, Mickey served as executive officer, Internal Affairs, of the U.S.



General Clay, c. 1946

Group Control Council, and then its acting chief of staff, and finally as the U.S. secretary general in occupied Berlin. Much of his time and energy was devoted to improving conditions for the vast numbers of displaced persons in Europe.

On that subject at a White House conference, Mickey argued strongly against the so-called Morgenthau Plan, developed by President Roosevelt's secretary of the treasury. The plan would have reduced postwar Germany to a vast agricultural state to ensure it never again posed a military threat to Europe. Mickey fought the idea, despite his growing internal fury over the newly revealed horrific details of the Holocaust, the aftermath of which he had personally witnessed, and the full dimensions of which he was starting to understand and internalize.

In early 1946, Hilldring managed to get Mickey back from General Lucius Clay, the military governor of occupied Germany, so he could head the Pentagon's War Crimes Division. Mickey was responsible for selecting the judges, prosecutors, and lawyers for the major trials in Germany and Japan. He attended sessions of the Nuremberg Trials, where one of his main concerns was the complete documentation of Nazi atrocities for future generations. In 1946, the British government made him an Officer of the Order of the British Empire, "in recognition of the distinguished service performed. . . . His able work in the fields of combined planning for military government, from the time the problem first arose . . . paved the road for Anglo-American agreement on many complex problems."⁸⁰ By then, he had been nominated for the rank of brigadier general five times. Nomination number six came in early 1947, along with the offer of a coveted assignment as the military attaché at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. No doubt the Russian officers who served with him in Berlin would welcome the chance to drink his scotch. Mickey elected instead to return to civilian life and his law practice, but his respite from military service would be short. That is another story.

MICKEY'S IMAGE AND CIVIL AFFAIRS POLICY

Was Mickey a hero in World War II? He was not in the common sense of "courage on the battlefield," but his contributions should be seen in context. In modern wars waged by democracies, volunteers are fielded wielding technology rather than large bodies of citizen-soldiers firing rifles; few are called for close combat service, though it remains essential to victory. More than ever before, traditional noncombatants are exposed to violence. For a few weeks, Mickey took the same chances of random death as tens of thousands of other such men landing in Normandy those first few days, but not the risks of the first wave, of a rifleman, or tank crewman, or a hundred other fighting jobs, rather the risks of older men on staffs or rear area headquarters.

What is more, he volunteered to get closer, indeed went out of his way against some resistance to be there. Journalist Ernie Pyle, not known as a yes man or apologist for the high command, but the voice of "the common soldier," paid tribute to the "thousands of men of high rank who labored endlessly, woke up early, worked all day, and after supper went back to work far into the night to run the war."⁸¹ That story is totally unsung, and they are not included in "The Greatest Generation," which is no historian's exaggeration. Sometimes officers of high rank die in war zones in a myriad of ordinary ways, like any other rank-and-file soldier.

A month after Mickey's return to Washington, Lt. Gen. Lesley J. McNair, another genius of organization, was killed by an American munition while "observing" the preparatory bombing for Operation COBRA on 25 July 1944, making him the highest-ranking American casualty of World War II. On 30 March 1945, when most people believed the war was already won and over, the 3d Armored Division lost its commanding general, Maj. Gen. Maurice Rose, killed in action near Paderborn, Germany, and elements of his forward headquarters echelon, including the division G-1

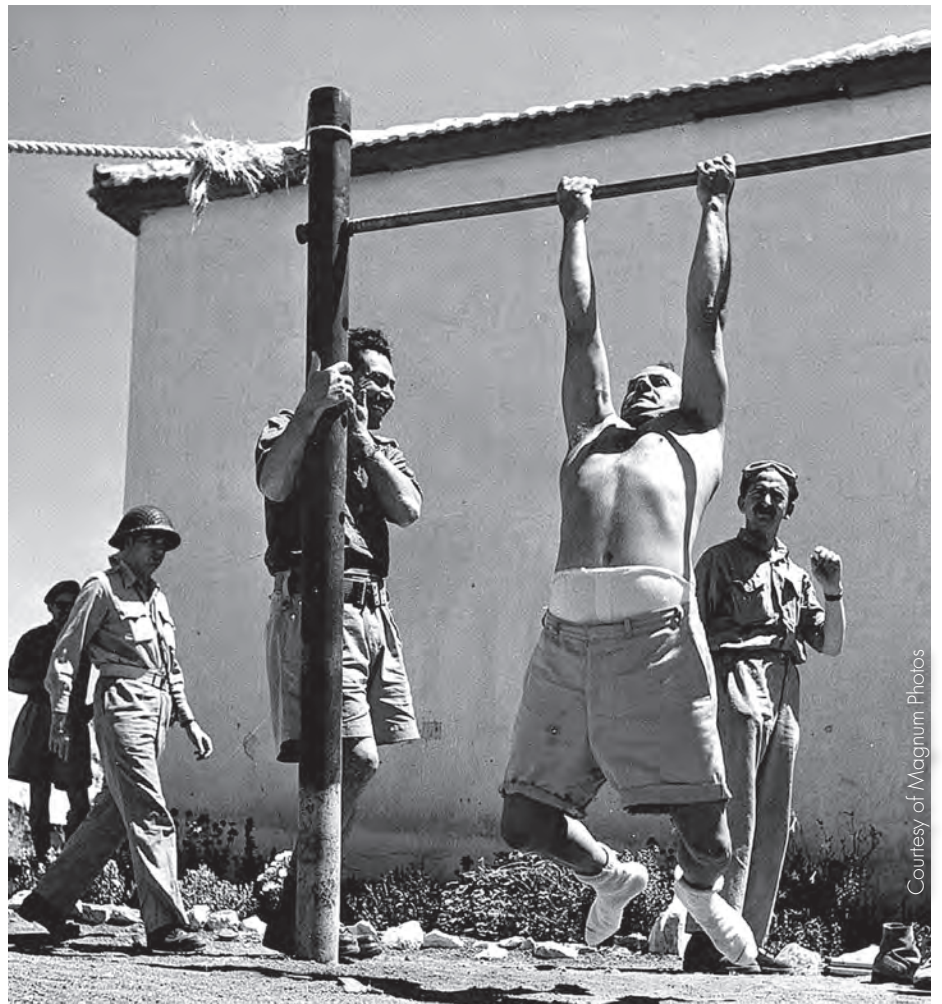
A photograph by Robert Capa shows Mickey doing pull-ups at a *Haganah* training camp near Jerusalem in early 1948.

and G-3, were both wounded and captured, along with all the signalmen in the accompanying M20 armored car.⁸²

As an eyewitness to the fighting around Carentan, Mickey traveled the front, saw the dead on the battlefield, and experienced the terror of air attacks and the paralyzing screaming of incoming artillery fire. He was fortunate, along with John Maginnis and few others in wartime, to actually witness some of the results—planned and unfathomable—of all their work, from the War Department to the beach, to the capture of a crucial provincial city, Carentan. Mickey went home and incorporated what he learned for the next stage: tweaking the plans for ruling liberated peoples and refocusing on the surrender of Germany and Japan and the war's aftermath. As it turned out, the trip revealed few problems, a testament to the quality of the planning. If you believe that civil affairs is as essential to warfare as weapons, as General Eisenhower said on the eve of invasion, or that the Monuments Men are heroes for saving priceless symbols of civilization, then Mickey is equal to that for his role in establishing American civil affairs doctrine.

After Mickey's death in June 1948 while fighting for Israel's independence, his memory was held closely by friends, families, West Point classmates and wives, and the Jewish community. Every rabbi serving at West Point visits the library's Special Collections and goes through the Mickey material.⁸³ Emma never remarried and was plagued by illness and blindness, but she shaped and controlled the legend of Mickey Marcus for three and a half decades

Kirk Douglas applauding Emma Marcus at a press event for *Cast a Giant Shadow*





Courtesy of Magnum Photos

The body of Mickey Marcus is carried on a stretcher through a cemetery in Tel Aviv, June 1948.



Courtesy of Bamahane

Mickey on the cover of a 1949 issue of *Bamahane*, the official weekly magazine of the Israel Defense Forces

and beyond. Successfully maneuvering lawyers, writers, filmmakers, veterans groups, and the wily politicians of two nations, she established Mickey's unblemished status as a hero of two countries. Her creation of the Mickey legend puts her firmly in an American military tradition of steely-willed and competent widows—such as Libby Custer, LaSalle Pickett, and Kitty Buhler Bradley—whose lives are defined by the nurturing, protection, and sometimes active promotion or defense of their husband's public image and legacy.

Her principal vehicle was the film *Cast a Giant Shadow*. If there is any public consciousness of Mickey Marcus, it is due entirely to that big budget, star-studded, and controversial film. His persona rests permanently on the appealing performance of Kirk Douglas, and, in spite of shop-worn Hollywood devices and stock characters; the film has conjured Mickey for a half century and fixed his image in popular culture. Even that image, however, has dissipated, except for an annual remembrance at West Point and an occasional article in an Israeli newspaper around the country's in-

dependence day.⁸⁴ Mickey's actual biography, in its manifold and colorful details, and his singular contributions to one of the foundations of modern warfare have been virtually lost in the "Shadow." As a shaper of the armies of two democratic nations, as a prison activist and reformist New York City politician, and as an example of the raw material of the citizen-soldier formed in the American military experience, Mickey's legend endures.

After victory in Europe had been achieved and Mickey was once more reunited with John Maginnis, the two companions sat in Germany, now powerful military governors ruling over its despoiled Prussian capital.⁸⁵ Not since Napoleon, Mickey mused, had conquerors ruled so absolutely over Berlin. The two reserve civil affairs officers had seen firsthand the full horror of the collapse of civil society and all its restraints. From Carentan to Dachau and every abomination in between, Maginnis had crossed Europe ruling towns and cities of ever greater importance. After a second career in G-5, he retired a major general and helped shape postwar G-5 policy.⁸⁶ Mickey arranged for his Legion of

Merit. Both had made the hard, terrible decisions necessary to rule over destitute allies and conquered enemy peoples. Late in October 1945, in front of a picture-perfect, storybook fireplace in an occupied mansion and sharing an elegant dinner prepared by their servants, the pair sipped fine single-malt scotch scored by Mickey. They reminisced about Newton Abbot, Carentan, and their time together on the beachhead. Those stories remain between the comrades.



NOTES

1. He signed his letters to Emma "Mici," but his close friends called him "Mick" and everybody else "Mickey" to distinguish him from his older brother and hero "Big Mike." His family and long-time residents of Brownsville dubbed him "Little Mike," and then "Mickey." Like many legends, details of the life of David Daniel Marcus (1901–1948) have been the source for many fanciful tales. Most stem from the only biography to date, *Cast a Giant Shadow* (1965), by Ted Berkman. Its value varies greatly for each period of Marcus' life, generally trustworthy on

his childhood, West Point, interwar period, and the Civil Affairs Division (CAD), but complete fiction on the Normandy period. The best sources are Mickey's family and friends, but all must be treated critically, especially about Mickey's wartime experiences and his death. 1) Charles G. Stevenson, teammate at Boys High, roommate at West Point, each best man to the other, and closest friend; 2) Lowell M. Limpus, ex-West Point class of 1924, *New York Daily News* city and military affairs reporter and inclined to fanciful exaggeration; and 3) John Maginnis, a CA officer and Mickey's companion during the invasion period and in postwar Germany, a rock-solid witness to the events and his observations of Mickey during World War II. See, especially, Charles G. Stevenson, "David Marcus Obituary #7368, Class of 1924," *Assembly* 7, no. 4 (January 1949): 15–18 (available from West Point Library Web site, accessed 16 February 2012); Lowell M. Limpus, "This Was Mickey Marcus," *Saturday Evening Post*, 4 Dec 1948, p. 28; Maj. Gen. John J. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal: Normandy to Berlin*, ed. Robert A. Hart (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971); John J. Maginnis, "My Service with Colonel David Marcus," *American Jewish History* 69, no. 3 (March 1980): 301–24; idem, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier* (Great Neck, N.Y.: Todd and Honeywell, 1981), pp. 41–42, 57, 78–79. The only reliable summary of biographical and military details of Mickey's life, and based on primary sources, is Fred L. Borch, "David 'Mickey' Marcus," *On Point* 15, no. 3 (Winter 2010): 17–20. For general background on civil affairs and military government, see Earl F. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944–1946* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1990); and Harry L. Coles and Albert K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1992).

2. First Army, Report of Operations, 23 February–8 May 1945, G–5 Section, an. 3, 1945, p. 77; 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 Section, 1945, p. 21.

3. 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 Section, 1945, p. 11.

4. First Army, Report of Operations, 23 February–8 May 1945, G–5 Section, an. 3, 1945, pp. 77–85; 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 Section, 1945, pp. 11–27, and apps. 2, 3, 5, pp. 129–30.

5. Limpus, "This Was Mickey Marcus," p. 179.

6. "Army Boxers Take Meet from Culver," *New York Times*, 23 Feb 1923; Stevenson, "David

Marcus Obituary"; Cici Hughes, *Spotlight on a Shadow*, p. 4, folder 9, box 14, Marcus, David, Machal Archives, Center of Jewish History. Mickey, Charlie Stevenson, and George Smith, all friends from Boys High, lived in the South Barracks dorm in what was called "the room of three faiths."

7. At least twenty-five members of the class of 1924 resigned within five years of graduation, almost all returning to active service during World War II. Several were active in New York National Guard and 27th Infantry Division affairs during the interwar period. "Class of 1924," *1980 Register of Graduates and Former Cadets, 1802–1980, United States Military Academy*, pp. 344–50; Limpus, "This Was Mickey Marcus," p. 29. According to Red Reeder, when Omar Bradley was a West Point math instructor, he tried hard to help Limpus, who nonetheless left before his second year, but became an "official" member of the Thundering Herd by vote of its members.

8. Myrna and Harvey Frommer, *It Happened in Brooklyn: An Oral History of Growing Up in the Borough in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1993), pp. 49–50; idem, "Zionism Yesterday," *The Jewish Magazine*, June 1998, accessed 30 March 2014, <http://www.jewishmag.com/10mag/zionist/zionist.htm>.

9. "Roosevelt 'Vision' on Prisons Hailed," *New York Times*, 10 Apr 1934; "Correction Post Given to Marcus," *New York Times*, 28 Apr 1940; Stevenson, "David Marcus Obituary," pp. 15–18.

10. "Welfare Island Raid Bares Gangster Rule Over Prison; Weapons, Narcotics Found," *New York Times*, 25 Jan 1934; "Prison Gangs Face a Federal Inquiry; Clean-up Pressed," *New York Times*, 26 Jan 1934; "Dodge Subpoenas McCormick on Raid," *New York Times*, 4 Feb 1934; Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 189; Michael Daly, "Forgotten Hero of Remembered War," *New York Daily News*, 29 Apr 1988; idem, Dick Lutz, "Facts Behind Hollywood Fiction," *Old New York Website*, 17 Apr 2004, accessed 15 Oct 2015, <http://old.nyc10044.com/wire/2415/filmfest.html>.

11. Borch, "David 'Mickey' Marcus," pp. 17–20; Stevenson, "David Marcus Obituary," p. 16; Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, pp. 181–183.

12. Borch, "David 'Mickey' Marcus," pp. 17–20.

13. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 673–677; 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 Section, 1945, pp. 21–27.

14. Limpus, "This Was Mickey Marcus," pp. 29, 179.

15. Citation, Award of Distinguished Service Medal to Colonel David Marcus, in *The*

Judge Advocate Journal, "Honor Roll" (Fall/Winter 1945): 30; "Col. Marcus Wins DSM; Aided in Surrenders," *New York Times*, 18 May 1944.

16. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 677–685.

17. Citation, Award of Military Commander, Order of the British Empire, quoted in Ted Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow* (New York: Pocket Books, 1963), p. 161.

18. "Class of 1924 Notes," *Assembly* 4, no. 1 (April 1945): 18; Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 22.

19. David W. Hogan Jr., *A Command Post at War: First Army Headquarters in Europe, 1943–1945* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2000), p. 85.

20. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 660–670.

21. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 136–37.

22. Stevenson, "David Marcus Obituary," p. 17.

23. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 27.

24. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 4–5; Maginnis, "My Service with Colonel David Marcus," pp. 303, 305.

25. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, pp. 27–28.

26. 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 Section, 1945, p. 21–22.

27. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 722–25.

28. John J. Maginnis was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Officers Reserve Corps in 1917; was civil affairs (G–5) in World War II; and commanded Detachment C2B1 that was attached to 101st Airborne Division. After the war, Maginnis saw Mickey several times in Berlin from July 1945 until early February 1946, when Mickey went back to Washington to head up War Crimes Trials preparations.

29. Ziemke, *The U.S. Army in the Occupation of Germany, 1944–1946*, p. 62.

30. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. xiv.

31. Forrest C. Pogue, *The Supreme Command, United States Army in World War II* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1954), p. 83.

32. The four categories of detachment were prefixed from A to D in decreasing order of size (and importance). The A and B detachments were the most desirable assignments in terms of locations and advancement potential. The C and D detachments, operat-

ing in smaller places, formed the bulk of the units, occasionally offering unique field and administrative challenges. A detachments were assigned to major cities, including national capitals, and were regarded as the elite. For example, First U.S. Army Detachment A1B1 was assigned to Cherbourg, the main Normandy port and a major objective of OVERLORD.

33. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, p. 725.
34. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 3–4; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 302; Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, pp. 43–44.
35. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, p. 725.
36. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 3–4; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” pp. 302–03.
37. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 303.
38. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 4–5; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 303; Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, p. 45.
39. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 315.
40. Col. Rex Reader, *Heroes and Leaders of West Point* (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1970), p. 101.
41. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 306.
42. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 4–5; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 305.
43. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” pp. 307–08, 310.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 309.
46. Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, p. 46; Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. 6.
47. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 310.
48. Lt Col James S. Thurmond, Report of Service on TD With 82d Airborne Div, 23 May 1944 to 14 Jun 1944, 15 Jun 1944, SHAEF files, G–5, Hist 223, FUSA Opns Rpts, in Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 722–724. G–5, First Army, was the oldest U.S. civil affairs–military government section in continuous existence, which was activated on 5 November 1943 by Col. Damon M. Gunn and his executive officer, Maj. James S. Thurmond, who later served as First Army liaison officer at Bradley’s 12th Army Group.

49. Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, p. 47; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 311.

50. Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, pp. 722–25.

51. Gordon A Harrison, *Cross-Channel Attack*, United States Army in World War II (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1950), pp. 187, 280.

52. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. 8; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 311. Taylor presided at Mickey’s West Point funeral. Mickey is the only graduate who died fighting under a foreign flag buried in the academy cemetery.

53. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. 9; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” pp. 311–12.

54. J. Lawton Collins, *Lightning Joe: An Autobiography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), p. 205.

55. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” pp. 311–13.

56. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. 9; Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 312; Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, pp. 48–50.

57. *Utah Beach to Cherbourg, 6–27 June 1944*, American Forces in Action Series (Washington, D.C.: Historical Division, War Department, 1948), p. 92.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 313; Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, p. 51.

60. Steven L. Ossad and Don R. Marsh, *Major General Maurice Rose: World War II’s Forgotten Commander* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003), pp. 300–330.

61. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 316; Richard Degen, “They Introduced the Manly Arts to West Point,” *Assembly* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1967): 20, 36–38.

62. 12th Army Group, Report of Operations, Final After Action Report, vol. VII, G–5 section, 1945, an. 1.

63. Rpt, First U.S. Army, Civil Affairs Section, The Beachhead Phase Presents No Severe Civil Affairs Problems, 9–30 Jun 1944, SHAEF files, G–5, Hist 223, FUSA Opns Rpts, in Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, p. 725.

64. Maginnis, *Portrait of a Citizen-Soldier*, p. 55.

65. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, p. 28.

66. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 318.

67. Rpt, First US Army, Civil Affairs Section, The Beachhead Phase Presents No Severe Civil Affairs Problems, in Coles and Weinberg, *Civil Affairs*, p. 725.

68. Maginnis, “My Service with Colonel David Marcus,” p. 319.

69. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 34.

70. W. C. Royals, “Cast a Giant Shadow—by Ted Berkman,” *Assembly* (Summer 1962): 28, accessed 22 March 2012; Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 35.

71. “Class of 1924 Notes,” p. 18.

72. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 35.

73. Limpus, “This Was Mickey Marcus,” pp. 28–29, 179–81.

74. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 36.

75. Royals, “Cast a Giant Shadow—by Ted Berkman,” p. 28; Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 37.

76. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 39.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–41.

78. Many popular and otherwise useful accounts repeat all or part of the D-Day myth, including public monuments like the Thayer Hotel memorial plaque, official and unofficial Israeli sources, and the *New York Times*.

79. Citation, Award of Distinguished Service Medal to Colonel David Marcus, in *The Judge Advocate Journal*, “Honor Roll,” p. 30; Borch, “David ‘Mickey’ Marcus,” pp. 17–20.

80. Berkman, *Cast A Giant Shadow*, p. 161.

81. Ernie Pyle, *Brave Men* (New York: Henry Holt, 1944), p. 306.

82. Mark T. Calhoun, *General Lesley J. McNair: Unsung Architect of the U.S. Army* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2015); Ossad and Marsh, *Major General Maurice Rose*, pp. 141–161.

83. E-mail, Alan Aimone to author, 15 Jun 2015.

84. Steve Lipman, “Remembering Israel’s First General,” *Jewish Week*, accessed 27 October 2015, <http://www.thejewishweek.com/features/lens/remembering-israels-first-general>.

85. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal*, pp. 303–07.

86. Maj. Gen. John J. Maginnis, *Military Government Journal: Normandy to Berlin*, ed. Robert A. Hart (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), is the best World War II memoir of a civil affairs officer available. Maginnis’ papers are at the U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center, Carlisle, Pa.

U.S. ARMY ARTIFACT SPOTLIGHT

THE SILVER HILTED SWORDS OF JOSIAH HARMAR

By Dieter Stenger

Josiah Harmar remains an iconic figure in U.S. Army history, having received a commission as a captain in 1776 to command a company of the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion and promoted to major of the 3d Pennsylvania Regiment in the same year and to lieutenant colonel of the 6th Pennsylvania Regiment in 1777. He served throughout the Revolutionary War and participated in key battles, including Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Stony Point. In 1784, Harmar personally delivered the ratified peace treaty to Paris, which brought an end to the war. Upon his return from France, he accepted his appointment as commander of the First American Regiment in the new Regular United States Army and was the senior officer from 1784 to 1791. After retiring from the Army in 1792, Harmar served as adjutant general of Pennsylvania from 1793 to 1799. He died on 20 August 1813 on his estate near Philadelphia.

The U.S. Army Center of Military History recently acquired two silver hilted swords that belonged to Josiah Harmar. These swords were popular from the 1700s to about 1815. They were not mass produced but rather custom made, reflecting the skill of the artisan and taste of the buyer. Before the American Revolution, such swords were worn by civilians to indicate high status in society. When the war broke out, the owners usually carried their swords into battle. Army regulations published after the war prescribed silver hilted swords for infantry and cavalry officers, although many high-ranking state militia officers carried them as well.

Of the two swords, the unmarked high-grade silver hilted dress sword may have been manufactured in Europe for the American market, considering most American silver hilted swords were completely devoid of elaborate designs and focused on the pure beauty of the line and form. Here, every part of its hilt is ornately decorated, beginning at the pommel and ending at the cross guards. The 31.5-inch long triangular blade is etched with a gold arm, bent at the elbow, clothed and ruffled, with a hand grasping a broadsword that resembles the 1775 Bedford flag of Massachusetts and the Massachusetts state seal adopted in 1780. The motto below the crest reads "For My Country."

The smaller hunting sword with lion head pommel was popular in the mid-1700s and conforms closely to American-made hunting swords from New England. Also unmarked, it incorporates a typical, twisted white ivory grip, cast elliptical pierced counterguard, chained knuckle bow, and slightly curved 27.5-inch blade with a single blood groove.

Both swords were acquired with a high-quality iron sash hook with chains for carrying a sword, a pair of silver riding spurs with elements of original leather, Harmar's infantry epaulets for junior grade in silver, his senior-grade silver colonel of infantry epaulets, and his high-grade gold general officer's epaulets. The Harmar items reside in the U.S. Army Core Collection held at the Museum Support Center, Fort Belvoir, Virginia.

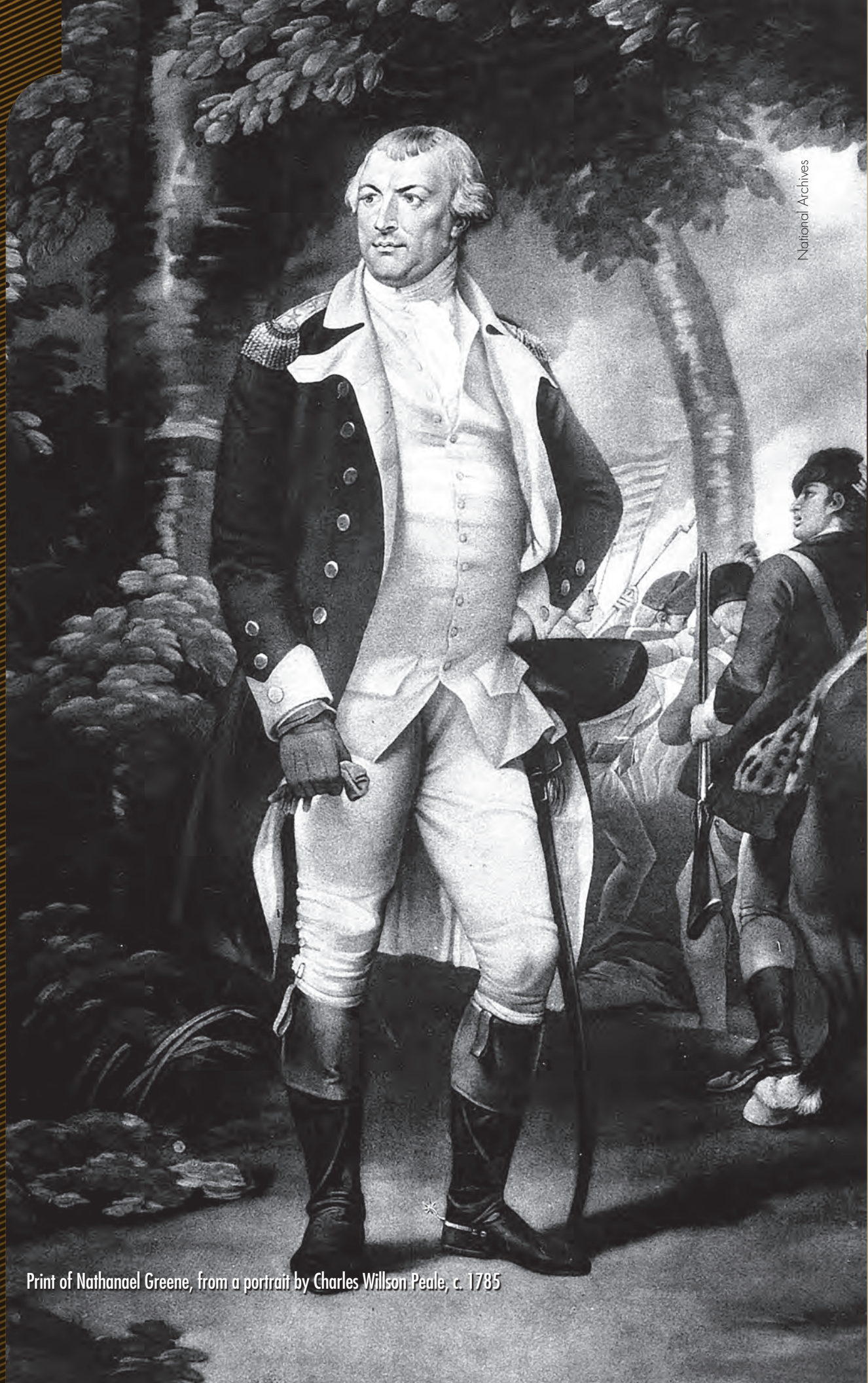
Dieter Stenger is currently serving at the Museum Support Center, at Fort Belvoir, Virginia, as the curator of firearms and edged weapons.





ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Charles B. Baxley graduated from the University of South Carolina in 1974 with a bachelor's degree in political science and in 1976 with a doctorate in law. He is currently a general practice lawyer, having previously served as a judge for the city of Camden, South Carolina, for fifteen years, and has taught business law as an adjunct professor for Limestone College and American Management College. He was president of the Kershaw County Historical Society and continues to serve on its board. He is on the advisory boards of the Southern Revolutionary War Institute and the Historic Mapping Congress, is the chairman of the Battle of Camden preservation project, and is also the editor and publisher of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* magazine.



Print of Nathanael Greene, from a portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1785

“AN ENTERPRISE UPON JOHNS ISLAND”

NATHANAEL GREENE’S WINTER CAMPAIGN AND THE JACKSONBOROUGH ASSEMBLY, 1781–1782

BY CHARLES B. BAXLEY

FALL 1781: SOUTH CAROLINA

The British southern strategy was unraveling. Lt. Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis, surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781. The British army of occupation in North and South Carolina and Georgia could hold selected posts and travel en masse at will but could not control the countryside where rebel militias and state troops patrolled. Its southern strongholds were within thirty-five miles of its supply ports: Charlestown, South Carolina; Savannah, Georgia; and Wilmington, North Carolina. In South Carolina, the British withdrew from their advanced bases at Camden, Ninety Six, Augusta, and Georgetown, and only held posts arcing around Charlestown in the aftermath of the bloody Battle at Eutaw Springs in September. Defending Charlestown, the British had major forward posts at Fair Lawn Barony (in modern Moncks Corner) at the head of navigation of the west branch of the Cooper River; at the colonial town of Dorchester at the

head of navigation on the Ashley River; at the Wappataw Meeting House on the headwaters of the Wando River; and at Stono Ferry to control mainland access across the Stono River to Johns Island. The parishes north of Charlestown were contested ground. British cavalry rode at will to the south side of the Santee River and as far upstream as Henry Laurens’ Mt. Tacitus plantation.¹ These mounted raiders were based at Daniel Ravenel’s Wantoot Plantation, seven miles north of Moncks Corner. They collected food, slaves, women, and children.² In western South Carolina, Loyalist militia mounted a murderous raid of retribution inland to the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.³

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene, commander of the Southern Department of the Continental Army, moved to Richardson’s plantation in the High Hills of the Santee to camp after his Eutaw Springs campaign. Having lost many key officers, Greene needed to rest his troops, care for his wounded, reorganize the units, and wait for reinforcements and supplies. Here Greene

learned of the Franco-American victory over Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. This would free up men and supplies to again trickle south to support his operations in the Southern Department. Greene was elated at his army and the state militias’ performance at Eutaw Springs and General George Washington’s victory.⁴ Greene, overly optimistically, reported that British Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart’s flight from Eutaw Springs after the battle convinced the British to burn their stores and abandon their forward bases at both Fair Lawn and Dorchester.⁵

As Greene withdrew north toward his camp of repose after chasing the British as far south as Ferguson Swamp, he assigned Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham’s cavalry and Col. Isaac Shelby’s and Col. John Sevier’s over-mountain militia to reinforce Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, who was patrolling the lower Santee River and the area northeast of Charlestown.⁶ Marion established his command post at Cantey’s plantation, on the north side of the Santee River, to gather intelligence and contest the



General Sir Charles Cornwallis, portrait by J. Scott, c. 1790



Alexander Stewart, portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn, c. 1775



Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, portrait by Thomas Gainsborough, c. 1785

Redcoats' actions in the parishes north of Charlestown. Lt. Col. Peter Horry and his command remained at Georgetown, South Carolina.

NEW BRITISH COMMAND

The new British commander in Charlestown, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie, arrived on 8 November 1781.⁷ His orders from Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Clinton were

that you will endeavor to preserve such of the Posts in that Province in actual Possession of the Kings Troops, as you judge will be conducive to H.M. Interest. Always regarding the Safety of Charlestown as the Principal Object of your Attention, to which every other Consideration must of course give way. Wherefore if the Post at Wilmington is not already called in, it may become an Object of Consideration whether under our present Circumstances it will not be proper to withdraw it.⁸

Leslie learned of Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford's North Carolina army moving near Wilmington and French warships cruising near Cape Fear. Concerned that the British occupation force at Wilmington might be cut off by French naval forces and the arrival of fresh troops released by the Franco-American victory over Cornwallis at Yorktown, he ordered Maj. James H. Craig's detachment evacuated from Wilmington; they returned to Charles-

town by ship.⁹ These were the last British regular troops in North Carolina; however, Loyalist partisan troops under militia Col. David Fanning continued to raid and terrorize the central North Carolina countryside.¹⁰ With the surrender of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown in October and Major Craig back in Charlestown in late November, North Carolina and Virginia returned to complete Whig control. The British still governed Savannah and lower Georgia, East Florida, and the area around Charlestown, as well as New York, Canada, and their rich Caribbean colonies. The war had escalated into a full world war with France, Holland, and Spain fighting to even old scores and to obtain British colonies. The Royal Navy's dominance of the sea was challenged.

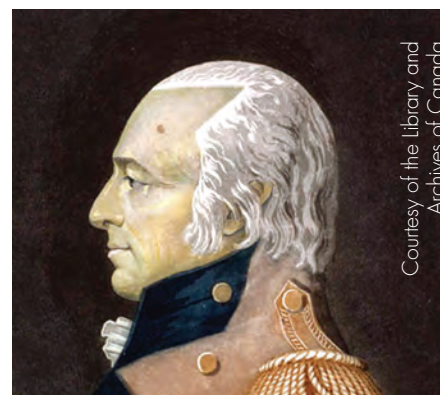
Greene was determined to establish a post at the colonial town of Orangeburg to stop the flow of supplies from western South Carolina's backcountry

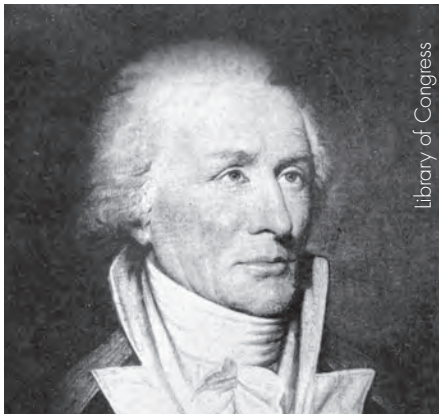
Tories into Charlestown and to quell Tory sentiments in the area. Orangeburg, situated on the North Fork of the Edisto River, controlled the main roads from the Cherokee lands, Ninety Six, and Granby to Charlestown. It, as many South Carolina backcountry districts, was deeply divided between Whigs and Tories. When the British troops arrived in Orangeburg in the summer of 1780, they appointed John Fisher as colonel of the local Loyalist militia, and he handily raised twelve companies for Crown service.¹¹ In early November 1781, Greene suggested that South Carolina militia and state troops under Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter with Lt. Col. Wade Hampton's cavalry base their forces at Orangeburg.¹² Greene had also received reports of a South Carolina Loyalist militia raid from Charlestown into western parts of the state. Led by

Engraving of General Clinton, c. 1775



Sir James Henry Craig, portrait by Gerritt Schipper, c. 1808





A print of General Sumter, from the portrait by Charles Willson Peale

Loyalist militia Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham, Col. Hezekiah Williams, Lt. Cols. John Lawrence and Baily Chaney, and Maj. William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham, corps of mounted independent troops were formed with British license to raid deep into South Carolina’s backcountry.¹³ General Sumter’s troops at Orangeburg soon skirmished with the infamous “Bloody Scout” raid into South Carolina’s western backcountry. The Edisto swamps hid many groups of Loyalists, some of which supported the Bloody Scout raids; they were finally rooted out by Brig. Gens. Andrew Pickens and Sumter in December 1781.¹⁴

Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee, a controversial young scion of a prominent Virginia family, was given permission by Congress to raise a legion, a mixed unit of cavalry and light infantry, after his brave and aggressive



Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee III, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1782

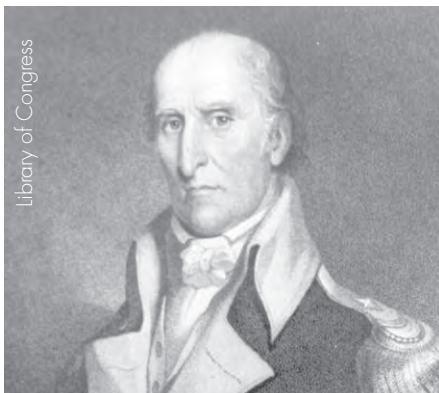
campaigning in the northern theater. Lee and his Legion were dispatched by General Washington to reinforce General Greene in the Southern Department, where Lee successfully participated in reducing six British posts.¹⁵ Lee’s Legion fought at Eutaw Springs with Greene’s main army. After the battle, Lee was detailed to ride to Yorktown, where he arrived in time for Cornwallis’ surrender on 19 October, though without his Legion. Lee was to brief Washington, French Lt. Gen. Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau, and the French fleet commander, Admiral François-Joseph de Grasse, on Greene’s situation in hopes of inducing the French to lend naval support to Greene in recapturing South Carolina and Georgia.¹⁶ The desired Allied cooperation failed to materialize; however, Washington set in motion a

plan to reinforce Greene in the Southern Department with the brigades of Brig. Gens. “Mad” Anthony Wayne of Pennsylvania and Mordecai Gist of Maryland, both commanded by another Pennsylvanian, Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair. Lee returned to South Carolina in late November 1781 and reported to Greene on the events at Yorktown along with Washington’s promise of reinforcements by land. Lee, after a brief illness, resumed command of his Legion along with the balance of Greene’s Continental cavalry on 7 December.¹⁷ In western South Carolina, General Pickens’ militia patrolled the Indian frontier and watched the local Loyalists.

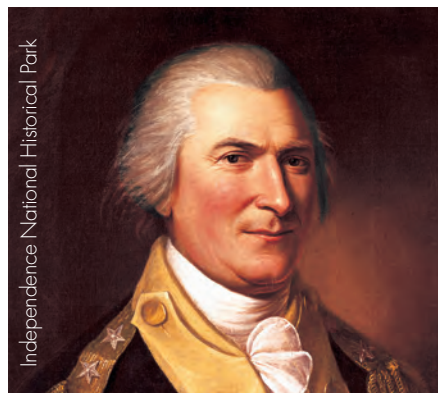
With the threat of Cornwallis’ army abated and inland South Carolina starting to recover from a year of British and Loyalist domination, Greene could turn his attention south and the global *politic real* of the American Revolution, which had exploded into a global war. Possession of territory and the establishment of an effective civil government in South Carolina and Georgia became paramount. North Carolina’s Whig government never lost control of much of its territory and continued with a fully functional civil government throughout the war despite the British army’s invasions and even the capture of its sitting governor. Greene knew that a civilian administration was necessary to work out the thorny matters of raising men to fight, paying for the war, reestablishing law enforcement and courts, and resolving questions of loyalty and retribution against the Loyalists. Greene did not have the military manpower to rule states by force and knew that installing government, by free consent of the governed, was fundamental to the Whig cause. He also recognized that to strongly claim territory in European peace treaty negotiations it needed to be both occupied and directed by American civil authority.

With Georgia’s capital and principal city, Savannah, still in British control, it became crucial to encourage the construction of an operational civil government in Georgia. Greene supported the Whig political leaders of Georgia in their attempt to jumpstart

General Pickens



Arthur St. Clair, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1782



this reestablishment.¹⁸ He would dispatch troops in that direction as soon as he was reinforced.

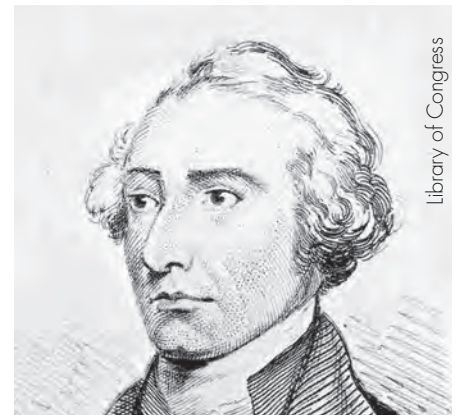
South Carolina's General Assembly had dissolved when Charlestown fell in 1780, and Governor John Rutledge had escaped with three counselors to conduct a saddlebag government in exile.¹⁹ He was given extraordinary powers to facilitate state business without a legislature. The Whig cause espoused representative government, so Greene and Rutledge began discussing a call for new elections and when and where to reconvene South Carolina's General Assembly.²⁰

Greene gathered intelligence on the British deployments and patrol patterns. General Marion, located at Cantey's plantation on the north side of the Santee River, reported on 2 November that the British were still strongly posted at Wantoot Plantation and raided north to Simons' plantation at Eutaw Springs and that Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's cavalry toured as far south as Cainhoy. Marion noted on 8 November that the British had two regiments positioned at Wappataw Meeting House. On 10 November, he observed that General Leslie had just landed in Charlestown, that 200 British cavalry raided Laurens' Ferry, and that a large British party was at St. Stephens.²¹ Lt. Col. Wade Hampton was posted at the Congaree and Col. William Harden was at Pocatoligo.²² Col. John Sevier arrived at Marion's camp on the Santee with his militia from over the Blue Ridge Mountains in late October and was soon followed



Tennessee State Museum

John Sevier, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1792



Library of Congress

Etching of Francis Marion

by Col. Isaac Shelby and his Sullivan County (North Carolina) Regiment of Militia. They were sent by Marion to augment Lt. Col. Hezekiah Maham's cavalry regiment. Greene learned of Loyalist Maj. Bloody Bill Cunningham's attack on Sumter's detachment near Orangeburg on 14 November. The same day, Maj. Joseph Eggleston with Lee's Legion infantry took up a position near Murray's Ferry.²³

Marion moved south of the Santee, about halfway between Murray's and Lenud's Ferries to camp on Peyre's plantation on 14 November. From this camp, he could better track the British raids from their post at Wantoot. Marion reported that the British cavalry came within two miles of his position, and 200 men went to Nelson's Ferry as the British patrolled from Sinkler's plantation near Eutaw

Springs to Laurens' plantation daily.²⁴ From this base, Marion directed Maham, Shelby, and Sevier to attack the British at their positions around Moncks Corner at Biggin Bridge, the Colleton Mansion, Stony Landing, and a nearby redoubt. The Continentals raided the British camp and hospital located in the Colleton Mansion on 17 November 1781, with the mansion subsequently burning, resulting in a controversy over who started the fire and the questionable American raid on a hospital.²⁵ The garrison troops retreated into their strong redoubt on the property while the Americans liberated the camp of supplies and captured eighty-two convalescing British soldiers and three hospital orderlies.²⁶ This bold stroke was behind the British front line; located only seven miles away at Wantoot, Colonel Stewart had more than 1,000 battle-hardened soldiers. Marion's men next planned to attack the British outpost at the Wappataw Meeting House; however, the British withdrew before the Americans arrived.²⁷

General Leslie was redeploying his troops, pulling them in toward Charlestown, and strengthening the earthworks that were built around the Quarter House Tavern crossing the neck of Charlestown's peninsula. His orders from his superior, General Clinton, were to hold Charlestown and not risk aggressive offensive actions.²⁸ After the Americans' bold raid on the Colleton Mansion hospital near Monck's Corner on 17 November,

Wade Hampton, shown here as a colonel, c. 1808

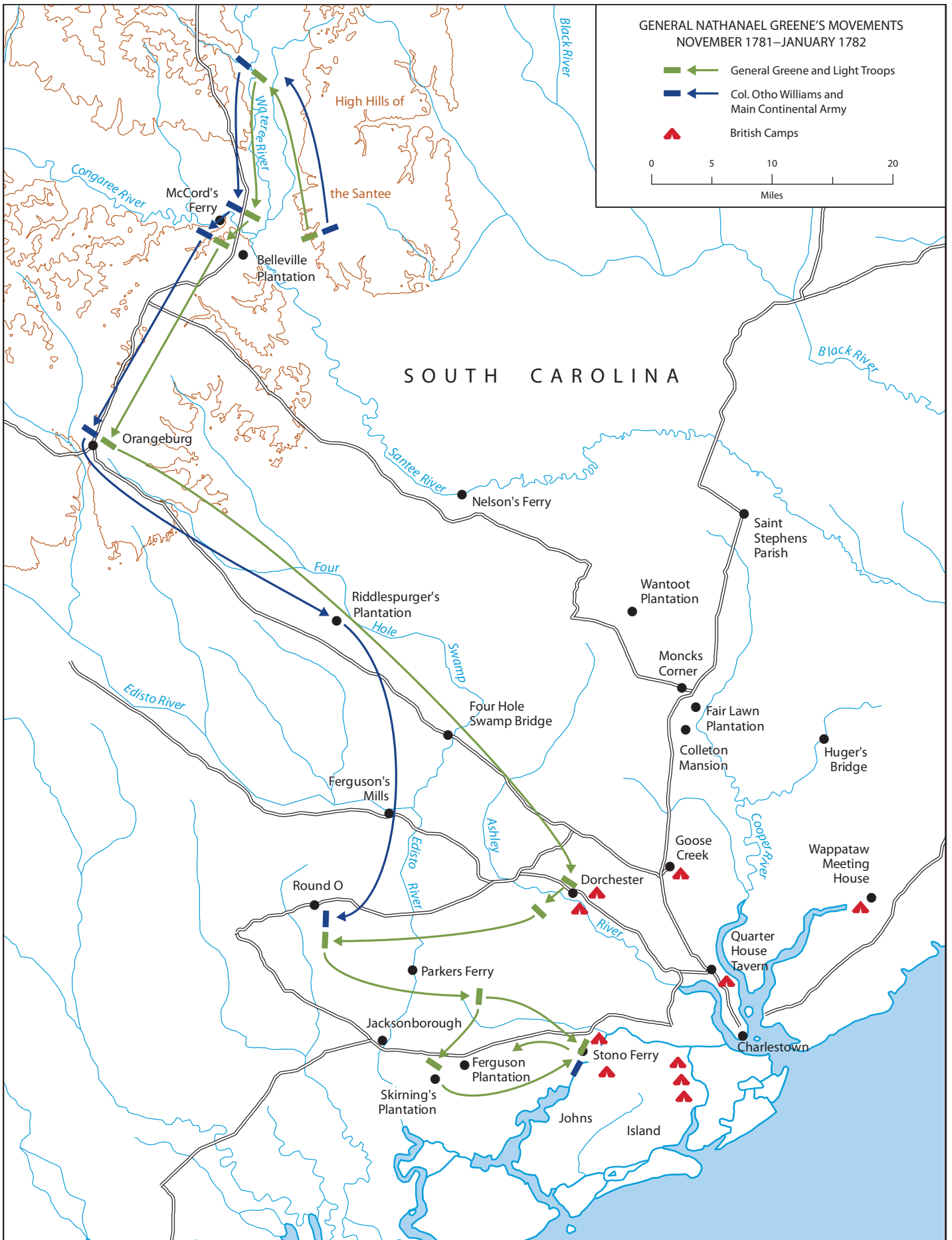


New York Public Library

Print of Isaac Shelby, from a portrait by Matthew Harris Jouett, c. 1795



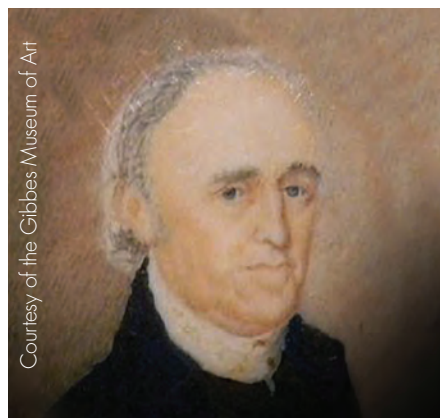
Library of Congress



Leslie withdrew Stewart's advance post from Wantoot Plantation to Goose Creek, abandoning Fair Lawn.²⁹ He also moved the British troops from Wappataw Meeting House, Miller Bridge, and Awendaw Creek, probably having them dig in around Christ Church, nine miles closer to Charlestown.³⁰ Unknown to General Greene, Leslie gave orders for the mainland defenses of the Stono Ferry to withdraw across the Stono River onto Johns Island if the mainland ferry landing was attacked in force, as he did the forward post at Dorchester to retire to Quarter House Tavern. The British maintained their position at Haddrell's Point to control Mt. Pleasant and Daniel Island and to raid north. In addition to the local provincial troops, Leslie also had hundreds of Loyalist militia soldiers who had retreated from the South Carolina backcountry and had ended up in Charlestown. To bolster his defenses and to occupy these refugees, most of these Loyalist militiamen were assigned to supplement the British regulars manning various posts guarding Charlestown.

From his camp of repose at the High Hills of the Santee, Greene arranged care for the many wounded from the Battle of Eutaw Springs, again reorganized his battered army, which had lost many key officers, and refined his plan to return to the offensive to push the British into Charlestown. Greene marched north from his camp on 18 November 1781, crossed the Wateree River at Simmon's Upper Ferry near Stateburg, traveled south down McCord's Ferry Road, and traversed the Congaree River at McCord's Ferry. Greene quartered his army on Col. William "Old Danger" Thomson's Belleville Plantation, just south of McCord's Ferry over the Congaree on 21 November.³¹ This area is called Buckhead Creek.

Greene's veteran command, greatly reduced by its campaigns in the South, consisted of the Continentals of two greatly depleted Maryland regiments and Capt. Robert Kirkwood's Delaware company, two Virginia regiments, the North Carolina brigade, a detachment of field artillery, the remnants of Pulaski's cavalry and the 1st



Colonel William Thomson, portrait by Edward Savage, c. 1790

and 3d Continental Light Dragoons, and Lee's Legion.³² Cooperating with Greene were regiments of General Sumter's South Carolina state troops and militia brigade, regiments from General Marion's South Carolina state troops and militia brigade with Shelby's and Sevier's western North Carolina militia regiments, General Pickens' state troops and militia brigade, and Col. William Harden's South Carolina militia brigade.³³

At his new headquarters on Buckhead Creek, Greene continued to receive updated intelligence reports. Maj. Joseph Eggleston of Lee's Legion reported that British Lt. Col. James Coates and his 19th Regiment "Green Howards" had taken the field after their brush with General Sumter's troops in August—at Biggin Church, Quinby Bridge, and Shubrick's plantation—and his flank companies' fight for their lives at Eutaw Springs. Greene learned the details of Maham, Sevier, and Shelby's raid on the Colleton Mansion and received a protest from the British field commander, Colonel Stewart. Most importantly, Greene discovered that Stewart had pulled back from his advance post at Wantoot Plantation, Moncks Corner, and Fairlawn and shifted "downwards," that is south of Goose Creek.³⁴ General Leslie explained these withdrawals in his letter to his commander, General Clinton. Marion informed Greene on 27 November that Wappataw Meeting House was evacuated.³⁵ Before Greene's next move south, he certainly knew the British were drawing in outposts and

consolidating their positions around Charlestown, but it is unknown if he had found out about Craig's withdrawal from Wilmington, North Carolina.

BACK ON THE OFFENSIVE

At Belleville Plantation, Greene focused his sights on moving the front line to South Carolina's low country, putting about seventy more miles of South Carolina clearly in the Americans' sector.³⁶ His first goal was the reduction of the British fortified outpost at Dorchester. Dorchester was a colonial village strategically located near the head of navigation on the Ashley River. It commanded the land traffic to and from the Charlestown peninsula and the area between the Ashley and Edisto Rivers. Leaving the main army behind, Greene formed his "flying army" with 200 of his light troops of the Maryland and Virginia line and 200 cavalry, including the remnants of the 3d Continental Light Dragoons, Lee's Legion cavalry (and possibly infantry), and Lt. Col. Wade Hampton's South Carolina state cavalry. These troops were optimal for Greene because many of the 3d Continental Light Dragoons had been stationed in the Dorchester area in May 1780, and Lee's Legion cavalry had successfully raided and briefly taken Dorchester on 15 July during General Sumter's summer campaign. The horsemen knew the lay of the land. Greene furtively dashed sixty-five miles to Dorchester, leaving Thomson's on 28 November 1781.³⁷ He had every reason to believe that he could achieve tactical surprise of the Dorchester garrison as he had done moving his whole army from Fort Motte to within three miles of the British camp at Eutaw Springs only three months earlier.³⁸ Greene took every precaution along the way south, detaining possible Tories and avoiding settlements. Lee was ill and did not make the initial movement with Greene toward Dorchester. Col. Otho H. Williams, in command of Greene's regular infantry, supplies, and baggage, marched for Orangeburg where his force met Sumter's garrison.³⁹



Maryland State Art Collection

Otho Holland Williams, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1780

1 DECEMBER 1781: FORT DORCHESTER

Greene traveled south, slogging over byways, about fifty miles to the Four Hole Swamp Bridge, where he detached Capt. Robert Kirkwood's Delaware Continentals to hold the bridge until relieved by Sumter's troops from Orangeburg. Greene approached Dorchester via trails and ultimately the Four Hole Swamp Bridge Road. After crossing the Four Hole Swamp Bridge, Greene continued south, mucking through fifteen miles of flooded paths, again traveling the byways in an attempt to affect a surprise on the Dorchester garrison on 1 December. But Greene's approach was discovered by the British defenders and the garrison commander concentrated his forces to make a stand.⁴⁰

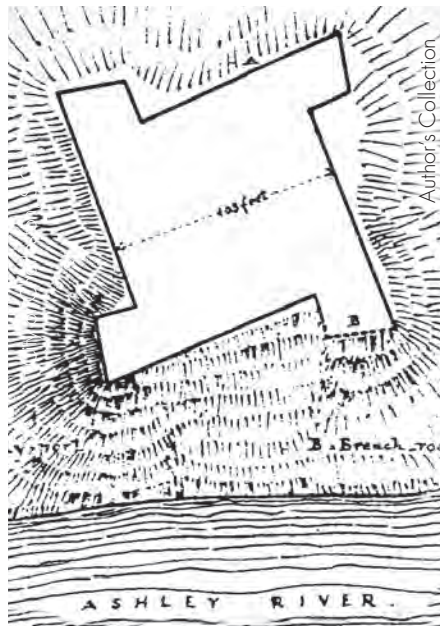
The British post in the village of Dorchester was protected by a tabby French and Indian War-era fortress that was built near the Ashley River and in the shadow of the massive brick steeple of the 1720 St. George's Parish Church. This older structure and a newly constructed redoubt were garrisoned by 400 infantry and some loyal militia; 150 South Carolina Royalist provincials, mounted as dragoons, were placed at a nearby plantation to support the Dorchester garrison.⁴¹

The British redoubt was about a half mile northeast of the colonial town, covering the intersection of the road toward Charlestown and the road east to Goose Creek and Moncks Corner.⁴² It was surrounded by abatis. The South Carolina Royalists, led by Maj. Thomas



National Park Service

The remains of the brick steeple of St. George's Parish Church in Dorchester



Author's Collection

A drawing of the old fort at Dorchester

Fraser, were still recovering from their defeat at Parker's Ferry.⁴³ They had been augmented by a few cavalymen from the Queen's Rangers and other smaller units. They were posted at the plantation of Georgia's Royal Governor, Sir James Wright, about two miles from Dorchester toward Charlestown.

Lt. Col. Wade Hampton's cavalry in the American vanguard approached

Dorchester and spotted some British troops outside their defensive earthworks. Hampton immediately charged across a bridge and the Americans killed eight or ten, wounded fifteen to twenty more, and took several prisoners.⁴⁴

Shortly after the initial engagement, the South Carolina Royalist dragoons sallied out of their position and engaged in a brief cavalry skirmish resulting in the retreat of the Redcoats into their fort. The British cavalry set up a classic ambush, but the American cavalymen did not take the bait. The fight with the British cavalry may have been a mile from the village, probably on the road southeast toward Charlestown. Greene arrived in Dorchester late in the afternoon and soon cut to pieces the enemy outside of his works.⁴⁵ Greene wrote to Sumter, "Hampton charged a party of Tories at Dorchester, drawing out the 'British Horse,' which, in turn, were 'driven in with such precipitation as produced an evacuation of the place that night.'"⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the exact location of these skirmishes remains unknown; the initial clash was probably on the main road northeast toward Goose Creek near the newly constructed

redoubt and “under the cover” of the cannons at the British fort.

Greene withdrew from Dorchester before the early December nightfall to a more easily defended position at Vandomere’s plantation. While the author has not definitively found this place, it was probably near a crossing of the Cypress Swamp and a route for speedy withdrawal up the Orangeburg Road or across Bacon’s Bridge, west of the upper Ashley River. In either location, if attacked in force, he could make a stand at a natural choke point while awaiting the arrival of his main army. Greene was informed that Stewart and much of the British field army, though still smarting from losses at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, was still an effective fighting force and was posted only eight miles away from Dorchester at Goose Creek.⁴⁷

Dorchester was a crossroads: one road coming from Charlestown by the Quarter House Tavern northwest to Dorchester-Orangeburg-Ninety Six to Fort Prince George, the gateway to the Cherokee Nation. Another road traveled northeast from Dorchester to Goose Creek and Moncks Corner and another road crossed the Ashley River to the west and into the South Carolina low country. Greene’s specific attack plan on Dorchester and its satellite camps is not presently known, though his approach was probably just down the road from Orangeburg, crossing Dorchester Creek and striking the newly constructed earthen redoubt. The tabby fort was virtually impenetrable with eighteenth-century can-



Library of Congress

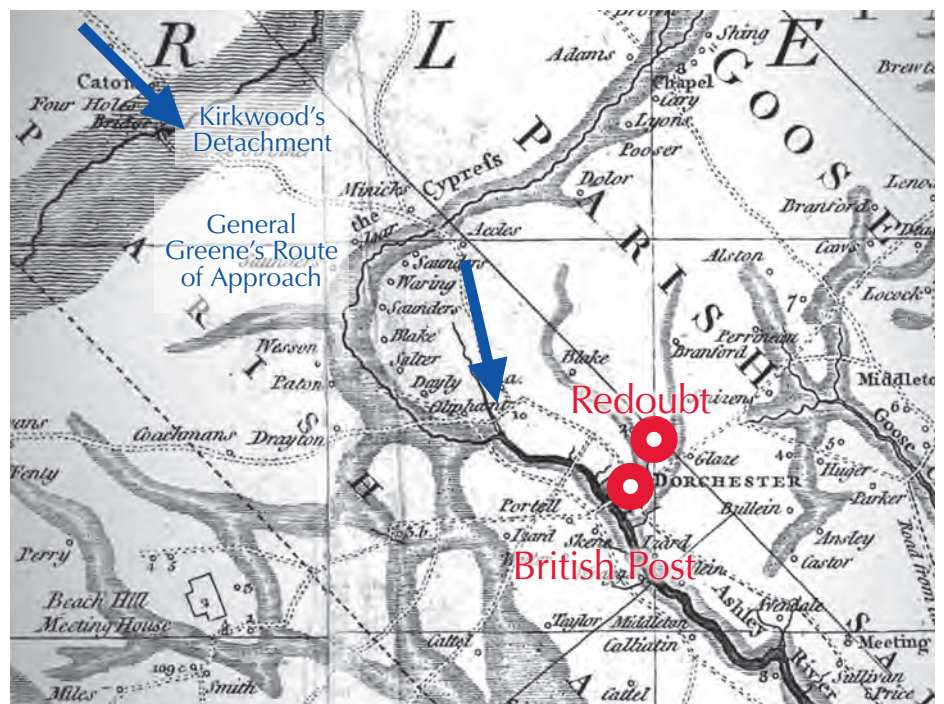
The ruins of the old fort at Dorchester, c. 1940

nons and would have required a siege to take it from a determined defense.

With the knowledge they were facing Greene personally, the British came to believe he had with him the whole Southern Department army. That night, after Colonel Stewart arrived (probably without more than a fast escort), the British quickly destroyed their stores, forage, and defensive works and threw their cannons in the Ashley River before falling back ten miles to the Quarter House Tavern fortifications on the Charlestown

Neck, only seven miles from the city. Upon learning of Greene’s appearance at Dorchester, the British posted at Goose Creek also withdrew closer to Charlestown preparing to defend the city from a direct attack by Greene.⁴⁸

Loyalist Stephen Jarvis, a trooper serving with the South Carolina Royal-



Map courtesy of the Birmingham Public Library

Excerpt from a 1780 map of South Carolina by William Faden showing Greene’s probable avenue of approach from Four Hole Swamp Bridge to Dorchester, which approximates the modern routes of U.S. Highway 78, Orangeburg Road, and Dorchester Road (South Carolina Highway 642). The colonial village of Dorchester is now a state historic site just south of Summerville, South Carolina.

ist cavalry, left his impression of General Greene's assault on Dorchester in his journal.

The Americans, after the British retired from the field of battle [Eutaw Springs, 8 September 1781], came and buried their dead and then retired to invest one other outpost [maybe Fairlawn or Wappataw], but our people had abandoned it, and joined the Army, which became so reduced that we were obliged to retreat, and in moving from Monks' Corner and crossing Goose Creek we took the route to Dorchester, and encamped at Sir James Wright's Plantation, a few miles this side of Dorchester.⁴⁹ We had a few Militia quartered in Dorchester. We had hardly taken up our ground before some of our Militia from Dorchester came running into Camp, some of them much wounded. A large body of the enemy had charged into Dorchester and surprised the Militia and retired again some miles from Dorchester.

The Cavalry was ordered to march, and we proceeded to Dorchester. I was ordered with two Dragoons and a few Militia forward in order to decoy the enemy, and bring them on, whilst Major Fraser, with the Cavalry well disposed for an

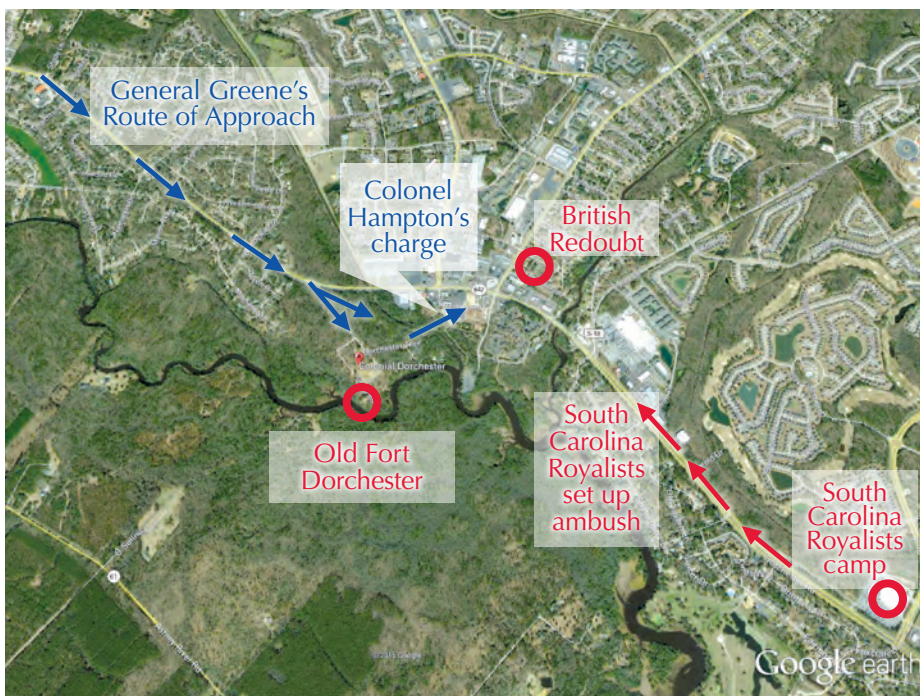
attack, kept some distance in my rear.⁵⁰ The Americans, who were ignorant of our Army being in that neighborhood, had the same design with myself, and made several feint charges, and then retired until they had drawn me a sufficient distance to make a successful charge. They had a body of Infantry in their rear. They at last charged me in earnest. I retreated and made the signal to Major Fraser.⁵¹ He advanced and met the enemy, who pulled up their horses within a very short distance, when Major Fraser gave the word and we dashed in among them, and slashing work we made great havoc amongst them, cutting them down and taking many prisoners—an Officer in his retreat took a foot-path that foot-passengers use in that hot country, and there is a row of trees between that and the main road. I pursued this Officer and had got so near as to touch his horse with the point of my sword. I saw their Infantry with trailed arms endeavoring to flank us. I wheeled about and called to Major Fraser, giving him this information, who ordered the Troops

to retire, which we did with the loss of only one man, he, poor fellow, was hung the next morning as a deserter from their Army. As we had no Infantry to support us, we were obliged to retire, which we did with a good many prisoners—how many we killed is uncertain—certainly several. The next day the [British] Army retired below the Quarter House, and this was our outpost.⁵²

The British commander, General Leslie, remarked in his report that he lacked sufficient "real" cavalry and had to use inexperienced mounted infantry who were no match for trained cavalry.⁵³ Greene's subordinates and friends congratulated him on his easy victory; implying that the British respected Greene as a foe, which undoubtedly factored into their decision to precipitously abandon Dorchester. Leslie had given orders to depart Dorchester if attacked in force. Leslie knew of Greene's move to Dorchester in time to append it to his letter of 1 December to General Clinton.⁵⁴

Greene remained in the Dorchester area only one day and recovered two iron cannons. He traveled from Vandomere's plantation to Warring's plantation on 2 December and then started his move twenty-two miles west, crossing the Edisto River at Parker's Ferry, to his new camp at Round O. Greene does not explain why he did not occupy Dorchester; he likely wanted to maintain his mobility, did not have the manpower to detach and garrison the town, and planned to let the local South Carolina Whigs oversee the territory. This was Greene's typical pattern as he did not attempt to garrison the villages of Camden, Ninety Six, or Augusta or the British forts—Motte, Dreadnaught/Galphin, Watson, Granby—after they fell to American control. He generally ordered the destruction of the British fortifications. Greene was also extremely short of ammunition and basic supplies and unable to mount an offensive operation directly against Charlestown, only nineteen miles from Dorchester.⁵⁵

General Greene's Raid on Dorchester and the Royalist Dragoons' Failed Ambush, 1 December 1781



Leslie reported to Clinton several days later,

Green came to Dorchester the 30th. Ultmo. with four Hundred Cavalry and light troops—his Army reported to be in his rear, a skirmish ensued with the Lt Dragoons, the Enemy retired, and during the night Colonel Stuart withdrew the post there, and fell back to the Quarter House. The Enemy's Cavalry have crossed the Edisto, I cannot fix where their Army is, but hope to give you a certain account before I close this. the reinforcement from Virginia is crossing the Santee. From the superiority of their Cavalry, and the mounted Militia it is difficult to get any certain intelligence. in short the whole country is in Arms, and I fancy Georgia will be their Object.⁵⁶

No document has placed Colonel Stewart at the initial skirmish at Dorchester, but rather he arrived during the cover of night and hastily withdrew the garrison to the works at Quarter House Tavern.

From Belleville Plantation, the main Southern Department army, commanded by Col. Otho Holland Williams marched with its heavy baggage on 3 December for Orangeburg and



National Archives

Engraving of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, from the portrait by Joseph Grassi

then south to Riddlespurger's plantation.⁵⁷ Williams then moved the army west to Ferguson's Mills, where it crossed the Edisto River on 5 December. It traveled south into Round O and rejoined Greene who had established his headquarters on Col. William Saunders' plantation.⁵⁸ This camp site was selected by Col. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, chief engineer of the southern army.⁵⁹

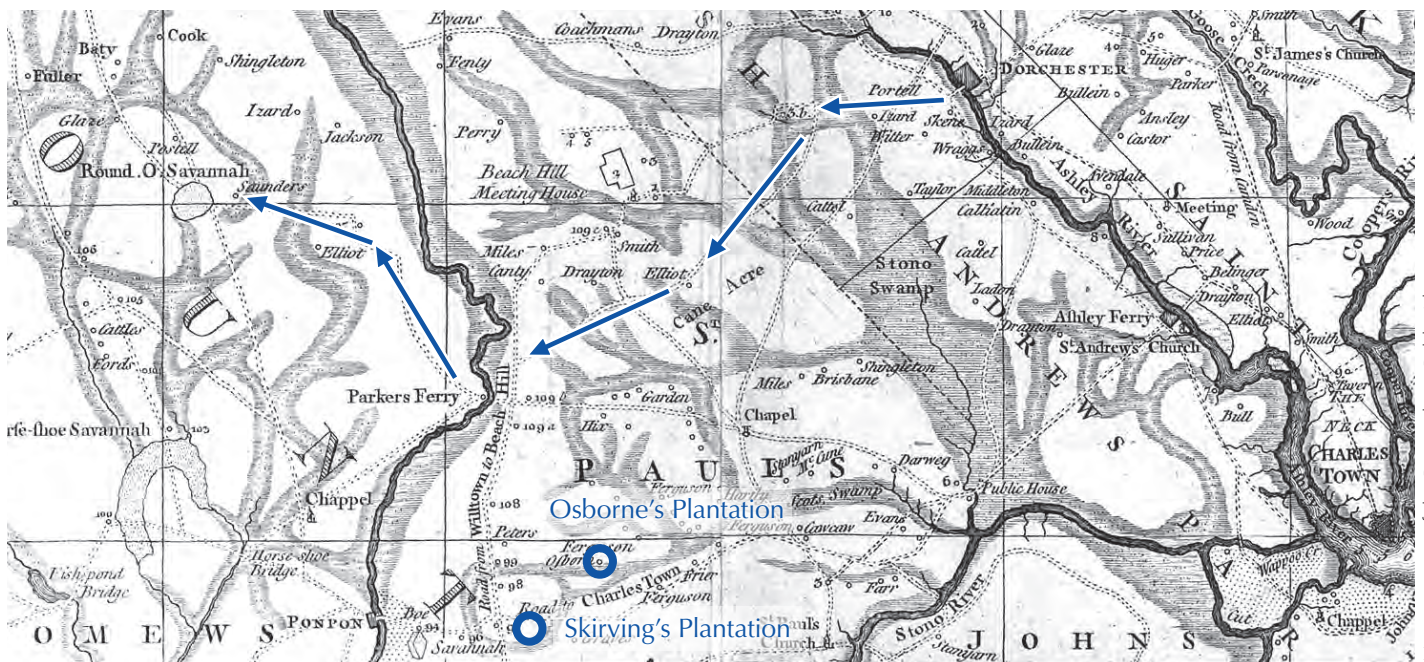
In the fall of 1781, the world strategic position changed. Greene had forced the British to abandon most of the interior of South Carolina; the French fleet had defeated the Royal Navy at the mouth of the Chesapeake; Washington and Rochambeau had defeated Lord

Cornwallis' army at Yorktown; several Caribbean colonies changed hands; India was engulfed in war; and Lord Frederick North's government foundered. Greene's push into the South Carolina low country and Leslie's conservative orders to hold Charlestown coincided to dramatically change the political geography of South Carolina and both sides' strategy. Greene began the year-long loose siege of the main southern British base, Charlestown; however, the sea lanes remained open to resupply Charlestown, and the British could come out of Charlestown in force by land to forage at will.

7 DECEMBER 1781: GREENE'S ROUND O HEADQUARTERS

General Greene established his new quarters one mile south of the modern Round O crossroads on 7 December 1781, twenty miles west of Dorchester. This camp, bisected by Round O Road, is on high ground, now called Davis Hill on some maps, just north of the conflu-

Excerpt from a 1780 map of South Carolina by William Faden. The blue arrows show General Greene's probable route from Dorchester to the plantation of Col. William Saunders, which is about one mile due east of the Round O Savannah.



Map courtesy of the Birmingham Public Library

ence of the Chessey and Fuller Swamp Creeks. It was surrounded by bogs and had potable water, and its approaches were readily defensible. The Continentals moved their camp to a second site in the area on 21 December 1781 and remained here until 12 January 1782. From Round O, roads led southeast to Parker’s Ferry across the Edisto River and north toward Ferguson’s Mills on the Edisto River.

This new site added over sixty miles to Greene’s logistical chain into North Carolina and Virginia, but it gave him easier access to support against the British strongholds in coastal Georgia, to gather food, supplies, and information flowing into Charlestown, and to control the South Carolina low country. To help control commerce and communications with Charlestown, Greene envisioned a “flying army” to cover the twenty miles between the Ashley and Edisto Rivers.⁶⁰ Greene assigned Lee’s Legion, with the 3d Continental Light Dragoons and some light infantry, who camped at John McQueen’s plantation south of the Ashley River, to gather intelligence on the British positions and to interdict communications and supplies headed to Charlestown via the roads between the Ashley and Edisto Rivers.⁶¹

Further, General Marion was assigned to control the land from the Ashley River to the east, including the branches of the upper Cooper River to the sea. Marion’s militia was reinforced with South Carolina state cavalry troops under Cols. Henry Hampton, Peter Horry, and Hezekiah Maham. Marion moved his headquarters ten miles south from St. Stephens to Huger’s Bridge on the upper east branch of the Cooper River, and his troops patrolled the approaches from the Ashley River to the Atlantic Ocean northeast of the city.⁶²

Greene also had to be mindful of the British post at Savannah. While the sea lanes were open to the British, strong British armies had marched out of Savannah overland to Charlestown in 1779 and 1780. The main Charlestown to Savannah land routes went through Jacksonborough, about fourteen miles south of Greene’s Round O camp. Maj. John Barnwell’s South Carolina militia guarded this area of the low country.

The British drove the cattle in the area



Library of Congress

Colonel Horry



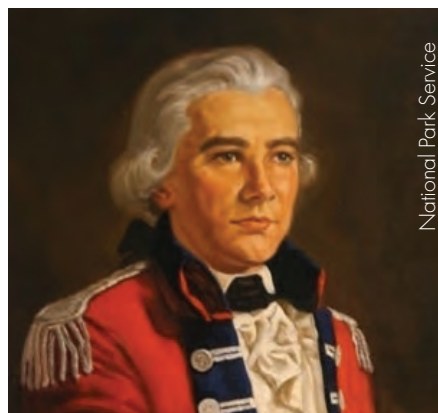
University of South Carolina

Drawing of William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham

between the Ashley and Edisto Rivers to Johns Island, repaired two redoubts at Stono Ferry, and positioned two armed galleys in the waterway to help protect that crossing onto British-held Johns Island.⁶³ Johns Island was strongly garrisoned and commanded by the tenacious defender of the British post at Ninety Six, Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger.⁶⁴ Leslie still had a city, army, and many Loyalist refugees with their slaves to feed and defend.

In mid-December, Greene believed that the British intended to attack his advance parties near Stono Ferry or up the Charlestown peninsula. The British did mount a raid to Dorchester but immediately withdrew toward Charlestown. Marion moved from the east branch of the Cooper River to the Dorchester area by 23 December to reinforce Lee to control the area between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers.⁶⁵

Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, portrait by Robert Wilson, c. 1978



National Park Service

General Sumter’s troops, after chasing Bloody Bill Cunningham’s and Williams’ Tory raiders, returned to the Orangeburg area. On 13 December, a detachment of sixty men under Maj. John Moore took control of the Four Hole Swamp Bridge on the road southeast from Orangeburg, through Dorchester, and on to Charlestown. The bridge had been held by Capt. Robert Kirkwood who then marched his veteran Delaware Continentals to Greene’s camp at Round O.⁶⁶

PLANNING THE NEXT AMERICAN OFFENSIVE

Lt. Col. John Laurens, former aide-de-camp to General Washington and son of the president of Congress, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, had joined one group of light infantry in its successful assault of Redoubt 10 at Yorktown. He then participated in negotiating the terms of surrender with Lord Cornwallis and departed for South Carolina on 5 November 1781. Laurens arrived at Thomson’s Belleville Plantation on the Congaree River in South Carolina on 28 November, just after Greene’s rapid departure for Dorchester; he caught up with Greene at Round O and was appointed to command Greene’s light infantry.⁶⁷

Greene detached Lee’s Legion to the east of Round O and the Edisto River to watch the British-held ferry from the mainland to Johns Island—Stono Ferry—on 7 December 1781. Lee established his quarters at Col. William Skirving’s Oak Lawn Plantation on

the Jacksonborough to Charlestown road. On 12 December, Lee moved six miles east to Sandy Hill and made a quick trip north to Bacon's Bridge to investigate intelligence of a British raid to Dorchester. He then relocated his camp to McGuire's plantation, about four miles northwest of Stono Ferry. Lee then traveled to Ferguson's plantation.⁶⁸

In mid-December 1781, Greene, with Lt. Cols. Lee and Laurens, began planning to capture Johns Island.⁶⁹ Greene needed the British-held beef on the island to feed his army and to deny the enemy food. Beefsteak would be a perfect addition for the anticipated meeting of the South Carolina General Assembly in January and for his reinforcements coming from Virginia. While Greene militarily outranked and was senior in age to these junior commanders, both Laurens and Lee were socially positioned above their commander, had superb political connections, and were scions of wealthy American families. Laurens, a consummate diplomat, had already earned the reputation for foolhardiness on the battlefield, and Lee needed to atone for his performance at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, where he could not be located at the end of the battle to lead his cavalry to deliver the coup de grace to the British rear.⁷⁰ Greene cautioned Lee, "I am afraid you are too confident of your strength, and have too much contempt for the enemies. . . . I hate islands for military operations where we have

not command of the water." Greene asked Lee to consider that, because of this lack of control, the timing of the tides would govern movement onto and off of the island and that the effort could not be supported from the mainland until additional supplies of ammunition arrived. Undoubtedly, being pushed by his subordinates to approve the across-water attack on Johns Island and considering the benefits of a victory, Greene relented to Lee's and Laurens' zeal and gave them his consent for the operation and offered whatever assistance that was "within his power."⁷¹ In anticipation of the raid, Lee moved his troops to McQueen's plantation on the main Jacksonborough to Charlestown road. Greene was unable to move the main army; he was very low on ammunition, and the Virginia Continentals were scheduled to leave before Pennsylvania reinforcements arrived.

Placed under Laurens' command were Kirkwood's Delaware infantry with some Virginia Continentals who moved across the Edisto River at Parker's Ferry and southeast to camp at Ferguson's by 20 December. Laurens initially posted his light infantry at Skirving's plantation on the Jacksonborough to Charlestown road in anticipation of operating against the British at the Stono Ferry. He moved his light infantry a few miles east to Ferguson's plantation by 27 December to join in the venture with Lee's Legion camped at McQueen's plantation.⁷²

On 11 December, Lee accurately estimated the British strength on Johns Island at 550 men. When Maj. James H. Craig took command of Johns Island in mid-December, his 82d Regiment of Foot likely accompanied him there along with remnants of various other regiments no longer posted in the Charlestown area.⁷³ Leslie wrote to Lord George Germain, "Major Craig with six hundred Men hold John and James Island, which form the left of our position."⁷⁴ The primary access to Johns Island from the mainland was to cross the Stono River at Stono Ferry. The mainland-side ferry landing, fortified by the retreating British in 1779, was the site of the 20 June 1779 attack by the Americans on British

Maj. Gen. Augustine Prévost's rear guard as he slowly withdrew back to Savannah across the South Carolina coastal islands.⁷⁵

Lee's Legion cavalry continued its patrols between the Edisto River and as far east as the Cooper River. They captured several British soldiers and their leader, Capt. Ludwig Kienen, on 19 December. The Legion's cavalry tangled with Loyalist cavalry at Dr. Alexander Garden's plantation on Goose Creek the next day and lost several troopers, including Capt. James Armstrong.⁷⁶

29–30 DECEMBER 1781: THE ABORTED ATTACK

Lee moved his Legion to John McQueen's plantation near Stono Ferry by 27 December 1781 to watch the British guarding the mainland-side landing of this ferry to Johns Island.⁷⁷ Laurens, in command of the joint mission because of his senior date of rank, also shifted his light infantry and camped at Ferguson's plantation as he and Lee planned to attack the British post at the island-side Stono Ferry landing during the night of 29–30 December.⁷⁸ Laurens and Lee decided to postpone their strike due to the presence of additional British forces on Johns Island near the Stono Ferry landing and because Greene could not immediately support their assault from his Round O camp, some twenty-five miles away. The British withdrew from their redoubts on the mainland side of Stono Ferry on 31 December 1781.⁷⁹ Thus Greene, Laurens, and Lee returned to their plan to move against the British garrison and coveted supplies on Johns Island.

Unfortunately, the Americans were unaware of British intentions. Major Craig, with experienced British regulars, had orders to withdraw from the mainland side of Stono Ferry onto Johns Island if faced with the Americans in force. Leslie wrote to Clinton on 27 December 1781, "Major Craig is on John's Island, and occupies Two Redoubts at Stono on the Main, with the remains of Lord Cornwallis's Army about 500 Men (including General Browne's Provincial Regiment) and 100

John Laurens, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1780



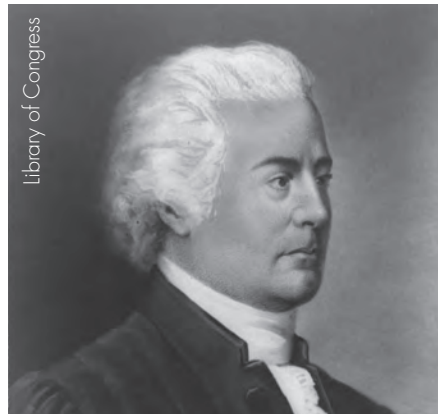
National Portrait Gallery

Cavalry; it is a ticklish post, but it commands the water Communication; he has orders to withdraw it to the Island if the Enemy come in *force*.”⁸⁰

JANUARY 1782: NO, THE WAR IS NOT OVER, YET — THE JACKSONBOROUGH ASSEMBLY

The South Carolina General Assembly dissolved during the British siege of Charlestown in April 1780 and had not convened since. South Carolina’s governor, John Rutledge, was given extraordinary war powers to operate the government in exile; he called for general elections during December 1781 and for the General Assembly to reconstitute its democratically elected representative government in South Carolina. After discussions between Governor Rutledge and Greene and analysis of the false intelligence of reinforcements coming to the British in Charlestown, the decision was finally made to reconvene the South Carolina General Assembly at Jacksonborough in January 1782.⁸¹ Because many of the enlistments of the Virginia Continentals expired, Greene dismissed the Virginians from his camp at Round O on 1 January 1782, but he knew that reinforcements from Yorktown, Virginia, were already in South Carolina moving toward his camp.⁸² Greene, Lee, and Laurens again moved forward with their plan to attack the British across the Stono River on Johns Island and to capture the invaluable livestock.

The British still rode out of Charlestown at will to forage, gather intelligence, and keep the Americans at bay. To the north of Charlestown, the British held Daniel, Sullivans, and Long Islands (Isle of Palms), and Mt. Pleasant, and patrolled the Wando and Stono Rivers by galley. Marion posted Col. Richard Richardson Jr.’s South Carolina militia at Cainhoy on the Wando River to monitor British activities on Daniel Island and on that river. British Maj. William Brereton, moving northeast from Daniel Island, crossed Beresford Creek in force, raided Barbant’s plantation, and successfully defended an attack by Richardson’s troops at Videau’s Bridge on 3 January 1782.⁸³ Brereton continued his foraging expedition uninterrupted as



John Rutledge, c. 1790

far northeast as Quinby Bridge on the headwaters of the East Branch of the Cooper River.⁸⁴ Leslie reported this raid to Clinton.

Having received such information of General Marians situation on the north side of the Cooper, as to induce me to detach against him; a Party under the command of Major Brereton, consisting of the Cavalry, Falk Corps & Volunteers of Ireland, was crossed to Daniels Island, and moved from thence: a Small Corps under Capt: Roberts of the 63d Regt: marched also from Haddrels Point, the whole to form a junction & proceed against the Enemy; but they having got intelligence of our design, and it being apprehended they would in consequence retire, it was thought advisable to send on the Cavalry. They were accordingly pushed forward & found the Enemy,

Portrait of Richard Richardson Jr. by an unknown artist

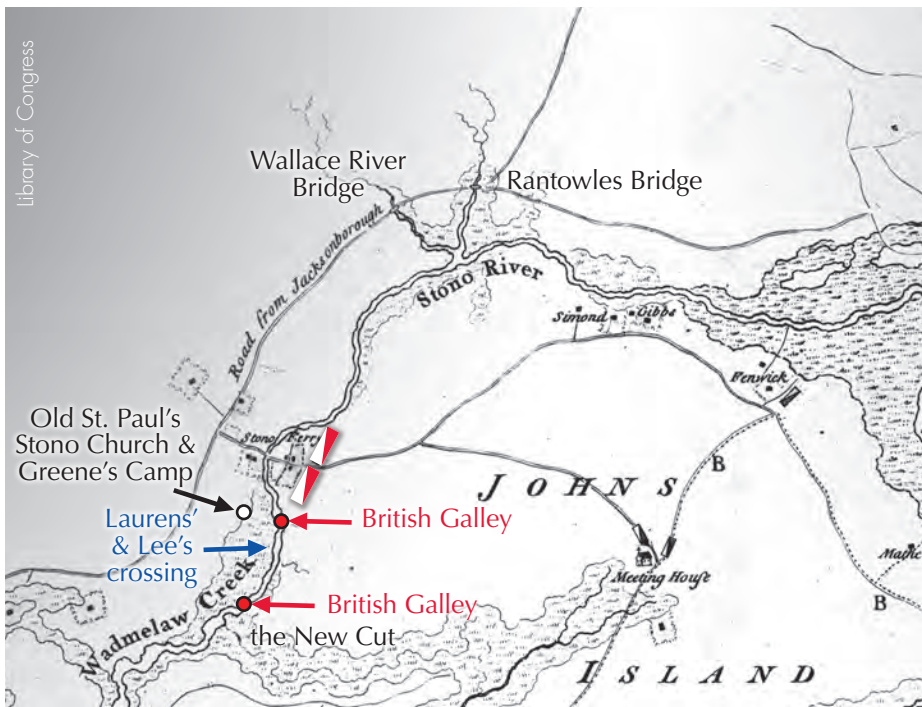


to the number of 400 drawn up on Horse-back to receive them, seventy of the Cavalry under Major Coffin charged with great Gallantry, cut to pieces and took near 100 of the Rebels. The whole returned to their different stations the proceeding day, with the loss of Capt: Campbell of the South Carolina Regt. Killed, and Capt: Campbel of the same Regt: & two privates Wounded.⁸⁵

Greene was reinforced by the arrival of Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair and a detachment of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware Continentals on 4 January 1782. Greene immediately detached 100 Pennsylvania and Delaware Continentals, commanded by Maj. James Hamilton, to reinforce Laurens’ light infantry for the assault on Johns Island.⁸⁶ With St. Clair’s reinforcements in camp, Greene also detached units of the Continental Light Dragoons and artillery and South Carolina state troops under General Wayne on 9 January 1782 to assume command in Georgia to begin the recapture of that state.⁸⁷

NIGHT OF 12–13 JANUARY 1782: ATTACK ON JOHNS ISLAND

To support the planned assault on Johns Island, General Greene’s main army departed Round O on 12 January 1782, crossed the Edisto River at Parker’s Ferry, and marched to camp at the old St. Paul’s Stono Parish Church. From this position, Greene could support Laurens’ and Lee’s movement onto Johns Island and block any British response from Stono Ferry to Laurens’ crossing point, at least on the mainland side. In advance of the main army, Maj. Richard Call’s 3d Continental Light Dragoons camped at the old St. Paul’s Stono Parish Church, near “Church Flats” and the “New Cut.” Greene halted the Maryland and North Carolina troops and artillery at “the burnt church” to reorder the march; he then sent the Pennsylvania brigade and artillery, followed by the Maryland brigade, to traverse the Edisto River and on to his old St. Paul’s Stono Parish Church camp.⁸⁸



Excerpt from a 1780 map showing Laurens' and Lee's invasion of Johns Island, 12–13 January 1782

Laurens and Lee planned to cross the Stono River at the New Cut ford just after midnight of Sunday, 13 January; attack the British ferry guards posted on the island-side landing; and scout Johns Island. Because Laurens and Lee had no boats, they identified two places where men could ford the New Cut at dead low tide and have firm marsh ground on the Johns Island side (instead of pluff mud) to traverse to the island.⁸⁹ A low-water ford with firm ground approaches on both sides was probably well known to local residents who could avoid the ferry's toll, schedule, and extra travel distance if approaching from or departing to the south. A complete surprise crossing of the open tidal marsh and frigid waterway at night, carefully guarded by two nearby British gunboats and a galley, was the key element of this bold plan.

Laurens camped his light troops at Shubrick's plantation on 11 January and planned to travel east to Col. William Skirving's plantation. Greene, to support the crossing and to prevent the British from blocking Laurens' and Lee's communications with his headquarters and the mainland (or their retreat back to

same), moved his army to old St. Paul's Stono Parish Church, about two miles southwest of Stono Ferry, on 13 January. To create a ruse, on Saturday afternoon, 12 January, Laurens and Hamilton marched their men from camp toward Dorchester and watched Ashley Ferry for any British countermoves.⁹⁰ Laurens abruptly countermanded their advance and headed for the rendezvous area one mile from the New Cut crossing point.

Lee was no stranger to planning and executing cross-tidal marsh operations, at night and at low tide. At Paulus Hook, New Jersey, on 18–19 August 1779, Lee's men traversed open marshlands and waist-deep canals (in the summer) at night with the critical timing of low tide, forded a moat, and successfully surprised the British garrison and attacked several British gun emplacements and fortifications. They were unable to secure all of the fortifications or hold them for long, but he did embarrass the British and took prisoners. Lee was cited by Congress and awarded a gold medal for his success, but he was also court-martialed and acquitted for his risky leadership on this raid and incurred the ire of his fellow officers.⁹¹

The exact location of the fordable portion of the New Cut in the late eighteenth century has not been discovered by this author; however, it appears that the Americans probably launched

their attack from Goshen Point, so as to cross the marsh and waterway at the easiest place. This is about two miles southwest of the historic Stono Ferry, site of the 1779 battle of the same name. The New Cut has been bypassed by the modern Intracoastal Waterway but is still navigable by small craft.⁹² There are still shallow places at low tide in the New Cut depicted on modern National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration navigation charts.

According to plan, Laurens and Lee joined their forces at their meeting point about one mile from the New Cut, where Laurens addressed the troops. Local guides were to lead the columns in silence and darkness to the selected ford. The 450 men were divided into two divisions, one to be personally led by Lee and his Legion officer, Maj. Michael Rudolph, and the other division by Maj. James Hamilton of the Pennsylvania line.⁹³

At midnight as planned, Lee's Legion infantry traversed over 3,000 feet of open ground, tidal flats and waded across the New Cut canal at low tide. There was no moonlight that night.⁹⁴ Hamilton's division got lost by missing the turn onto the road to the ford, marched past the turnoff, and failed to make the crossing. Despite guides being sent to locate Hamilton's lost division, it did not arrive at the assembly point on the north side of the New Cut area until daylight, hours too late to ford the river. With only one-half of the Americans present, Lee was forced to withdraw his division back to the other side, at night, on a rising tide fighting the current, in breast-high January water, and over the open marshland as he was without sufficient forces for self-protection.⁹⁵ Lee's men suffered hypothermia because there were no fires to warm them on the island, and they had to march a distance on their return through the water to again get dry and warm. The average January water temperature was probably less than 50 degrees, and the night January air averaged about 37 degrees. It is not known if Laurens' plan to swim the cavalry and officers' horses over the Stono was successful.⁹⁶ Amazingly, the American operation was not discovered, and no men were

lost in the aborted raid. Sgt. Maj. William Seymour of the Delaware line recorded that

Stono Ferry . . . which we reached on the twelfth of January, 1782, we having had detachments from the Pennsylvanians and Carolinians joined us, the whole amounting to four hundred men, which, together with Lee's infantry and a detachment from the Maryland Line, amounting to about three hundred men, the whole amounting to about seven hundred men. We came before this place on Saturday, the twelfth, at night, and thought to cross the river on Johns Island at low water, which we might have effected if we had not been too late, the tide making so fast that it was rendered impracticable. On Tuesday, the fifteenth, the infantry of the Delaware Regiment entered the Island, making several prisoners, refugees, the British Army having evacuated the Island. Sixteenth, we marched to Stono Church, thirteen miles. Seventeenth, moved our encampment about two miles towards Parker's Ferry.⁹⁷

In clear hindsight, it appears that stopping the assault with no losses was a great blessing for the Americans. The operation achieved one of its tactical goals of convincing the British to evacuate the island, although none of the prized cattle were captured. If Laurens and Lee had succeeded, they would have had about 450 very cold and wet infantrymen on an island of over eighty-three square miles, outside of any practical support from Greene, without artillery or cavalry, pitted against a stronger enemy, who was warm, dry, and well-equipped with infantry, artillery, and cavalry. In crossing chest-deep water, those men would have to hold their muskets, as well as their cartridge boxes, over their heads. Walking that distance in the water, with a musket and gear over one's head, would have been tiring, and it is likely that more than one soldier would have dropped his weapon, slid on the mud, or fell in a hole. When that happens, ammunition is ruined, and that soldier would cease to be combat

effective. Most of the British were posted on the eastern side of the island, over six miles from the Americans' landing point. The time to traverse this distance would give the British officers time to organize a spirited defense. There were some similarities with this plan and Lee's controversial raid on the British-held fortifications at Paulus Hook, New Jersey.⁹⁸ The complexity of the operation, the ultra-precise timing because of the requirement for an extraordinarily low, slack tide and moonless darkness, and the many variables that could lose the element of surprise doomed the enterprise of these two ultra-aggressive officers.⁹⁹

British commander General Leslie had learned of the Americans' bold plan against Johns Island on 12–13 January but chose to order a withdrawal instead of mounting battle.¹⁰⁰ Leslie later wrote to General Clinton on 29 January 1782 that

On the 13th: of December (?) I received intelligence of Mr: Green's intentions of detaching a very strong Corps against Major Craig, (who was judiciously posted at William Gibbs's on John's Island) supported by his whole Army, which had crossed the Eddisto for that purpose, and moved towards Stono. notwithstanding their great superiority I am sensible they would not have succeeded in their attempt, which was hazardous, tho' well concerted, yet very little was to be gained by their defeat, which must have been partial, and so many circumstances concurring to induce me to prevent the attempt, that I ordered the Island to be evacuated; Major Craig crossed that night and the following day to Perrineau's on James Island, & took post there, near to the four Redoubts, Colonel Moncreif had previously directed to be constructed, for the more effectual security of that Island.¹⁰¹

Greene did not control the coastal waterways, and the British already had gunboats on station to contest the crossing. He had no boats to move artillery or supplies; he could possibly have pushed a few more men across the tidal flats but to what good outcome? Greene explained the mission's failure in a re-

port to South Carolina Governor John Rutledge and to John Hanson, president of the Continental Congress.

To Governor John Rutledge of South Carolina

Mr Ozborns Plantation [S.C.]

January 16th [1782]

Dear Sir

We have long had in contemplation an enterprise upon Johns Island. On fryday last [11 January] the Troops were put in motion to carry it into execution. We were fortunate in the general movements both in point of time, and secrecy, as the Enemy had got no intelligence of our designs. On Saturday in the afternoon the Troops, which were to make the attack, began their march from this place for Newcut[,] commanded by Lt Col [John] Laurens and Lt Col [Henry] Lee and the whole army followed the same evening in order to support the enterprise.

The Light troops, arrivd in good order within three quarters of a mile of the crossing place, on to Johns Island about twelve oClock, and the disposition was soon made for crossing. The place where the troops were to cross is a fording place of Newcut, only passable at low water, and then only practicable with infantry and those with

Nathanael Greene, portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1783



great difficulty. Between one and two at which time the tide served the troops moved to the crossing place[.] One column led by Lt Col Lee got over, but unfortunately the other Column led by Major Hambleton [Hamilton] from the darkness of the night and by not moving exactly at the same moment the first column did, got lost and tho they got out of the way but a small distance, yet it was so long before they were found that the tide had risen so high as to be impossible and the other troops were obliged to recross. The enemy had a Galley and a couple of gun boats to guard the pass which prevented our passing in the day. Sunday Night [13 January] the enemy retreated from the Island.

On Monday we attempted to drive the galley from her position but the distance was too great to do her much injury, however that night she quitted her position and went up the river towards Edisto Island. Co[1] Laurens crossed on[to] the Island with a small party of Infantry and a few Cavalry at Stono Ferry by the help of a small boat which we carried down on a waggon. A few straggling prisoners were taken and the enemies baggage and stores on board a S[c]hooner very narrowly escaped. The Col attacked her very briskly with his infantry but for want of a field piece she effected her [return?]. A field piece was got over the river as soon as possible but she had got out of reach before its arrival. We have got territory but we mist the great object of the enterprise, which is the more to be regreted as we find the plan would have succeeded equal to our most sanguine wishes, had it not been for the accident of the columns missing its way. I feel no less mortification upon the occasion from the chagrine and disappointment of the Officers who were to conduct the enterprise, than from the loss of so important an object, as three or four hundred prisoners from which many good consequences might have been expected. The design was happily conceivd and to the point of execution fortunately conducted and

then blasted by one of those accidents which human foresight cannot guard against.

The Enemy retreated to James Island leaving some few stores behind them and destroying some others. I am with great [respect?] your Excellencys most obt humble

N GREENE

Greene went on to write to John Hanson, president of Congress, describing the mission and lamenting its failure: “Had it succeeded it would have been both important and splendid.”¹⁰²

Lee explained the mission’s failure in his book thirty years later.

How often do we find military operations frustrated by the unaccountable interposition of accident, when every exertion in the power of the commander has been made to prevent the very interruption which happens? No doubt these incidents generally spring from negligence or misconduct; and, therefore, might be considerably diminished, if not entirely arrested, by unceasing attention. When the van turned into the marsh, Lee, as has been mentioned, halted to give a minute or two for taking off boots and shoes, and did not move until lieutenant colonel Laurens, who had been sent for, came up and informed him that every section was in place. From this time Laurens continued with Lee, and in the very short space which occurred before the leading section of Laurens reached the point of turning into the marsh did the mistake occur which put an end to our much desired enterprise. Lieutenant colonel Lee believing the intervention of mistake impracticable, as the sections were all up, and as the march through the marsh would be slower than it had been before, did not direct one of his staff, as he had done heretofore, to halt at the point where the change in the course of the route occurred. This omission cannot be excused. This precaution, although now neglected

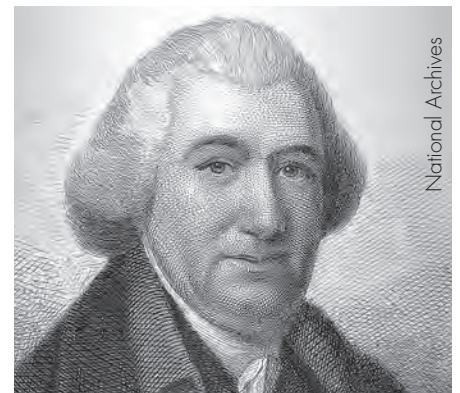
in consequence of the official communication then received that the sections were all in place, and the short distance to the marsh—the experience of this night proves that however satisfactorily the march may have been conducted, and however precisely in place the troops may be, yet that no preventive of mistake should be neglected. Had the practice been followed at the last change of course, which had uniformly taken place during the previous march, the fatal error would not have been committed, and this concluding triumph to our arms in the South would not have been lost.¹⁰³

The day after the aborted strike on Johns Island, Greene detached his artillery to fire on the British galleys guarding the low-tide ford. This artillery duel did not cause the British galleys to withdraw.¹⁰⁴

New York Loyalist Maj. John Coffin, riding with forty-five provincial dragoons out of their Quarter House post, clashed with the American detachment watching Dorchester and captured its lieutenant, John Kelty, and six Continental Light Dragoons on 14 January. Kelty’s Dorchester area patrol was quickly replaced by one led by Lt. Henry Bell.¹⁰⁵

The next day, on 15 January, Colonel Laurens’ light troops with the Delaware Continentals crossed the New Cut again and found that the British rear guard had departed Johns Island

Etching of John Hanson, from a portrait by Charles Willson Peale, c. 1782



and had crossed to James Island, where the British had erected additional redoubts to protect their movement.¹⁰⁶ The spoils collected were some stragglers captured and a small quantity of stores not removed or destroyed. Laurens' men fired at the schooner ferrying the last men and cattle from Johns Island to James Island. Laurens sent for a cannon to attack the boat; however, the British got almost all of their men and supplies off the island without loss. Greene did not have the forces to occupy Johns Island nor did he want them trapped on an island, so the Americans turned Johns Island into a no-man's-land.

16 JANUARY 1782: TO GUARD THE ASSEMBLY

By 18 January 1782, the General Assembly had a quorum of both houses, thus reestablishing the constitutional legislature of the Palmetto State.¹⁰⁷ General Greene marched southwest from St. Paul's Stono Church eighteen miles (as the crow flies) to camp at Col. William Skirving's plantation to protect the South Carolina General Assembly gathered in Jacksonborough.¹⁰⁸ Greene established his headquarters at Skirving's Oak Lawn Plantation on the main Charlestown Road while the legislature elected new constitutional officers and debated how to deal with the Loyalists left in the state and how

to fund the military's operations. The British could not intimidate the South Carolina General Assembly gathering in Jacksonborough by land or water without fighting through Greene's army. Many of the state's top Continental and militia officers were elected to serve in the General Assembly, including Generals Huger, Gadsden, Sumter, Pickens, and Marion.

2 FEBRUARY 1782

General Greene moved the army's main camp again on 2 February about one mile farther northeast to "Osborne's" camp; both camps were called "Pon Pon, South Carolina," by Greene.¹⁰⁹ Greene's Southern Department army remained at Osborne's plantation until 22 March 1782, when Greene moved to his new camp just above Dorchester at Bacon's Bridge over the upper Ashley River.¹¹⁰ Lee, frustrated over the gossip about his performance at Eutaw Springs, resigned and returned to Virginia.¹¹¹

The war would not end in South Carolina until the British evacuated Charlestown in December 1782. Although the British Parliament suspended offensive operations in February 1782, the British were forced to continue to make raids into the low-country plantations for food for the garrison, citizens, and refugees

crowded into the Charlestown area. Loyalist Col. Benjamin Thompson, later called Count Rumford, led a successful assault out of Charlestown in late February into the lower Santee River area, scattering Marion's troops at Durant's (Wambaw) and Tidyman's plantations while many of the senior American officers attended the General Assembly in Jacksonborough. In the British army's last major "rice raid" to the Port Royal—Combahee River area in August 1782, Col. John Laurens was tragically killed.

In the three and one-half months since November 1781, Greene's tiny army, with support of the South Carolina state troops and Georgia partisans, commenced the reconquest of Georgia, watched the British withdraw all Crown support from North Carolina, and forced the British to move even closer to Charlestown, from about a 35-mile radius to within about eight miles of the city. This started Greene's final phase of his Southern Campaign, the siege of Charlestown.



General Greene's encampments, 16 January–22 March 1782. The sites can be found on either side of the Charlestown Road, which is modern U.S. Highway 17.



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The author especially thanks historians Harvey Teal, Keith Gourdin, and James Arnett for their assistance with his work on this campaign and their understanding of the local sites and geography; Dr. Jim Piecuch for his help with the British Headquarters Papers and for reviewing this manuscript; and John “Jack” Buchanan, Bill Anderson, Ian Saberton, and J. D. Lewis for reading this manuscript and offering many worthwhile suggestions.

NOTES

1. Henry Laurens, a wealthy South Carolina merchant and planter, served twice as president of the Continental Congress. He had several plantations including one in the modern Santee State Park, just northwest of I-95 near Santee, South Carolina.

2. Dennis M. Conrad, ed., *Papers of General Nathanael Greene* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 9:573. Wantoot Plantation, the home of Daniel Ravenel, now under the waters of Lake Moultrie, served as a British forward camp from 13 October 1781 to 22 November 1781, when the British drew closer to Charlestown. See <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/wantoot.htm>.

3. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 14 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:573. South Carolina Loyalist militia Col. Hezekiah Williams and Maj. William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham were principal South Carolina back-country raiders in the fall of 1781, conducting the infamous “Bloody Scout” raid.

4. Ltrs, Greene to Gov. Rutledge, 9 Sep 1781, and Greene to Thomas McKean, 11 Sep 1781, both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:308, 328–33.

5. Ltr, Greene to McKean, 11 Sep 1781, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:332. The British actually continued to occupy these posts until raids by the Americans in November and December 1781.

6. Ltr, Greene to Sevier, 1 Sep 1781, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:277n3, 341–42.

7. With British Southern Department commander, Lord Cornwallis, an American prisoner after Yorktown, Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie arrived in Charleston and relieved Brig. Gen. Paston Gould on 8 November 1781 as the commander [of] the British Southern Department. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 10 Nov 1781, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:557n1, 579, 605n2; Patrick O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the*

Carolinas, Volume 3, 1781 (Lillington, N.C.: Blue House Tavern Press, 2005), p. 549n700.

8. Ltr, Clinton to Leslie, 28 Oct 1781, in British Headquarters Papers in North America (Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester), vol. 33, 1 Oct–30 Nov 1781, p. 3850 (microfilm at David Library of the American Revolution).

9. Maj. James H. Craig arrived in Charlestown from Wilmington, North Carolina, in late November 1781. He was then detailed to relieve Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger on Johns Island. Ltr, North Carolina Gov. Martin to Greene, 28 Nov 1781, *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:634, 635n9; 10: 84; O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:395; Ian Saberton, ed., *The Cornwallis Papers: The Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Theatre of the American Revolutionary War*, 6 vols. (East Sussex, U.K.: Naval and Military Press, 2010), 6:179. Some sources report the British evacuation of Wilmington as 14 November 1781. *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:642n3. Craig brought 1,000 Loyalists and slaves with him from North Carolina further compounding Leslie’s logistical problems in Charlestown.

10. O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:401–02, 405–06, 409–10.

11. Robert S. Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 104–05; Ltr, Ferguson to Cornwallis, 14 Jun 1780, in *The Cornwallis Papers*, 1:106.

12. Ltr, Greene to Sumter, 2 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:517–18, 570.

13. Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), in *The Cornwallis Papers*, 1:117n9. It appears that General Cunningham and John Lawrence returned to Charlestown while Williams, Cunningham, and Cheney continued on their infamous “Bloody Scout” raid. No copy of the British orders for this raid has been located, but they all eventually returned to British-controlled Charlestown, and this author believes the raid was at minimum informally sanctioned.

14. Ltrs, Sumter to Greene, 1 May 1781, in 8:244; Sumter to Greene, 14 Nov 1781, in 9:575, 615; Sumter to Greene, 22 Dec 1781, in 10:89–90. All in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*.

15. Lee operated with South Carolina militia Brig. Gen. Francis Marion to raid Georgetown, South Carolina, and to capture Forts Watson and Motte; he worked with Sumter’s brigade to capture Fort Granby; his Legion captured Fort

Galphin/Dreadnaught; he worked with South Carolina militia General Andrew Pickens and Georgia militia Col. Elijah Clarke to capture the two forts in Augusta; and rejoined Greene for the assault on Ninety Six.

16. Henry Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, ed. Robert E. Lee (1869; repr., New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 518; Jim Piecuch and John Beakes, “Light Horse Harry” Lee in the War for Independence (Mount Pleasant, S.C.: Nautical and Aviation Publishing, 2013), pp. 210–11.

17. Robert K. Wright Jr., *The Continental Army* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1983), pp. 277–79; Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, p. 518. Ltrs, George Washington to Greene, 31 Oct 1781, 9:504–06 and n2, 603, 617; Morris to Greene, 2 Dec 1781, 9:653–54; Greene to Lee, 7 Dec 1781, 10:12. All in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*.

18. Ltr, Greene to Georgia Delegates, 25 Aug 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:238–39.

19. Privy Counselors John Lewis Gervais, Col. Charles Pinckney, and Daniel Huger left Charleston on 13 April 1780 with Governor Rutledge. Henry Laurens; Maj. Pierce Butler; the South Carolina Adjutant General, Lt. Col. Francis Marion; Roger Smith; Col. Daniel Horry; General Isaac Huger; and other state officials were not in Charlestown when it fell. David R. Chesnut and C. James Taylor, eds., *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 16 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968–2002), 15:277, 294n5. The South Carolina General Assembly gave Governor Rutledge extraordinary dictatorial powers to run the government in exile in 1780.

20. Ltr, Greene to Sumter, 10 Sep 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:325n3, 578n2, 647n5. Rutledge and Greene first discussed calling for the General Assembly to meet in Camden but later decided on Jacksonborough when Greene was reinforced and Leslie was not. See in *ibid.*, 10:51, 101, 118, 139.

21. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 2 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:521, 549, 557, 573. Marion reported that the British regiments posted at Wappataw were the 63d and Volunteers of New York provincials.

22. Ltrs, Wade Hampton to Greene, 3 Nov 1781, and Harden to Greene, 7 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:524, 543, 546. Pocotaligo, site of the British Fort Balfour that was captured by Harden on 13 April 1781, controlled the main overland route from Savannah to Charlestown.

23. Ltrs, Sevier to Greene, 9 Nov 1781, in 9:552, 575; Eggleston to Greene, 14 Nov 1781, in 9:572, 582. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Murray's Ferry crossed the Santee River north of modern Pineville, South Carolina, near U.S. Highway 52's bridge over the Santee.

24. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 14 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:573. Henry Laurens owned Mt. Tacitus plantation on the south side of the Santee River in the modern Santee State Park, near Santee, South Carolina.

25. Ltr, Greene to George Washington, 21 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:605; and the resulting letters at 594, 612–13, 618, 630–31, 641–43. Isaac Shelby's recollections are found in an appendix to his letter to William Hill, 14 Aug 1814, from the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, published in *Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 3 (August 1938): 367–77.

26. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 18 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:589–91, 605, 612, 618, 630–31, 641; Ltr, Isaac Shelby to William Hill, 26 Aug 1814, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, in *Journal of Southern History* 4, no. 3 (August 1938): 376–77; Ltr, Leslie to Clinton, 4 Dec 1781, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, vol. 34, 1–30 Dec 1781, p. 3927. Amazingly, the Fair Lawn redoubt is extant in a Moncks Corner subdivision. See <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/fairlawn.htm>.

27. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 10 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:557, 631. Wappataw Meeting House was located on 15 Mile Landing Road (S-10-584) near U.S. Highway 17, north of Charleston; its graveyard is extant. See <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/wappatawbr.htm>.

28. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 30 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:642–43 and n4, 649. The Quarter House Tavern was near the junction of the main roads from Dorchester and Goose Creek into the city, about six miles north, near the Charleston International Airport. See <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/quarterhouse.htm>.

29. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 30 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:642n4, 650n2. Colleton's Fair Lawn Barony originally contained 12,500 acres on the headwaters of the western branch of the Cooper River. It was used by the British as a forward post, hospital, and supply depot.

30. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 1 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:646,

and see also 10:5n4, 45n2; Ltr, Leslie to Lord George Germain, 3 Jan 1782, in British Public Records Office (PRO), Kew Gardens, U.K., 30/55 # 4035.

31. See *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:586, 591, 594.

32. J. D. Lewis, *North Carolina Patriots, 1775–1783: Their Own Words*, vol. 1, *The North Carolina Continental Line* (Little River, S.C.: J. D. Lewis, 2012), p. 145. On paper in 1781, a fully staffed Continental infantry regiment of one battalion had 717 officers and men, usually arranged in 9 companies, of which 8 were regular infantrymen and 1 was light infantrymen. Rarely did the Continental Army ever achieve or maintain this level of manning, and, this late in the war, regiments that started with 700 men were down to less than 200 after consolidations. Wright, *The Continental Army*, pp. 158–67.

33. *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:625; Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, p. 524.

34. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 21 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:606, but see Sumter's letter with opposite (probably older) intelligence, 24 Nov 1781, in 9:622; and for more from Marion on the British withdrawal from Moncks Corner, see his report to Greene on 25 Nov 1781, in 9:628.

35. Ltr, Leslie to Clinton, 30 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:628n2; PRO 30/55; Ltr, Marion to Greene, 30 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:641–42.

36. Ltr, Greene to George Washington, 21 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:605—"We are on our march to 4 holes."

37. Ltr, Greene to Pres. McKean, 9 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:17. Colonial Dorchester is now a state park located on South Carolina Highway 642, just south of Summerville, South Carolina, with its extant colonial-era tabby fort and brick church steeple base ruins. It is located at the head of navigation on the east bank of the Ashley River. See <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/fortdorchester.htm>.

38. Stewart, defending himself from potential criticism of the failure of his intelligence, reported to Lord Cornwallis that his spies had failed to give him warning of Greene's approach prior to the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Private Ltr, Stewart to Cornwallis, 26 Sep 1781, in *The Cornwallis Papers*, 6:168–70. O'Kelly reports British Maj. John Doyle as the Moncks Corner–Fair Lawn local commander and Stewart as commander of the Redcoats' advanced post at Wantoot Plantation. O'Kelly, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:402.

39. Ltrs, Greene to Williams, 2 Dec 1781, in 9:649n6; and Morris to Greene, 4 Dec 1781, in 10:5n1, 6–7. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. O'Kelly, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:402–03, reports that Lee's Legion infantry was with Greene. *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line* (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), p. 26, reports that on 28 November Kirkwood marched with the army to Brown's Mill, 10 miles; on 29 November they traveled to Orangeburg, 16 miles; on 1 December they went to Young's Farm, 14 miles; and on 3 December they marched to "4 hole bridge, 26 miles." A highly regarded infantry company commander, Capt. Robert Kirkwood, was sick and did not travel with Greene to Dorchester, but his company secured and held the Four Hole Swamp Bridge and causeway until relieved two weeks later.

40. Ltr, Greene to Sumter, 2 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:648; 10:11, 15. This road is modern U.S. Highway 178 and merges into U.S. Highway 78 and continues south toward Summerville. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 3 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:4.

41. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 523–24; O'Kelly, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:402–03; *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:623, 649. Sumter reported that about eighty Hessians erected some works near Dorchester, probably the redoubt between Dorchester and Eagle Creeks.

42. Cadastral map in William Henry Johnson's *Scrapbook* shows the "English Fort" in this location. *Scrapbook*, vol. 1, pp. 1b, 116, College of Charleston, Lowcountry Digital Library. See <http://lowcountrydigital.library.cofc.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/GJS&CISOPTR=857&REC=1>. Sumter's report in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:623, and Ltr, Greene to Williams, in 9:649–650. "The Ashley River: Its Seats and Settlements," Henry A. M. Smith, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 20, no. 1 (January 1919): 48, describes ownership of Eagle Plantation. The old redoubt, about 300 yards from the road intersection, was evidently extant in 1919.

43. Ltr, unknown officer in Greene's army, in the *Pennsylvania Packet* newspaper, 15 Jan 1782. Francis Marion's South Carolina militia ambushed Major Fraser's South Carolina Royalists at Parker's Ferry on 30 August 1781.

44. Which Hampton brother was it, Wade or Henry? Both commanded South Caro-

lina State Cavalry Regiments. In Ltr, Greene to Thomas Sumter, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:648, the editors parenthetically added Wade. In Greene's report to President McKean, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:17–19, he merely reported, "Lt. Colonel Hampton" led the charge. O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:402, has Wade Hampton, as does J. D. Lewis on his carolana.com Web site. Lewis further reports that in November 1781, Lt. Col. Henry Hampton left Sumter's brigade and joined Marion's brigade. Pension application of Alexander Berryhill, S16639, reports he served at Dorchester under Wade Hampton. See <http://revwarapps.org/s16639.pdf>. This probably refers to the old bridge over Dorchester Creek, about 1,200 feet east of the colonial town site (not the modern Dorchester Road/SC 642 bridge), indicating soldiers were charging the "English Fort" redoubt site because it is not possible to cross Dorchester Creek when approaching the colonial Dorchester village from Four Hole Swamp Bridge.

45. Ltr, Greene to Williams, 2 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:649; 10:17–18.

46. Ltr, Greene to Sumter, 2 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:648.

47. Ltr, Sumter to Greene, 24 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:623, Sumter's dated intelligence was that 2,000 British were posted at Daniel Ravenel's Wantoot Plantation.

48. Ltrs, Marion to Greene, 25 Nov 1781, in 9:628n2, 631, 649; Greene to Rutledge, 3 Dec 1781, in 10:3–5, 16–20. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 523–24.

49. Sir James Wright was the last royal governor of Georgia; additionally, he was an attorney, major planter, and landowner. "This side of Dorchester" likely means the Charlestown side of the old colonial town. The precise location of Wright's Dorchester area plantation is unknown to this author, but I believe it was on South Carolina Highway 642, two miles toward Charlestown from Dorchester, or about where the Lowe's is now.

50. Loyalist Maj. Thomas Fraser was the acting field commander of the South Carolina Royalists provincial regiment.

51. Evidently Lieutenant Jarvis was the bait in a classic "chase me" into the ambush deployment.

52. Jarvis, "An American Experience in the British Army," pp. 728–29, accessible on-line at <http://lib.jrshelby.com/jarvis.htm>.

53. Ltr, Greene to Pres. McKean, 9 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:19n2.

54. Ltr, Rochambeau to Greene, 10 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:179; Ltr, General Alexander Leslie to Sir Henry Clinton, 1 Dec 1781, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, Colonial Office Papers (COP), PRO 5/104/284.

55. Ltr, Greene to Marion, 12 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:38–39n2, 46n3, 51, 59, 64, 74.

56. Ltr, Leslie to Clinton, 4 Dec 1781, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, vol. 34, 1–30 Dec 1781, p. 3926.

57. Ltr, Williams to Greene, 2 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:655; 10:3. Col. Otho Holland Williams acted as Greene's adjutant during Greene's southern campaigns; he was an officer of the Maryland line. Riddlespurger's plantation was on the west side of Four Hole Swamp near the colonial road from Orangeburg to Four Hole Swamp Bridge (approximately U.S. Highway 178), as shown on the 1773 James Cook map of South Carolina. It was near the intersection of I–26 and U.S. Highway 15.

58. Ltr, Williams to Greene, 6 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:10–11, and n2. Greene's Round O camp is often reported on Col. Roger Parker Saunder's plantation, but according to research by Ron McCall, only Col. William Saunders owned property in the Round O area. Cannon-Ferguson's saw and grist mills on the Edisto River were located about 2.5 miles northwest (upstream) from the modern Givhans Ferry State Park. "In 1767 [Daniel] Cannon began to combine his [Charlestown] area building activities with commercial lumber production. He entered into partnership with five other men to erect saw mills on the Edisto River, a partnership which was terminated in 1779, twelve years later, when Thomas Ferguson bought the property from the others for £250,000 South Carolina currency. At the time of sale the property was described as consisting of several tracts of land, mill houses, dams, grist and saw mills, saws and timber." Rosemary Niner Estes, "Daniel Cannon: A Revolutionary 'Mechanick' in Charleston," *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, 9, no. 1 (June 1983). *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:11n2.

59. Ltrs, Marion to Greene, 25 Nov 1781, in 9:628; Williams to Greene, 6 Dec 1781, in 10:10, 11n3. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. See also <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/roundo.htm>.

60. Ltr, Greene to Sumter, 2 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:648, 10:4.

61. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, p. 525. John McQueen's plantation was located south of Horse Savannah (an extension of Stono Swamp), about four miles northwest of the Rantowles Bridge. See map, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:204–05.

62. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 21 Nov 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:606.

63. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 3 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:5n7, 18, 123. See also <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/stonoferry.htm>. These redoubts (small earthen forts) probably protected both the mainland and island-side landings of the Stono Ferry and were rebuilt on the site of British General Augustine Prévost's 1779 redoubts.

64. John Harris Cruger was a Loyalist provincial from New York in DeLancey's brigade. He obstinately defended the fortified town of Ninety Six in May and June 1781 from General Greene's 38-day siege and several assaults.

65. Greene's Orders, 16 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:63–64; Ltr s Lee to Greene, 18 Dec 1781, Ltrs, Lee to Greene, 18 Dec 1781, in 10:73; Marion to Greene, 23 Dec 1781, in 10:94. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Marion detached South Carolina militia under Lt. Col. Benjamin Screven to Cainho and dispatched Cols. Peter Horry's and Hezekiah Maham's cavalry near Wappataw Meeting House to watch the British movements in the area north of Charlestown. See in *ibid.*, 9:631; 10:137.

66. Intersection of modern U.S. Highway 78 and U.S. Highway 178 about 2.5 miles east of modern Dorchester (not the colonial town). Ltr, Williams to Greene, 6 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:11n5, 35n8, 49. *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment*, p. 27.

67. Ltr, Morris to Greene, 2 Dec 1781, in 9:653, 654n1; Greene's Orders, 19 Dec 1781, in 10:74. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Gregory D. Massey, *John Laurens and the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 201–02.

68. Sandy Hill was south of modern U.S. Highway 17 between Ravenel and Jericho, South Carolina. Bacon's Bridge is over the upper Ashley River about two miles upstream from the colonial village of Dorchester. The 1780 William Faden map shows three Fergusons in the area just east of the Edisto River and the 1773 Cook map shows five Fergusons in the area. The one on the main Jacksonborough to Charleston road makes the most sense in this case.

69. Ltr, Lee to Greene, 12 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:44, 54, 59, 84, 123.

70. Both men were brave and battle-proven soldiers. Laurens joined the “forlorn hope” of the successful attack on British Redoubt 10 at Yorktown. After Laurens’ death in August 1782 near the Combahee River, George Washington defended his character: “In a word, he had not a fault, that I could discover, unless intrepidity bordering upon rashness could come under that denomination; and to this he was excited by the purest motives.” Paul Leicester Ford, *The True George Washington* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1896), p. 223. General William Moultrie wrote, “Col. Laurens was a young man of great merit, and a brave soldier, but an imprudent officer; he was too rash and impetuous.” William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* (New York: David Longworth, 1802), 1:404. Lee’s Legion briefly captured a British outpost at Paulus Hook, New Jersey in 1779. Lee’s Legion cavalry flanked to the south of the British final strong position in the brick house at Eutaw Springs; however, Lee could not be located when Greene wanted him to lead an assault to relieve his troops tangled in the British camp under the fire from the brick house. Otho Holland Williams et al., “Eutaw Springs,” in *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, ed. R. W. Gibbes (Columbia, S.C.: Banner Steam–Power Press, 1853) 3:154; Samuel Hammond, cited in Gregory D. Massey and Jim Piecuch, eds., *Gen. Nathanael Greene and the American Revolution in the South* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), p. 231; Piecuch and Beakes, “*Light Horse Harry*” Lee, pp. 205–09. Lee would eventually resign his command over his feelings of being slighted in Greene’s official report on Eutaw Springs and the ribbing he got from fellow officers.

71. Ltr, Greene to Lee, 21 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:85. Not much was within Greene’s power at that point.

72. Ltrs, Lee to Greene, 10 Dec 1781, in 10:31n2, 34–35, 74; Greene to Rutledge, 16 Jan 1782, in 10:207–08. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*.

73. Ltr, Lee to Greene, 11 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:34–35, and n2.

74. Ltr, Leslie to Germain, 4 Jan 1782, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, vol. 35, 31 Dec 1781–9 Feb 1782, p. 4035.

75. The mainland-side (north) Stono Ferry landing is now a beautiful park in the town of Hollywood, South Carolina, called Wide Awake Plantation Park. Unfortunately, the

Revolutionary War actions there are not presently interpreted.

76. O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 3:406–08. Capts. Ludwig Kienen of the South Carolina Royalists and James Armstrong of Lee’s Legion were later exchanged. Dr. Alexander Garden, a physician and noted botanist (namesake of the gardenia), was a Loyalist; his eighteenth-century plantation house, Otranto (thought named for a castle in Italy featured in Horace Walpole’s novel *The Castle of Otranto*), is extant at 18 Basilica Avenue, Hanahan, South Carolina.

77. John McQueen’s plantation is on the road from Jacksonborough to Wallace Bridge, map 2, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:204–05.

78. Ferguson’s plantation (formerly owned by Dr. Haig) was located just south of Caw Caw Savannah, about five miles east of the Edisto River and about two miles north of the main road from Jacksonborough to the Wallace Bridge. *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:126.

79. Ltrs, Lee to Greene, 27 Dec 1781, in 10:122–23, 126, 135; Greene to Rutledge, 3 Dec 1781, in 10:5n7, 142, 144. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*.

80. Ltr, General Alexander Leslie to Sir Henry Clinton, 27 Dec 1781, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, vol. 91, 6 Jul 1782–9 Jan 1783, COP 5/104/427. “General Browne’s Provincial Regiment” refers to the remnants of the Prince of Wales American Regiment.

81. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 14 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:51, 101.

82. Ltr, Greene to Marion, 31 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:138. Greene was momentarily expecting the arrival of Continental Army reinforcements from Pennsylvania that had been released by General Washington from Yorktown, Va.

83. Cainhoy on the Wando is where South Carolina Highway 41 crosses to the north side of the Wando River. Videau’s Bridge was over the French Quarter Creek at the Cainhoy Road (sometimes called Clements Ferry Road, S-8-98).

84. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 5 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:161–63; O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 4:22–24. Quinby Bridge, near modern Huger, South Carolina, is one of the headwater tributaries of the east branch of the Cooper River and at the head of its navigation. It was the site of the summer 1781 battle between General Thomas Sumter’s troops and Lt. Col. James Coates and the 19th Regiment Redcoats at Shubrick’s plantation on Quinby Creek.

85. Ltr, Leslie to Clinton, 29 Jan 1782, in British Headquarters Papers in North America, vol. 35, 31 Dec 1781–9 Feb 1782, p. 4088.

86. Greene’s Orders, 7 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:165.

87. Ltrs, Greene to Georgia Gov. Martin, and Greene to Wayne, 9 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:173, 175.

88. Greene’s Orders, 12 Jan 1782, in 9:183–84; Ltr, Call to Greene, 14 Jan 1782, in 10:183, 192, 207n2. Both in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. The original St. Paul’s Stono Parish Church was located on what is now called Dixie Plantation. Today the two extant St. Paul’s Stono Parish sanctuaries are located on Chapel Road (S-10-1160), two miles west of Hollywood, South Carolina. See in *ibid.*, 10:184 and n2.

89. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, p. 528; Alexander Garden Jr. [in Lee’s Legion], *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America, with Sketches of Character of Persons the Most Distinguished, in the Southern States, for Civil and Military Services* (Charleston, S.C.: A. E. Miller, 1822), pp. 363–64. Pluff mud is shiny brown-gray, richly organic, and thick and sticky. It is the bottom of many South Carolina tidal marshes. It is very difficult to walk for any distance in pluff mud.

90. *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:207n2, 208n4.

91. Piecuch and Beakes, “*Light Horse Harry*” Lee, pp. 35–57.

92. The New Cut is depicted on modern topographic maps and meanders near Johns Island, whereas the modern Intracoastal Waterway is a relatively straight canal on the mainland side of Church Flats. See <http://mapper.acme.com/?ll=32.71531,-80.16732>.

93. According to Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America*, pp. 363–64, a local islander, Captain Freer, led Lee’s division to the ford, probably Solomon Freer. The likely area of this crossing is best seen at the end of modern Towles Road at Goshen Point. Maj. Michael Rudolph of Elkton, Maryland, came south with Lee’s Legion as an infantry commander. He was a hero of the raid on Paulus Hook, New Jersey. Rudolph served as sergeant major in Lee’s Legion before Paulus Hook and acted mostly as an infantry officer in the south, while his brother John acted as a cavalry commander.

94. Moonlight calculator from National Aeronautics and Space Administration at <http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phases1701.html>. The new moon was on 13 January 1782.

95. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 16 Jan 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:206–08; Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 528–37.

96. Air temperature statistics from <http://www.sercc.com/cgi-bin/sercc/cliMAIN.pl?sc2730> and water temperature statistics are from http://www.sercc.com/climateinfo/historical/coastal_water_temps.html. Ltr, Laurens to Greene, 11 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:183. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 388–89, reported that Maj. Joseph Eggleston of his Legion's cavalry found a safe horse ford some distance below the galleys.

97. William Seymour, Sergeant-Major of the Delaware Regiment, "A Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780–1783," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7 (1883). The Stono Church mentioned by Seymour may have been the site on South Carolina Highway 165.

98. At Paulus Hook, Lee's men crossed open marshlands and waist-deep canals (in the summer) at night with the critical timing of low tide, forded a moat, and attacked several British gun emplacements and fortifications. They were unable to secure all of the fortifications or hold them for long, but he did embarrass the British and took prison-

ers. Lee was cited by Congress and awarded a gold medal for his success, but he was also court-martialed and acquitted for his risky leadership on this raid. Piecuch and Beakes, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, pp. 35–57.

99. *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:209n5.

100. Ltr, Laurens to Greene, 11 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:183, and n3. It appears General Leslie had learned of the Americans' interest in Johns Island as early as 13 Dec 1781; however, I suspect Leslie meant 13 January. Greene's Orders, 16 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:202n1; PRO 30 / 55 #4088.

101. Ltr, Leslie to Clinton, Camp near Charlestown, 29 Jan 1782, in *British Headquarters Papers in North America*, vol. 35, 31 Dec 1781–9 Feb 1782, p. 4088.

102. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 16 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:206, 242–44; Ltr, Greene to Hansen, 23 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:244.

103. Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 534–36. Lee personally accepted some of the blame for not posting an officer to direct the second column.

104. Ltr, Greene to Rutledge, 16 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:206.

105. Ltr, Call to Greene, 14 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:192, 194–95, 243; O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 4:30.

106. Ltr, Laurens to Greene, 15 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:196; O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, 4:27–30.

107. Ltr, Marion to Greene, 1 Dec 1781, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 9:646n1; A. S. Salley Jr., ed., *Journal of House of Representatives of South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: State Co., 1916), p. 5. The South Carolina's House had a quorum on 17 January 1782, and the Senate the next day.

108. Greene's Orders, 16 Jan 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:201.

109. Greene's Orders, 1, 2 Feb 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:291, 303.

110. Greene's Orders, 21 Mar 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:529, 535.

111. Ltrs, Lee to Greene, 26 Jan 1782 and 10 Feb 1782, in *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 10:264, 350; Michael Cecere, "Wedded to my Sword": The Revolutionary War Service of Light Horse Harry Lee (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2012), pp. 257–65; Piecuch and Beakes, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, pp. 216–19; Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, pp. 550–51.

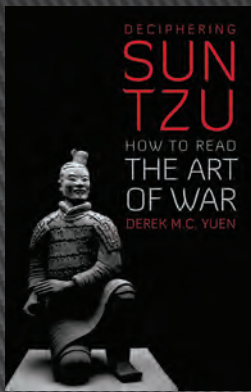
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BOOKREVIEWS

Deciphering Sun Tzu: How to Read the Art of War



By Derek M. C. Yuen
Oxford University Press, 2014
Pp. xii, 214. \$29.95

Review by Jason K. Halub

Derek M. C. Yuen's *Deciphering Sun Tzu: How to Read the Art of War* is a fascinating companion guide to the original *Art of War*. Yuen argues that Western scholars have failed to capture the true meaning of Sun Tzu's (Sunzi's) work. Instead of viewing the *Art of War* as a series of maxims that strictly pertain to military affairs, the ancient work should be read through the lens of Taoist (Daoist) philosophy (p. 179). Moreover, Yuen asserts that the *Tao Te Ching* (*Dao De Jing*) is a continuation of Sunzi's *Art of War*. Together, these two texts form the basis of Chinese "grand strategic" thought, which looks beyond military affairs to incorporate "any domain that involves human struggle" (p. 97). Seen in this light, the *Art of War* offers more than a simple axiom on deception and

instead presents a more holistic perspective on war and strategy than what has developed in the West (p. 175).

Yuen begins his study by providing the historical context from which the *Art of War* evolved. He notes how Sunzi grew up during the late Spring and Autumn period (771–476 BCE [Before the Common Era]) in the Chinese state of Qi and was heir to the thought of famous Chinese strategists, such as Guan Zhong, who helped transform Qi into the most powerful of the early feudal territories to succeed the Zhou kingdom. The author also points out that Qi developed from a unique blend of cultures and a relatively high degree of commercialization, which made the people of Qi renowned for their "pragmatism, adaptability, openness, inclusivity, propriety, and intelligence" (pp. 44–45). However, what is most interesting is Yuen's description of the important changes in warfare and politics that were occurring during Sunzi's lifetime. The Shang (1600–1046 BCE) and early Zhou (1046–771 BCE) way of war, which was mainly waged by a small warrior aristocracy and regulated by a chivalric code of military rites, was giving way to the establishment of conscripted farmers and large-scale infantry. Under these conditions, wars became costly and attritional. Therefore, Sunzi developed certain principles, such as "conquering the enemy and growing stronger," and "subjugating the enemy's army without fighting is the true pinnacle of excellence" (pp. 55–57, 137).

The description of how Chinese strategic culture evolved to embrace these ideals is, from a Western perspective, the most original contribution of *Deciphering Sun Tzu*. The author makes a

fascinating and convincing claim that Lao Tzu (Laozi), the putative progenitor of Daoism, influenced Sunzi and the *Art of War*, which, in turn, affected the later development of the *Dao De Jing* (p. 62). Yuen even goes so far as to "assert that Sun Tzu is the 'grandfather' of yin-yang as a strategic scheme" (p. 85). Making this claim is important to Yuen's argument because linking the *Art of War* to the *Dao De Jing* allows him to highlight the central role of *yin* and *yang* to Sunzi's *Art of War* and, by extension, Chinese "grand strategic" thought. He explains the duality of *yin* and *yang* and how reality is understood as an "uninterrupted flow of variance." From this perspective, "reality possesses no form—it is humans who impose various forms upon it, and these forms are merely mental constructs" (pp. 87–89). Thus, the author boldly challenges what he sees as the rather narrowly defined military definition of strategy in the West and its overreliance on theoretical models.

The later chapters of *Deciphering Sun Tzu* compare the *Art of War* to the theories of Basil H. Liddell Hart and John Boyd and critique Alastair Iain Johnston's and Andrew Scobell's interpretations of Chinese strategic culture. Yuen argues that the development of Liddell Hart's "indirect approach" sprang from the "condition-consequence approach" found in the *Art of War* (p. 133). He also examines Boyd's Observe, Orient, Decide, Act (OODA) model and notes that Boyd has greatly facilitated the "synchronizing" of Chinese and Western strategic thought" (p. 154). These comparisons are important because they aid the author in explaining and relating the *Art of War* and

Chinese “grand strategic” thought to contemporary warfare. Meanwhile, Yuen’s evaluation of Johnston’s and Scobell’s narrow military interpretation of Chinese strategic culture serves to highlight Yuen’s point that Chinese “grand strategy” takes a more holistic view and, if Westerners are to better understand the *Art of War*, they should approach it through a wider, Daoist lens (pp. 156–57, 167–68).

While the author raises some significant points, one area where he may have fallen a bit short is in his comparisons between Sunzi and other Western theorists. For instance, both Sunzi and Carl von Clausewitz were military officers writing at a time when the conduct of war was changing drastically. They had to come to terms with the rise of unimaginably more destructive mass-conscripted armies and both arrived at generally similar conclusions about war being the most crucial matter of the state. In this regard, Yuen, in order to strengthen his critique of Western strategic thought, underemphasizes the degree to which Clausewitz viewed warfare in holistic terms. Moreover, Yuen’s assertion regarding Liddell Hart borrowing from Sunzi to develop his “indirect approach” is also somewhat suspect (p. 133). Just as warfare was transforming during Sunzi’s and Clausewitz’s lifetimes, Liddell Hart faced a new and deadly form of industrialized warfare and an intensified mobilization of society and state resources during and after World War I. Thus, both Liddell Hart and Sunzi developed theories that approximated an “indirect approach.” Could this convergence of similar strategic thought not have been a product of each thinker simply arriving at similar conclusions under generally similar circumstances?

This critique aside, *Deciphering Sun Tzu* is a valuable and insightful work that succeeds in offering a strong contextual and intellectual framework to better understand the *Art of War*. In particular, it is useful in cautioning Western readers’ overemphasis on deception as the central message of the *Art of War*. Moreover, Derek M. C. Yuen’s reading of Sunzi through a Daoist lens provides not

only a refreshing way to reinterpret the *Art of War*, but also an increasingly important approach to strategy in a world filled with complex interactive problems.

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By William R. Nester
University of Oklahoma Press, 2014
Pp. xix, 492. \$34.95

Review by Ricardo A. Herrera

William R. Nester promises to “turn history inside out” in his study of the conquest of New France (p. 7). Nester, a professor of political science at St. John’s University in New York City, retells a familiar tale of empire, conquest, and the decisions and actions that led to France’s defeat in North America during the Seven Years’ War. Nester’s focus is on telling the story from the French experience,

rather than the better-known British imperial or colonial points of view. The author states that *The French and Indian War and the Conquest of New France* “is the first book to explore the fascinating personalities and epic events that shaped French diplomacy, strategy, and tactics during the global war that determined North America’s destiny” (p. 7).

The war that George Washington ignited in Pennsylvania in 1754 with his attack on the Sieur de Jumonville’s party was one that neither France nor Great Britain wanted, yet into which both stumbled. The background to the war, however, lay not with the callow Washington, but with the ill-defined boundaries of the French and British empires in North America. The 1748 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which put an end to the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), left the matter of determining French and British borders in North America to a later date and to other diplomats. The Franco-British boundary commission, established in 1750, wrestled for six years with the issue. Even as a low-grade frontier war in the American backcountry ignited and grew, French and British intransigence resulted in diplomatic stalemate. Needless to say, neither power ever settled the matter as anticipated by the treaty.

Faced with war in North America, France dithered. Neither King Louis XV nor his counselors wanted war, but the system in which they operated and lived constrained them. Centered on the person of the king, French governance and policy relied on the monarch’s firm hand for direction and guidance. Louis XV did not have such strength. Desirous of peace, but more interested in pleasures of the flesh, Louis XV governed much as he lived, a man out of sorts with absolutist rule and a man subject to the whims and counsel of his one-time paramour, the Marquise de Pompadour. In effect, the king was seemingly little more than a cypher, only occasionally rising to the challenge of ruling.

If the combination of the ineffectual Louis and the influential Pompadour were not enough to constrain Gallic governance, personality further com-

plicated the making of policy and war. Charm and the ability to please the king and Pompadour, or at least avoid giving offense, were key attributes for Louis' ministers. Talent thus counted for little in a system populated by courtiers at every level. Frequently at loggerheads with one another, French ministers vied for influence with the king or Pompadour as they undercut one another. In short, France's military and political leadership was everything that no country could want.

What happened in France did not stay in France. The very dysfunctionality that was the hallmark of Versailles was writ small in New France. Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnial, the first and only Canadian governor-general of the colony, and his field commander, Jean-Armand Dieskau, Baron de Dieskau, got on poorly with one another. They were mutually contemptuous and jealous of personal prerogatives. Vaudreuil's portfolio included supreme command of French military forces in Canada and the crafting of strategy, which restricted Dieskau to the tactical realm. This was not a match made in heaven. Fortunately for Vaudreuil, Dieskau's tenure was short. British forces wounded and captured him in 1755 following his rash decision to assault British fortifications along Lake George.

Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis de Saint-Veran, replaced Dieskau in 1756. Montcalm and Vaudreuil started out well enough, but relations soured. Faced with the same command structure, Montcalm chafed under Vaudreuil's leadership and direction. In his communications with Versailles, Vaudreuil took credit for Montcalm's victories at Fort Oswego (1756) and Fort William Henry (1757). Further complicating the poor relationship was the grifting intendant, François Bigot, who, in Nester's words, "transformed [corruption] from a petty into a grand scale" (p. 95). One observer estimated that Canadian and metropolitan officials stole and resold upwards of two-thirds of the supplies sent from France. The atmosphere was no better between officers and soldiers of the metropolitan army

and colonial forces, the *troupes de la marine* (infantry under the Ministry of the Marine), and the Canadian militia, who distrusted and disparaged one another.

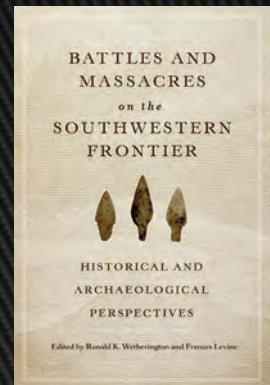
Despite some impressive initial victories by French forces, metropolitan ineptitude, strategic bumbling in Europe, and British leadership and sea power proved decisive. Faced with fighting what had become a world war fought in the Americas, Europe, India, the West Indies, and coastal West Africa, France was unable to marshal its potential. Its military as well as diplomatic ventures had roundly failed. Spain's belated and ill-timed entry into the war as a French ally merely added to the list of British victories, with Havana and Manila falling in 1762.

Nester delivers a well-told narrative that adds to the understanding of the war from a predominantly French perspective, but he does not "turn history inside out," nor is this "the first book to explore the fascinating personalities and epic events that shaped French diplomacy, strategy, and tactics during the global war that determined North America's destiny" (p. 7). Daniel Baugh's magisterial *Global Seven Years, 1754–1762: Britain and France in a Great Power Contest* (New York, 2011) accomplished this. The outcome of the war in North America certainly did influence the course of history on the continent; of that there is no doubt. That it determined the destiny of peoples, empires, and states, as the author suggests, is a bit much to swallow. These concerns aside, this book is a worthwhile read.

Ricardo A. Herrera is associate professor of military history at the School of Advanced Military Studies, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. He is the author of *For Liberty and the Republic: The American Citizen as Soldier* (New York, 2015).



Battles and Massacres on the Southwestern Frontier: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives



Edited by Ronald K. Wetherington and Frances Levine
University of Oklahoma Press, 2014
Pp. xi, 248. \$24.95

Review by Gary L. Cheatham

Battles and Massacres on the Southwestern Frontier: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives, edited by Ronald K. Wetherington and Frances Levine, is composed of essays from twelve authors. The contributors have impressive scholarly backgrounds and include historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists.

The book's introduction, which is written by the editors, begins by acknowledging that some readers may think it is "incongruous to combine treatises on battles with others on massacres in a single volume" (p. 1). The editors quickly dismiss this matter by arguing that battles are military actions between two "equally engaged" military foes, and massacres are "one-sided events in which the dead are mostly innocent victims" (p. 1). This is followed by explaining that the purpose of the volume is to identify and explore the common threads found among four engagements, including two battles and two massacres involving "American whites and American Indians" on the Southwestern frontier during the nineteenth century (p. 2). This goal is accomplished by comparing and contrasting the historical and archaeological views of each event. In

doing so, specialists in both of these fields of study look at each action, to draw out the “subtle interpretations that can arise from different methodologies and different theoretical perspectives” (p. 2).

This volume focuses on the Battle of Cieneguilla (1854) in New Mexico, second Battle of Adobe Walls (1874) in Texas, Massacre of Sand Creek (1864) in Colorado, and Massacre of Mountain Meadows (1857) in Utah. Each engagement is covered in three parts. This includes a commentary, its history, and archaeological interpretation of the incident. The introductory commentary for each event, written by the editors, sets up and summarizes the perspectives of the specialists writing on the history and archaeology of the actions.

The first operation is the Battle of Cieneguilla, which was fought between a troop of U.S. Army dragoons and Jicarilla Apaches, resulting in the Native Americans’ defeat. Although the Jicarilla were beaten, the army’s commander in the battle, Lt. John W. Davidson, was accused of mishandling the encounter largely because of an apparent excessive loss of life among the troopers. While a resulting court of inquiry found the officer faultless, it “avoided the questions of Davidson’s failure to follow orders and his poor tactical decisions” (p. 32). The events leading up to and including the court of inquiry are evaluated by attorney and historian Will Gorenfeld, while David M. Johnson covers the archaeological investigation of the battle. Johnson’s interpretation of the battle results, which are based on artifact evidence, shows “that the dragoons were not prepared for the resistance the Apaches provided” (p. 70). The archaeological “footprint of the battle” also reveals “differences between the official written record and the evidence found on the ground” (p. 75).

The next conflict is the second Battle of Adobe Walls, which began when a superior force of Native American warriors led by Comanche Quanah Parker attacked the site’s white trading post. Historian T. Lindsay Baker examines the conflict from “written

historical accounts” (p. 83), and J. Brett Cruse provides a detailed archaeological study of the cartridge cases and bullets found at the battle site. Cruse convincingly argues that the Adobe Walls defenders successfully used “long-range and large-caliber weapons . . . to hold off the warriors and prevent the compound from being overrun by the far greater number of Indian attackers” (p. 108).

The third action is the Sand Creek Massacre, which is embedded in “American memory” as one of the most well-known incidents between the U.S. Army and Native Americans in the nineteenth century (p. 130). “Ari Kelman traces the historiography of Sand Creek” with great care, recognizing that the location of the action and “what happened . . . are still open to interpretation” (p. 113). With this in mind, Douglas D. Scott offers a studied archaeological overview of the massacre site. Scott skillfully uses archaeological evidence to show that “the Cheyennes and Arapahos were not prepared to defend themselves” against the attacking troopers (p. 114). Scott’s findings also provide proof that much of the fire coming from the soldiers was “short range,” which supports previous views that the “Indians offered little resistance” (p. 144).

The final engagement is the Mountain Meadows Massacre, which is unlike the other actions discussed in the book because it “was not part of any Indian War” (p. 157). Instead, the slaughter was part of “an ongoing contest known at the time as the Mormon War” that only indirectly involved the Paiutes (p. 157). Historian Glenn M. Leonard writes that the carnage was instigated by members of a white militia, “whose leaders recruited Southern Paiutes . . . to assist in killing all but the youngest members of an emigrant company on its way from Arkansas to California” (p. 156). Leonard presents the event in its historical context, followed by evaluating the sources of information concerning the massacre. Lars Rodseth and Shannon A. Novak add to the historical record by scrutinizing the archaeological evidence with

a focus on forensic anthropology. The combined assessment shows that although the “Paiutes were originally blamed in entirety for the action, their complicity as coconspirators with the local Mormon populace marks them as somewhat different actors in this event” (p. 217).

The book concludes with an essay written by Joe Watkins, titled “American Indians and the Formalities of History.” In this valuable section, Watkins summarizes the impact of the “four historical events” on the “local Indian groups” (p. 214). He asks, “What good is a history that alienates while supposedly trying to build?” (p. 211). In answering the question, Watkins draws together some of the lessons learned from writing histories that involve American Indians. One important point is to recognize that the Native American view is often excluded from written accounts because of a “reluctance of American Indians to be active participants in the discourse of history” (p. 210). This reticence largely exists because of “the problems involved in trying to integrate American Indian oral traditions into a written historical narrative” (p. 212). Watkins sees archaeology as a solution to this problem because its inclusion in historical research helps bridge the gap between Native American oral traditions and primary source documents.

The book contains more than two dozen maps and illustrations associated with the four conflicts, an extensive bibliography of the primary and secondary sources that are cited at the end of each section, summaries of the credentials of the contributors, and an index. Based on the credentials and sources, it is clear that the essays are written by experts in their fields and the contributions rest on solid research.

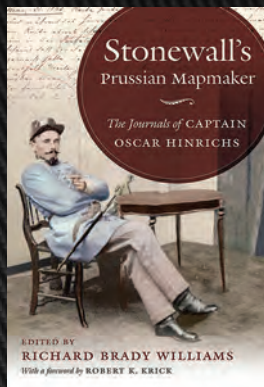
Although this collection carefully and thoughtfully explores each conflict, the book points out that the study suffers from a lack of tribal perspective on the events. Acknowledging this as a weakness of the overall work, Watkins states that “American Indian tribal members were invited to participate in the conference that led

to this volume, but they did not do so” (p. 219). This point notwithstanding, the work brings together important interpretations that should appeal to both specialists and generalists who are interested in nineteenth-century American military history and as such is highly recommended.

Gary L. Cheatham is an assistant professor of library services at Northeastern State University in Tahlequah, Oklahoma. He has authored several articles that have been published in *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, and has written a number of entries that are found in the *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*. He is currently working on a book that analyzes the failure of a Confederate army recruiting expedition to the Rocky Mountains during the Civil War.



Stonewall's Prussian Mapmaker: The Journals of Captain Oscar Hinrichs



Edited by Richard Brady Williams
University of North Carolina Press,
2014
Pp. xxvii, 359. \$45

Review by Steven C. Haack

Oscar Hinrichs arrived in New York City in 1836, the infant son of Prussian immigrants. Unlike so many of the Europeans seeking a new life in America, his family had working

capital and useful connections. His father set up a successful import business, represented the business interests of several German dukedoms, and owned a chemical factory. Despite the death of Hinrichs' mother when he was only four, his future was secure.

Hinrichs' father remarried, his new wife being the daughter of a well-established merchant who had opened a branch of the Bank of North Carolina. Throughout his youth, Hinrichs became immersed in the Southern culture of his stepmother. At the age of twelve, he was sent to Prussia for six years of instruction in one of the world's best educational systems. Science, mathematics, and cartography prepared him for a career in civil engineering. Returning to America in 1853, family connections were once again employed and he was offered a job with the U.S. Coast Survey where he spent several years mapping the coasts of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. As the Civil War approached, Hinrichs' sympathies lay solidly with the South. As military men began choosing sides, Coast Survey officials pressured their employees to declare their fidelity to the Union. So well regarded were the talents of the coastal cartographer that detectives were soon following Hinrichs, apparently prepared to prevent his departure. Through contacts, he began a series of clandestine meetings in Maryland. Hinrichs altered his appearance and entered the shadowy world of secret signals and signs, finally crossing the well-patrolled Potomac River and stumbling into a Confederate camp on New Year's Day of 1862.

Thus began Oscar Hinrichs' odyssey, one which he faithfully recorded in daily journal entries. The first part of the narrative in *Stonewall's Prussian Mapmaker: The Journals of Captain Oscar Hinrichs*, which covers November 1860 to September 1863, is the most informative. As the notebook containing the daily entries for this period began to physically fall apart, Hinrichs transcribed the material into another book, expanding on the text and adding more recent thoughts as he went along. For the portion dated December 1863 to April 1865, there

is a simple translation of his log entries from the original German into English, with some combination of those two techniques running from September to December 1863.

Oscar Hinrichs was a man of strong sentiment and his education enabled him to express those sentiments with clarity. Although his views of his fellow secessionists are generally positive, he is not constrained by gentle manners when his opinion of his contemporaries was poor. Of Lt. Gen. Daniel Harvey *Hill* he writes,

In appearance he is anything but pleasant and prepossessing. Uncouth and ungentlemanly in his manners, he has never yet failed to make himself highly unpopular by both officers and men. People from his own state refused to serve with him... [a] mind narrow and shallow, he possesses no genius for command, yet as a subordinate he has done good service. He fights hard, yet without judgment. His reputation is rather of a shadowy one than a real achievement. As a soldier he is nothing extraordinary, a gentleman he is not, and by his manners he is a disgrace to the rank he holds. So much for him (p. 49).

At the other end of the spectrum is Lt. Gen. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, who Hinrichs held in very high regard as a man of honor, modesty, and courage. "He stands firm and cool among the shower of shot and shell which makes men stand aghast at the apparent tempting of God's mercy and kindness" (p. 52). Jackson's death by friendly fire dealt a terrible blow to Hinrichs.

It is a disappointment that Hinrichs makes very little reference to his work as a cartographer. Military reconnaissance is interesting and important as is the distillation and presentation of the information gathered. He makes a few short references to working on maps, constructing bridges, and improving roads, but the reader learns nothing of his application of the vital skills he learned in his tenure as a coastal cartographer.

Readers may have some difficulty sympathizing with or connecting to

Hinrichs as he is not an easy man to like. When surprised by the appearance of five Yankee cavalymen, Hinrichs, lucky to be astride a well-rested horse, dashed through them to safety, slashing as he went. "I have been quite gratified since to learn that one of the two whom I had cut at died that night and the other one was severely wounded" (p. 54). In October 1864, he wrote, "I heard a fine thing said to have happened during our last battle. The 4th N.C. Regiment came upon some 200 enemies in a defile and did not wait to ask them to surrender but fired right into them, until all but some 40 men were shot" (p. 204).

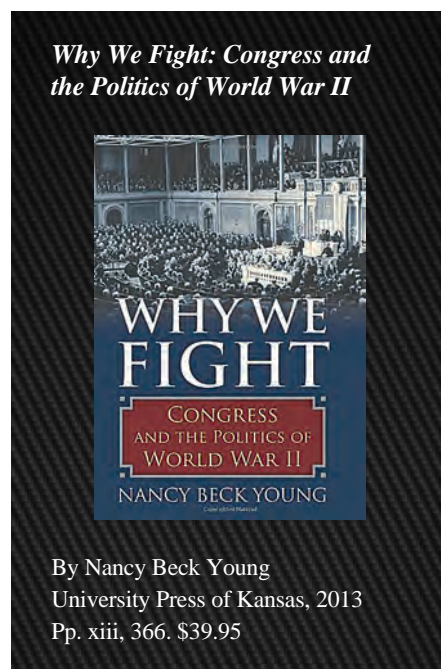
Similar to most soldiers seeking news during the Civil War, Hinrichs depended on rumor, which was rife, rather than facts, which were scarce. He is forever holding out hope, optimistic about future possibilities even on the heels of defeat. When the Confederate troops retired from the Battle of Gettysburg, he hoped that the Federal troops, "elated with their success, would follow us and attack, in which case, the Army of the Potomac would cease to exist" (p. 86). Hope springs eternal. He seems convinced that a negotiated settlement, recognizing and accepting the Confederacy, lies ahead, and, as those prospects appear to fade, he casts his thoughts west, where an enormous tract awaits to be populated by Southerners and used as a base for the future prosecution of the war.

Some of his comments are quite surprising. The reform inaugurated by the Southern states will continue and change for "experience will have demonstrated to the dumbest mind, unless he be fool or bigot, that the time and rule of republicanism has, to use a Yankee phrase, played out. . . . Thus upon the ruins of demolished republics will rise the fabric of a powerful state under the monarchal sway" (p. 110).

After the war, Oscar Hinrichs married and returned to his childhood roots in New York City. He was well employed in cartography and surveying but unhappy, feeling that his Confederate service had blocked him from a more lucrative career. He drank heavily and fell into financial problems. In 1892, he died by his own

hand, shooting himself in the head. Educated, dedicated, articulate, and headstrong, he left behind a record of his wartime experiences well worth reading.

Steven C. Haack has published research on a variety of subjects, including ancient astronomy, Egyptology, paleontology, and the history of the American West. His article "Peace Be to Their Ashes: The 11th Kansas Cavalry and the Battle of Red Buttes" was featured in the Summer 2011 issue of *Army History* (No. 80).



Review by Stephen Donnelly

The general picture of Congress in the pre-World War II era is one of constant battle between isolationists and interventionists, Republicans versus Democrats, followed by an immediate closing of ranks after Pearl Harbor in support of the commander in chief. In the mind's eye of the nation, all other divisions were closed and wounds were healed in a collective effort to defeat a common enemy. Nancy Beck Young has produced an informative and interesting work that punctures these preconceived notions

about the era. She argues that many of the issues and concerns that bedevil us now were also problems for the politicians of the day, who often had to take these points into consideration when crafting and attempting to pass wartime legislation.

The central theme of the volume is that the structure of the two-party system at the time allowed for a broad spectrum of views within each party and that the unifying element that bridged the frequent political divides was the presence of moderates in both. In her closing chapter, the author outlines how the ideological purity of the parties has gradually increased, and how the lack of moderates contributes to the present-day congressional deadlock.

During this period, casual anti-Semitism was common, which contributed to the seeming lack of direct concern for the Jewish victims of the holocaust. The restrictive immigration policy toward Jews at the time is a blot on the nation's reputation that is only offset by its wartime effort. Moderates were unable to bring reform in this area; they were simply too few in number.

One of the ironies of mid-twentieth-century politics was that many of the progressive measures of the day were passed by an unholy alliance of liberal and Southern Democrats. In essence, the liberals tacitly agreed to ignore racial injustices in exchange for Southern support for their agenda. This alliance held together until the 1960s and had to be factored into every congressional vote, including wartime measures. Racism, both casual and overt, was endemic, and not just in the South. It was a constant factor in crafting legislation and lining up votes. All attempts to address racial issues with legislation encountered a solid wing of Southern votes that would not allow it. Even wartime measures to integrate the military were foiled by this monolithic block. All entreaties of fairness, wartime necessity, and public image were rebuffed. The argument that segregation was a public relations coup for the Nazis fell on deaf ears. Racial fairness (it was too early in

repel the Japanese invasion throughout the entire Philippines instead of a concentrated defense, allowing the air force to be destroyed on the ground at Clark Field, promoting the illusion that the paper army of approximately 100,000 ill-trained and ill-equipped Filipinos was a legitimate army, and leaving behind tons of valuable supplies in Manila that would have made life easier on Bataan. The garrison was doomed, but MacArthur's decisions deepened the defeat. Where, perhaps, the authors go too far, is personally attacking MacArthur for obeying an order from President Franklin Roosevelt, his commander in chief, to escape from the Philippines. The Normans write of the "law of constancy," not abandoning fellow soldiers in the field, which superseded a direct order from the president. Their criticism is more moral than practical and indicates that it would have been preferable for MacArthur to resign his commission and join in the defense of Bataan. However, the overriding consideration for Roosevelt was to prevent the capture of a popular high-ranking general that would turn the surrender into a humiliation.

Some of the most powerful parts of the account depict the 66-mile Death March and the countless cruelties inflicted by the hardened Japanese troops. For example, Japanese soldiers carried in trucks would lean out swinging the butt ends of their rifles and randomly aim at the prisoners along the road breaking skulls and smashing jaws. In one horrific incident involving the remnants of the 91st Division (Philippine Army), about 400 officers and enlisted men, almost all Filipinos, were separated out. The Japanese, working in shifts throughout the day, systematically slaughtered each one by sword or bayonet, their bodies dumped in a ravine. At camps along the way, open air slit-trench latrines would quickly fill up and overflow from the thousands of men suffering from dysentery. Swarming with black flies, the stench from these camps, compounded by the tropical sun, could be noticed from miles away. To a certain degree, the book is a

catalogue of diseases. The reader becomes familiar with dysentery, which resulted in chronic diarrhea, or wet beriberi, which caused the circulatory system to become so porous due to a lack of thiamine that a man, though starving, would bloat like an overinflated balloon.

The story vividly captures the brutality of service in the Japanese Army for the average Japanese soldier, or *hohei*. First-year privates were routinely slapped, punched, and beaten for the slightest offenses by the senior privates. The diaries of the *hohei* emphasize the "unreasonableness" of the army. Once they graduated to senior privates, they took their revenge on a new crop of hapless first-year privates, thereby repeating the cycle and creating a savage army that was quite capable of atrocities. Relying on the latest research, the Normans show this training was the result of a national myth, the legend of the samurai. *Bushido*, the way of the warrior, stressed inhuman toughness and loyalty, refusal to surrender, and a marked contempt for the *horyo*, those who had disgraced themselves by surrendering. However, this legend was written by the "domesticated" samurai who had long since given up their former military life and were civil servants and scholars who desired to portray an idealized past. The reality was far different; the samurai were rough mercenaries who had no high ethical codes and betrayed comrades even in the midst of battle. History was cleverly twisted to serve the purposes of the fascist government of Japan.

Lt. Gen. Masaharu Homma, commander of the 14th Imperial Army, was given the task of conquering the Philippines. The Imperial Staff allotted him a mere fifty days to complete what eventually took five months. This was Homma's last military campaign. He never again held a combat command, partly for his failure to quickly capture the Philippines, but also due to his questioning of authority and what seemed to be his pro-Western attitudes. After the war, Homma was put on trial for war crimes and ex-

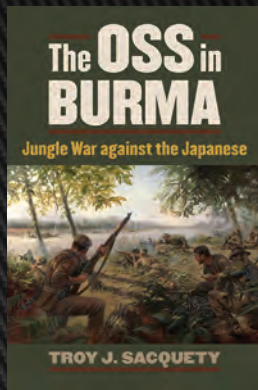
ecuted. The Normans cast Homma in a sympathetic light, describing him as a kindly man, a "romantic," and a "modern Lancelot," who liked to write poetry and paint flowers. He also spoke English and at one time had a British girlfriend. There was no direct evidence linking Homma to the atrocities, so the case was circumstantial. The authors document the trial as a sham and the case against Homma as weak. Homma was undermined by his subordinates, but, at the very least, he was grossly deficient in oversight. The Normans absolve Homma of guilt. This seems particularly curious in light of their unequivocal moral condemnation of MacArthur earlier in the book.

After the war, Ben Steele went to school at the Cleveland Institute of Art, always careful to hide his identity as a former prisoner of war, feeling ashamed and believing he did not "win" the war as the other veterans in his classes. He felt what the Japanese describe as *anrui*, literally translated as "tears in the darkness," a deep suffering that words cannot describe. Ben came to grips with his *anrui* through his sketches, many of which deal with his torment during the war. But Ben's suffering, like that of his comrades, served a purpose because the soldiers' defiant defense, amid so many early quick defeats, inspired the American people to carry the fight to Japan.

Dr. Clement A. Mulloy is an assistant professor of history at Arkansas State University-Mountain Home. He has published articles in *Catholic Social Science Review*, *New Oxford Review*, *Baxter County History*, *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, and *Modern War*.



The OSS in Burma: Jungle War against the Japanese



By Troy J. Sacquety
University Press of Kansas, 2013
Pp. xvi, 320. \$34.95

Review by Frank Kalesnik

Often considered a forgotten theater of the Second World War, the China, Burma, and India Theater (CBI) still receives superb coverage in books written by historians and veterans. Barbara Tuchman's *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945* (New York, 1970); Fergal Keane's *Road of Bones, The Siege of Kohima, 1944: The Epic Story of the Last Great Stand of Empire* (London, 2010); William Slim's *Defeat into Victory* (London, 1956); and John Masters' *Road Past Mandalay: A Personal Narrative* (New York, 1961) are all exemplary works. The role of Special Operations Forces in Burma is particularly well represented in print. U.S. Army Special Operations Command (USASOC) historian Troy Sacquety's contribution to CBI scholarship, *The OSS in Burma: Jungle War against the Japanese*, is a worthy addition to the literature available on this fascinating area of military history.

Routed by the Japanese in 1942, defeated Allied forces retreated into India across mountains crossed by nothing better than jungle trails. The supply route to China was cut, and its restoration became the strategic priority of Northern Combat Area Commander Maj. Gen. Joseph Stilwell. His limited forces included

Chinese ground troops, U.S. Army Air Corps assets, and a regimental-size Army unit tasked with conducting deep penetration operations (Merrill's Marauders). The harsh climate and terrain, and infighting with his British and Chinese Allies, as well as battling the Japanese, made Stilwell's already difficult job even harder. And the low priority the theater received from Washington compounded it.

If necessity is the mother of invention, this was definitely the case in Burma. The colorful and controversial British Maj. Gen. Orde Wingate created the Chindits to conduct deep penetration raids, supported by air, in the enemy's rear. This force eventually reached a strength of six brigades and fell under Stilwell's command during operations leading to the capture of the Japanese airfield at Myitkyana in 1944. Both the Chindits and Marauders suffered heavy casualties, especially to disease and malnutrition.

The controversial nature of Special Operations Forces units and their mixed record of success in both Asia and Europe led to their disbandment by the end of, and in some cases during, World War II. Simply put, military leaders did not believe the gains were worth the costs, particularly in skilled manpower. This historical assessment is at odds with the cult of Special Forces prevalent in today's armed forces, where units disbanded in World War II have risen from the grave, their titles being assumed by contemporary organizations seventy years after their namesakes' demise.

The case of Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Detachment 101 is different. *The OSS in Burma* clearly states "at the start of the Korean War on 25 June the U.S. Army realized that it once again needed a special operations capability to form, train, and lead resistance movements" (p. 224). Consequently, Brig. Gen. Robert A. McClure chose Col. Aaron Bank, Col. Melvin Blair, Col. Wendell Fertig, Lt. Col. Russell Volckmann, and Lt. Col. Martin Waters to help organize what became the Army's Special Forces. Fertig and

Volckman served in the Philippines, Blair with Merrill's Marauders and Detachment 101, and Bank with the OSS in both France and Laos. Sacquety notes that "like Detachment 101 had done, the mission of Special Forces was to work with resistance groups in time of war" (p. 224).

Beginning with 21 men in June 1942, Detachment 101 eventually included over 1,000 OSS personnel, as well as 10,000 Burmese of various ethnicities. The author concludes, "That the group transitioned from a small sabotage-oriented group to a major combat formation in a little over three years is a tribute to the Detachment 101's adaptability" (p. 218). Initially led by Col. Carl F. Eifler, the group received the broadest of guidance from Stilwell: "According to Eifler, Stilwell said that all he wanted to hear were 'booms' coming out of the jungle. Although not reflected in the official record—likely because the order was verbal—Eifler detailed in his memoir that Detachment 101 had ninety days to make these 'booms' happen" (p. 21).

Eifler, and his successor Lt. Col. William R. Peers, enjoyed tremendous latitude, with minimal interference from either Stilwell or OSS leadership in Washington. Although early attempts at clandestine deep insertions by air and sea failed, guerrilla operations in support of conventional air and ground operations thrived, thanks largely to the enthusiastic support of Kachin tribesmen living in the frontier region of northern Burma. Warriors and hunters traditionally loyal to the British, the Kachin were natural guerrilla fighters skilled in jungle hit-and-run tactics. They provided invaluable intelligence at the tactical, operational, and strategic levels. The Kachin rescued downed airmen, spotted camouflaged targets for aircraft, acted as scouts for the Chindits and Marauders, and wreaked havoc on Japanese rear-echelon troops. They were a tremendous asset in the campaign to clear the Japanese from northern Burma and assumed an increasingly conventional role as Allied forces pushed southward.

In addition to describing combat operations, Sacquety offers extensive detail on crucial staff and support roles, especially communications and aerial resupply. Functions such as recruitment, training, pay, medical and dental care for guerrilla fighters and their families, intelligence, the development of theater- and mission-specific equipment, and the use of propaganda leaflets to encourage Japanese surrenders are all meticulously described. Also included are discussions of maritime special operations, intelligence gathering in occupied Rangoon, and the crucial establishment of interagency and inter-Allied liaison elements, which the author deems critical to Detachment 101's success.

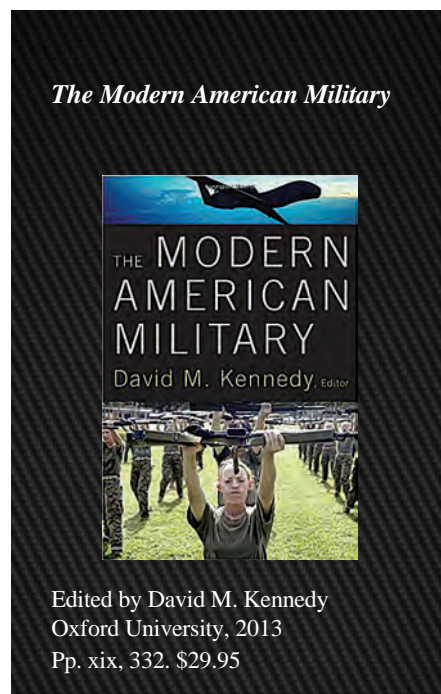
The organization did have its problems. Sacquety frequently characterizes OSS head William "Wild Bill" Donovan as a poor administrator and intimates that Colonel Eifler's relief due to injury proved fortunate, since his successor Colonel Peers demonstrated greater organizational and leadership abilities. Ethnic tensions between the Kachins, other Burmese tribes, and the Chinese, as well as conflicting American, British, and Chinese political and strategic objectives, also complicated already difficult operations. It is not surprising that the author begins his study with a quote from Winston Churchill.

I disliked intensely the prospect of a large-scale campaign in Northern Burma. One could not choose a worse place for fighting the Japanese. . . . But, we never succeeded in deflecting the Americans from their purpose. . . . We of course wanted to recapture Burma, but we did not want to do it by land advances from slender communications and across the most forbidding fighting country imaginable (p. 1).

In summary, Troy J. Sacquety's *The OSS in Burma* is an outstanding contribution to the history of special operations, the China-Burma-India Theater, and the Second World

War. The reader will conclude, as General McClure did, that Detachment 101's experiences are as relevant and applicable today as they were in the 1940s. While some might find the scholarly detail intimidating, historians and military professionals will discover much valuable material in this work.

Dr. Frank Kalesnik received his bachelor's degree in history from the Virginia Military Institute and his master's degree and doctorate in American history from Florida State University. He has taught at the Virginia Military Institute and U.S. Merchant Marine Academy and served as a command historian for both the U.S. Air Force and U.S. Marine Corps. He served for twenty-two years as a Reserve officer in the U.S. Marine Corps. He is currently the command historian for Marine Corps Forces, Special Operations Command, at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.



Review by Jon S. Middaugh

While the American military strives to maintain many of its tra-

ditions, the contemporary reality is that "it's not your grandfather's military" anymore. Precision-guided weaponry, widespread use of contractors, and the all-volunteer force are but a few of the important changes that have emerged since the Vietnam War and that are thoughtfully analyzed in *The Modern American Military*. The editor, David M. Kennedy, and authors, including a former defense secretary, the commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan from 2005 to 2007, and leading military historians, sociologists, and specialists, also note much continuity with the past. Their collective product yields an illuminating, multifaceted portrait of a central institution in our lives. It is highly recommended for those concerned about the security as well as "political and moral health" of the country (p. 11).

Several of the authors comment on the large impact that technology has had on various aspects of American military strategy. Both Lawrence Freedman and Brian M. Linn note that the late twentieth-century predictions of battlefield dominance via networked weapons and communications systems have proved off the mark in the population-centric counterinsurgency fights of Afghanistan and Iraq. Information superiority did not eliminate "the fog of war" (pp. 47-48). Thomas G. Mahnken adds that China and other rivals are reducing the United States' initial advantage in precision-guided munitions, and thus American strategists may need to rely once again on nuclear weapons to deter others from launching a technologically sophisticated first-strike.

The military's relationship with society receives extensive coverage. Robert L. Goldich observes that the end of the draft has reduced the social distance between senior officers and noncommissioned officers and their more junior counterparts, but it has widened the gap between soldier and civilian—a critical issue according to several authors. Most military volunteers generally accept "the social legitimacy of violence and the infliction of pain,

suffering, death and anguish [while] . . . civilian society increasingly takes the attitude that any form of physical coercion of, or even exertion of influence on, human beings by other human beings is morally wrong” (p. 85). Various contributors also emphasize how the post-Vietnam War shift to an all-volunteer force has contributed to a significant increase in the number of contractors. According to Deborah Avant and Renée de Nevers, the ratio of troops to contractors was about 10:1 in 1991 but was approximately equal in the mature Iraq theater and only about 2:3 in Afghanistan. The employment of contractors can afford policymakers more responsiveness and flexibility, as it often receives less political scrutiny than does deploying soldiers into combat. Contractors have also to some extent brought in a “culture of impunity,” at least in the eyes of many military members (p. 147).

The smaller military also means that fewer members of Congress enter office with any sort of military experience, causing civil-military relations to enter a new, less-balanced era. National politicians are more likely to take at face value the advice of their professional military counterparts, writes Karl W. Eikenberry, a former lieutenant general and U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan. Members of Congress who have never served are reluctant to question military ventures for fear of apparently “not supporting the troops” (p. 222). Increasing numbers of retired generals, meanwhile, influence acquisitions by becoming well-connected lobbyists shortly after hanging up their uniforms.

The book’s coverage of various nonstrategic topics provides a range of interesting insights. Jay

Winter’s examination of war films since the Vietnam War shows how the medium has increasingly emphasized war’s impacts on civilians and, since the early 1980s, generally weighted “individual liberties over collective rights and experiences” (p. 169). To chronicle the dramatic expansion of women service members in the military since the early 1970s, Michelle Sandhoff and Mady Weschsler Segal analyze “enabling factors” such as changing family roles and “driving factors” such as legal decrees or prominent policy changes. One fortuitous result not originally envisioned has been the Pentagon’s recognition that women offer unique capabilities while serving on “female engagement teams” in Muslim societies. Charles J. Dunlap Jr.’s chapter on military justice speculates that the “civilianizing” of military justice risks indiscipline and a greater likelihood for setbacks such as Abu Ghraib (pp. 261–62). Finally, Jonathan Shay’s empathetic look commends the success of actions soldiers now commonly take in the “golden five minutes” (p. 297) to treat war injuries quickly. He sends a warning, however, about the long-term threat caused by unseen “moral injuries” and recommends substituting the term “psychological injury” (p. 300) for the commonly used post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) because the latter often bears an associated stigma.

Even with the book’s rather comprehensive treatment, the scope of the subject will inevitably leave some readers wanting a bit more coverage of their favorite particular subtopic. Most of the discussion understandably falls on the military’s largest service, the Army, but the Navy and

Air Force receive limited mention. Sociologists and social historians similarly might wish for more analysis of racial matters or of the recent admittance of homosexuals into the force. Overall, the authors succeed in addressing many diverse topics while also hitting from multiple angles on key themes such as civil-military relations and the military’s ability to secure the nation.

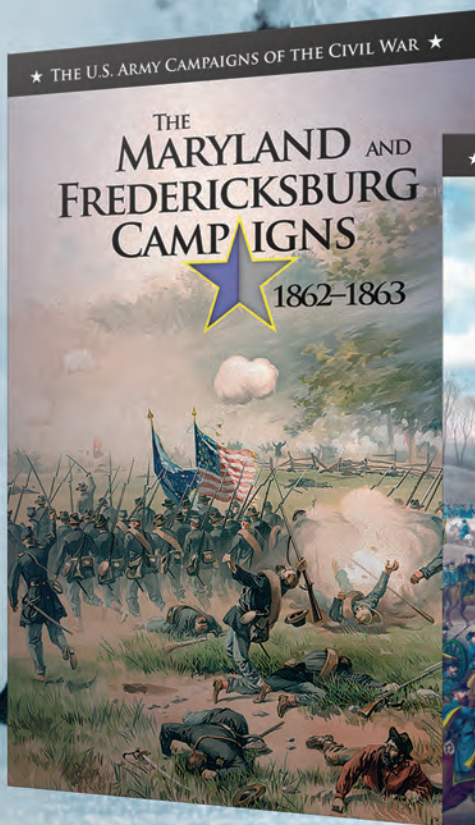
The essays’ historical treatment of their subjects is in many cases used to advance the book’s advocacy for a reexamination of the military’s condition and practices. The reader gets the sense that the current state of affairs is unstable and unsustainable. In his introduction, David Kennedy raises “urgent questions” about what might come from the growing gap between citizen and soldier. Reading *The Modern American Military* will provide a very good start for considering intelligent answers.

Lt. Col. Jon S. Middaugh works at the U.S. Army Center of Military History where he is writing a history of the Army National Guard in Operation IRAQI FREEDOM. He previously taught world, Latin American, U.S., and military history at Washington State University in 2005–2013. A prior service active duty enlisted soldier and currently an officer in the Army National Guard, Middaugh deployed with the 1249th Engineer Battalion to Afghanistan in 2011 and took command of it upon returning. He holds a Ph.D. in world history and has published a study guide for McGraw-Hill’s world history textbook, *Traditions and Encounters*.



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