

# FORTITUDINE

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# FORTITUDINE

*Motto of the United States Marine Corps in the 1812 era.*

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### THE COVER

Col John W. Thomason Jr.'s ink-and-wash drawing, "An Officer of the Old School," captures the essence of the experienced leadership that earned three Marines their commissions and the distinction of being the oldest Marine second lieutenants of World War I (see page 16).

*Fortitudine* is produced in the Publications Production Section of the History and Museums Division. The text for *Fortitudine* is set in 10 point and 8 point Garamond typeface. Headlines are in 18 point or 24 point Garamond. The newsletter is printed on 120-pound, lithocoated paper. Printing, by offset lithography, is by the Defense Printing Service.

# Director's Page



BGen Simmons

## *The Heint Award*

The winner of the first annual award of the Colonel Robert D. Heint, Jr. Memorial Award in Marine Corps History was announced at the Spring meeting of the Board of Directors of the Marine Corps Historical Foundation.

The winner is LtCol Merrill L. "Skip" Bartlett, USMC, for his article "Ouster of a Commandant" which appeared in the November 1980 issue of *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*.

The prize, which consists of a bronzed plaque and a check for \$250, was offered for the best article, as judged by an awards jury, pertinent to Marine Corps history published in 1980.

The winning article was one that not only would have pleased Bob Heint but well could have come from his own typewriter. In fact, Bob gave his own vivid account of the ouster in pages 225-227 of his *Soldiers of the Sea*.

MajGen George Barnett, the 12th Commandant, is a prime example of the right man being Commandant at the right time. Succeeding William Biddle in 1914, he had skillfully led the Corps through the home-guard wars of Washington and insisted on its right to fight in France, proving that it could expand and take on a heavyweight role in a European war.

Then, on 18 June 1920, two years after being appointed to a second four-year term as Commandant, Barnett received a sealed letter from Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels demanding that he retire immediately or accept reduction to brigadier general and reassignment.

Skip Bartlett, whose regular duties are those of

history instructor at the U.S. Naval Academy, has made himself a specialist on George Barnett. *Fortitudine* readers should remember his piece in the Winter 1979-1980 issue, "Mrs. George Barnett—'Mother of Marines'," in which Skip sketched a vivid word picture of Barnett's indomitable wife, Lelia Montague Barnett. A *grande dame* of Baltimore and Washington society, Mrs. Barnett opened the Commandant's House, English-fashion, during the war years as a sort of club and meeting place for young officers stationed at Quantico. She also received and answered hundreds of letters from young Marines, most of whom had problems of one kind or another, including appeal of court-martial sentences. In today's world the interference of Mrs. Commandant into official matters would be considered inappropriate and meddling, but in those long-ago times it won her the title "Mother of Marines."

In 1979 Skip was awarded a Naval Academy Research Council grant to edit the unpublished autobiography "Soldier and Sailor Too" and personal papers of General Barnett. These rest in the Personal Papers Collection of the Marine Corps Historical Center. A by-product of Skip's editing effort was his *George Barnett, 1859-1930: Register of His Personal Papers*, published by us in 1980.

George Barnett is also the subject of the dissertation for the doctorate Skip is pursuing at the University of Maryland.

In his "Ouster of a Commandant," Skip makes it clear that Mrs. Barnett provided much of the "fiber"

behind General Barnett. In becoming Commandant in 1914, Barnett had to contend with three formidable competitors, Littleton W. T. Waller (tarnished because of Samar), Lincoln Karmany (a messy divorce), and John A. Lejeune (Daniel's favorite, but too junior).

Daniels, a member of the Wilson administration, was, of course, a Democrat. Barnett, on the other hand, had strong Republican backing. During the course of the war, Barnett had a habit of threatening to go around Daniels to President Wilson to get what he wanted. By the end of the war the two men were thoroughly alienated. Moreover, Daniels' candidate, John A. Lejeune, had won fresh laurels in France, having led the 2d U.S. Infantry Division, which included the 4th Marine Brigade, brilliantly at St. Mihiel, Blanc Mont, and the Meuse-Argonne.

Lejeune played it fair and openly with Barnett, but Barnett had another, less scrupulous opponent, BrigGen Smedley D. Butler. Butler had snarled in a letter to his wife that Barnett was "a weak old woman and to blame for my failure to get to the front."

Barnett had reason to expect that the rank of the Commandant would be raised to lieutenant general, but in hearings on the subject, Congressman Thomas S. Butler, Smedley's father, rose to denounce Barnett as a "rocking chair warrior" and a "swivel chair hero."

Barnett received Daniels' ultimatum at 1330 on 18 June 1920, with orders that he reply by 1630 the same day. Barnett asked that he retain his rank as major general and be assigned to Quantico. Both requests were refused. He would go to San Francisco as commander of the new Department of the Pacific. On his last day as Commandant, 30 June 1920, his wife held a last party at the Commandant's House. The furniture all had been moved out and the walls were bare except for a framed photo of Daniels with an affectionate inscription.

There were about 25 candidate articles this past year for the Heintz award. After preliminary screening, 13 pieces from seven different publications went forward to the Awards Committee for judging. The committee consisted of Robert L. Sherrod, J. Robert Moskin, and Allan R. Millett, all members of the Foundation and all three with names that should be familiar to *Fortitudine* readers. In fact, Sherrod and Millett have by-lines in this issue.

In addition to the winning article, the judges also named four "honorable mentions." These were not ranked by merit but listed alphabetically.

LtCol William M. Krulak, USMCR, won mention

for his "The U.S. Marine Corps: Strategy for the Future," which appeared in *Naval Review* 1980. In this piece, which uses Marine Corps history for background and perspective, LtCol Krulak sets forth the thesis that "To the extent that the Marine Corps remains *totally and unalterably* wedded to the amphibious mission—to the extent we refuse to perceive a need for evolution—we are inviting dinosaur status, and our existence as we know it today will come to an end."

Dr. Alfred J. Marini was mentioned for "Political Perceptions of the Marine Forces: Great Britain, 1699, 1739, and the United States, 1798, 1804," which appeared in the December 1980 issue of *Military Affairs*. Dr. Marini's research, which led to his Ph.D. and which included work in London, was supported in part by a small grant from our Research Grant Fund.

1stLt Joseph R. Owens, USMC (Ret), received his honorable mention for his sensitive platoon-level memoir, "Chosin Reservoir Remembered," which was in the *Marine Corps Gazette* for December 1980.

Somewhat in the same vein is Dr. Eugene B. Sledge's three-part "Peleliu: A Neglected Battle," published in three parts in the *Gazettes* for November and December 1979 and January 1980. Dr. Sledge's entire World War II memoir, written from his perspective as an enlisted Marine, is due for publication shortly by Presidio Press.

The Heintz Award was made possible initially by a gift to the Marine Corps Historical Foundation by W. R. "Billy Bob" Crim, charter member and director of the Foundation and himself a Marine in World War II and Korea. This year's award has attracted other contributions so that for 1981 we will be able to offer a prize of \$500.

Criteria for the award, in consideration of Col Heintz's wide-ranging interests, have been kept purposely broad. *Pertinence* to Marine Corps history is the key and this includes biography and contemporary events.

A potential prize-winner might appear in any English-language periodical, so readers of *Fortitudine* are urged to make nominations for the 1981 award. Also, if you are so inclined, you might wish to make a contribution to the kitty so that the prize money can be pushed even higher. In either case, the address is:

Colonel Robert D. Heintz, Jr. Award Committee  
Marine Corps Historical Foundation  
Bldg 58, WNY, Washington, D.C. 20374

# Readers Always Write

## *Early Marine Parachutists*

*The Fall 1980 issue of Fortitudine carried an article on the role of balloons in early Marine Corps Aviation. In a follow-up letter (Winter 1980-81 issue) BGen William F. Brown, USMC (Ret) wrote of his experiences with parachuting from balloons at Quantico in 1918. The following letter provides additional information on the subject.*

Early in November 1917, while attached to the 1st Regiment, A.B.F., Navy Yard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, I was ordered to proceed to the Army Balloon School, Fort Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska. . . for instruction in aerial observation. Upon reporting for duty, I joined six other Marine officers who were already there: Capt Roy S. Geiger, Capt Douglas Roben (both aviators), three newly commissioned second lieutenants, and "Red Whiskers" Crawford whom I believe was a Marine gunner at that time. In conversation with the members of this group, I learned that Capt Roben was incapacitated as he had broken his leg upon landing during a jump from a captive balloon. During my course there both Capt Geiger and Crawford successfully completed jumps. I believe these three were the first Marine officers to jump from a captive balloon. Capt Geiger was to become Gen Geiger. I do not know what happened to the other two.

The unit mentioned by General Brown as furnishing the captive balloon at Quantico was commanded by Capt Arthur H. Page, the first Naval Academy graduate to become a Marine pilot. He was killed 1 September 1930 at the Air Races, Evanston, Illinois.

Donald Curtis  
BGen, USMC (Ret)  
El Cajon, California

## *Iwo Veteran's Memorial*

(I am) not one to quibble with Mr. Robert L. Sherrod, but (regarding) his introductory remarks (in his Iwo Jima article in the winter issue of *Fortitudine*), I for one do not think discussing the Iwo Jima flag-raising "a bit much." It is a fascinating bit not only of Marine Corps history, but of Americana. Again, well done Bob Sherrod and *Fortitudine*.

Regarding the monument (to PISgt Ernest I. Thomas), I had occasion to see it (at Monticello, Florida). It is a very fine piece of work, one that not only the survivors of "E" Company, 2d Battalion, 28th Marines can be proud of, but by all who either stop and visit or simply pass by. . . . It is located just off the road (Route 90) near Mahan's Nursery, in a very pretty spot with many dogwoods and azaleas. . . . The site was very well chosen. . . (and) well landscaped. . . (The dedication ceremony) was page-one news here.

Harry R. Horsman  
GySgt, USMC (Ret)  
Tallahassee, Florida

## *Boxer Rebellion*

A letter in *Fortitudine* (Fall 1980) comments upon the connection between Capt John T. Myers, USMC and Capt Lewis Halliday, Royal Marines during the Boxer Rebellion in China. I wish to add to the biographical sketch of Capt Myers by briefly sketching the career of Capt Halliday. During the Great War he served in staff positions in Malta, England, and France. He was promoted lieutenant general on 16 June 1927 and was Adjutant-General, Royal Marines from 1927 to 1930. He retired at his own request in 1931. General Sir Lewis Halliday, one of only ten Royal Marines to be awarded the Victoria Cross, died in March 1966 in his ninety-sixth year, the longest lived of the 1,349 VC recipients.

Anthony Staunton  
Brunswick, Victoria  
Australia

# Acquisitions

Donations to the Marine Corps Museum sharply decreased during the Winter of 1980-1981 as we ceased active solicitation of gifts and concentrated on establishing the computerized cataloging system. This shift of emphasis should last until next autumn, by which time we should have entered into the computer all items received since January 1976. This will be in excess of 6,500 items, of which over 3,400 have been entered to date.

The Marine Corps Museum Catalog and Inventory Control System has proven to be a more efficient and accurate way to control our collections.

Perhaps the most noteworthy items received this winter were the original molds from which were cast the famous "George" medal of Guadalcanal fame (See *Fortitudine*, Summer 1973). The molds, believed lost during World War II, were donated by Mr. James J. Keating, Jr., of Washington, D.C., when he gave a large collection of his father's uniforms, insignia, photographs, and personal papers. Since "George" medals are rare and much sought after by collectors, there has always been a fear that they would be reproduced and sold as originals. Unfortunately, this has occurred with other medals and insignia in the past, but now we feel that we can become the final arbiters of the authenticity of "George" medals.

Approximately 25 percent of our incoming donations are gifts to the Personal Papers Collection. These vary from one to thousands of documents in any given collection. This winter we received collections from LtGen Alpha Bowser, Jr. of San Diego, California; Mr. Irvin Reynolds of Upper Marlboro, Maryland; Mr. William E. Steinagle of Buffalo, New York; and Mr. Joseph Glowacki of Alameda, California. Mr. Glowacki was a neighbor and close

friend of Maj Norman Cuthbert Bates, USMC (Ret), and began sending us Maj Bates' uniforms and trophy weapons in 1976 when the major was hospitalized. Maj Bates had seen service in Mexico, the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, and China before his retirement in the early 1930s. After Maj Bates' death in 1979, Mr. Glowacki took it upon himself to organize the major's extensive personal papers and photograph collections and then to forward them, along with the balance of his uniforms and accouterments, to us. We are indebted to Mr. Glowacki for his kindness in undertaking this task for his long-suffering neighbor and ensuring that this collection reached the proper repository.

Our second fastest growing collection is our uniform collection. This winter we received several uniforms from Capt Henry A. Commiskey, Jr., in addition to those of Maj Bates and BGen Keating. The uniforms donated by Capt Commiskey were those belonging to his father. Insignia, as well as uniforms, comprise a large portion of our collection. Gen Wallace M. Greene, Jr., gave us a collection of eleven NASA Apollo program embroidered patches. From LtCol Mitsuo Takai, of the Japanese Self Defense Force, we received a World War II USMC "dogtag," recently recovered from Iwo Jima. Another interesting insignia donated was a set of World War II decals for recording aerial victories on the fuselages of Marine Corps aircraft. These, along with an aviator's "strip map" of Guadalcanal, were given to the Museum by Mr. Robert M. Berg, who served with VMF-124.

During the past winter, several important photographic collections were donated. Two photograph albums covering the United States' acquisition of the Virgin Islands and the subsequent garrisoning there of the 116th Company were sent in by Mrs. Lois W. Reeves of Brookville, Florida. Her father, Cpl Howard R. Williams, compiled the albums which also cover Marine Corps activities in the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Puerto Rico during World War I. Another collection of World War I period photographs was donated by Mrs. Dolores L. Sireno of Pell Lake, Wisconsin. This collection is especially interesting in that it shows Marines firing the rare Colt-Maxim (Vickers) Model 1915 machine gun. Another fine item dating from this period was a beautifully framed citation from the French government to the 6th Marines for their assault on Blanc Mont. This was presented to us by Mrs. Margaret L. Matthews of Anselmo, California. — KLS-C

# Fighter Aces List Updated

by Robert L. Sherrod

*Robert L. Sherrod's definitive History of Marine Corps Aviation in World War II, first published in 1952, is again in print (Presidio Press, \$16.95). The new edition has some corrections and additions, including a section, "Supplement on Aces," in which Mr. Sherrod explores the fascinating and vexatious problem of developing an authoritative list of Marine aviators with five or more victories in World War II. This article is adapted from that section.*

Throughout my book I fret occasionally over the issue of claims versus realities. In the absence of accurate enemy records it is impossible to ascertain what or who shot down what—and Japanese records were often shoddy or non-existent. And such records would not indicate which individual pilot performed which specific deed.

The custom of declaring a pilot an "ace" after he had shot down five planes originated in the Rickenbacker-Richthofen-Billy Bishop era, and the designation came to be highly desirable, like a Pulitzer Prize or a Phi Beta Kappa key.

The public came to demand news of aces: who would break Capt Rickenbacker's record of twenty-six—or twenty-five—planes destroyed in World War I? Capt Joe Foss reached that goal 15 January 1943 but the record was broken seven times before World War II ended.

Capt Foss himself describes in his book (*Joe Foss, Flying Marine*, as told to Walter Simmons, 1943), how "combat victories were confirmed. Other flyers and observers on the ground with field glasses confirmed many. If a pilot happened to be alone and caused an enemy plane to explode or crash, he was entitled to claim it. But we were seldom alone." But when the South Pacific forces went on the offensive, the results could not be witnessed by "observers on the ground with field glasses," and Gregory Boyington not only was the sole witness to his last two victories; he didn't and couldn't claim them until after the war, when he was released from Japanese prison camp.

One trouble with my list of Marine Corps aces is that the records are most uncertain during the period when pilots were busiest fighting the enemy; at one point the squadron intelligence officer of VMF-121 said he didn't have much time for writing down things on Guadalcanal because he was doing an awful lot of flying.

In Washington headquarters there was no attempt at verification; the squadron and group war diaries, when available, were accepted as gospel. Maj Edna Loftus Smith, my chief assistant on this book, recalls that in 1943 the list of aces was kept by Mr. Joel D. Thacker, the archivist, on a 3x5 card covered by pencil notes.

My list of aces was compiled from the best records available when the book was written. Perhaps we were not diligent enough in pursuing historical material and checking legend that had become accepted as fact. In 1978, a computer scientist for a Cleveland electronics firm entered the picture: Dr. Frank J. Olynyk, who chose as his avocation the aces of World War II and the Korean War. This entailed devoting his vacations to records in Washington (Navy and Marine Corps) and Maxwell AFB, Alabama (United States Air Force), and maintaining voluminous correspondence with former pilots and other personnel. I am indebted to Dr. Olynyk for making available to me his records which concern the Marine Corps.

His most flabbergasting discovery concerned George E. Dawkins, Jr. of VMF-221, who is credited with shooting down five enemy planes. Olynyk could not find in the records that Dawkins shot down any planes whatsoever. I located Dawkins at his home in San Diego, and by phone 20 April 1980 he cheerfully confirmed Olynyk's conclusion: "I don't know how I got into the records. The only time I saw action against the Japanese I may have got a smoker, but that's not certain."

My investigation in the Marine Corps' Historical Center in Washington revealed that the error originated in a page of photographs in the *Marine Corps Gazette*, October 1943, labeled "Ten Aces." The other nine had actually been credited with five

or more planes; how Dawkins got into the panel I have not been able to learn thirty-seven years later. Dawkins said at first he didn't know about the *Gazette* display, but after I mailed him a copy he said, "Oh, yes, I remember seeing this. That picture of me was used on a sheet music cover for the song by Fred Waring and Jack Dolph called 'The Flying Marines.'" (Who remembers that one?)

The *Marine Corps Gazette* published a list of aces from time to time: that's the nearest the ace system came to official recognition. In the April 1944 list Dawkins is still credited with five planes, and is similarly credited in the Marine Corps Headquarters Bulletin for January 1946. The latter publication appeals to readers to send in corrections, and in the March 1946 issue Maj William M. Lundin modestly disclaimed a record, saying he shot down only 4½ planes, not 5½ as listed. In May 1946 a reader correctly notes the omission of Maj Floyd C. Kirkpatrick, who is recorded as destroying 5½ planes in Okinawan skies in April and May 1945.

The *Gazette* error should have been checked in the VMF-221 war diary, of course, and that is what Frank Olynyk did in discovering the error. Dawkins must hold one record, however; he spent nearly all of 1943 at Guadalcanal, Russell Islands, and Vella Lavella, with between-tours R&R in Sydney; flew 80 missions and saw only one enemy plane—at a distance. VMF-221 is credited with destroying 185 planes in World War II, second only to VMF-121, but George Dawkins did not contribute to that total.

Dr. Olynyk's meticulous combing of Marine Corps records results in some revision of this book's aces list. Mrs. Tierney had added two new aces after consulting postwar records: Robert B. Porter and Donald L. Balch: each with five planes. The Olynyk list contains five more: Julius W. Ireland, Joseph P. Lynch (5½), John B. Maas (5½), Donald C. Owen, and Oscar M. Bate. The evidence Olynyk presents is convincing in these cases, but I hesitate to strike four aces from the list as he would do: three of them with 4½ planes and the other with either three or none. The records in these cases are too skimpy.

In sixteen other cases Olynyk has discovered discrepancies between my list and his, most of them varying one to two planes, up or down. Chief beneficiary of the Olynyk review is William N. Snider, who is credited with three additional planes he shot down in 1945 that we overlooked. The aforementioned Bill Freeman is demoted from six planes to five. Is that justice? "Honest to God,"

Freeman told me, "I don't know. I lost four log books during the war, one in the water. I remember the first plane I shot down, and the second. But after that it's all kind of foggy. I think I do remember shooting down one in January." So much for precision amid great quantities of imprecise records.

At the Albert F. Simpson Historical Research Center, Air University, Maxwell AFB, Alabama, Olynyk found a loose page titled, "Confirmed Air Victories—AVG's," but otherwise unidentified: no date, no source indicated. In other words, a rather useless historical document.

But interesting because the figure opposite "Boyington, G." was "3½." When Gregory Boyington returned from China in 1943 the Marine Corps didn't seem anxious to have him back (he had resigned his regular first lieutenant's commission to join the Flying Tigers in 1941), and he was reduced to parking cars at seventy-five cents an hour in his Washington State home town. Finally, in November 1942, he sent a three-page telegram to "the assistant secretary of the Navy," and within three days he was called to active duty.

When Boyington claimed that he had shot down six planes with the Flying Tigers (American Volunteer Group) nobody questioned the figure. It was all unofficial anyway, so who cared?

He wound up with 28 planes, counting the unwitnessed pair he claimed on his last mission, 3 January 1944, and also counting the six with the Flying Tigers. But if he gets only 3½ AVG credits, his score is brought down to 25½, which is half a plane below Joe Foss's score.

I telephoned Mr. James N. Eastman, Jr. at the Simpson Center, who said, "The Air Force doesn't recognize the AVG. The AVG records are very incomplete. I assume the list of air victories was compiled from operational reports." At the Office of Air Force History in Washington, William Heimdahl and Bernard Nalty also were as helpful as possible; Mr. Heimdahl sent me the Simpson Center's "USAF Historical Study No. 85," which lists every enemy plane credited to every USAAF pilot in World War II, a document of 685 pages (neither the Navy nor Marine Corps has ever compiled a similar document). But no Flying Tiger claims are included.

Finally, I reached Col John N. Williams, USAF (Ret), of the San Diego Aerospace Museum and historian of the Flying Tigers, with whom he served. Yes, Col Williams maintained the AVG records; he knew how many Japanese planes each pilot shot



down, as compiled from the financial records (besides their regular pay, \$675 a month in Boyington's case, AVG pilots were paid a bonus of \$500 per Japanese plane). Col Williams' total for the AVG was 299½ planes, as against 297 on the sheet of paper at the Simpson Center. One of those additional planes belonged to "Pappy" Boyington. That gave him one-half plane more than Joe Foss.

What does Boyington say? I reached him at his home in Fresno, California. He said he shot down six planes all right, but "the Flying Tigers' records are as inaccurate as possible. At one point they said they had lost the records, and went around asking people two months later, 'What are your records?' It was all on the honor system, anyway. There never has been a way to keep accurate records of planes shot down."

## Sherrod's Revised List of Aces

*Italics indicate changes to original list.*

No.	Name	Victories			
1.	Boyington, Gregory	28*	43.	Baker, Robert M.	7
2.	Foss, Joseph J.	26	44.	Brown, William P.	7
3.	Hanson, Robert M.	25	45.	Caswell, Dean	7
4.	Walsh, Kenneth A.	21	46.	Crowe, William E.	7
5.	Aldrich, Donald N.	20	47.	Haberman, Roger A.	7
6.	Smith, John L.	19	48.	Hamilton, Henry B.	7
7.	Carl, Marion E.	18½	49.	Jensen, Alvin J.	7
8.	Thomas, Wilbur J.	18½	50.	McClurg, Robert W.	7
9.	Swett, James E.	15½	51.	O'Keefe, Jeremiah J.	7
10.	Spears, Harold L.	15	52.	Owens, Robert G., Jr.	7
11.	Donahue, Archie G.	14	53.	Pittman, Jack, Jr.	7
12.	Cupp, James N.	13	54.	Reinburg, Joseph H.	7
13.	Galer, Robert E.	13	55.	Ruhsam, John W.	7
14.	Marontate, William P.	13	56.	Wade, Robert	7
15.	Shaw, Edward O.	13	57.	Williams, G. M. H.	7
16.	Frazier, Kenneth D.	12½	58.	Mullen, Paul A.	6½
17.	Everton, Loren D.	12	59.	Durnford, Dewey F.	6½
18.	Segal, Harold E.	12	60.	Dillard, Joseph V.	6½
19.	Trowbridge, E. A.	12	61.	Axtell, George C., Jr.	6
20.	DeLong, Philip C.	11½	62.	Baird, Robert	6
21.	<i>Snider, William N.</i>	11½	63.	Bolt, John F., Jr.	6
22.	Bauer, Harold W.	11	64.	Chandler, Creighton	6
23.	Sapp, Donald H.	11	65.	Conant, Roger W.	6
24.	Conger, Jack E.	10½	66.	Dillow, Eugene	6
25.	Long, Herbert H.	10	67.	Dorroh, Jefferson D.	6
26.	DeBlanc, Jefferson J.	9	68.	Drury, Frank C.	6
27.	Magee, Christopher L.	9	69.	Fisher, Don H.	6
28.	Mann, Thomas H., Jr.	9	70.	Fraser, Robert B.	6
29.	Overend, Edmund F.	9*	71.	Hall, Sheldon O.	6
30.	Thomas, F. C., Jr.	9	72.	Hundley, John C.	6
31.	Loesch, Gregory K.	8½	73.	Jones, Charles D.	6
32.	Morgan, John L., Jr.	8½	74.	McManus, John	6
33.	Case, William N.	8	75.	Percy, Gilbert	6
34.	Dobbin, John F.	8	76.	Pierce, Francis E., Jr.	6
35.	Gutt, Fred E.	8	77.	Pond, Zenneth A.	6
36.	Hernan, Edwin J., Jr.	8	78.	Presley, Frank H.	6
37.	Hollowell, George L.	8	79.	Shuman, Perry L.	6
38.	Kunz, Charles M.	8	80.	Stout, Robert F.	6
39.	Narr, Joseph L.	8	81.	Terrill, Francis A.	6
40.	Post, Nathan T.	8	82.	Valentine, Herbert J.	6
41.	Warner, Arthur T.	8	83.	Vedder, Milton N.	6
42.	Yost, Donald K.	8	84.	Hansen, Herman	5½
			85.	Hood, William L.	5½
			86.	Kirkpatrick, Floyd C.	5½
			87.	<i>Lynch, Joseph P.</i>	5½
			88.	<i>Maas, John B.</i>	5½
			89.	Payne, Frederick R., Jr.	5½
			90.	Sigler, Wallace E.	5½
			91.	Alley, Stuart C., Jr.	5
			92.	<i>Balch, Donald L.</i>	5
			93.	Baldwin, Frank B.	5
			94.	<i>Bate, Oscar M.</i>	5
			95.	Braun, Richard L.	5
			96.	Carlton, William A.	5
			97.	Davis, Leonard K.	5
			98.	Doyle, Cecil J.	5
			99.	Drake, Charles W.	5
			100.	Elwood, Hugh McJ.	5
			101.	Farrell, William	5
			102.	Finn, Howard J.	5
			103.	Fontana, Paul J.	5
			104.	Ford, Kenneth M.	5
			105.	<i>Freeman, William B.</i>	5
			106.	Hacking, Albert C.	5
			107.	<i>Ireland, Julius W.</i>	5
			108.	Kendrick, Charles	5
			109.	Laird, Wayne W.	5
			110.	McCartney, H. A., Jr.	5
			111.	McGinty, Selva E.	5
			112.	Olander, Edwin L.	5
			113.	<i>Owen, Donald C.</i>	5
			114.	Phillips, Hyde	5
			115.	<i>Porter, Robert B.</i>	5
			116.	Poske, George H.	5
			117.	Powell, Ernest A.	5
			118.	Ramlo, Orvin H.	5
			119.	Scarborough, H.V., Jr.	5
			120.	Scherer, Raymond	5
			121.	See, Robert B.	5
			122.	Synar, Stanley	5
			123.	Weissenberger, G. J.	5
			124.	Wells, Albert P.	5
			125.	Yunck, Michael R.	5

\*Both Boyington and Overend are credited with six planes while with Flying Tigers in China.

TOTAL

1009 1/6

# Research Sources for Marine Corps History

by LtCol Allan R. Millett, USMCR

For an organization that once prided itself upon its non-bureaucratic values and contempt for paperwork, the Marine Corps has produced enough official and personal correspondence and reports to gladden the heart of any historian in search of Marine Corps history. In doing research for *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps* (Macmillan, 1980), I came to two related conclusions: 1) there was a documentary base for serious academic research on virtually every Marine-related subject and 2) the archival holdings on the Corps have not been used extensively for original research. The official histories of operations in World War II and the Korean and Vietnam wars are the exceptions to the last generalization.

Poring through reams of records and letters is often as exciting as digging a foxhole, but the rewards can be equally dramatic. Archival research is hard work, but it remains the basic challenge to any historian who wants to see the word "original" or "authoritative" applied to his writing. As historians since the ancient Greeks have discovered, the words of participants in events—regardless of prose style—are still the best key to reconstructing the past. To paraphrase an obscure Army general, there is no substitute for research in original materials. A short review of the major sources of historical infor-

mation on the Corps may encourage and assist others to join the search.

The most accessible cache of materials on the Corps from 1798 through World War II is the Records of the Marine Corps, Record Group 127, National Archives of the United States. Headquarters, Marine Corps papers physically are in the National Archives building in downtown Washington. Posts', stations', and field organizations' records are split between Washington and the Federal Records Center at Suitland, Maryland. Most World War II records and post-1945 documents remain in the care of the Operational Archives Section, History and Museums Division, at the Marine Corps Historical Center, Washington Navy Yard, as well as the appropriate staff divisions of Headquarters, Marine Corps, and the field commands, bases, posts, and stations.

Like other records groups, RG 127 is subdivided into many subcollections. The most significant is the correspondence, orders, and issuances of the Office of the Commandant, 1798-1939, which includes incoming correspondence. Other important collections are the records of the Office of the Adjutant and Inspector, Quartermaster's Department, and Paymaster's Department. RG 127 also includes the records of Marine units that served in China, Nicaragua, Haiti, and Cuba, but the units in the Dominican Republic have their records in Records of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (RG 38). The records of Marine units that served in France in World War I are in Records of the American Expeditionary Forces (RG 120). Record Group 127 also includes cartographic and photographic collections, also housed in the National Archives.

The diligent Marine Corps researcher finds, however, that the search quickly leads to collections other than Record Group 127. The archives of the rest of the Navy Department can yield important documents, especially the General Records of the Department of the Navy (RG 80) and the Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records

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*Dr. Millett is a professor of history and director of the Program on International Security and Military Affairs at the Mershon Center at Ohio State University. He also is a lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps Reserve and currently commands the 3d Battalion, 25th Marines.*

*In his seven years of research on his newly published book, *Semper Fidelis: The History of the United States Marine Corps*, Dr. Millett gained an intimate knowledge of available documents pertaining to the Corps' history.*

and Library (RG45). The former group includes the correspondence of the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations. The latter group has three especially significant collections: the "Z" file of unpublished naval histories; the lettered subject files on many Marine Corps activities; and the correspondence of the Board of Navy Commissioners (1815-1842). In addition, the researcher may need to investigate the massive collection of 20th Century official and personal papers held by the Operational Archives Branch, Naval Historical Division, also located in the Washington Navy Yard. The OAB, for example, holds the General Board's records and many documents and private papers acquired from the Navy Department's civilian and uniformed policy-makers.

Although the Marine Corps and the Navy have centralized most of their records in the Washington area, both the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, and the Marine Corps Education Center, Quantico, Virginia, maintain archives of historical documents produced by their educational mission. Both hold studies, papers, lectures, and plans that provide useful insights into organizational relations and doctrinal development, especially up to World War II. The Quantico collection is called the "Historical Amphibious File" and is housed in the James C. Breckinridge Library.

For additional executive branch documents on the Marine Corps, the researcher should, depending upon his subject, consult the Records of the Secretary of War (RG 107), the Records of the War Department General Staff (RG 165), and the Records of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (RG 218). Congressional archival materials are harder to reach in terms of access since the researcher must receive the permission to search them from the incumbent committee chairman of the appropriate committee, i.e., Senate and House Armed Services Committees. Access to Congressional documents takes some lobbying, but it is not impossible.

Official records and reports provide the bread and potatoes of Marine Corps history, but often the real meat of human experience can be found only in surviving personal papers. No one writes and preserves exactly the same sort of papers, and the value of any particular collection will vary widely, depending on the collector's interests and the searcher's project. Dinner invitations and Christmas cards may outnumber personal correspondence; change-of-station travel orders and official personal correspondence may be more numerous than candid diary entries.

Nevertheless, if personal papers for a particular subject exist, the researcher should make a special effort to consult them since they offer observations and judgments about people and events that cannot be found among the passive verbs and indefinite pronouns of official correspondence.

The largest single source of Marine Corps private papers is the Personal Papers Collection, housed in the Marine Corps Historical Center. Most of the papers were donated by senior officers, but their papers seldom cover their entire careers with equal fullness. There are some exceptions such as the papers of Gen Clifton B. Cates. Not surprisingly, the papers of 19th century Marines are not numerous, but they are very helpful since they include the papers of some "Old Corps" notables: Col Samuel Miller, Maj Levi Twiggs, Col Thomas Y. Field, LtCol McLane Tilton, and BGen Henry Clay Cochrane. Bridging the two centuries and the sea-going and colonial infantry Corps with the amphibious Corps are the papers of MajGen Smedley D. Butler, BGen George C. Reid, MajGen Joseph H. Pendleton, MajGen George Barnett, LtCol Harold B. Utley, and MajGen Clayton B. Vogel. For the 20th century Corps, the most significant collections are those of LtCol Alfred A. Cunningham, Gen Thomas B. Holcomb, Gen Alexander A. Vandegrift, Gen Holland M. Smith, Gen Cates, Gen Keith B. McCutcheon, Gen Wallace M. Greene, Jr., and LtGen Victor H. Krulak.

Although the History and Museums Division is the most important collector of private papers, the collections of other Corps figures have found their way to other repositories. This phenomenon is not unusual among military officers, but it does make the search for historical evidence more complicated and inconvenient. In Washington the researcher may want to consult two important collections held by the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the papers of LtGen John A. Lejeune and MajGen Merritt A. Edson. Farther afield the historian will find these collections: Gen Franklin M. Hart and BGen Joseph L. Stewart in the library of Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama; MajGen William P. Upshur in the archives of the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; LtGen William K. Jones and BGen Paul A. Putnam in the library of East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina; and Gen David M. Shoup and LtGen John R. Chaisson at the Hoover Institution of War, Peace, and Revolution, Stanford, California.

Historians and archivists know that private papers

cannot fill all a researcher's needs for eyewitness testimony. The major way to fill the void in existing private papers collections and the absence of any papers at all is to conduct interviews with living participants and then transcribe them for the use of future researchers. Although the oral history movement in the United States is a fairly recent phenomenon, the practice of interviewing participants is as old as written history itself. What has occurred essentially is that a technique used by individual historians has been institutionalized by major organizational collectors, who provide skilled interviewers and an organized plan for collecting and storing reminiscences. Academic historians were trained once to question the value of oral testimony, but reminiscences are probably no more valid or invalid intrinsically than any other sort of original evidence. The low status of oral testimony probably comes from the careless use of remembrances by lazy or untrained popular historians, who often have neither the stomach for documentary research nor the intellectual rigor to test *any* evidence for relevance and credibility. In any event, the search for Marine Corps history should include an expedition into oral history.

Building upon the use of oral testimony for its histories of World War II and the Korean War, the History and Museums Division created a formal oral history program and collection about 15 years ago. The transcriptions and tapes are held at the Marine Corps Historical Center and, subject to any limitations imposed by the interviewee, are available to researchers. The collection now includes the reminiscences of many Marine Corps generals alive when the program began; it also has a few interviews with enlisted men, usually senior noncommissioned officers whose service in the Corps' early 20th century campaigns made them important witnesses. Most of the collection is also reproduced in a second set of transcripts in Breckinridge Library at Quantico. Given the extent of the oral history collection and the wide range of experiences of the interviewees, it is difficult to make final judgments about the importance of any single transcript. In my own work, however, I found the following reminiscences especially useful: LtGen Alpha L. Bowser, Gen Clifton B. Cates, LtGen Pedro A. del Valle, LtGen Victor H. Krulak, Gen Vernon E. Megee, Gen Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., LtGen Julian C. Smith, Gen Oliver P. Smith, and Gen Gerald C. Thomas. In addition, the Oral History Collection has collected field interviews with thousands of Marines who serv-

ed in Vietnam. This collection is essential to detailed research on Marine operations and policies in the III Marine Amphibious Force area of operations.

In the same manner, the private papers and oral testimony of Marines do not exhaust the sources of information on the Corps that historians can find in archives. Often a researcher may unknowingly or through apathy ignore sources of Corps history simply because the papers are not held by the History and Museums Division. The geographic dispersion of such collections may be one barrier to research, but usually the telephone, typewriter, and Xerox machine can provide partial access. In some cases, a trip is required. For example, the presidential libraries now functioning (Herbert Hoover through Lyndon B. Johnson) have Marine Corps personal and office files in the White House papers. Often the presidential papers will also include related collections of the administration's principal civilian officeholders, including secretaries of defense and secretaries of the Navy. The papers of Army and Navy officers that had important influence or insights about the Corps tend to appear in collections along the East Coast. For the Army the major sites are the library of the U.S. Military Academy; the U.S. Army Military History Institute at Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania; the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; and the MacArthur Library, Norfolk, Virginia. Navy officers' papers are even more concentrated in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the library of the U.S. Naval Academy, and the Naval Historical Division. For the experiences of Marine enlisted men who served in land campaigns, there are two important collections at the Military History Institute. These are the "Empire Collection," which covers the Asiatic expeditions of 1898-1902, and the "World War I" collection, which holds the letters and papers of many Marines who served in the 4th Marine Brigade.

During seven years of concentrated research on the Corps, I learned that, like the Corps itself, the existing monographs based on archival research were high quality, but few in number. Although I am always pleased when some reviewer calls *Semper Fidelis* "definitive," I also know that it does not contain every last word that could and should be written about Marine Corps history. I do, however, believe that such historical writing must show more imagination and plain hard work in archival sources. It is in the original records where the search for the history of the Corps will uncover the greatest treasures.

# A Government Historian's Memoir

*by Maj Ronald H. Spector, USMCR*

I first decided to work for the government while grading papers at Yale in 1967. I had just finished reading my 36th essay on the Monroe Doctrine. Things must be more interesting in the "real world," I thought. All the other graduate students I knew in political science and economics were going into nifty jobs in Washington. They were fighting the War on Poverty; they were analyzing cost effectiveness; they were helping developing countries develop. Surely this was a lot more exciting than the Monroe Doctrine. That afternoon I went to see my advisor.

"I want to work for the government," I said.

"Hmmm," he said.

A few weeks later I was on my way to Washington armed with two letters of introduction to the Historian of the Department of State and the Chief Historian of the Army. These were the only federal historians anybody at Yale had ever heard of. I had little trouble getting a job. In those days the Federal Government actually sent out letters asking people to take positions in the Civil Service.

My first job was with the historical division of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, located in a small suite of windowless offices on the ground floor of the Pentagon and decorated with wall-to-wall safes. About half of the historical division was engaged in writing formal narrative histories of the Joint Chiefs of Staff while the remainder were at work on various short-term projects for the Joint Staff. In those pre-Daniel Ellsberg, pre-Freedom of Information days, none of the work of the historical division was intended for publication. We tacitly assumed that even the studies dealing with the 1940s would remain classified for years to come. Some of the JCS histories

have recently been published, but the phenomenon of the "classified history" is still a common one. There are many able historians in the government today who have written hundreds, sometimes thousands, of pages which have never seen the light of day because the subject is still classified.

The problems created by this type of history, presumably intended only for remote posterity or for the eyes of a few key policy-makers, are many. Without open publications there can be no genuine evaluation of a historian's work by his professional peers. Without such peer review all sorts of garbage can pass for history and the agency which sponsors such research may be ill-served by the result. Various expedients have been employed to try to mitigate the evils of classified history. A common practice is to publish a "sanitized" version of the history, that is, one which has undergone security review by the agencies concerned and had sensitive portions deleted. Another is to request a distinguished historian from outside the agency, who has been granted a security clearance, to review the manuscript. The drawbacks of both methods are obvious.

Yet despite their short-comings classified histories fill an important need. Often they serve as a convenient institutional memory for harried policy-makers and action officers and, when they are finally declassified, for the building blocks for more complete and balanced histories to be published later.

I had been with the Joint Chiefs of Staff only a short time when my draft board decided I should see some more active service and I found myself at Parris Island. I discovered that graduate school had been an excellent preparation for Marine Corps training since I was already used to losing a lot of sleep, sitting through boring lectures, and gulping down my food while in a kind of standing crouch.

When I was in my last week at the Infantry Training Regiment I was ordered to report to my first sergeant. A message had come from Headquarters, Marine Corps, about me.

"I knew it, I knew it!" I said, "I'm going to be a social aide at the White House."

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*Dr. Spector, employed at the U.S. Army Center of Military History, received a direct commission as a major, USMCR in 1980 under the Specialist Officer Program. As a reserve officer, Maj Spector is a member of MTU/DC-7 where he is revising and updating a history of the 5th Marines. This article was expanded from a piece in the newsletter of the American Historical Association.*

"Not exactly," said the first sergeant.

My new orders placed me on special assignment for the Commandant of the Marine Corps as historian for the III Marine Amphibious Force in Vietnam. Field historians, historical detachments, combat historians, or historical teams, as they are variously called, have a long history in the armed forces dating back to the early years of World War II. Whatever they are called, their function has remained largely the same, to collect and preserve records and interview participants. LtCol (later BGen) S. L. A. Marshall pioneered in developing the techniques and methods which all such teams still employ, or are supposed to employ. The perennial problem of such detachments is that they are attached to the overworked staffs of operational units. The commanders usually succumb to the temptation to use the three or four officers and enlisted men of the team to help ease their burden of paperwork, fend off the press, escort visiting dignitaries, or whatever other tasks come to mind. To some extent this is a problem of historians in all field agencies and commands, but it is especially acute during wartime when all heads of organizations feel overworked and understaffed.

Most members of the two Marine historical teams in Vietnam (one with each division) operated without the corrupting influence of any historical training. Since the Marine Corps historical program emphasized oral history, many were former radio newscasters or disc jockeys who, it was believed, would be at ease in the role of interviewers. The present large methodical literature about oral history was then nonexistent.

The teams were responsible for keeping track of everything that happened within their division's area, or approximately 5,000 square miles. To get around, the 1st Division team had one jeep, the 3d Division team, none. The team members often traveled in helicopters or cargo planes, less frequently by sampan or motorbike. By 1969 they had covered and participated in more than 40 major unit operations. At the time of my arrival one team was at Khe Sanh and the other was covering the battle of Hue.

As soon as possible I began working with each team to give them the benefit of my knowledge of oral history (which was limited) and my experience (which was nil). We found that generally, members of a unit that had been in combat were most willing to talk about their experiences after they had had

some hot food and rest. On the other hand, too long a delay after an action was inadvisable because individuals' memories of their experiences soon became blurred and unreliable. We also discovered that the longer an interviewer spent with a unit the more willingly the members cooperated with candid and complete answers to the questions. Lastly, the personality of the interviewer made an important though intangible difference in the quality of his interviews. Just as some well-known television and newspaper interviewers possess the ability to elicit frank and revealing responses from their subjects, so some Marine interviewers showed a marked talent for eliciting useful information from the men they interviewed.

These experienced interviewers in their turn would pass on their "tricks of the trade" to new men joining the oral history team. The new field historians accompanied experienced team members on assignments until they mastered the techniques of interviewing and gained a fair knowledge of the local geography and the organization of their division.

The teams evolved a set of standard questions and topics for each kind of unit. When Headquarters, Marine Corps, issued its new *Manual for the Marine Corps Historical Program*, we discovered that the SOP developed independently by the teams closely paralleled that prescribed in the manual.

After several months of trial and error, I was reasonably sure that we were on the right track and had developed a local method that would not have been too embarrassing to the late General Marshall. Yet in this highly specialized—not to say bizarre—area of military history, progress is always slow, gains are never final, knowledge is seldom passed on. I am confident that in future wars field historians will again encounter the same problems and have to learn the same lessons.

Upon becoming a civilian again, I decided I had seen enough of the Real World and was glad to get back to college teaching. After two years, however, I took a job with the U.S. Army Center of Military History (then the Office of the Chief of Military History). The Center of Military History was in some ways quite different from the historical division of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. For one thing, they had windows; for another, most of their work was intended for publication. By the time I joined the Center it had weathered many storms and completed over 70 large, well received books in the series *The United States Army in World War II*, as well as other

substantial works. My job was a temporary one, to help with preparation for the *U.S. Army in Vietnam* series. "We're only staying here a year," I told my wife.

That was in 1971. Since then I have spent all of my time with the Center of Military History, except for a year of lecturing in India, in writing a single (very long) book about the beginning of the Army involvement in Vietnam. It will be ready for publication soon. I hope.

In the popular imagination the military historian in government lives in constant anxiety and has nightmares about whether he will be allowed to reveal that General Ulysses "Mad Dog" Patton Sherman IV was actually drunk during the Battle of Rumsen Ridge. This is incorrect. Government historians do not have nightmares about generals. They have nightmares about documents.

In theory the official historian has access to a wide variety of documents. He holds a top secret security clearance and is authorized to use not only all records of his agency but, under a recent arrangement called the Inter-Agency Access Agreement, the records of several other departments as well. It might be conjectured that armed with all this "access" the official historian need only appear at a federal records center or presidential library, flash his I.D. card, and dive right into note-taking and copying. The reality is somewhat less gratifying.

In the first place there is the little matter of finding the documents. Comparatively few military-related records of the 60s and 70s have been accessioned and processed by the National Archives. That



DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY  
HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES MARINE CORPS  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20380

IN REPLY REFER TO  
AD:emw  
10 Sep 1965

MEMORANDUM FOR AC/S G-3

Subj: Interrogation of returnees for historical purposes

1. Please prepare a plan that will insure that we record for historical purposes appropriate information from personnel returning from South Vietnam. This program should be Marine Corps wide and extend to the principal Marine Corps bases in the Continental limits.
2. I believe that this program should make maximum use of tapes, with guidance from our historians as to the type of information desired.
3. The Commandant has talked to the Commanding <sup>out</sup> General, Marine Corps Schools, Quantico on this subject and believes that Quantico should start their program as soon as possible.
4. Please prepare this as a matter of priority. I would like to see your plan by 20 September.

L. F. CHAPMAN, JR.

*Oral History Program's Birth Certificate*

means that the official historian is on his own in trying to locate documents he needs in the thousands of cubic feet of floor-to-ceiling boxes in the Federal Records Centers. Then there is the fact that not every federal agency is a party to the inter-agency access agreement. Those that are not often insist that special permission be obtained to see not only their own records, but anything in the records of any other agency which pertains to them. This arrangement usually brings on a blizzard of paperwork which can last anywhere from a few weeks to a year and may or may not result in complete access to the records requested. Keep in mind that this barrage of letters is all concerned with documents which are classified, will remain classified, and cannot be declassified without the consent of all interested parties.

The problem of access to records, together with the requirement that official histories be definitive and comprehensive, accounts for the long period required to complete and publish them.

# Gray Hair and Gold Bars

## *The Oldest Marine Second Lieutenants of World War I*

*by Robert J. Cressman*

Some months ago, Mr. Steve Donoghue, a lieutenant in the Holyoke, Massachusetts police department, asked the Center for information on the career of the late 2dLt James Gallivan, a decorated veteran of World War I. Subsequent research revealed that 2dLt Gallivan was over 50 years of age when commissioned, prompting speculation that he may have been the oldest second lieutenant in the Marine Corps during World War I. However, a check of the lineal lists of 1918 and 1919 showed that two other lieutenants, James Duffy and Henry L. Hulbert (the latter a previous Medal of Honor winner) were even older. In addition to their commissions, Hulbert and Gallivan earned combat decorations in France, evidence that courage and gallantry are not the preserves of youth.

James Duffy, the eldest of the three, was born in Carrick Macross, Ireland on 21 December 1865 and became an American citizen in 1891. After a brief career as a railroad conductor, he enlisted in the Marine Corps 29 December 1894 at Brooklyn, New York, eight days after his 29th birthday. His subsequent service ranged from Sitka to San Francisco, and from Cuba to Cavite, both ashore and afloat. After Congress instituted warrant officer ranks for the Marine Corps on 29 August 1916, 1stSgt Duffy was appointed a Marine gunner on 18 October 1917.

Assigned to train the eager young men then swelling the ranks of the Marine Corps, Duffy never left the United States during World War I. He received his commission in the Marine Corps Reserve on 31 May 1918 and was promoted to first lieutenant on 10

July of that year. He was then a 53-year-old six-footer with "iron gray" hair who carried out his duties at Parris Island in a ". . . calm, even-tempered and painstaking . . ." manner. He served as a company officer and ran the headquarters and extra-duty detachments. In July 1919 he reverted to the rank of

*James Gallivan, then 51 years old and a 24-year veteran of the Marine Corps, posed for this photograph shortly after being commissioned a second lieutenant in 1918.*



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*Mr. Cressman, a reference historian in the Center, earned BA and MA degrees in history from the University of Maryland. In his spare time, Mr. Cressman is writing a biography of Adm Harry Yarnell, who commanded the Asiatic Fleet, 1936-39.*



first sergeant and retired upon reaching 30 years service. In 1932, he was advanced to first lieutenant on the retired list. Duffy died of bronchial pneumonia in Los Angeles in 1943 and was buried in the Golden Gate National Cemetery.

Henry Lewis Hulbert, the second oldest of the three, was an unusually gifted and cultured man who, prior to his enlistment, had worked as a civil engineer and was rumored to have served as an officer in the British Army. Among his pre-war accomplishments were the winning of the Medal of Honor in Samoa and the distinction of being the first Marine to receive an appointment to the rank of Marine gunner. In addition, he was probably the model for the character of Edward Hawks in John W. Thomason's short story, "Special Cases" (. . . *And a Few Marines*, Scribners, 1943).

Hulbert, born in Kingston-Upon-Hull, England, on 12 February 1867, enlisted in the Marine Corps at Mare Island on 28 March 1898, following the sinking of the battleship *Maine*. Assigned to the Marine Guard of the cruiser, USS *Philadelphia*, he was part of a mixed Anglo-American landing party which suffered a bloody setback at the hands of rebellious Samoan natives on 1 April 1899. Pvt Hulbert covered the retreat and was the last man to return to the beach. For his conspicuous gallantry at the risk of his life, he received the Medal of Honor.

Over Hulbert's next nineteen years of service ashore and afloat, he achieved (as he put it modestly) "a record that any one might be proud of." He had earned a good conduct medal or bar for each of his enlistment periods.

Hulbert, appointed a Marine gunner in March 1917, was assigned to Headquarters, Marine Corps when the United States entered World War I. Although at an age when he could have remained stateside, Hulbert wanted none of that, and ultimately prevailed upon an old friend, MajGen-Commandant George Barnett, to let him go to France.

Once "over there," attached to the Headquarters Company of the 5th Marines, Hulbert the engineer—a man whose stamina amazed men half his age—superintended the construction of barracks and a regimental rifle range. Aspiring to a lieutenantcy, he requested that his bid be considered favorably despite his age. Those who knew him backed him unreservedly. "I should be most glad to have Mr. Hulbert under me in any capacity," wrote Capt George K. Shuler, "and should he be through good fortune promoted over me I should be most happy to serve under his command. . . ." Another

acquaintance, 1stLt W. T. Galliford, the adjutant for the 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, put it: "If the 5th Regiment goes over the top I want to go over with Mr. Hulbert."

When the Marines finally tasted combat in France, Hulbert partook of it fully. The ageless "gunner" displayed "extraordinary heroism" on 6 June 1918 in assuring the delivery of food to frontline Marines at Belleau Wood. During that time, he worked in constant exposure to enemy fire "without regard to personal danger." The efficient supply system he devised earned him post-battle accolades from MajGen Omar Bundy, USA, Commanding General, 2d Division. Wrote the general: "No one could have rendered more valuable services than Gunner Hulbert."

In addition, Hulbert won an Army Distinguished Service Cross, a Croix de Guerre, and ultimately (but posthumously) a Navy Cross for his services at Belleau Wood.

The Naval Appropriation Bill of 1 July 1918 waived the age limits for warrant officers seeking regular commissions and cleared the way for Hulbert's se-

*For this portrait taken prior to World War I, gray-haired Henry L. Hurlbert, soon to gain additional distinction in France, wore the Medal of Honor earned in Samoa.*



cond lieutenantcy. Ranking as a second lieutenant from 1 July, he became a first lieutenant on 6 September. Less than a month later, on 4 October, during the desperate fighting at Blanc Mont, a German machine gun cut down the gallant Hulbert. The Navy commemorated this extraordinary Marine by naming Destroyer 342 in his honor.

Like Duffy, James Gallivan hailed from the Emerald Isle; like Hulbert, Gallivan would have to fight to get to France in World War I, and would win battle honors "over there." Born in County Kerry, Ireland, on 18 March 1867, Gallivan emigrated to the United States at 17, and after spending several years as a steam fitter and boiler maker in Holyoke, Massachusetts, enlisted at Boston on 21 April 1894.

In the two decades preceding World War I, Gallivan served at sea in battleships and cruisers; pulled expeditionary duty in Cuba and Mexico; and served ashore at Marine Barracks at Washington, Boston, New York, and Norfolk, and on Guam and in the Philippines.

He saw plenty of combat, too: fighting the Spanish at Guantanamo in 1898; the Filipino "Insurrectos" in 1899 up the Orani River and at Novalleta; and the "Boxers" at Tientsin in 1900. When the United States entered World War I, Gallivan, like Hulbert, found that some thought him too old to withstand the rigors of campaigning in France, but he was determined to go to Europe with his unit, the 2d Battalion, 5th Marines. He convinced his battalion commander, Maj Frederic M. Wise, by claiming that there was "room enough in France" for the both of them! As Wise later related, "It was one of the best decisions I ever made."

Promoted to Marine gunner in October 1917, Gallivan, like Hulbert, a man who "proved . . . he could stand hardships as well as the youngsters. . .," proved a valuable asset to the 43d Company, but the company's baptism of fire at Marigny on 3 June 1918, soon after the 5th Marines went into the line at Belleau Wood, almost turned out to be Gallivan's last battle. On that day, he fell, badly wounded, a German machine gun bullet lodged in his leg.

Gallivan, however, recovered quickly, and ultimately rejoined his battalion on 9 September 1918, becoming battalion munitions officer effective on 16 September. He participated in three successive offensives over the ensuing months: St. Mihiel and two phases of the Meuse-Argonne: Champagne and the Argonne Forest.

Cited for "gallantry in action" at Champagne, Gallivan set a "rare example of coolness, bravery, and devotion to duty" on 2 November 1918 near Bayonville, France. Despite heavy enemy shelling and machine gun fire, Gallivan led a party of men forward to the frontline trenches with food for the Marines there. With "utter disregard for self," Gallivan inspired the men to push forward despite the enemy fire. His courage prompted Capt Charley Dunbeck (incidentally one of the last surviving company commanders who had come over with the battalion in 1917) to recommend Gallivan for a Distinguished Service Cross. That same action earned Marine Gunner Gallivan a "mention in dispatches" in General John J. Pershing's AEF Citation Order Number 2.

Gallivan, after the armistice, served with the occupying forces in the erstwhile enemy's homeland. During that time, he received his second lieutenantcy (provisional) on 26 December 1918.

He had proved an exceptional officer, and as Capt Dunbeck wrote on 17 February 1919, "his ability as a disciplinarian is unquestionable. . . . I believe that the success of the Marine Corps is due to a large extent to the effort and hard work of officers of the type of Lieutenant Gallivan."

Ultimately, the wound suffered at Belleau Wood caused Gallivan's retirement from the service on 18 December 1919 and his return to Holyoke, where he took a job in the circulation department of the Springfield (Massachusetts) *Daily News*. He stayed in newspaper work for several years, and he proudly wore on his pocket watch chain the German bullet cut from his leg in June 1918.

In June 1938, Gallivan and his wife, Katherine, were motoring home from a trip to Florida when he took ill and had to check into the U.S. Naval Hospital at Portsmouth, Va. There, he died of heart failure on 24 June. He was buried in St. Jerome's Cemetery, Holyoke.

Gallivan held several campaign medals that reflected his service in the Marine Corps, while two Silver Stars and the Croix de Guerre attested to his courage under fire.

The three oldest second lieutenants of the World War I Marine Corps—Duffy, Hulbert, and Gallivan—had each left their native lands and become naturalized American citizens. Each, after donning the uniform of the United States Marines, contributed materially to the Corps' gallant traditions from drill field to battlefield.

# Legendary Hero Honored Here

*by Maj Edward F. Wells, USMC*

Retired BGen Herman H. Hanneken, legendary hero of the Haitian Campaign, visited the Historical Center on 21 January 1981. General Hanneken, a Medal of Honor recipient, had come to Washington as an official guest at President Reagan's inaugural. He toured the Center and met with Mr. Benis Frank, head of the Oral History Section. Together they recorded an interview which covered the general's eventful 34-year career with special emphasis on his well known activities as a "bandit hunter" in Haiti and Nicaragua.

Seasoned noncommissioned officers provided junior officer leadership for locally recruited security forces. It was in this capacity that Capt (Sgt, USMC) Hanneken of the Haitian Gendarmerie killed the notorious bandit, Charlemagne Peralte, during a daring raid on his camp in northern Haiti in 1919.

General Hanneken's Medal of Honor was presented by MGen Commandant John A. Lejeune on 1 July 1920. His citation states in part:

For extraordinary heroism and conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity in actual conflict with the enemy near Grande Riviere, Republic of Haiti, on the night of October 31st-November 1st, 1919, resulting in the death of Charlemagne Peralte, the supreme bandit chief in the Republic of Haiti, and the killing and capture of about (1,200) of his outlaw followers. Second Lieutenant Hanneken not only distinguished himself by his excellent judgement and leadership, but unhesitatingly exposed himself to great personal danger, and the slightest error would have forfeited not only his life but the lives of the detachments of gendarmerie under his command. The suc-

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*Maj Wells, presently with the Histories Section, received his BA in history from Harvard in 1968. He is preparing the volume, "Marines in Vietnam, 1971-1973," for publication.*



*BGen Herman Hanneken, shown here as a lieutenant, earned both a commission and the Medal of Honor for his exploits in Haiti.*

cessful termination of his mission will undoubtedly prove of untold value to the Republic of Haiti.

General Hanneken had been commissioned in the Marine Corps after the exploit.

General Hanneken's Medal of Honor was the first of several personal decorations. The killing of Osiris Joseph, another Haitian bandit, and the capture of "General" Jiron in Nicaragua each earned a Navy Cross. Three years of World War II service in the 1st Marine Division added the Silver Star (Guadalcanal), the Legion of Merit (Peleliu), and the Bronze Star (Cape Gloucester).

*General Hanneken, right, tours the Museum with Mr. Frank prior to recording an oral history interview on his Caribbean service.*





*Marines of the 2d Battalion, 22d Marines raise an American flag on Okinawa on 21 June 1945 in*

*ceremonies honoring their late commander, LtCol Horatio C. Woodhouse, Jr.*

## Okinawa Battle Flag Acquired

*by Maj William R. Melton, USMC*

An historic American flag, which a Marine battalion twice ceremonially raised during the World War II battle for Okinawa, has been given to the Marine Corps by the Virginia Military Institute at the behest of Gen Lemuel C. Shepherd, Jr., 20th Commandant of the Marine Corps and a VMI graduate.

Prior to landing on Okinawa, the 2d Battalion, 22d Marines of the 6th Marine Division, commanded by LtCol Horatio Cornick Woodhouse, Jr., received an encased American flag which, in the words of the unknown presenting officer, was ". . . to be fittingly emplaced on the conquered land . . ." The battalion carried the flag ashore and raised it as a symbol of victory on the northernmost point of the island on 19 April.

Shortly afterward, the 2d Battalion received orders to join the push toward the southern end of the island. Their attack swept through the Asa-Kawa zone and Naha, the island's capital. The movement, against heavy interlocking Japanese fire from caves, tombs, and brushy draws among the rolling hills, was slow and costly. Among the casualties was LtCol

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*Maj Melton, who has a BA in history from Oklahoma City University, is preparing the volume U.S. Marines in Vietnam, 1970-71, for publication.*

Woodhouse, who was killed on 30 May while controlling his battalion's attack. For this action, he received the Navy Cross.

The 2d Battalion continued its attack and reached the southern end of Okinawa on 21 June where the flag was again raised. This second ceremony, conducted in honor of LtCol Woodhouse, was the last time the banner flew over Okinawa.

The battalion sent the flag to LtCol Woodhouse's mother. She presented it to VMI in memory of her son who graduated with the class of 1936. In September 1980, at the urging of Gen Shepherd, who commanded the 6th Division on Okinawa, the flag was displayed during ceremonies at a division reunion in Washington, D.C.

After the reunion, General Shepherd recommended to BGen Simmons that the Woodhouse flag be added to the Museum's flag collection. The Director wrote the Superintendent of VMI and asked that the flag be transferred to the custody of the Marine Corps Museum. The Superintendent agreed and Mrs. June F. Cunningham, Director of VMI's museum, shipped the flag to the Center. Mrs. Cunningham's letter of transmittal concluded: "We are pleased to place the historic United States flag which flew over Okinawa in 1945 . . . in your museum. We feel that your museum is a more appropriate home for it and gladly entrust it to you."

# Oral History Report

The transcript of the interview with the late MajGen William P. Battell, USMC (Ret), former Quartermaster General of the Marine Corps, has been added to the Oral History Collection. He enlisted in the Marine Corps in 1927 and, after boot camp, was assigned first as a student and then as an instructor at the Naval Radio Materiel School, Anacostia. There his daily classwork consisted of memorizing the wiring diagrams of every radio set then used by the Navy. While at the school, he was selected to attend the Officer Candidates' School at 8th and I in Washington and received his commission in January 1930. In 1939 Maj Battell became the signal supply officer at the Philadelphia Supply Depot and the following year reported to the Radio Division, Bureau of Ships. During this period, LtCol Battell was responsible for satisfying the signal supply needs of the FMF. In early 1944 he went to FMFPac as the signal supply officer for the Service Command, where he planned the signal support operations in the Marianas and Palaus and at Iwo Jima. In 1956, he joined the Supply Department, HQMC, where he worked closely with the legendary MajGen William P. T. Hill, then Quartermaster General of the Marine Corps. The transcript contains some very interesting material on General Hill's personality, style, and special relationship with Congress.

While at HQMC, Col Battell was promoted to brigadier general and transferred to command the Marine Corps Supply Center, Albany, Georgia. Promoted to major general in 1962, he returned to HQMC as Assistant QMG; in 1963 he became Quartermaster General of the Marine Corps. Following 38 years of active service, he retired in 1965.

Mr. Frank has conducted a number of other interviews in recent months. One of these was with BGen Margaret A. Brewer, USMC (Ret), the first woman Marine to reach general officer rank. Other interviews have been with LtGen Edward S. Fris, MajGens Carl A. Youngdale and Norman J. Anderson, and Col John P. Leonard, Jr. Mr. Frank took advantage of retired BGen Herman H. Hanneken's visit to the Center in January to record a three-hour

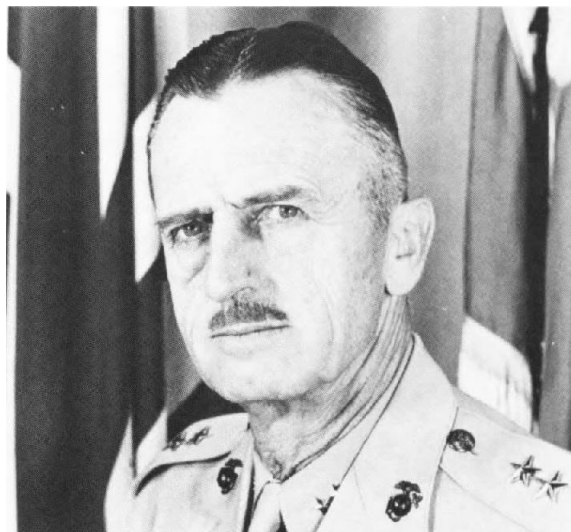
interview that concentrated on the exploit which earned him the Medal of Honor in Haiti (see page 19 in this issue).

Mr. Danny Crawford, the head of the Reference Section, and Mr. Frank have continued their interviews with Marine Security Guard personnel, including the returned members of the Tehran Detachment. In addition, Col James L. Cooper, commanding officer of the Marine Security Guard Battalion, and Capt Robert T. Wolfertz, former operations officer of the battalion, have provided interviews on the preparations for and the actual return of the Tehran Marines. Maj Michael H. Kayser, who recently commanded Company D in Panama, discussed the problems faced by Marines in embassies in Central and South America.

In conjunction with the 1980 meeting of the Marine Corps Aviation Association, MajGen John P. Condon asked Mr. Frank for advice on interviewing retired aviators. Interviews with BGen Robert E. Galer, Cols Hunter Reinburg and Kenneth Reusser, and LtCol Howard Bollman have been accessioned.

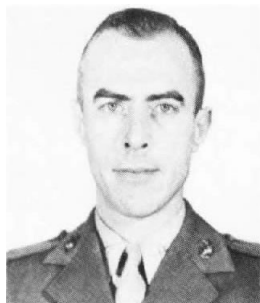
The Center has acquired interviews conducted by two recipients of Marine Historical Research Grants. Dr. Gibson Smith interviewed a number of people for a biography of Gen Thomas Holcomb. Dr. Howard Jablon, currently writing a biography of Gen David M. Shoup, has deposited four interviews in the Collection.

Finally, Mr. Eric M. Hammel, a free-lance writer, donated the interviews he conducted for a history of the Chosin Reservoir campaign, to be published by Vanguard Press. Researchers may use these interviews after publication of the book.—BMF



*MajGen William P. Battell, USMC (Ret)*

# In Memoriam



Col William M. Miller, USMC (Ret.), 1918-1981, head of the Historical Branch, G-3 Division, HQMC, 1960-1961, died 26 March at Bethesda, Maryland. He was a native of Virginia, grew up in North Carolina, and attended the University of

North Carolina for three years before entering the Naval Academy. He graduated in 1941 to become an artillery officer in the Marine Corps. During World War II, he served with the 1st Marine Division in the Tulagi, Guadalcanal, and Cape Gloucester operations. In later years, he commanded the Marine Barracks, San Juan, Puerto Rico, and was executive officer of the Marine Barracks, 8th and I. He retired in July 1961 and became a trade executive with the American Petroleum Institute. Col Miller was buried in Arlington Cemetery on 31 March.



BGen Franklin G. Cowie, USMC (Ret), 1897-1981, died at Kessler AFB, Mississippi on 25 January. Born in Virginia, Gen Cowie enlisted in the USMCR in 1917, was commissioned in May 1919, and was designated a naval aviator. In World

War II, he commanded MAG-34 before becoming W-4 of the 2d Marine Aircraft Wing. In the later stages of the war, he commanded the Service Command, 9th MAW and was G-4 AirFMFPac. He was promoted to brigadier general upon retirement in 1951.



BGen Lester A. Dessez, USMC (Ret), 1896-1981, died 12 February in Bethesda, Maryland. He was a charter member of the Marine Corps Historical Foundation and a close friend and supporter of the Marine Corps Historical Program.

Gen Dessez was a fifth generation Washingtonian whose great-grandfather fought in the Battle of Bladensburg in 1814. He enlisted in April 1917 and was commissioned the following October. He served briefly as aide to BGen Albertus Catlin in Haiti. In 1924, Lt Dessez was assigned as aide to MajGen John H. Russell, the American High Commissioner in Haiti. In 1930, he again became an aide, this time to Major General Commandant Ben H. Fuller. Capt Dessez attended the 1935-1937 class of the Ecole Superieure de Guerre in Paris. In December 1940, LtCol Dessez led the 7th Defense Battalion to Samoa. Col Dessez returned to the States in 1944 for duty with Amphibious Corps, Pacific Fleet. After schooling at Fort Leavenworth, he was assigned to the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations until 1946. He then joined FMFPac as Chief of Staff and subsequently commanded the Marine Barracks, Guam. His final assignment was with the Joint Staff, Office of National Defense. Col Dessez was promoted to brigadier general upon his retirement in 1948.



BGen Lee N. Utz, USMC (Ret), 1899-1980, died in San Mateo, California on 12 December. A native of Kentucky, Gen Utz enlisted in 1916 and was commissioned in 1926. He served in Nicaragua, China, and Guam and commanded the Marine

Detachment in the *Oklahoma*. He spent the first part of World War II assigned to the Department of the Pacific. In mid-1944, Col Utz became the G-1 of the Guam Island Command. Col Utz retired in 1946 and was advanced to brigadier general on the retired list.

# Events at the Center

## *Tercio del Mar Oceano*

On 30 March the Center welcomed two visitors from Spain, Sr. and Sra. D. Pascual Barberan. Sr. Barberan, Grand Master General of the Order of the Ocean Sea (Orden del Mar Oceano), came to coordinate a proposed visit in 1982 by his organization to the Santa Elena archeological site at Parris Island and other Spanish colonial locations on the Georgia and Florida coasts.

One element of the Order is the Tercio del Mar Oceano (Regiment of the Ocean Sea). The Tercio is a highly regarded military history and social organization commemorating the precursor of today's Spanish Marine Corps. In 1979, King Juan Carlos, in a royal decree, declared the Spanish Marine Corps to be descended from the original Tercio del Mar Oceano of 1537. Today's Tercio parades in the 1537 uniform and performs period military evolutions and arms drill. It has close social ties with the Spanish Marine Corps and the Marine Barracks at Rota.

*The National Air and Space Museum, responding to public demand, placed a restored Vought F4U "Corsair" on display in ceremonies on 9 February. In honor of the occasion, author Robert Sherrod (left) presented copies of the new edition of his book,*



## *7-Inch Gun Arrives at Quantico*

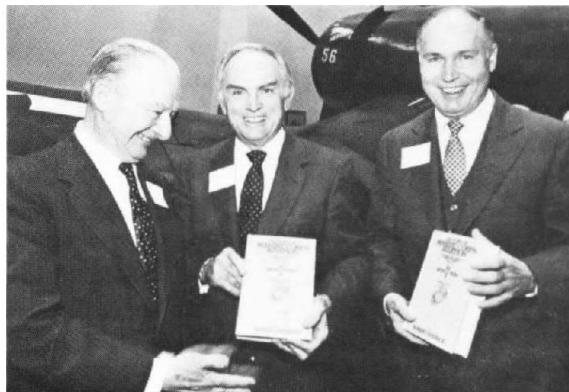
The Museum's recently acquired vintage tractor-mounted 7-inch gun, originally issued to the 10th Marines in World War I, arrived at Quantico on an Army LCU on 23 March. The Museum obtained the 79,000-pound weapon from the Naval Surface Weapons Center, Dahlgren, Virginia following research by the former editor of *Fortitudine*, Maj David N. Buckner (*Fortitudine*, Spring 1980). Ultimately, this gun will be on display at Quantico as part of the planned conversion of the Aviation Museum to an air-ground team museum.

## *Korean Scroll Presented*

Approximately 90 attendees of the Army Historians Conference toured the Center on 9 April. The group, composed of official historians attached to Army commands worldwide, received briefings on the various sections within the Center.

Included in the group was BGen Park Chung In, Chairman of the War History Compilation Committee of the South Korean Ministry of National Defense. At the conclusion of the tour, BGen Park presented a scroll to BGen Simmons. In translation, the calligraphy on the scroll reads: "Lessons of the past guide our steps ahead."

*History of Marine Corps Aviation in World War II, to Mr. Paul Thayer, chairman of the board of LTV Corporation, and Mr. Robert L. Kirk, president of Vought Corporation. (Photos courtesy of Vought Corporation)*



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Thomas, Lowell  
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Webb, James

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