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Bringing Columbus Home:
Buffalo Soldiers, Representation, and
Transatlantic Memory of the Italian Campaign in WWII

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Abstract

Following victory in Europe in World War II, African American troops of the Ninety-Second Infantry Division took part in a symbolic but relatively unknown ceremony returning the ashes of Christopher Columbus to the Italian city of Genoa. This event encapsulates the complicated experiences of the 'Buffalo' soldiers in Italy and their legacies. While the role of this rare Black combat unit was camouflaged by the mainstream press, for African Americans the Division captivated the hopes of 'racial uplift' that could come via the ideals of the 'Double Victory' against Fascism at home and abroad. While the patriotic character of the ceremony obscured the achievements of Black combat troops, the article suggests that veterans were active in agents in shaping 'Double V' memories which held Black patriotism and achievement in tension with the struggles they faced as African Americans in a segregated military. Importantly, by examining the return visits to Genoa alongside oral histories, the article argues these memories had a clear transatlantic dimension, which were underpinned by ideas of 'colorblind' Italians. The memories worked to underline the American identity of Black soldiers while acting as long-term reminders of American racism in the War.

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Bringing Columbus Home:
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On 6 June 1945 African American soldiers of the Ninety-Second Infantry Division, one of the few all-black combat units in the War and known as the 'Buffalo' soldiers, participated in a symbolic ceremony returning the ashes of Christopher Columbus to the Italian city of Genoa, the explorer's city of birth. Italian partisans had hidden the remains of the 'Grande Navigatore' (Great Navigator) to protect them from an intense Allied bombing campaign prior to the city's liberation.[1] The US military newspaper *Stars and Stripes* described how the Division 'led the impressive military ceremony,' which involved members of the Division slowly marching along Piazza della Vittoria carrying the urn to the 'Arco dei Caduti' (arch of the fallen), a monument erected during the Fascist era to honour Italian patriots from the First World War. The event involved the African American 'Wings Over Jordan' choir, who sang 'God Bless America.' The Commander of the Ninety-Second, Major General Edward Almond, addressed thousands of Allied troops and Genoese citizens present.[2] Following the ceremony, the urn containing the ashes was deposited in the municipal offices, where Almond was granted honorary citizenship by the mayor Vannuccio Faralli. This relatively obscure but highly symbolic event represented the restoration of peace to Genoa via the combined efforts of American troops and Italian partisans following the German surrender earlier in May. The figure of Columbus created a connection between the 'ancient Genoese republic' and America that which aligned with emerging diplomatic efforts to promote pro-American reform in post-war Italy. The explorer was most representative of the city's heritage and was linked to the imagined but powerful founding myth of the New World, in which the idea of Columbus had been adopted as an origins story in the Revolutionary era. The way Italian newspapers celebrated the event as a sign of the

‘fraternita’’ (kinship) between the two nations after a prolonged and torturous conflict, could suggest the ceremony was significant as a diplomatic exercise at the end of the War. [3] However, this article suggests the event is more symbolic and representative in terms of the broader experiences, legacies and memories of African American combat soldiers in the Italian campaign.

1 - An image of the ceremony, showing troops of the Ninety-Second Division in Piazza della Vittoria in Genoa. An African American GI carries the urn through the square on 6th June 1945. Photo courtesy of Bruno Aloi (https://www.cristoforocolombo.com/cristoforo-colombo/5113/)

Firstly, it examines this symbolic yet unexplored ceremony to examine its relationship to wartime battles over the perceptions and representations of African Americans in uniform. Using both Anglo-American and Italian newspapers and media reports of the Division’s time in Genoa, it sheds light on the peculiar context that resulted in the ceremony. This intertwined broader American-Italian diplomacy and fraternization between Italians and African American troops. The restoration of peace to the city of Genoa via its most valued son was a clear sign of that the Buffalo soldiers had succeeded in the first battle of the ‘Double

Victory'. This was the campaign launched by the *Pittsburgh Courier* in February 1942, the African American newspaper which called for a 'two-pronged attack against our enslavers at home and those abroad who would enslave us.'[4] While the term 'Double Victory' was no longer prominent in discussion of the War by 1943, the aim to make the Black contribution to the War effort both visible and meaningful remained. Reporters like Roi Ottley were hopeful that the War would lead to 'a new world' for race relations in America.[5] The role of the Ninety-Second was particularly significant in this respect as it represented one of only two all-black infantry units deployed in the War (the Ninety-Third Division was the other and was deployed in the Pacific theatre).[6] Its performance in the conflict was therefore the subject of significant media attention and debate, as well as misrepresentation. Mainstream and African American media responses to the Division's time in Genoa at the end of the War in Europe, in addition to the Ninety-Second's weekly newspaper highlight the framing of the event within the broader politics of respectability. The leading role of African Americans in the symbolic return of a figure with connections to the founding of America meant the event became an undeniable sign of African American patriotism and achievement, crystallizing the hopes of 'racial uplift' that many believed would come via this kind of visibility.[7] However, this particular framing meant the racial dynamics of the event were eschewed by the overwhelming emphasis on the symbolic victory of American liberty and the honouring of its ancient heritage, which is evidenced in American as well as Italian newspapers. While validating the American identity and patriotism African American soldiers, the event is representative of the processes that worked to obscure the objectives of 'Double Victory' and the particular contribution of black combat soldiers during in Italy.

This article suggests that the ideals of the 'Double Victory' were very much kept alive by veterans via their memories and networks of memorialization in Italy. By examining the long-term legacies of the ceremony through the return visits of veterans to Genoa in 1995

alongside oral histories of the Italian campaign, it argues that members of the Ninety-Second Division were active agents in constructing and maintaining a 'Double V' form of memorialization. As rare representatives of Black combat forces in the War, Buffalo Division veterans had more of a stake in foregrounding their distinctive and rare contribution. Importantly, this memorialization had a transatlantic nature, as it was contingent on both real and remembered connections with Italy and Italians. The invitation to return to Italy to mark fifty years from the liberation represented a powerful act of recognition, and this was echoed in testimonies emphasised the friendliness and welcoming nature of Italians. These memories worked acted as powerful critiques of American appeals to freedom and liberty in the long-term, as well as reminders of the sacrifices and challenges faced by Black soldiers in the War. While rooted in real experiences, the essentialising forces of anniversaries and broader commemorations of the War meant these memories also propagated problematic ideas of 'colorblind' Italians, obscuring the more complex context in which African Americans and Italians had encountered each other. Many Black GIs formed meaningful relationships with Italians, many of whom welcomed African Americans as liberators. However, they also had to navigate more threatening racial attitudes that were shaped by legacies of Italian colonialism as well as Fascist and Nazi propaganda. The Columbus ceremony and its legacies therefore offer an opportunity to explore the immediate effects and long-term significance of the Italian campaign for veterans of the Ninety-Second Division.

This article's focus supports some of the conclusions drawn by historians on the ambiguous and limited effects of the War on race relations at home and abroad. As Kevin Kruse and Stephen Tuck suggest in *Fog of War*, despite all the hopes of African American leaders, journalists and service personnel, overall the Black contribution to victory abroad did not translate into the hoped for victory against racism at home.[8] It is more likely that the War, in the words of Edwin Embree, 'sharpened [African Americans'] sense of the clash between

American creed and American practice,' more than it contributed to a revolution in race relations.[9] The Columbus ceremony represents the way in which attempts to portray African Americans in uniform as capable, dignified, and patriotic could be thwarted by the emphasis on the power of American values and liberty to restore peace to Europe at the end of the War. Ultimately, the politics of respectability that characterized attempts to challenge negative perceptions of African Americans in uniform were more effective in boosting the morale of African American audiences than in challenging white attitudes. Furthermore, the event seemingly reinforces Penny Von Eschen's argument that the war failed to yield the more radical hopes of challenging the oppression of colonized peoples as well as African Americans. For many African Americans the war had begun with Italy's invasion Ethiopia in 1935, which meant more internationally minded activists saw World War II as an opportunity for a 'Triple V' to include colonialism and the global struggles of the African diaspora.[10] Despite the symbolism of African Americans helping to topple Fascism and return Columbus' ashes to their rightful home, no-one in the Black press nor any veterans used the event as an opportunity to celebrate the victory against colonialism. Interpreted in this way, the ceremony in Genoa becomes representative of the ways in which African American achievements were obscured, and the more ambitious hopes for the War's effects on racial discrimination failed to materialize.

Despite the War's limited impact on race relations, the article contributes to scholarship on the Black experience of the conflict by foregrounding African American encounters with Europeans, and in particular the manner in which these have been remembered and have contributed to the long-term significance of military service.[11] There have been a number of important historical contributions in this area, covering the experiences of African American GIs in various parts of Europe, including Britain, Northern Ireland, France and Germany. Many of these have examined the ways in which the American

military exported segregation, and interpreted how encounters with seemingly more racially liberal civilians could be transformative for GIs, fuelling important changes in attitudes which sometimes translated into political activism back home.[12] As the work of Petra Goedde and Andrew Buchanan highlight, these encounters between Americans and Europeans were influential in broader diplomatic terms as they related to American-European relations during and immediately after the War.[13] Important oral history works by Mary Penick Motley and Maggi M. Morehouse have focused on testimonies of African American veterans to emphasise the more personal and emotional consequences of serving in a segregated military. Alongside numerous memoirs and veteran autobiographies, they also stress the positive and often overlooked role of African American men and women, as well as countering mischaracterisations of Black men in combat.[14] While this has been extremely important work, rarely have the memories themselves been primary targets of analysis, or the means by which the corrective impulse – particularly of veterans –helped to shape particular forms of memorialization. Robert Jefferson provides a valuable analysis of veterans' memory work via World War II reunions, and how they provided a means of challenging the invisibility of African Americans in formal remembrance of the War, while forming instructive stories from which to educate future generations.[15] Renée Ater's discussion of the creation of the Tuskegee Airmen National Historic Site also examines the way in which commemorative practices centres on the experiences of African American fighter pilots worked to provide an alternative to the 'Good War' narrative that addressed racial discrimination within the military, while acknowledging the important contribution of African Americans.[16] This article however, considers the transatlantic dimension of veterans memorialization practices by considering how memories of their experiences were reliant on their encounters with Europeans. In Italy, where some of the only Black combat units were deployed, this becomes particular important. It examines these social encounters with Italians in more critical terms,

going beyond simplistic assumptions that positive relations could be explained by the absence of American race prejudice in Europe, and examines their significance in long-term legacies of the War for African American service personnel. Importantly, it does so by bringing into dialogue Italian as well as American source material and scholarship to shed light on the complex and varied nature of racial attitudes which often remains hidden by the memorialization practices.

The Ninety-Second Division and the Battle for Representation

The hopes of African Americans who believed the War would be a turning point in race relations were severely tested by War Department's approach to using Black troops. The inefficient policy of 'segregation without discrimination' represented the prioritization of victory in the War, as well as the conviction that the military was not an appropriate setting for an experiment in racial integration.[17] While the African American experience in the armed forces was determined by segregation, it was far from without discrimination. The overwhelming majority were confined to support roles - by 1945, only 50,000 of the 650,000 African Americans in the army were in combat units – which exemplified the view of military officials that African Americans were unsuited to combat. After considerable pressure by civil rights organisations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE), the Urban League and figures like A. Philip Randolph, Benjamin O. Davis Jr, and William Hastie, the War Department relented to create black combat divisions. Activated in October 1942 at Fort MacLellan in Alabama, the Ninety-Second Division was a unit of approximately 15,000 enlisted men.[18] Alongside the Tuskegee pilots of the 332nd Fighter Squadron (the famous

'Red Tails'), the Ninety-Second were assigned to the front lines in Italy. The Division therefore became as Matthew F. Delmont claims, 'a litmus test for Black Americans serving in combat roles.'[19]

The assignment of Black combat forces to Italy explains why the African American newspapers 'spilled more ink' on the Mediterranean theatre of the war than any other.[20] The public's interest in the progress of African Americans was reflected in increased readership of Black newspapers, which rose throughout the War by approximately 50%.[21] The press was generally bound by the Code of Wartime practices which prevented the printing of any material deemed detrimental to the war effort. Black newspapers were also censored if columns were deemed to be raise questions about American military policy.[22] The Division was assigned to fight the enemy along the eastern flank of the Gothic Line, a heavily fortified German defensive position which stretched across the Italian peninsula from the Ligurian Sea to the Adriatic coast. Despite stern resistance in mountainous terrain of the Apuan Alps during the bitter Italian winter, between August 1944 and May 1945 the Ninety-Second broke through stiff German resistance and captured more than 10,000 prisoners on its way to Genoa.[23] Black reporters focused on reporting the achievements and good conduct of the Division in order to boost African American support for the War back home. The *Pittsburgh Courier*'s Haskell Cohen, for instance, reported how 'men of the 92nd [were winning the] hearts of Italians with Kindness.' Similarly, Art Carter told readers about Black GIs liberating Lucca and Italians greeting them warmly as 'liberators.'[24] African American correspondents also frequently overcame the boundaries set by the War Department to write about instances of racial unrest and discrimination.

Despite being rewarded with numerous military honours for their efforts, including 12,096 military decorations, a Cross of Merit from the King of Italy, and praise from various military officials, the Buffalo soldiers were plagued by negative perceptions.[25] For all the

hopes of African American GIs to prove themselves in combat, the Division was often accused of 'cowardly performance' or 'melting away' when under fire. Veteran Hondon B. Hargrove recounted how the Division suffered the disapproval of its commander General Almond and his white officers, who classed the Ninety-Second as a 'failure.'[26] These views were replicated in the mainstream press. A *Newsweek* article entitled 'The Luckless 92nd' characterized Black soldiers as ill-disciplined and 'trigger happy.'[27] This pejorative view was exacerbated by a misinterpreted report by Truman Gibson, the African American aide to the Secretary of War. Gibson visited Italy in 1945 in order to explain the reasons for the suggested failure of the Division. While he had used the term 'melting away,' Gibson later clarified that his aims were to expose how the mismanagement, poor leadership, and discrimination against Black men had created the conditions for failure. Nonetheless, considerable damage to the image of the Division had been done. Southern segregationists such as Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland saw the alleged failure of the Division as evidence that African Americans were unsuited to combat.[28] The African American press was angered by Gibson's acceptance of the premise that the experiment with Black combat troops had been unsuccessful.[29] Notwithstanding the many positive evaluations of the Buffalo soldiers at the end of the war by Almond and other military officials such as Lt. Col. John H. Sherman, negative perceptions persisted for many years.[30] The struggle for African American combat troops, reporters and leaders was therefore as much a battle for fair representation and visibility, as it was against Fascism at home and abroad.

Arrival in Genoa: A Free but Unsettled City

The weeks preceding the Columbus ceremony provide evidence of the contextual peculiarities of American and Genoese relations as hostilities came to an end. This context interweaved cordial relations alongside the patriotic fervour of Allied victory, but also reveals important aspects of the encounters between African Americans and Italians. The German surrender in Italy provided the ideal opportunity to showcase the role of African American troops in defeating the enemy. Roy Wilkins, editor of the NAACP's official magazine *The Crisis,* expressed his optimism by stating: 'it is to be hoped that the performance of our soldiers in Europe will move the War Department to abolish the color line in the Army.'[31] The liberation of Genoa, the first major city over the Gothic Line meant that the success of the Ninety-Second Division was indisputable. Furthermore, Wilkins' reference to integrated combat forces was accurate in relation to the final months of campaign. Almond's troops had been reorganized to include white forces of 473rd Regiment and the Japanese-American Nisei troops of the 442nd Regiment. The latter had suffered similar forms of discrimination as African Americans while on duty, but had also demonstrated their capabilities in combat.[32] Veteran of the 473rd Division Robert M. Gill recalled that the diversity of these combined combat troops made the Division seem 'like the United Nations.'[33]

The Ninety-Second entered the city on 27 April where 'the Genoese gave them a riotous welcome.'[34] The context for cordial relations based on a shared affinity with Christopher Columbus was also set by the Genoese, who put up welcome signs that said: 'Welcome Americans! One of our boys discovered your country!'[35] After the German surrender, General of the Fifth Army Mark Clark wrote to Almond commending the 'splendid division' for their 'magnificent performance in the great, final offensive in the long Italian campaign.'[36] *The Buffalo*, the Ninety-Second's weekly morale boosting newspaper, captured this sense of pride and achievement following victory in Europe. The front page was dominated by impressive images of large VE day parades and decoration ceremonies in

Genoa. These were accompanied by a message from Almond to his men that contrasted his previous evaluations of the Division. He stated that the troops had 'performed splendidly' and that he was 'proud' to have led his men in combat. This was echoed by General Commander Major General Willis D. Crittenberger, who told Almond that 'troops under your command overcame most difficult enemy resistance to accomplish their mission in a manner reflecting great credit on yourself and organization.' Pride in the Division's achievements was encapsulated by a cartoon which placed a large fearsome buffalo standing guard over the Ligurian gulf of northwest Italy.[37]

In its eight pages the newspaper also captured cordial relations that were being fostered with Italian authorities. It paid 'deserved tribute to the cooperation and contributions of the Italian Partisan Forces in the North Italy campaign' that fought alongside the Division.[38] The same day in fact, the partisan newspaper *Il Partigiano* praised the Allied forces who contributed to their struggle. It exclaimed that these would be the best advocates to promote collaboration and friendship with the Italian people who had now experienced a new birth of democratic freedom.[39] These reports are representative of the spirit of cooperation that was felt around Genoa in this period. *The Buffalo* also mentioned some of the various activities that soldiers could now take part in after hostilities had ceased, which included going to the opera, movies, concerts, and various sports and leisure activities. Importantly, many of these activities cultural exchange and fraternization with Italians. The Genoese newspaper *Il Lavoro Nuovo* told of a basketball match between the 'Big A's' of the Ninety-Second Division and the local team belonging to the 'Cristoforo Colombo' arena.[40] It also wrote about seven Black members of the Division who played a jazz concert under the heading 'Buffalo Round Up.' The descriptions of 'original negro singing and acrobatic dancing,' and the performers' 'wild and natural abilities' are indicative of some of the racialized fascination for Black culture.[41] These activities reflect some the broader social and

cultural experiences of African Americans in Italy, as well as in other parts of Europe. GIs engaged with many aspects of the cultures they encountered and formed meaningful relationships with Europeans.

Despite the seemingly relaxed atmosphere in the newly liberated city, issues of racial discrimination by white servicemen that had characterized the Italian campaign continued to occur. These were unlikely to appear in print in *The Buffalo* as it would have contravened the convention of avoiding discussions of racial unrest. While for some reporters like Ollie Stewart the experience of blacks, whites and Japanese Americans fighting alongside one another created greater feelings of mutual respect, others worked to maintain rigid racial divides.[42] For instance, a Black correspondent reported how one of the white regiments attached to the Ninety-Second Division 'established an exclusive club, bar and theatre' in Genoa that barred Black and Japanese soldiers from entering.[43] Similarly, the *Pittsburgh Courier* noted that in May 1945 Division officers had requested transfers from Genoa due to 'racial strife.'[44] Almond's praise for his troops was also not reflected in some of his private dealings with his men. Lieutenant Vernon Baker recalls being called to Genoa to meet with General Almond to discuss his involvement in the capture of Castel Aghinolfi earlier in April, a key strategic victory along the Gothic Line. Baker's bravery and leadership in the assault was eventually rewarded with the Medal of Honor in 1997. This decoration contrasts his description of a frosty encounter with the General in Genoa in 1945, where Baker had been expecting to receive a Distinguished Service Cross that never materialized: '[h]e didn't have a single conciliatory word about the hell we had endured up on that hill. He didn't seem to care about the men we'd lost.'[45] Baker's recollection of the encounter is indicative of the way the men of the Ninety-Second Division 'did not like Almond,' as well as their attitudes towards the War Department's policy of putting 'white Southerners like him in charge.'[46] While there were clear feelings of pride and relief following the liberation of Genoa,

including some sense of collective achievement, the immediate post-war context did not wipe away the racial tensions that had characterized the broader experiences of the War. Veterans held on to these contrasting feelings of pride and resentment in their memories.

The Ninety-Second Division's warm welcome by the Genoese people was matched by the local Italian administration. Almond was immediately greeted at the Hotel Bristol, the headquarters of the Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale (CLN, National Liberation Committee), where he thanked the partisans for their military supporting along the Gothic Line. Despite Almond's satisfaction for 'the speed with which [his] forces reached Genoa,' it was Italian resistance fighters that had rendered their journey to city easier than expected by reducing German resistance to a minimum along the coast from La Spezia.[47] Upon his arrival, Almond iterated his aim to respect the 'civil and democratic rights' of the Genoese people. There followed an amicable meeting with representatives of the CLN as well as other local officials, dignitaries, and partisan troops of the 'Sesta.' The General was said to be very impressed at the sight of thousands of German prisoners being marched down via XX Settembre by partisans.[48] The ability of the CLN to restore order to the city so quickly after the surrender of German forces also impressed General Mark Clark, who referred to Genoa as an example for other liberated cities to follow.[49]

Despite these positive first impressions and cordial relations between Division officials and Genoese authorities, the situation in the city remained unsettled. Genoa's new mayor Vannuccio Faralli, a member of the CLN and partisan who had fought to liberate the city, had to deal with a delicate situation where not all Genoese saw themselves represented by the new administration that was born of the resistance against Fascism. Some citizens refused to accept the authority of the CLN and its associated organizations. At the same time, the city was plagued by petty crime as the local economy stuttered to restart. In addition, violence attributed to personal vendettas for wartime hostilities caused problems for the new

administration.[50] Adding to these tensions were the uncertainties relating to the balance of power between local authorities and the Allied Control Commission (ACC), which represented predominantly British and American responsibility for the administration of liberated Italy. While Almond had promised to protect the freedoms of Genoese citizens, friction arose over the liberty of the local press. The ACC attempted to control the amount of information in circulation by only allowing the Allied published newspaper, the *Corriere Alleato.* Genoese authorities and publishers eventually persuaded the ACC to permit other outlets to publish, especially as they had been doing so under-the-radar during the Nazi occupation.[51] One of these, *Il Partigiano*, expressed some of the frustration over the presence of Allied troops: 'despite our victory, we are still treated as a conquered nation and the armies of the United Nations preside over our land… We want to be free in an independent and democratic Italy.'[52] As well as reflecting the scepticism of some elements of the partisan movement towards Allied command in Italy after the end of the War, such attitudes blurred the boundaries between the perception that the Italian campaign was an occupation as much as it was a liberation.[53]

American officials and diplomats were likewise concerned by leftist wings of the partisan movement and their influence in reforming post-War Italy. Rear Admiral Ellery Stone noted the delicately balanced situation in the newly liberated country where it was not inconceivable for Soviet influence to take full effect. As Kaeten Mistry suggests, this context was responsible for the promotion of a conciliatory attitude to post-war reform in Italy, which contrasted the more punitive approach suggested by Britain.[54] Prior to the end of the War, American foreign policy towards Italy had been relatively ambiguous, given the primary focus on Germany and Japan. However, cultural and historical factors combined with American anticommunism to shape an approach that was in line with Stone's thinking. Mistry notes how Italian diplomats and officials made numerous attempts to curry favour in

Washington and make Italy a strategic priority.[55] As well as having a tradition of liberal institutions prior to the Fascist era, Italy had been an important economic partner in the 1920s and 1930s. There were also a number of cultural ties where many American officials regarded 'Italy was the seedbed of the civilization that gave birth to the United States.'[56] As a result, the American approach to Italy became focused on appealing to and supporting more moderate voices within the CLN and resistance movement coalitions. It was hoped these would help form democratic institutions and promote pro-American ties at the expense of radical Italian elements galvanized by the defeat of fascism.[57] Admiral Stone suggested, 'if Italians are to become partners with the Allies they must be prepared to assimilate their national characteristics with the principles of democracy and take advice from the two democratic powers who are willing to help them materially.'[58] This statement evokes a clear sense of cultural superiority over Italy and Italian institutions. As Andrew Buchanan has noted, skeptical and derogatory sentiments about Italian people and culture by American officials and authorities were expressed in various ways and promoted in the various *Soldier's Guides to Italy*.[59] Nonetheless, at the end of the War it was believed that more diplomatic approach to reform based on shared values could make post-war Italy 'a bastion of democracy in the Mediterranean area.'[60]

Honouring Columbus

The ceremony which took place on 6 June was a vivid exemplification of this broader American attitude to Italy in practice. It was not the first event in which American officials engaged with Italian organizations and authorities. In May 1945, General Almond had commended five partisan leaders for their 'courage and gallantry.'[61] However, the spectacle

of the Ninety-Second Division's symbolic return of Columbus' ashes to Genoa allowed the alignment of 'national characteristics' around an idea that was significant to both Americans and the Genoese people. For the latter, Columbus has been seen as 'the most important and representative figure' in the city's history.[62] The partial remains of Columbus present in the urn, supposedly given to the city in 1798 via the Italian consul-general in Santo Domingo, had been hidden by partisans for safekeeping during the Allies' bombing campaign of Genoa.[63] The ceremony was organized by the command of the Division to be held at Piazza della Vittoria beneath the Arco dei Caduti. The impressive arch, originally erected during the Fascist era to commemorate Italian patriots who had died in WWI, was now the focus of an event that signalled the overthrow of Fascism (although this irony was not mentioned or addressed, perhaps indicating the ceremony's connection to the contradictory ways Italian authorities dealt with legacies of Fascism at the end of the War). Mayor Faralli enthusiastically invited citizens to attend the ceremony in the local newspapers, claiming it was an opportunity for the Genoese people to pay homage to the 'valorous sons of those free lands that the Great Discoverer had divined.'[64] Also present were figures like the future Columbus scholar Piero Emilio Taviani, whose invitation is representative of the American emphasis on partisan moderates. Taviani was head of the CLN in Liguria, and later went on to serve in the US backed Christian Democrat party in the post-war years.[65] While an opportunity to honour American forces, for Faralli, Taviani and the Genoese people, the celebration of Columbus was a means of uniting around shared heritage that evoked feelings of pride, achievement, and importantly following the war, a rebirth.

The speeches given throughout the ceremony indicate the way the event functioned as a symbolic diplomatic exercise, albeit one that overshadowed the identity of the troops who led the proceedings. They cemented the connection between the city's most valued son, and the people from the lands he had 'discovered.' Speaking beneath the arch in Piazza della

Vittoria, General Almond outlined how the return of Columbus' remains symbolized both the end of the War and a new the beginning:

> Today as Commander of the American Forces in Genoa, I return to your city the ashes of your most distinguished son, just as our troops restored your city to peace and security little more than a month ago... I humbly carry out this service, with great pride in the triumphs of our troops. I assure you that these forces will always be ready in future to uphold the ideals of the land that Columbus discovered. These ideals are founded on justice, tolerance and the wellbeing of those who love liberty and that follow the path of peace.[66]

While praising troops, Almond emphasised an almost providential idea that the civilization which had sprung from Columbus' discoveries had now returned to honour its origins. Granting Almond honorary citizenship in return, Mayor Faralli reciprocated these sentiments, claiming that it was a great source of pride to be supported by the descendants of Columbus' endeavours. He described the exchange as a token of the 'fratellanza' (kinship) between the two peoples that was 'solidified by the common struggle for the realization of the universal ideas of peace, liberty and wellbeing.'[67] Italian national newspapers echoed the ceremony's symbolic power as a sign of American-Italian ties ('simbolica cerimonia di fraternitá Italo-Americana').[68] While a demonstration of the renewed bonds between the two countries, the language in these speeches centred around principles that were universal, but also distinctly American. It therefore allowed American officials a means of promoting those 'national characteristics' and 'democratic principles' so important in the attempt to appeal to moderates in the CLN. At the same time, it gave Genoa a means of redeeming itself in the eyes of the free world after two decades of Fascist rule. While uniting around a historic symbol that represented the city's illustrious past, the city could also claim a stake in mythic origins of America. The Founding Fathers as well as groups such as the Tammany Society viewed Columbus as 'the progenitor of all American values' from the late 18th century, especially as the new nation was 'struggling to define a national identity.'[69] While Columbus has always been a figure that has attracted polarizing controversy, this positive view endured well into

the twenty-first century, especially in Genoa where establishing his origins in the city has been a dominant theme. Following a 2004 conference that sought to firmly establish Columbus' Genoese roots, the scholar Jacques Heers drew a direct link between the 'Gran Navigatore's' origins and America itself: 'the fact Columbus was Ligurian was no coincidence, as back then (and a long time since) Genoa was the perfect example of a city that prioritized man and individualism against an omnipresent, authoritarian and centralized state.'[70]

While it was African American soldiers of the 370th Infantry Regiment that carried the urn in Piazza della Vittoria, aside from the African American press there was no reference to the fact Black troops had been central to the proceedings. The *Detroit Evening Times* typified the manner in which the racial identity of the troops was subtly concealed. While the Ninety-Second Division was identified, troops were referred to simply as 'Yanks' and 'U.S. soldiers.' Similarly, reports in *Stars and Stripes* and the British *Union Jack* were more concerned with the 'centuries old controversy' over the questionable claim that the ashes were indeed those of the fifteenth century explorer.[71] The only exception to this came from an Italian newspaper that identified the diversity of soldiers present. In addition to white soldiers and Genoese citizens, these included Indian, Japanese American as well as Black regiments. The article outlined the way 'men from all countries were immovable in their tribute' to Columbus.[72] The Indian troops were part of the British Eight Army that had fought in Italy, while the Japanese Americans were the aforementioned Nisei of the 473rd Regiment that had been attached to the Ninety-Second Division. It is also a reminder of the very real diversity of forces that made up the Allied troops in the Italian campaign. African Americans had also fought alongside the Brazilian Expeditionary Forces along the Gothic Line, while British troops included service personnel from many parts of the Empire.[73] The Italian reference evokes a great sense of pride in the belief that the civilization which had emerged

from Columbus' voyages was now being honoured by peoples from around the world. While highlighting the use and importance of the Columbus myth as a symbol for the return to liberty, it was interpreted in the mainstream as a sign of post-war goodwill between the two countries after the victory in Europe. It also demonstrates the way displays of this kind during the War could blur the divide between white and non-whites.[74]

African American responses captured a similar sense of symbolic pride in the proceedings, but did so by foregrounding the central role of the Ninety-Second Division. The ceremony was a means of highlighting the progress and achievements of Black combat troops to Black readers and audiences. It was interpreted as the pinnacle for the Buffalo soldiers. The *Amsterdam News* heralded the 'solemn ceremony' as a 'highlight of the occupation of Genoa,' and fitting end to the remarkable story of the only Black infantry outfit placed on the front lines.[75] A rare image of African American GIs behind the horse drawn chariot in front of the arch in Piazza della Vittoria appeared on the front page of the *Detroit Tribune*.'[76] The Kansas based *Plaindealer* described how Columbus' ashes 'were unearthed by the famous men of the Ninety-Second Division' and returned to the city in 'impressive ceremonies' which included the Wings Over Jordan choir.[77] Formed in 1937 by Rev. Glenn T. Settle, the choir was known for its performance of African American spirituals and became so popular that it had its own CBS radio show on Sunday mornings until 1947.[78] They were recruited by the United Service Organizations (USO) to entertain troops in the European Theatre.[79] The choir performed 'God Bless America' at the Columbus ceremony, underscoring the its patriotic character.[80] Black journalist Max Johnson described the occasion as 'one of the most solemn ceremonies yet witnessed.'[81] These responses underscored the ceremony's symbolic evidence of positive, respectable, and patriotic African American conduct. Ninety-Second Division troops had succeeded in their mission along the Gothic Line, had helped to liberate the ancient Italian city and were now taking part in the symbolic restoration of peace in

Genoa. The first part of the 'Double V', it seemed, had been successful, at least for African American readers.

A short clip of an *All-American News* reel entitled 'Move Ashes of Columbus: Negro Troops Place Urn in Crypt' crystallized this sense of achievement at the end of the War.[82] These news reels were broadcast regularly to African American audiences in order to promote support for the war effort. They often focused on the progress of the Ninety-Second Division which offered, as Joseph Clark suggests, a 'morale boosting lesson in patriotism for African American audiences.'[83] The footage of the ceremony centred on the well-organized spectacle of the GI's march through the square to deliver the remains of Columbus beneath the arch. A brief shot also shows Indian troops present in Piazza della Vittoria. The spectacle of black soldiers performing the orderly return of the ashes beneath the arch, within the context of the victory in Europe, was therefore a powerful visual representation of the belief in the ability of the reels to challenge negative stereotypes of African Americans.[84] This is what the Black writer Richard Wright believed was at the essence of the struggle for African Americans at the end of the War: 'the Negro realizes that his relationship to America is symbolic. He knows that the world is watching his bid for manhood.'[85]

At the same time however, *All-American News'* representation of the event betrayed some contradictions in their support for racial uplift. These reels were highly significant for showing things that would have otherwise been inaccessible to Black audiences. They were primarily screened in Black theatres, and thus did little to challenge white perceptions of African Americans in the army, or to contest the alleged failures of the Ninety-Second Division. A *Negro Digest* poll in December 1945 demonstrated the difference in Black and white perceptions of the African American contribution in the War. Most African Americans believed that Blacks made good soldiers, and many northern white respondents assumed the same, although with very little knowledge regarding segregation or the deployment of Black

troops. By contrast, 58% of Southern whites surveyed based their negative perceptions of African Americans in the military on the 'bad record' of 'that colored outfit in Italy.'[86] While the War Department denied any practices that excluded African Americans from being seen or discussed, African American GIs appeared in photographs more often as helpers rather than heroes.[87] This compounded the broader visibility of African American GIs, and the segregated nature of media representations of Black men in uniform during the War.

The delivery style of the *All-American News* reel foregrounded the achievements of the race, while keeping more controversial issues firmly in the background. This what Clark labels the reels' 'pedagogical address,' which was centred on the 'politics of respectability.' In other words, rather than challenging the broader socio-political structures within which they operated, they fostered the idea that chaste, respectable and in this case 'solemn' conduct of African Americans were keys to social mobility in American society.[88] This was evident in the concise and understated voiceover provided by co-founder William Alexander. His narration of the ceremony identifies and subtly celebrates the important role of African American GIs visible on the screen. At the same time however, the reference to the men of 'the 92nd Division' without mention of their race means replicated the white reporting of the event, meaning black GIs can be seen as American as much as they can be recognized as African American soldiers. This sentiment is heightened by the emphasis on Columbus as 'the discoverer of America,' whereby African Americans could be seen as honouring their own American identity as well as that of the Genoese. Simultaneously, anything relating to the controversy over the performance of the Division, or the conduct of General Almond and his officers, so widely discussed in the African American press, remains unsaid. The way the reel presented the ceremony may even suggest that Black combat troops succeeded in altering the racist views of their Commanding General, who now stood proudly among his men in honour of Columbus, and could therefore convince the rest of white America about their

deserved full citizenship back home. The reporting of the ceremony is therefore representative of the struggle of over respectable and proper representation of African Americans in uniform. While working to portray African American GIs present at the ceremony in dignified and patriotic ways, media reports had to ignore some of the event's glaring ironies.

Legacies of the Ceremony: constructing a transatlantic 'Double V' memory

Examining the memories of veterans and their return visit to Genoa Italy highlights the ways members of the Ninety Second were well aware of these contradictions. While 'many Black men sought to wear the uniform of the United States' and were 'swept up in the patriotism of the day,' as Maggi Morehouse suggests, they joined the War effort fully conscious of their paradoxical 'half-American' status.[89] As Buffalo veteran Vernon Baker recalled upon enlisting, 'I'm defending people that don't like me.'[90] General Almond's words at the ceremony which referenced 'justice,' 'liberty' and 'tolerance' must have therefore sounded hypocritical to many of his African American troops. After all, it was letters they wrote to Black newspapers and civil rights organizations during the conflict that provided evidence of the discrimination within the Division. The General, a graduate of Virginia Military Institute and embodiment of the military's 'Southern' approach to the management of African Americans in the military, was known for believing in fundamental differences between whites and Blacks, and ensuring all his officers made troops comply with 'racial restrictions.'[91] According to the *Pittsburgh Courier*, Almond 'could not foresee a time when his outfit will include colored junior officers outranking white junior officers,' which exemplified the enforcement of the 'typical American pattern of discrimination and Jim

Crow' in Italy.[92] Almond's words must have been jarring also for the members of the Wings Over Jordan Choir. Before being sent to Europe, 'USO officials warned them they were not going overseas to change the racial situation, 'and they were not to 'raise the "race Question"' under any circumstances.'[93] Member of the choir Kenneth Slaughter recalled the effects of Almond's policies on his troops: 'The morale among the black troops was so bad that I never saw them smiling, because all the top officers were white, so it wasn't really completely black troops, and they resented being separated from the regular Army.'[94]

These memories of the racism and obstacles they faced in the War were held in tension alongside sentiments of achievement and pride. The result is the construction of a 'Double V' memory among veterans. These intertwine recollections of racial struggles for recognition alongside a sense of vindication for their accomplishments which underscores their patriotism. In his memoir, Buffalo veteran Ivan J. Houston recalled that the Columbus ceremony was a 'stirring' occasion, and that 'it was quite an honor to those of us who had fought for such a long time under a great cloud of alleged incompetence.'[95] For Houston, participation in the return of Columbus' ashes was seen as a challenge to the misconceptions about the suggested failures of the Ninety-Second, and the suitability of African Americans in combat. A white infantry officer described how Harold Montgomery of the 370th Infantry led the return of the ashes, 'marched with great dignity and a regal bearing.'[96] Montgomery thus typified the upstanding African American GI that was envisaged in the ideas of 'racial uplift.' Recalling his experiences decades later, veteran of the 370th Infantry Regiment William C. Bryant expressed deep regret for being unable to find 'a beautiful picture' of the Columbus ceremony, seen as one of the most positive memories of his military experiences.[97] Earl Garfield Cunningham took dozens of photographs of the ceremony which capture the sense of occasion. These appear alongside many other images of Genoa, Pisa and the Italian landscape that evidence the ways in which GIs were occasional tourists during the War.

While the images of the ceremony are presented only with brief titles, several are labelled under the heading 'A celebration in honor of Columbus.' These include photographs of Black troops standing to attention during the ceremony as the urn is carried through Piazza della Vittoria, Black soldiers on horseback and in orderly parades, General Almond addressing the crowd, the Division chaplain, and the Wings Over Jordan Choir.[98] While 'silent,' these photographs suggest Garfield regarded the event as a significant moment for the Division.

2: On the left Gen. Almond addressing the crowd in Piazza della Vittoria beneath the Arco dei Caduti. On the right, members of the Ninety-Second Division stand to attention as the urn is carried through the square. Earl Garfield Cunningham World War II scrapbook pages, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

3: On the left the Ninety-Second Division Chaplain. On the right can be seen the Wings Over Jordan Choir beneath the arch. Earl Garfield Cunningham World War II scrapbook pages, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

Importantly, these 'Double V' memories of the War had a distinctly transatlantic dimension. In April 1995, veterans of the Ninety-Second Division were invited back to Genoa by the Mayor Adriano Sansa to mark fifty years since the liberation. It involved Jehu Hunter, Harold Montgomery and Joe Stephenson as representatives of the Ninety-Second Infantry Division World War II Association with their respective wives. This return is an indication of the ways in which the wartime experiences and memories of veterans were significantly influenced by connections they forged with Italians. The visit was reported in the Association's newsletter:

> They were kept on a whirlwind pace as they toured by foot and car. They were wined and dined on all occasions. They were introduced, interviewed and televised. There was instant recognition everywhere they went. The older people had not forgotten these "brown skinned" soldiers who liberated the city from those brutal Germans. They had not forgotten those brave soldiers that became peacemakers and brought them chocolates, soap and cigarettes...

The return also included the unveiling of a memorial plaque in the Govi Gardens, which honoured the Ninety-Second Division's role in assisting Italian partisans 'in an embrace of freedom.'[99] The newsletter included a photograph of the Columbus ceremony from 1945, and another image of Harold Montgomery standing beside the famous urn in 1995. The clear pride and honour felt by the veterans was particularly significant given the fact recognition and appreciation for the Division came from Italy before it was granted at home. While the fifty year anniversary was a period in which the formalization of the 'Good War' idea of World War II was well under way, it would be another two years before African American combat troops were granted the recognition they felt was deserved, when President Bill Clinton awarded the military's highest decoration - the Medal of Honor - to Vernon Baker and posthumously to first lieutenant John Fox of the 366th Infantry Regiment.

The description of the return visit in the Association newsletter reflects the testimonies of many Black veterans from the Italian campaign that stress the welcoming nature of Italians. The reception upon their return to Genoa described in the newsletter was familiar to soldiers of the Ninety-Second Division from their experiences fifty years earlier. As veteran Robert P. Madison recalled:

> We were welcomed with absolutely unbelievable cheers and celebrations by the natives of Lucca and the surrounding territory because in effect, we were treated as liberators, and we were really feeling very good about all this because we had been somewhat punished back in America.[100]

Ivan J. Houston's recollection echoed these contrasting sentiments where positive encounters with Italians are confronted against racial discrimination at home: 'here were White Italians greeting Negro Americans as liberators, showering us with love, while in our own country we remained second-class in all respects.'[101] Another Division veteran Joseph Purvis underlined the connection between the reception from Italians with the morale boosting effect of being in

combat: 'Italians welcomed us, generally speaking. After all, we were allowed to stand up and fight like men.'[102] These memories highlight the significance for veterans of being acknowledged as active contributors to the fight on the front lines, revealing how they echo the sentiments that characterised the 'Double Victory' campaign during the early stages of the War. Being welcomed as 'liberators' made their contribution particularly meaningful as one of the only Black infantry units in the War. Furthermore, this warm reception in Italy is remembered as a validation of their American identity, as the African American veteran and former Senator Edward Brooke noted in his autobiography:

> The prejudice Negro soldiers faced in the army was underscored by the friendliness of the Italians, who were colorblind with regard to race. We were simply American soldiers who happened to be black.[103]

Brooke notes the manner in which Italians treated African American GIs as American soldiers, highlighting how encounters with Italians could fuel the patriotic sentiments visible in the Columbus ceremony. The Association's newsletter on the return visit to Genoa also noted how Italians remembered 'these "brown-skinned" soldiers who liberated the city.' Encounters with Italians were therefore recalled for both the way in which they exposed American race prejudice and underlined the American identity of African American veterans, highlighting. Memories of welcoming Italians, reinforced by this return visit to Italy demonstrates how were fused with ideas of the 'Double V.' By intertwining the achievements of African American GIs despite numerous obstacles, and framing these alongside the positive encounters with Italians, these memories were powerful and long-lasting reminders of racial discrimination in the military and at home.

While highlighting the manner in which Buffalo Division veterans remembered their time in Italy, the emphasis on 'colorblind' and welcoming Italians also points toward the mythologizing elements of these memorializing processes. Many African American veterans

clearly formed meaningful relationships with Italians, and memories of these encounters were rooted in real experiences.[104] While they were often treated in ways which were far from usual in the United States, Italians were also far from 'colorblind.' As in other parts of Europe during World War II, racist sentiments came to the fore particularly when relationships between black men and white women were involved. This is what Chiara Fantozzi terms the 'onore violato' (violated honor), in which the sexual relationships between Italian women and Allied troops became symbolic of the emasculation of Italy.[105] Racist ideas were often expressed by civilians complaining to the authorities about the behaviour of Allied soldiers, which became fiercer when women frequented Black men.[106] The Neapolitan traditional song 'Tammuriata Nera' also remains a symbol of the hysteria caused by the birth of a Black child to a white mother during the War.[107] Race prejudice featured most prominently in the German and Fascist anti-black propaganda, especially illustrators such as Gino Boccasile, who hyped up the threat black men as potential rapists.[108] These problematic views had also been fuelled by Italian colonialism in Africa, and the application of 'racial laws' in the late 1930s that outlawed marriages of Italians with people from African colonies.[109] The underplaying of this more complex context of varied racial attitudes in wartime Italy, highlights how the memories of Ninety-Second veterans could also contribute to the popular myth of the 'brava gente,' the stereotypical view traditionally fostered in Italy that presented Italians as benevolent and benign. This relates to the broader process which Filippo Focardi describes as the 'stark separation between the responsibility of the Italian people and the [Fascist] regime.'[110] As Nicholas Doumanis' discussion on the Italian presence in the Dodecanese Islands suggests, this myth could also be reinforced by transnational forces of memorialization where Italians were remembered positively by peoples in formerly occupied territories.[111]

Conclusions

Veterans' memories of Italy and events in Genoa, while adding to established myths and blurring some of the more complex historical realities of the African American experience in Italy during the War, are significant in understanding the legacies and meanings of this experience in the long-term. As oral historian Alessandro Portelli suggests, establishing the boundaries between myth and reality is less relevant when memory is the focus of analysis. Memories 'tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.'[112] In other words, they are reflective of the contemporary value the speakers attach to particular events. The relationship with Italians, while often divested of the more problematic elements of Italian race prejudice, was an important ingredient in the formation of memories that celebrated the achievements of the Ninety Second combat forces despite numerous obstacles, while importantly underscoring the American identity and patriotism of Black soldiers. Importantly, these memories were created from what the historian John Bodnar labelled as 'the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions.'[113] Buffalo veterans in Genoa in 1945 and 1995 were 'official' representatives of the American military and were engaging in broader transnational practices of World War II commemoration and memory making. However, they were also representatives of the specific or 'vernacular' experiences of African Americans on the front lines in Italy, and in their return visit to Genoa were active agents in shaping their particular memorialization of the War. This memorialization depended on links with Italians as much as it did to their status as 'half' Americans.

The ceremony returning the ashes of Columbus to Genoa in June 1945 represented broader American policy in post-War Italy, and the attempt to promote pro-US reform on the

basis of common heritage and a shared cultural icon. However, this moment at the end of the war in Europe also becomes representative of the significance and contradictions of the conflict for African American combat troops. The spectacle of the ceremony and the lead taken by Black GIs offered a sign of the 'racial uplift' many African Americans desired through contribution to the War. It was evidence of the achievements of the few African Americans that had been entrusted to fight on the front lines. Reports of the Columbus ceremony in the African American media reflected the aims of challenging negative stereotypes of Black men via the representation of successful GIs in uniform. The emphasis on the dignified and patriotic representation of the Division exemplifies the way these elements obscured the achievement struggles of Black combat troops. In this sense, the events in Genoa may reaffirm the view which interprets the War period as having a diluting effect on more militant Black attitudes, primarily as a result of the patriotic impulses brought on after Pearl Harbor as well as American victory.[114] What the ceremony further reveals however, is the way the American identity of Black GIs was shaped as much by their encounters with Italians as it was by their military accomplishments. Being welcomed as liberators and rewarded for their role in the defeat of Nazi-Fascism validated their efforts and reasons for fighting, while reinforcing the hypocrisy of American racism. These became visible in memories that echoed the ideals of the 'Double Victory' campaign. While the Columbus ceremony was originally an expression of American diplomacy and Italian-American relations at the end of the War, it was African American GIs who would return as American ambassadors decades later. The commemorative return to Genoa symbolises the long-term legacies of the connections forged between African Americans and Italians during the War, and the ways in which these transatlantic connections shaped memories of Buffalo veterans. The Columbus ceremony was also recognized as a powerful symbol American patriotism by Italian-Americans, who felt they had shared the status of 'other' with the

African American community. In preparation for its annual Columbus Day celebrations in Pittsburgh in 2000, the Italian Sons and Daughters of America indicated their intention to salute the Buffalo soldiers that had helped to liberate Italy, and returned the ashes of Columbus to his birthplace in a symbolic gesture of goodwill. Medal of Honor recipient Vernon Baker was also scheduled to be present. Writing for the organization's newsletter, Michael Aquaviva stated that honouring the Ninety-Second Division soldiers was an 'opportunity to recognize what was not recognized decades ago, that all ethnic Americans are Americans first who enlighten their own heritage through dignity and valor.'[115]

[1] 'Una grande manifestazione in onore di Cristoforo Colombo,' *Il Lavoro Nuovo*, 5 June 1945, 8

[2] Bob Fleischer, 'Genoa's Gold Urn Still Keeps Secret,' *Stars and Stripes* (Mediterranean Edition), 8 June 1945, 2

[3] 'Apoteosi colombiana,' *Il Nuovo Cittadino*, 7 June 1945, 1

[4] Neil A. Wynn, *The African American Experience in World War II (*Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2010), 40

[5] Caroline Rolland-Diamond, '"A Double Victory?" Revisiting the Black Struggle for Equality during World War Two,' *Revue française d'études américaines*, 137:3 (2013), 94-107, https://doi.org/10.3917/rfea.137.0094; Stephen Tuck, *We Ain't What We Ought to Be: the Black Freedom Struggle from Emancipation to Obama* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010) , 207.

[6] See Robert F. Jefferson, *Fighting for Hope: African American Troops of the 93rd Infantry Division in World War II* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008)

[7] Joseph Clark, 'Double Vision: World War II, Racial Uplift, and the All-American Newsreel's Pedagogical Address,' in Charles R. Acland and Haidee Wasson (eds), *Useful Cinema* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 263-88: 266

[8] Kevin Kruse and Stephen Tuck. *Fog of War: The Second World War and the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 6-7

[9] Thomas A. Guglielmo, 'A Martial Freedom Movement: Black GIs' Political Struggles during World War II,' *Journal of American History* 104: 4 (2018): 879–903; Edwin R. Embree, 'Balance Sheet in Race Relations,' *Negro Digest*, August 1945, 8:3, 3-9:3

[10] Penny Von Eschen 'Civil Rights and World War II in a Global Frame: shape-shifting racial formations and the U.S. encounter with European and Japanese Colonialism,' in Kevin Kruse and Stephen Tuck, eds, *Fog of War*, 171-187: 172. A great account of the significance of Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 is provided by William R. Scott, *The Sons of Sheba's Race : African-Americans and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941*. Blacks in the Diaspora (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993)

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[13] Petra Goedde, *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949* (Yale University Press: New Haven & London, 2003); Andrew Buchanan, '"I Felt Like a Tourist instead of a Soldier:" The Occupying Gaze – War and Tourism in Italy, 1943-1945,' *American Quarterly*, 68:3 (September 2016), 593-615

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[15] Robert F. Jefferson, Robert F. Jefferson, "Interfaced Memory: Black World War II Ex-GIs and Veterans' Reunions of the Late Twentieth Century," in Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes, eds., *Oral History and Public Memories* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 187-204.

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[17] Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army*, 3-6

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[21] Roi Ottley and Mark Huddle, *Roi Ottley's World War II: The Lost Diary of an African American Journalist* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 23

[22] Morehouse, *Fighting in the Jim Crow Army,* 112

[23] Delmont, *Half American*, 240

[24] Haskell Cohen, 'Men of 92nd Win Hearts of Italians with Kindness,' *Pittsburgh Courier*, 30 Dec 1944, 9; Art Carter, '92nd Captures Its First Town,' n.d. in Francis Yancey, *This Is Our War: selected stories of six war correspondents who were sent overseas by the Afro-American newspapers* (Baltimore, MD: the Afro-American Company, 1945), 115

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[35] Carolyn Ross Johnston, *My Father's War: Fighting with the Buffalo Soldiers in World War II* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2012), 111

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[38] 'Salute to the Partisans,' *The Buffalo: 92nd Infantry Division*, 6:1 (Genoa, Italy), 19 May 1945, 2

[39] 'Compagni Stranieri,' *Il Partigiano* (edizione di Genova), 19 May 1945, 2

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