



All Blood Runs Red: Triple Nickle Paratroopers Jump Start Integration

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When one thinks of paratroopers in World War II, images of derring-do and heroic action behind enemy lines come to mind. Paratroop units exhibit camaraderie, elitism, and *esprit de corps* unlike any other in Army lore. A cocksure attitude became a necessary component to complete their unique mission of jumping behind enemy lines, outmanned and outgunned. These were select units of extraordinary men who desired to be among those they perceived as the best fighters in the army. Because of this, they enjoyed a status higher than the average soldier. So, when the army tried to recruit African American volunteers for parachute training, a new avenue toward defeating Jim Crow seemed possible. However, racism and prejudice at all echelons in the United States Army during World War II precluded even elite airborne infantrymen within the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion (PIB) from receiving equal treatment during the war.¹

The history of the Triple Nickles is not long, and their wartime exploits are nil. However, they represent an essential part of the history of race, racism, and integration in the United States military. Books on the unit reflect their minimal wartime role. The best and most complete book comes from one of its lieutenants, Bradley Biggs, who wrote *The Triple Nickles: America's First All-Black Paratroop Unit* and takes their story through their integration at Fort Bragg into the 82nd Airborne Division.² Tanya Lee Stone provides an excellent overview of the Triple Nickles in her work *Courage Has No Color*, which targets a younger audience. At the same time, James Steyjskal provides a recent article in *On Point*:

The Journal of Army History that describes these men's problems in starting their unit.³ Edward L. Posey's memoir *The U.S. Army's First, Last, and Only All-Black Rangers* recounts his experiences in the 82nd Airborne Division and the 2nd Ranger Infantry Company in Korea. As he joined the army in 1947 as a teenager, his account begins with Ranger training in 1950 and does not detail the trials and tribulations of the Triple Nickles during World War II.⁴ Likewise, Charles H. Briscoe has written about the 2nd Ranger Company in *Veritas*, a journal of special operations history that details the ranger's operations in Korea. He does not connect the company to their Triple Nickle forbearers.⁵ This article connects the difficulties and exploits of the Triple Nickles during the war and their integration before Truman's Executive Order to integrate the services to elite all-Black units in Korea and eventual full integration during that war.

Initially formed as an all-Black test platoon, the army expanded a cadre of African American volunteers into a company, and, later, an undersized battalion known as the Triple Nickles. These men were volunteers from the entire army who continuously proved their White trainers wrong about African Americans and their courage. Seventeen of the twenty-four original Test Platoon volunteers came from the famous 92nd Infantry Division, "Buffalo Soldiers." That division earned their nickname during the Indian Wars of the late nineteenth century and endured more sustained combat than any American division in World War I. As this newer unit grew, it became the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion. Their unique nickname, the "Triple Nickles," came from the three buffalo nickels that combined to form the distinguished unit insignia of the Ninety-Second.⁶ Constituted on November 25, 1944, the life of the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion is a microcosm of the Black experience in World War II in that the impetus for this battalion was not one of goodwill but rather "for purposes of enhancing the morale and esprit de corps of the Negro people." Nevertheless, in 1942 the Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies recommended starting a company of African American parachutists.⁷ Most major African American newspapers followed their exploits closely, but scant coverage is found in the major national newspapers.

From its inception, the unit and its men faced the same institutional racism that plagued the United States Army and the country writ large. In the Jim Crow Army, Black soldiers were not allowed into the Post Exchange at Fort Benning, Georgia—the home of airborne training.⁸ Meanwhile, German, and Italian prisoners of war, captured after fighting Americans, enjoyed American cigarettes and Cokes from that Post Exchange. At the same time, some African-Americans walked by wondering what was wrong with them not to be allowed the same comforts as America’s declared enemies.⁹ Contemporary African American newspapers reported bottlenecks in the transfers of Black men ostensibly due to White officers stopping or delaying the flow of paperwork.¹⁰ Throughout the training, men in this unit received adulation for proving their ability and courage, proving wrong those who doubted Black men would have the courage to jump out of airplanes. Of course, the first African American paratroopers were eager to disprove this doubt by demonstrating that “all blood runs red” and that they were “being underestimated,” according to Triple Nickle paratrooper Sgt. James E. Kornegay who stated as much in a note to his hometown newspaper, the *Philadelphia Tribune*.¹¹

The Army’s only all-Black airborne unit impressed everyone who witnessed their training. The twenty-two officers and hundreds of men impacted nearly every observer—including the Commanding General of all Army Air Forces, General Henry “Hap” Arnold. Demonstrating the *same spirit and elan as* expected of paratroop units, they were eager to test themselves in combat while trying to remain “neither wistfully glorified nor overpublicized,” according to the *Baltimore Afro-American*.¹² But alas, the unit never made it overseas because of their consistent manpower shortages—no doubt due to White officers conveniently and deliberately losing or misplacing transfer paperwork or otherwise preventing the battalion from reaching full strength. As Walter Morris later remembered, “Since no Field Commander in Europe or the Far East wanted ‘colored troops’ mixing with their racist White troops, the Army was stuck with us.”¹³

Nevertheless, the Triple Nickles received a critical mission of their own—Operation FIREFLY.¹⁴ This task involved partnering with the United States Forest Service and other military units to fight forest fires throughout the Pacific Northwest.¹⁵ In November 1944, the Japanese sent more than 9,000 balloon bombs toward North America, intending to start fires. Only a handful reached the United States. Five children and a woman were killed by a balloon that exploded on May 5, 1945, during their Sunday school outing near Bly, Oregon. Combined with the impending fire season, that incident prompted the Army to send the Triple Nickles to assist. The 555th arrived at Camp Pendleton, Oregon, on May 12, 1945, and spent their time responding to upwards of 36 fires and made more than 1,200 individual jumps up and down the West Coast.¹⁶

While a critical part of the war for a battalion of paratroopers imbued with the same spirit as White parachute infantry units, this assignment was disappointing. “We felt it was a dodge to avoid using us in combat,” Roger Walden said.¹⁷ Being paratroopers or commissioned army officers did little to spare these men from the disrespect prevalent toward Black soldiers. Original Triple Nickle paratrooper Walter Morris recalled an incident where a military police officer saw a Black man wearing jump wings and questioned his status at a North Carolina train station. His printed orders did not suffice, and “he was arrested for impersonating a paratrooper.” Morris later recalled that incidents like that “made it a natural thing for Black soldiers to have an inferiority complex.”¹⁸ Incidents like these happened throughout the unit. In Atlanta in April 1944, White paratroopers accosted Private B. F. Lane, Jr., because they refused to believe there could be Black members of the elite airborne.¹⁹ Couple this sort of treatment with witnessing prisoners treated with more dignity than they were. It is easy to see how African American soldiers could have developed an inferiority complex during the war but resisted.²⁰ “We didn’t win any wars, but we did contribute,” Morris stated in 2000. “What we proved was that the color of a man had nothing to do with his ability.”²¹

When Maj. Gen. James M. Gavin led his famous 82nd Airborne Division in the January 12th, 1946, victory parade up New York City’s Fifth Avenue; included within his formation was an

entire battalion of African American parachute troops—350 men from the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion. While much of the country viewed African Americans as second-class citizens, Gavin saw the strength and the potential benefits that integration could bring to his division and to the Army. While other Army leaders like Chief of Staff Gen. Omar N. Bradley decried integration as bad for morale and efficiency and posited that “desegregation will come to the Army only when it becomes a fact in the rest of American society,”²² Gavin—long an opponent of racial segregation—took matters into his own hands and led the way in desegregating the army before Truman ordered the services to do so.

After their service in the northwest corner of the country, the 555th Parachute Infantry was sent to Fort Bragg, North Carolina, in October 1945 and assigned first to First Army Headquarters before finding a home in the 13th Airborne Division by December 1945. Finally, in January, they and the remaining members of the slowly deactivating 13th Airborne Division moved to Camp Shanks, New York, where it joined the recently redeployed 82nd Airborne Division—fresh from occupation duty as the first American unit in Berlin.²³

Including the Triple Nickles in the January victory parade ceremony, and their stellar record fighting fires out west, served as a boost toward integration. However, the 555th had never served with the 82nd Airborne Division, certainly not during its combat in Europe, and as such, Gavin had no mandate to keep the unit with his division. Nevertheless, Gavin thought differently than his contemporaries, always thinking ahead and ensuring the all-Black battalion’s inclusion. Throughout his career, Gavin was progressive in a military sense, pioneering the fledgling airborne effort in the 1940s and advocating strongly during the 1950s for helicopter and missile technology. He was also clearly socially progressive, and after the parade, Gavin ensured the unit stayed with the division, and in February 1946, the 555th PIB was officially made part of the 82nd.²⁴

When the 555th moved to Fort Bragg alongside the 82nd after the parade, racism continued to pervade the army—especially at a base in North Carolina named for a rebel officer. Black soldiers were segregated to the north side of the base in

Spring Lake and were not allowed to use many of the post's recreation facilities. The facilities they were afforded were in disrepair. "Their swimming pool was a muddy pond," Gavin later recalled.²⁵ Those with families were forced to reside in converted Army barracks. Men of the Triple Nickles were also often arrested for the most menial offenses. Gavin would have none of that; he forced the army to move their families to suitable housing and ensured that Black and White soldiers moved into the same barracks together for the first time.²⁶ He even authorized the Triple Nickles to wear the French and Belgian *fourragères* that the division had earned during the war—a clear sign of their inclusion—because he expected them to maintain the high standards of 82nd paratroopers.²⁷

Used as a demonstration unit for much of 1946, Gavin who remained in command of the 82nd, recognized the 555th's experience fighting forest fires in the Pacific Northwest and put them to work testing new airborne techniques. The post-war atomic and missile age necessitated new ideas for employing airborne units that stressed mobility. The Triple Nickles' comfort with small, decentralized airborne operations from their experience dropping small teams around the rugged landscape out west made them ideal for this role. They were designated an "atomic age battalion"—a precursor to the 1950s "Pentomic Army"—and the Triple Nickles with Maj. Gen. Gavin's assistance went from ostracized to integral within a year.²⁸

The Triple Nickles were later reorganized into the 3rd Battalion, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment (PIR), on December 15th, 1947, at Gavin's request. Integrating the battalion into the division's traditional unit structure was a monumental step forward, making the 82nd the army's first integrated combat division. Gavin and division leadership ensured Black officers took positions outside of this one battalion—Black and White paratroopers served on the division honor guard, the parachute packing section, and even division headquarters staff.²⁹ They were, of course, not the first integrated unit, as the Red Ball Express was mostly comprised of African Americans, and Black soldiers have served alongside White soldiers intermittently since the American Revolution.³⁰ However, the integration of the 82nd occurred in

December 1947—a full six months before President Harry S. Truman signed Executive Order 9981, ordering complete integration throughout the Department of Defense.³¹ Of course, the executive order was merely a piece of paper, and the Army, in particular, slow-rolled the order. Army Secretary Kenneth Royall resigned over the order, and it took wartime exigencies in Korea to achieve integration fully.³² For example, many units maintained de facto segregation, keeping Black battalions separate within a regiment.

The Department of the Army deactivated the 555th PIB and officially removed the unit from army rolls on August 22nd, 1950.³³ Triple Nickle officer Capt. Bradley Biggs credits Gavin as much as the unit's record for its integration during that time.³⁴ Gavin firmly believed that the Army should lead social change—mainly regarding racist attitudes—rather than wait on society. Gavin's attitude about segregation and desire to act stems from his experience as a platoon leader within the all-Black 25th Infantry Regiment at Camp Jones near Douglas, Arizona, from 1928 to 1932. There, as a junior officer, he could not do anything, but now as a famous World War II general officer, he had no qualms about taking matters into his own hands. Following his work integrating the 82nd Airborne Division, Gavin personally integrated his VII Corps, placing Black officers throughout, including assigning former 555th PIB platoon leader Bradley Biggs to his corps staff.³⁵

This battalion of elite paratroopers, the 555th Parachute Infantry, broke the color barrier among army units and played a critical role in integrating the entire army. Black men slowly permeated other airborne units and the rest of the military thereafter. First Lieutenant Richard Robinson was the only Black paratrooper in the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team after his White Officer Candidate School classmates refused to go to their duty assignment without him. On October 20, 1950, he became the first Black paratrooper to jump into combat when his 187th Parachute Infantry jumped at Sukch'on, Korea.³⁶

Meanwhile, in late September 1950, the army decided to form volunteer Ranger companies to conduct special operations activities in the Korean War. When the call went out for volunteers to form the all-Black 4th Airborne Ranger Company, members of

that unit were drawn from Black units in the 82nd Airborne Division, and mainly 3rd Battalion, 505th at Fort Bragg—the former 555th PIB. The “Buffalo Rangers,” as they called themselves, faced similar discrimination to the Triple Nickles, including the usual refrain that “You people won’t fight when you get to Korea!” Nevertheless, the Black rangers trained alongside White rangers, only living in separate barracks. In November, the unit was redesignated by the 2nd Airborne Ranger Company and left for Korea from San Francisco on December 9, 1950.³⁷

The 2nd Rangers became the first Black unit to make a combat jump during the Korean War as part of Operation TOMAHAWK at Munsan-Ni on March 23, 1951. The jump was part of a larger northward push by U.N. forces codenamed Operation RIPPER. The objective was to cut off Communist forces escaping from the Eighth Army’s advance north. The 2nd Rangers jumped alongside the 187th Airborne Regimental Combat Team and the 4th Airborne Ranger Company. Not only was their jump the first combat jump for a Black unit, but it was, alongside the 4th Ranger Company, also the first for a Ranger unit.³⁸ However, the airborne force encountered no serious opposition as the North Korean forces had escaped the trap. Nevertheless, Operation TOMAHAWK gained 20 miles for U.N. forces in one day.³⁹

Following the jump and seizure of the village of Sandokso-ri and a hill named Hill 151 on subsequent days, the 2nd Rangers led the way for 3rd Battalion of the 187th, consistently patrolling in front of that battalion, screening for North Korean and Chinese forces. On April 7th, the company was recalled from the front lines and tasked with training Black replacement soldiers for service in the 7th Infantry Division and the 187th. They were finally disbanded, along with all Ranger companies, in August 1951, and all airborne qualified personnel were transferred to the 187th.⁴⁰ By deactivation, the company suffered 12 Rangers Killed in Action and a further 91 Wounded in Action.⁴¹ The unit’s tenacity throughout 1951 helped pave the way for further integration of U.S. forces on the Korean peninsula despite hesitations in the Pentagon.

Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, World War II commander of the 82nd Airborne Division and U.S. forces in Korea since the day after Christmas 1950, was instrumental in racially integrating forces

in his command. This process began with the 24th Infantry Regiment. Ridgway understood that integration was the only way to “assure the sort of *esprit* a fighting army needs, where each soldier stands proudly on his own feet, knowing himself to be as good as the next fellow and better than the enemy.”⁴² Army Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations (G-3), Lt. Gen. Maxwell Taylor, and Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (G-1), Lt. Gen. Anthony C. McAullife—two former 101st Airborne Division commanders—approved Ridgway’s proposal to use routine replacement and rotation procedures to integrate units. By May 1952, the entire Eighth Army was integrated.⁴³ Even before the Korean War, Ridgway did not accept long-held racist views about the relationship between race and courage, remarking in 1949 that “human courage is universally distributed...It knows neither race, nor sex, nor age.”⁴⁴ Alongside Gavin’s efforts at Fort Bragg to integrate the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion (PIB) into the 82nd, airborne officers led the way in integrating African American troops.⁴⁵

The United States military has always been a social experiment.⁴⁶ Today’s armed forces are microcosms of the society they are tasked to defend. These forces are, therefore, incredibly racially diverse, particularly among the lower ranks.⁴⁷ Yet throughout its history, the United States Army has had a problematic relationship with including non-White native-born men as officers and combat troops. As the nation continues to deal with racial strife in its ever-present quest to form a perfect union, it is helpful to remember that even “proving” themselves as members of the elite airborne did little to create equality for the 555th. Truman’s 1948 Executive Order 9981 to desegregate presaged national desegregation and the dismantling of Jim Crow. The order forced the Army to be a leader among American institutions in social change. However, Army leaders largely ignored it until it became official policy in 1949, and units did not fully integrate until the exigencies of combat in Korea forced change.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Black soldiers have consistently answered the call to serve a nation that often rendered them mere second-class citizens, if citizens at all.

Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Mark Milley's comments on June 23, 2021, about understanding race and racism in the armed forces are profound and welcome. In his testimony, Milley stated, "I personally find it offensive that we are accusing the United States military. . . of being 'woke' or something else because we're studying some theories that are out there," and that members of the military ought to be "open-minded and be widely read" because they "come from the American people."⁴⁹ Diversity is a force multiplier that Jason Lyall argues can enhance cohesion.⁵⁰ Understanding the demographic make-up of society through understanding the role of race will only help the Department of Defense continue to find personnel and meet its mission to defend the United States.⁵¹ Far from partisan or anathema to good order and discipline, a diverse military—an army representing the society it is charged to protect—is a vital component of a healthy democratic republic. One way to unite this country is to recognize the central role of military service in shaping the nation. Understanding the historical precedent that the Army has set in leading the way as an incubator of social change can help all Americans understand the beauty of this country.

In a perfect world, the Black paratroopers of the Triple Nickles would have benefited from being a part of this special corps of soldiers—the paratroopers. Instead, they found themselves relegated to non-combat duty during the war. Their story is often forgotten due to the secretive nature of Operation FIREFLY and the humble attitudes of the men who forged this path. Nevertheless, the Triple Nickles were critical trailblazers in the fight for equality in the integration of the 82nd Airborne Division and eventually among the entire U.S. Armed Forces. Far from perfect, the story of Walter Morris, the Triple Nickles, and James Gavin demonstrates the capacity for forward-thinking leaders to sense the winds of change and to do the right thing, even if that action might go against prevailing ideas of normalcy. Black, White, or brown, as Kornegay said, all paratroopers bleed red.

¹ There is currently a 555th Engineer Brigade on active duty that has zero connection to the historical 555th Parachute Infantry. The modern engineer brigade was initially constituted as the 1103d Engineer Combat Group, which was deactivated at the end of World War II and reconstituted as the 555th Composite Service Group in March 1947 and has had multiple names since, currently serving as the 555th Engineer Brigade. Army units can bear similar numbers so long as their type is different. In this case, an engineer unit vice the infantry unit of the Triple Nickles. See: "Headquarters and Headquarters Company, 555th Engineer Brigade, Lineage and Honors, U.S. Army Center of Military History (CMH)," accessed September 18, 2022, <https://history.army.mil/html/forcestruc/lineages/branches/eng/0555enbde.htm>.

² Bradley Biggs, *The Triple Nickles: America's First All-Black Paratroop Unit* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1986).

³ Tanya Lee Stone, *Courage Has No Color, The True Story of the Triple Nickles: America's First Black Paratroopers* (New York: Scholastic, Inc., 2013); James Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," *On Point: The Journal of Army History* 22, no. 4 (Spring 2017): 23–26.

⁴ Edward L. Posey, *The U.S. Army's First, Last, and Only All-Black Rangers: The 2d Ranger Infantry Company (Airborne) in the Korean War, 1950-1951* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2011); see also David A. Kaufman, "The 2d Ranger Infantry Company (Airborne)," *On Point* 20, no. 1 (2014): 23–26.

⁵ Charles H. Briscoe, "The 2nd Ranger Infantry Company: 'Buffaloes' in Korea, 29 December 1950 - 19 May 1951," *Veritas* 6, no. 2 (2010): 22–33.

⁶ "The History of the Triple Nickles 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion." 555th History, 2008. <http://triplenickle.com/history.htm>. Accessed June 8, 2020.

⁷ Quoted in Ulysses Lee, *United States Army in World War II, Special Studies—The Employment of Negro Troops* (Washington DC: Department of the Army, 196), 160. This recommendation was in a December 1942 memorandum from a month-long study by the Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies of how to best employ Black soldiers.

⁸ James Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," *On Point: The Journal of Army History* 22, no. 4 (2017): 23, The Post Exchange is the primary store on bases to purchase consumer goods.

⁹ Walter Morris Collection (AFC/2001/001/02946), Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. <http://memory.loc.gov/diglib/vhp/story/loc.natlib.afc2001001.02946/transcript?ID=sr0001>; see also Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," 23–24.

¹⁰ Charley Cherokee, "National Grapevine: Get it Straight" *The Chicago Defender*, March 18, 1944, National Edition; "G.I.'s Denied Shift to Paratroop Units" *The Baltimore Afro-American*, November 11, 1944.

¹¹ "Paratroopers are Proving Their Ability and Courage," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 4, 1944.

¹² Staff Correspondent, "Top Officers Praise 555th Parachute Bn." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 5, 1945.

¹³ Walter Morris, "Base Plate," 555th Parachute Infantry. 2008. <http://triplenickle.com/waltermorris.htm>

¹⁴ Greg Bradsher and Sylvia Naylor, "Firefly Project and the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion ("Smoke Jumpers")," February 10, 2015. National Archives and Records Administration, <https://rediscovering-Black-history.blogs.archives.gov/2015/02/10/the-555th-smoke-jumpers/>

¹⁵ Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," 24; Aaron Arthur and Todd Crumley. "The Triple Nickles and Operation Firefly – The Unwritten Record," February 5, 2020. National Archives and Records Administration, accessed September 10, 2022, <https://unwritten-record.blogs.archives.gov/2020/02/05/the-triple-nickles-and-operation-firefly/>.

¹⁶ John Killen, "Clarence Beavers, Last of the Original Triple Nickles, Dies," *The Oregonian*, December 29, 2017, accessed September 15, 2022, <https://www.oregonlive.com/history/2017/12/clarence-beavers-last-of-the-o.html>

¹⁷ Mary Penick Motley, *The Invisible Soldier: The Experience of the Black Soldier, World War II*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1975), 63.

¹⁸ Walter Morris, "Base Plate," 555th Parachute Infantry. 2008, accessed September 15, 2022, <http://triplenickle.com/waltermorris.htm>; see Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," 23–24; see also Stejskal, "The 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," 23.

¹⁹ "'Colored Paratroops? No' So Thinks White Soldiers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, April 22, 1944.

²⁰ Mary Awosika, "Jumping Toward Equality," *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, February 2, 2006, accessed September 6, 2022, <http://www.heraldtribune.com/article/LK/20060202/News/605207298/SH/>

²¹ Samantha Hogan, "Walter Morris, original member of all-Black 555th Army Parachute Battalion, dies at 92," *The Washington Post*, October 21, 2013, accessed October 9, 2021, https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/walter-morris-original-member-of-all-Black-555th-army-parachute-battalion-dies-at-92/2013/10/21/f32a500e-3a69-11e3-b6a9-da62c264f40e_story.html.

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²³ Ed Ruggero, *Combat Jump: The Young Men Who Led the Assault into Fortress Europe, July 1943* (New York: Harper Collins, 2003), 341; "555th Paratroopers Draw Cheers in Victory Parade," *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 26, 1946; Meyer Berger, "82d Airborne Set for Parade Today," *New York Times*, January 12, 1946.

²⁴ Bradley Biggs, *Gavin: A Biography of General James M. Gavin* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1980).

²⁵ Gavin quoted in T. Michael Booth and Duncan Spencer, *Paratrooper: The Life of Gen. James M. Gavin* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1994), 314.

²⁶ Walter Morris oral history, Walter Morris Collection (AFC/2001/001/02946), Veterans History Project, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress.

²⁷ Booth and Spencer, *Paratrooper*, 315.

²⁸ Biggs, *The Triple Nickles*, 78–79; for more on the 1950s U.S. Army, see: A.J. Bacevich, *The Pentomic Era: The U.S. Army Between Korea and Vietnam* (Washington, DC: National Defense University Press, 1986) and Brian McAllister Linn, *Elvis's Army: Cold War G.I.s and the Atomic Battlefield* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016)

²⁹ Biggs, *Gavin*, 65; Biggs, *The Triple Nickles*, 86–87; Booth and Spencer, *Paratrooper*, 314–315.

³⁰ Jacqueline E. Whitt and Elizabeth A. Perazzo, "The Military as a Social Experiment: Challenging a Trope," *The U.S. Army War College Quarterly: Parameters* 48, no. 2 (June 1, 2018).

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- ³⁵ Booth and Spencer, *Paratrooper*, 342; Biggs, *Gavin*, 80.
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- ³⁷ Posey, *The U.S. Army's First, Last, and Only All-Black Rangers*, 1–23.
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