

from the British, who offered the choice of unconditional surrender or annihilation. Ten minutes before the British deadline, Messe struck his colors. Taken into custody, he complained bitterly about the small size of his prison-camp tent. One witness described him slumped in the back seat of a staff car, "heavy and stern. He had tried standing up in his car and saluting as his captured countrymen marched past, but soon got tired and sat down again and let the endless stream of Italian soldiers go their way without a nod of recognition."

With fuel scavenged from a barrel found washed up on the beach, Arnim and his coterie had retreated to remote Ste.-Marie-du-Zit, twenty miles north of Enfidaville, where they camped with General Hans Cramer and the remnants of the Afrika Korps. Hitler's orders to "fight to the last bullet" had provoked animated theological discussions. "What does the last bullet mean in a modern war?" Arnim asked his staff. As Gurkha riflemen swarmed over the next hill on May 12, Arnim decided it meant the last tank shell, which had long been expended. White flags sprouted across the encampment. Cramer sent a final radio message informing Berlin that the Afrika Korps "has fought itself to the condition where it can fight no more." Arnim personally put a torch to Rommel's trailer, which the Desert Fox had bequeathed him in April, and dispatched a bullet-headed colonel to find the British headquarters.

He soon returned with Generals Allfrey and Tukur—commanding, respectively, the British V Corps and 4th Indian Division—in his staff car. Hundreds of Wehrmacht soldiers stared impassively, their heads swiveling as the British commanders climbed from the car and walked through the camp. In a narrow ravine, Arnim and Cramer stood erect outside the last intact Afrika Korps caravan, still camouflaged with artfully arranged branches. Both German generals wore long-waisted tunics with green breeches, high-peaked caps, and polished riding boots. Especially compared to Tukur—who sported threadbare drill trousers and scuffed desert boots, and who impishly introduced himself as "General von Tucher"—Arnim looked as if he had "turned out for a Potsdam parade, spotless and immaculate," one witness said.

Declining to use his capable English, Arnim spoke French to inform the British that he "could not alter Hitler's orders" by surrendering all remaining forces in North Africa. Allfrey brusquely promised to "blow them off the map," and gave Arnim fifteen minutes to pack for prison. All personal weapons were to be surrendered immediately. "He took this badly," Allfrey later recalled, "pulling out his automatic and throwing it down in a temper." Tukur cheerfully demanded his pocket knife, which Arnim, now "very red in the face," tossed on a table with a clatter. As his

staff officers formed ranks at the rear, Arnim delivered a brief speech, his voice hoarse from shouting. He offered to offer handshakes and *Heils*.

"He then got in his car and was driven off," Allfrey recalled to see his back." Down the valley turning onto the Tunis road, the army and the tramping column salutes and chanted, "Von Arnim and a camp erected on a mud by refusing him an audience, going to a German general un- later. A British lieutenant col- Steyer Daimler said to have to while the surviving trailer was during charity fund-raisers. train that perfectly captured conquered foe:

*Jürgen T. von Arnim v
But he could not see be
He fought a rear-guar.
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staff officers formed ranks at a right angle to the caravan, Arnim delivered a brief speech, his voice cracking, then walked down the formation to offer handshakes and *Heils*.

"He then got in his car and stood up in front, saluting his men as he was driven off," Allfrey recalled. "I did not like the man . . . and was glad to see his back." Down the valley the car sped with a British escort before turning onto the Tunis road, past the charred ruins of a once-mighty army and the tramping columns of prisoners, who tossed stiff-armed salutes and chanted, "Von Arnim! Von Arnim!" He was flown to Algiers and a camp erected on a muddy soccer field. Eisenhower snubbed Arnim by refusing him an audience, thus establishing a precedent of not speaking to a German general until the final surrender at Reims two years later. A British lieutenant colonel commandeered Arnim's limousine—a Steyer Daimler said to have twenty-eight forward and six reverse gears—while the surviving trailer was shipped to India for display as a curiosity during charity fund-raisers. As for Arnim, a GI bard composed a quatrain that perfectly captured the scorn Allied soldiers now felt for their conquered foe:

*Jürgen T. von Arnim wore an iron-plated monocle
But he could not see behind him—now wasn't that ironicle?
He fought a rear-guard action and he did it very bitterly
With booby traps and Teller mines and gallant sons of Iterly.*

His petulant refusal to surrender the final forces mattered little; the Axis army had imploded. At 1:16 P.M. on Thursday, May 13, Alexander sent Churchill a message of singular grace: "Sir, it is my duty to report that the Tunisian campaign is over. All enemy resistance has ceased. We are masters of the North African shores."



EPILOGUE

ROSES perfumed the morning air in Tunis on Thursday, May 20, 1943. A brilliant sun climbed through a cloudless sky, and shadows melted to narrow black stains on the pavement. By eleven A.M., the temperature in the shade was ninety-two degrees—"too damn hot to cuss," one soldier wrote—but crowds six deep lined Avenue Maréchal Gallieni and the broad, palmy Avenue Jules Ferry for the victory parade that would end the North African campaign. Children squirmed to the front or shinnied up trees. Sidewalk vendors peddled little French, British, and American flags. An anticipatory hum ran through the throng "like a jolly football crowd," Harold Macmillan told his diary. "Every street was packed; every window in every house was packed; every roof was packed."

Shortly before noon, the massed pipes and drums of the Scottish regiments hove into view with a great wheezing of bags and swishing of tartans. In stately half step the pipers advanced to the still empty reviewing stand, then wheeled in a countermarch to take positions across the boulevard, skirling for all they were worth. The clack of hobnails on pavement followed, and an honor guard of immensely tall Grenadier Guards marched into position with, an American officer reported, "the same precision and utter indifference as to what was going on around them as they used to show while changing the guard at Buckingham Palace." Heat soon began to thin the Grenadier ranks as those weak with dysentery dropped to one knee or abruptly heeled over. The regimental sergeant major "used all his cunning to remove each sick man in turn without any spectator becoming aware of it," the Guards historians noted.

A convoy of limousines and open sedans pulled up to the reviewing platform. In riding breeches and knee boots, clutching a swagger stick, his arms akimbo, Eisenhower took his place in the front row next to the

immaculately vacuous General
cipal lieutenants—Cunningham
themselves behind him. Mac
rank, beaming and waving in
holiday. Lesser lights filled in
Patton were relegated to a
French bureaucrats; Patton se
to a "very large French ecclesi
which was probably necessary
also act as a background for a

At noon, the crowd's mo
gunfire was mistaken for an
the start of the parade. Red
hand, which tramped past in
ably martial march, and the
ecstasy of saluting across the
the head of the French tro
impress Arabs and other sus
they marched past ten abreas
and berets, turbans and pe
waisted blue tunics. Crimso
their white chargers, saluti
Moroccans and Senegalese *tri*
not. Behind them came shar
their leather pouches provok
that each sack held a cache c
naires whose ranks were full c

After the French came the
Stars and Stripes Forever," a
ment—chosen for their val
infantrymen—swept past, r
pavement. The men had burr
and now wore new, olive-dra
the sleeves rolled down. Steel
mon thought the troops shu
Patton complained that "our
I think that we still lack pride
Thousands of spectators disag
came shrieks of "Vive l'Améri
to pump the hands of their lil

Pyle, *Here Is Your War*, 254 (rocks
; dawn").

th the II Corps, 18–21; AAR, "Oper-
Bn, 133rd Inf Regt, June 30, 1943,
AR, Co C, 1st Bn, 133rd Inf Regt,
nd Dennis Worthen, "Soldiers on
95, 183; Riess, ed., 543; Middleton,
Campaign, 34th Div.," Dec. 1943,
5th Inf Regt.," June 30, 1943, Iowa
n in Attack," Iowa GSM; Robert
MHI; Johnson, *One More Hill*, 65
r, *Some Things You Never Forget*,

of the Combat Operations of the
rtis, *The Song of the Fighting First*,
ision in North Africa and Sicily,"
Gauthier, 129 (*white phosphorus*);
19, OCMH, box 229; letter, G. A.
319, OCMH, box 228 (*considered*
owe, Dec. 13, 1950, NARA RG 319,

Cullis, "We Learn in Combat,"
er fight"); AAR, Co H, 3rd Bn, 1st
127, box 14916; Robert V. Maraist
:an Operations," transcript, June
aja-Mateur Campaign," Apr. 30,
re all over").

ains, transcript, SM, MHI ("No
("Tell my mother"); B. A. Dick-
ons of This Company While on
ossession of Roger Cirillo; AAR,
1st Bn, 133rd Inf Regt, June 30,
is 34th Infantry Division; Larson,

Campaign," May 1, 1943 ("A
(Iowa) Review, n.d., Iowa GSM
Tunisian Stand," ts, Oct. 1943,
Campaign, 34th Division," Dec.
1st Battalion, 135th Infantry at
v prisoners"); "German Tanks
lly covered"); "German Tanks
currants in cake"); Pyle, *Here Is*

34th Division," Dec. 1943, Iowa
hanging"); log, "16th Inf., Beja-
ill be taken"); "German Tanks
eet").

the sparse gray hair").
ions, 23 Apr.–9 May," 1st AD,
Days in Tunisia," *Cavalry Jour-
the II Corps*, 36.

H. Salter, *Recon Scout*, 76–85;

Harmon, *Combat Commander*, 132 ("let the men live"); Middleton, 282 ("Tell the sons of bitches").

- 511 *Many thousands had retreated*: Hannum, "The Thirty Years of Army Experience," ASEQ, 91st Armored FA, 1st AD, 40; Gardiner, ts, USMA Arch, 134; unsigned narrative of Mateur-Bizerte action, ts, n.d., PMR, GCM Lib, box 12 ("Arab shacks"); L. P. Robertson, ASEQ, 1st AR, MHI, 343 ("a tin goose"), 347 ("Some of the enemy"); msg, Eddy to 9th ID and Corps Franc d'Afrique, Apr. 29, 1943, NARA RG 407, E 427, box 7334 ("Here is our chance").

The 1st Armored Division: Howze, "Tank Action," ts, 1943, Ward papers, MHI ("monkey's paw"); Bradley, 92 ("Can you do it?").

Yet Harmon nursed: letter, E. N. Harmon to G. F. Howe, Oct. 16, 1952, NARA RG 319, OCMH, box 225 ("crybaby outfit"); Harmon memo, Apr. 14, 1943, in "History of the 91st Armored FA Battalion" ("luck of discipline"); Robinett, "Among the First," PMR, GCM Lib, box 28, 474–75 ("damned all past performance"); Robert Simons, OH, July 1976, OW, MHI (*the temerity to boo*); S. J. Krekeler, ASEQ, ts, n.d., 91st Armored FA, 1st AD, 92.

- 512 *Now they had reached*: Robinett, *Armor Command*, 227 ("Will the damned"); Robinett memo to CCB, May 5, 1943, PMR, GCM Lib, box 12 ("Towards the rear").

After that unpromising prelude: letter, Harmon to WD G-1, May 23, 1943, Harmon papers, MHI; Harmon, OH, Sept. 16, 1952, SM, MHI ("Hell, that fellow"); Robinett, *Armor Command*, 228–29 ("looking hard").

Tunisgrad

- 513 *The most intense*: Blaxland, 252; Middleton, 287; Anderson, "Operations in North West Africa"; Nicholson, *Alex*, 190 ("The muzzle flashes").

Determined to bury: Tucker, 367–69 ("stunning weights"); *Destruction*, 450–51; Stevens, *Fourth Indian Division*, 251–53; Marshall, *Over to Tunis*, 118 ("you could almost"); "Military Reports of the United Nations," Sept. 15, 1943, Military Intelligence Division, WD, NARA RG 334, box 585; Messenger, 113–14 ("a roof of shells").

- 514 *Behind the guns*: "Report on Participation of the Allied Air Force in the North Africa Campaign, Apr. 11–May 14, 1943," n.d., NARA RG 319, 2-3.7 BA, box 103; NWAf, 649.

Well before dawn: Tucker, 367; Stevens, 249; Horrocks, 168 ("chalk from cheese").

Four tank battalions: Anderson, "Operations in North West Africa"; NWAf, 645–49; North, ed., 38–39 ("into the heart").

- 515 *"The whole valley"*: MacVane, *On the Air in World War II*, 180; Blaxland, 252; Daniell, *History of the East Surrey Regiment*, vol. IV, 173; "Military Reports of the United Nations," Sept. 15, 1943, Military Intelligence Division, WD, NARA RG 334, box 585 ("thick pall"); Nicholson, *Alex*, 191 ("baker's boy").

Allied eavesdroppers: Skillen, 333 (*medics*); Ernst Schnarrenberger, "Situation of the Fortification of Tunis," March 1947, FMS, D-005; Himsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, vol. 2, 615; *Kriegstagebuch V*, Fifth Panzer Army, May 6, 1943, RG 319, OCMH, box 226 ("laid low"); *Destruction*, 450; Nicholson and Forbes, 334 ("Butter"), 335 ("I can see the lily-white walls"); Roskill, 441; Cunningham, 529 ("Sink, burn").

The righteous wrath: letter, Charles J. Denholm to G. F. Howe, Feb. 20, 1951, NARA RG 319, OCMH, box 229; R. W. Porter, Jr., "Report of Interrogation of Recaptured American Soldiers," May 11, 1943, 1st ID, NARA RG 407, E 427, box 3161; letter, Floyd F. Youngman to parents, June 4, 1943, in Curtiss, ed., *Letters*

- Home, 291 ("like a forest"); AAFinWWII, 193; William Munday, "Prison Ship Escapes," *Tunis Telegraph*, May 10, 1943, in Downing, *At War with the British*, photo; Hill, *Desert Conquest*, 318; Edwin V. Westrate, *Forward Observer*, 167 ("hopping around"); Dawson, *Tunisian Battle*, 240-45; NWAf, 650; Craven and Cate, eds., 193 (*more than one hundred*).
- 517 *Harmon's 1st Armored*: Bradley, *A Soldier's Story*, 93; NWAf, 650, 653; Austin, 151 ("perambulators"); Phillips, *Sedjenane*, 136; Dickson, "G-2 Journal," MHI, 64; Crawford, 138; Berens, 69-70; Ohio Historical Society web site, www.ohiohistory.org/etcetera/exhibits/kilroy.
- With the 9th Division*: "18th Infantry, Draft Regimental Wartime History," Stanhope Mason Collection, MRC FDM; Allen, "A Factual Summary of the Combat Operations of the 1st ID," TdA papers, MHI; Mason, "Reminiscences and Anecdotes," MRC FDM.
- the 18th Infantry surged*: AAR, "Operations of 18th Inf in Mateur Sector," n.d., includes 1st, 2nd, 3rd Bn reports, NARA RG 407, E 427, box 5937; Vining, ed., 72-73 ("Bullets were singing"); Mason, "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of WWII," MRC FDM; "18th Infantry, Draft Regimental Wartime History," Stanhope Mason Collection, MRC FDM; Allen, "A Factual Summary of the Combat Operations of the 1st ID," TdA papers, MHI; "G-3 Report, Tunis Operation," 1st ID, May 5-6, 1943, NARA RG 407, E 427, box 5759; Knickerbocker et al., 80; John T. Corley, OH, n.d., possession of Paul Gorman, 39-40 ("bloody foolish").
- 518 *Early on Friday afternoon: Three Years*, 289 ("hen"); DDE to CCS et al., Chandler, 1100, 1108, 1113, 1118; Butcher diary, DDE Lib, A-349 ("good and drunk").
- he was sleeping badly: Three Years*, 310; DDE to GCM et al., Chandler, 1104, 1114, 1115, 1148.
- 519 *Now the fifty-five-year-old: Three Years*, 298; Butcher diary, DDE Lib, A-365 ("How much better").
- Eisenhower shrugged off*: DDE to GCM, May 6, 1943, Chandler, 1118; Hansen, 5/46 ("most difficult"), 5/134 ("Holy First"); Middleton, "The Saga of a Tough Outfit," *New York Times Magazine*, Apr. 8, 1945, 8 ("the finest division commander"); Bradley, 93-94; D'Este, *Bitter Victory*, 271 ("phony Abraham Lincoln"); Bradley and Blair, 158 ("marked man").
- 520 *As Eisenhower and Bradley*: letter, C. P. Eastburn to OCMH, June 6, 1947, NARA RG 319, OCMH, box 103.
- a dead city*: interrogation report, Anatole Cordonier, chief naval engineer, Bizerte, by 9th ID, May 7, 1943, NARA RG 407, E 427, box 7334; Pyle, *Here Is Your War*, 281 ("Bizerte was"); letter, Donald Peel, May 16, 1943, ASEQ, 9th ID, MHI ("You walked through"); "Statement by BG Laurence S. Kuter," Pentagon, May 22, 1943, NARA RG 319, 2-3.7 BA, box 103; Clifford, 439; letter, Thomas Riggs to parents, June 25, 1943, PMR, LOC, box 4.
- 521 *As Colonel Eastburn*: letter, Eastburn to OCMH, June 6, 1947; Stannard, ed., 173; Curtiss, ed., 63; Austin, 152 ("Quite ridiculous"); Martin, 59 ("Everybody was standing").
- By dawn, the last Germans*: Phillips, *Sedjenane*, 133; Abbott, 90; Berens, 70; Howe, *The Battle History of the 1st Armored Division*, 247 ("hundreds of vehicles"); Gardiner, ts, USMA Arch, 150.
- Tunis fell at 3:30 P.M.*: Clarke, *The Eleventh at War*, 299-300; AAR, 1st Derbyshire Yeomanry, PRO, WO 175/293; *Destruction*, 452; J.R.T. Hopper, "Figures in a Fading Landscape," ts, 1995, IWM, 97/3/1.
- 522 *"The streets were full"*: F. Stephens, "Collapse in Tunis," *Military Review*, Apr. 1945, 69 ("Astonished Germans" and "complete with Buick"); Blaxland, 256; MacVane, *On the Air in World War II*, 185-86 ("Stop that shooting"); Jordan, 254 ("Get out your weapons"); Powell, *In Battle*, "The Fall of Tunis," *Life*, May 1944.
- Into the city*: Marshall, *Over to Kasserine Pass*, 317-18; Hastings, DDE Lib, box 5 ("pernicious riva Command," MHI, micro, R-5 ("1," Apr. 1943, "Special Preparation," micro, R-811; "Intelligence at HQ," ts, National Archives of Canada, 523 *For months, Eisenhower had worried Russell*, 346 ("we will kill"); Jensen in battle").
- II Corps casualties: To Bizerte Northern Tunisia*, 23 Apr.-9 May and Blair, 159.
- For the British: Richard Feige in Africa*, 1947, FMS #D-125, M Functioning of the Petroleum : NWC Lib, box 162; *Destruction, buch V, Fifth Panzer Army*, N. Forbes, 343 (wristwatches).
- 524 *At Hammam Lif*: Clifford, 443; F 354 ("like a steamboat"); Howar Blaxland, 257; Quilter, ed., 54.
- Like Terry Allen on the Time*: 148; Lindsay, 91; P. Royle, ts, n and Forbes, 343-44 ("dotted wit
- 525 *The prisoners came*: John May, Front in North Africa with the I Chief Signal Officer, #1001; A 175/291; Martin, 59-60 ("going t "Germans were everywhere"; ASEQ, 1989, ts, 81st Reconna ("Champagne rather dry"), 28; (dental instruments); Jensen, 75
- 526 *A few escaped*: Luck, *Panzer C. Second World War*, abridged 48; Nicholson and Forbes, 342 303; Rame, 291-94; "Personal I paign," May 12, 1943, LHC ("I 235; Austin, 153; letter, Raymo MCC, YU.
- As recently as May 5*: DDE to noi", 1146n; memos, MTOUS of the Commanding General,
- Carefully calibrated*: mem: MTOUSA, NARA RG 492. O jvers, 51 ("like sardines"); Kurc
- 527 *For some*: "Records Relating Marshal General, box 2245; "1 Area," "memo for Gen. Dille 2209; Penney, ts, LHC ("using

- 193; William Munday, "Prison Ship in Downing, *At War with the British*, V. Westrate, *Forward Observer*, 167 title, 240-45; NWAf, 650; Craven and Story, 93; NWAf, 650, 653; Austin, 151; Dickson, "G-2 Journal," MHI, 64; Historical Society web site, www.ohiohistorical.org
- Draft Regimental Wartime History," Allen, "A Factual Summary of the Operations," MHI; Mason, "Reminiscences of 18th Inf in Matcur Sector," n.d., G 407, E 427, box 5937; Vining, ed., "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of WWII," Regimental Wartime History," Stanhope "Factual Summary of the Combat Operations - 3 Report, Tunis Operation," 1st ID, 59; Knickerbocker et al., 80; John T. 1, 39-40 ("bloody foolish").
- "hen"); DDE to CCS et al., Chandler, A-349 ("good and drunk").
- E to GCM et al., Chandler, 1104, 1114, 1118; Butcher diary, DDE Lib, A-365
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- ordonier, chief naval engineer, Bi E 427, box 7334; Pyle, *Here Is Your* May 16, 1943, ASEQ, 9th ID, MHI Laurence S. Kutcr," Pentagon, May 1943, 439; letter, Thomas Riggs to
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- lane, 133; Abbott, 90; Herens, 70; "mission, 247 ("hundreds of vehicles");
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- in Tunis," *Military Review*, Apr. 1943, 11; Blaxland, 256; Mac- that shooting"); Jordan, 254 ("Get
- out your weapons"); Powell, *In Barbary*, 17; D'Arcy-Dawson, 235; Noel F. Busch, "The Fall of Tunis," *Life*, May 1943, 35 (a windsock).
- Into the city*: Marshall, *Over to Tunis*, 149 ("Men were singing"); Blumenson, *Kasserine Pass*, 317-18; Hastings, 232; Anderson to DDE, May 10, 1943, PP-pres, DDE Lib, box 5 ("pernicious rivalry"); Hughes diary, May 7, 1943, "Allied High Command," MHI, micro, R-5 ("our egos"); "S Force Operation Instruction No. 1," Apr. 1943, "Special Preparation (Capture of Tunis 1943," NARA RG 331, AFIIQ micro, R-81; "Intelligence at HQ First Army, Nov. 1942-May 1943," May 23, 1943, ts, National Archives of Canada, RG 24, vol. 01, Intelligence 10719.
- 523 *For months, Eisenhower had worried*: Harmon, *Combat Command*, 138; Parris and Russell, 346 ("we will kill"); Jensen, 73-74; Pyle, *Here Is Your War*, 277 ("Winning in battle").
- II Corps casualties: To Bizerte with the II Corps*, 51-52; "Operation of II Corps, Northern Tunisia, 23 Apr.-9 May 1943," NARA RG 407, E 427, box 3113; Bradley and Blair, 159.
- For the British*: Richard Feige, "Relationship Between Operations and Supply in Africa," 1947, FMS #D-125, MHI, 11; Webster Anderson, "Organization and Functioning of the Petroleum Section, AFHQ," Aug. 10, 1943, NARA RG 334, NWC Lib, box 162; *Destruction*, 423; Hunt, 181-82 ("We are waiting"); *Kriegstagebuch V*, Fifth Panzer Army, NARA RG 319, OCMH, box 226; Nicholson and Forbes, 343 (wristwatches).
- 524 *At Hammam Lif*: Clifford, 443; Ellis, *Welsh Guards at War*, 123; Parris and Russell, 354 ("like a steamboat"); Howard and Sparrow, 142; Nicholson and Forbes, 339; Blaxland, 257; Quilter, ed., 54.
- Like Terry Allen on the Tine*: Messenger, 117-18; Blaxland, 259; French Blake, 148; Lindsay, 91; P. Royle, ts, n.d., IWM, 66/305/1 ("Looking back"); Nicholson and Forbes, 343-44 ("dotted with points"); Horrocks, 172 ("I have waited").
- 525 *The prisoners came*: John Mayo, OH, ASEQ, 1987, 1st AR, MHI; film, "At the Front in North Africa with the U.S. Army," Dec. 1942, NARA RG 111, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, #1001; AAR, 16th/5th Lancers, May 12, 1943, PRO, WO 175/291; Martin, 59-60 ("going to a wedding").
- "Germans were everywhere": Pyle, *Here Is Your War*, 273; Robert M. Marsh, ASEQ, 1989, ts, 81st Reconnaissance Bn, 1st AD; Nicholson and Forbes, 341 ("Champagne rather dry"), 285 ("British Tommy!"); Howard and Sparrow, 141 (dental instruments); Jensen, 75; Linderman, 331.
- 526 *A few escaped*: Luck, *Panzer Commander*, 122; Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, abridged edition, 292; "Commander-in-Chief's Dispatch," 48; Nicholson and Forbes, 342 ("they sat astride"); Clarke, *The Elevenh at War*, 303; Rame, 291-94; "Personal Diary of Lt. Gen. C. W. Allfrey, the Tunisian Campaign," May 12, 1943, LHC ("The anguished of yesterday"); McCorquodale et al., 235; Austin, 153; letter, Raymond Dreyer, *Fenton (Iowa) Reporter*, Nov. 4, 1943, MCC, YU.
- As recently as May 5*: DDE to GCM, May 5, 1943, Chandler, 1114 ("the Axis cannot"), 1146n; memos, MTOUSA, May 1943, NARA RG 492, Records of the Office of the Commanding General, box 56.
- Carefully calibrated*: memo, B.M. Sawbridge to W.B. Smith, July 1943, MTOUSA, NARA RG 492, Office of the Commanding General, box 332; Schrijvers, 51 ("like sardines"); Kurowski, 121.
- 527 *For some*: "Records Relating to Prisoners," MTOUSA, NARA RG 492, Provost Marshal General, box 2245; "Observation of Provost M. Area," "memo for Gen. Dillon," Nov. 25, 1943, MTOUSA, 2209; Penney, ts, LHC ("using their prisoners").

Neither starvation: *Destruction*, 445–46; *NWAF*, 662; Hansen, 5/104; Parris and Russell, 348 (“fought like sportsmen”).

The biggest fish: *Destruction*, 458–59; Hunt, 181; Parris and Russell, 357 (“He had tried”).

- 528 With fuel scavanged: Arnim, “Recollections of Tunisia,” 113–15; Carell, 353; *Destruction*, 457–58.

He soon returned: Stevens, *Fourth Indian Division*, 255; Tucker, 374–78; D’Arcy-Dawson, 245–46 (“a Potsdam parade”); Alfrey diary, May 12, 1943, LHC (“He took this badly”); Eisenhower, *Crusade in Europe*, 157 (snubbed Arnim); J.B.A. Glennie, ts, 1988, in papers of R. de L. King, IWM, 96/29/1 (a Steyer Daimler); Martin, 51 (“an iron-plated monocle”); *Destruction*, 459.

EPILOGUE

- 530 *Roses perfumed*: Signal Corps footage, NARA film, ADC-1113 and ADC-2407; Bailey, 119; letter, Joe Farley, n.d., MCC, YU (“too damn hot”); Macmillan, *War Diaries*, 88–91 (“football crowd”).

Shortly before noon: Gardiner, ts, USMA Arch, 151–52 (“same precision”); Nicholson and Forbes, 349; diary, May 20, 1943, GSP, LOC, box 2, folder 13 (“French ecclesiastic”).

- 531 At noon, the crowd’s mood: *Three Years*, 312; Moorehead, 65; Hougren, *The Story of the Famous 34th Infantry Division*; Bailey, *Through Hell and High Water*, 119.

After the French: Bailey, 119 (“Arkansas backwoods men”); diary, May 20, 1943, GSP, LOC, box 2, folder 13 (“lack pride”); Harmon, *Combat Commander*, 141; Davies, 110–11.

- 532 Then pipers: memo, 24th Guards to 1st Irish Guards, May 17, 1943, PRO, WO 175/488 (“Brasses will”); Macmillan, *War Diaries*, 90–91; Gardiner, ts, USMA Arch, 151–52 (“much the better show”).

The parade straggled: Nicholson, Alex, 193 (“Hundreds of Italians”); Nicholson and Forbes, 349; Macmillan, *War Diaries*, 91–92; *Three Years*, 313; Bradley, *A Soldier’s Story*, 109 (“waste of time”).

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