An Army of One... With Dependents: A History of the Army Family

Stacey Lynne Brown

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AN ARMY OF ONE ... WITH DEPENDENTS
A HISTORY OF THE ARMY FAMILY

Stacey Lynne Brown
AN ARMY OF ONE ... WITH DEPENDENTS

A HISTORY OF THE ARMY FAMILY

A Thesis
Presented to
the College of Graduate Studies of
Georgia Southern University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master's of Arts
In the Department of History

by
Stacey Lynne Brown
August 2003
June 27, 2003

To the Graduate School:

This thesis, entitled "An Army of One...with dependants: A History of the Army Family," and written by Stacey Lynne Brown, is presented to the College of Graduate Studies of Georgia Southern University. I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

They were a family of women and children, my great grandmother, "Granny"; grandmother, "Ahma"; mother, "Mom"; and her sisters, Eleanor and Frances, driven by one common goal - to raise the girls. And they did. There was not a lot of money, and everybody worked for what there was. Yet, even through the long work hours and the back and forth households, my sister, Crissi and I still learned the most basic elements of a good life: patience, love, respect, dedication, perseverance, and most importantly, faith in God.

They still are a family of women. Granny and Frances have passed on, but Ahma, Mom, and Eleanor are still with us, only in different roles. Just as a circle never breaks, neither does the family cycle. My Ahma is a great grandmother now, and Mom, well, she made it to grandmother. She and Eleanor are still doing what they do best - raising the kids, but only part-time. Crissi and I are grown up now and have families of our own, striving to do the best we can to bring up our children the way we were raised,
teaching them patience, love, respect, dedication, perseverance, and most importantly, faith in God.

This thesis has required all of these things. Without the knowledge of them, I would surely have been lost. So first, I thank my immediate family for having the forethought to raise me in a way that allowed me to have the ability to do my best and settle for nothing less, without giving into obstacles or the fear of failure.

I also wish to thank my extended family, Keith and Amelia. "Pop" taught me a great deal without even knowing it. From him I learned acceptance, tolerance and the true meanings of loyalty and friendship. He taught me to be a person others can call on and rely on. These are things I strive to do, I hope I do them as well as he does.

As a returning student, the practice of education came back to me quickly; however, the ability to actually write a paper did not. To an old trumpet player, passive voice and split infinitives were not things to get worked up about, and definitely not worth all the red ink that was used to identify it on my papers. Nevertheless, my professors stuck with me, helped me hone skills, and made me a much better writer than I was when I arrived. To Dr. Anastatia Sims and Dr. Alan Downs I would like to offer my
appreciation for the patience they demonstrated as I struggled through the learning process, asked stupid questions, and repeatedly made the same mistakes. I would also like to thank Dr. Downs for serving as my advisor and guiding me through the thesis process. He has been a patient mentor, never showing disappointment or grief. He continuously demonstrated a positive work ethic, which allowed me to press on through frustrations and setbacks without giving up.

And now that my husband and children have read this and decided that they have been completely forgotten, I want them to know that I saved the best for last.

To Thomas and Christopher: Over the last two years, I have worked hard to keep up with my studies and at the same time make an appearance at as many football, baseball, Cub Scout, and Tae Kwan do events as possible. I have repeatedly taken over the kitchen table and the living room couch, covering them both with books, papers, computer equipment and exhibit paraphernalia, yet you did not complain about the carpet picnics or the makeshift suppers. You accepted the loss of time that could have been spent with you instead of at the computer or in class. I hope that one day you will look back on this time and understand
how much your selflessness and sacrifice meant to me and to this project.

To Drew: It is without question that I say that none of this would have been possible if you had not come into my life and encouraged me to continue to grow. You have sacrificed your time, and taken over laundry and dishwasher duties so that I could concentrate more on my work and have more time for the boys. You have helped without complaint and it has not gone unnoticed. I am eternally grateful for your encouragement and your love, and I thank you with all my heart.

I love you all.
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ABSTRACT

AN ARMY OF ONE ... WITH DEPENDANTS
A HISTORY OF THE ARMY FAMILY

August 2003
Stacey L. Brown
B.M. Samford University
M.A. Georgia Southern University
Directed by: Professor Alan C. Downs

Family members have accompanied the army for the entire 227-year history of the organization. This thesis outlines the formation of the army family and its continuation through times of peace and war. It establishes the army family as a community based on the existence of three elements: geographic location, social interaction, and common ties. The results of the research for this paper establish a common experience among the members of the army family that exists throughout history and is a vital part of the success and continuation of the community.
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INTRODUCTION

Who can forget the tearful conversation between United States Army Specialist Shoshanna Johnson and her daughter upon the latter’s release from captivity during Operation Iraqi Freedom. For some, the image revealed the progression of history. For others, the media coverage brought back reminders of time served in past wars, time spent waiting for loved ones to return, the sound of the phone ringing, the knock at the door, the volleys, and the final bugle.

In 2003, Specialist Johnson, a single, African American female soldier left her daughter behind with her parents and deployed to the Persian Gulf. She entered Iraq with the 507th Maintenance Company, withstood an armed attack, sustained bodily injury, and served time as a prisoner of war until she and others from her unit were rescued. Her daughter remained at home, waiting, like so many other family members, for her mother’s safe return.

This scenario was not within the realm of possibilities in 1775 when George Washington began assembling the first Continental Army. Women did not
enlist during the Revolution, they served in limited capacities as service support personnel, washing laundry and cooking. African Americans, although not initially considered for duty, fought for a country that did not even grant their freedom. Most families remained at home, although as time progressed, the number of camp followers increased. Command responsibility was limited. Regulations prohibited marriage for enlisted men unless they received permission and officers maintained accompanying family members at their own expense.

The dependant army family rose from this humble beginning and blossomed into a full-fledged community. Following her husband to remote western frontier posts and then to new overseas duty, the army wife and her children participated in some of the most exciting events in the history of the United States, and along the way created a common bond among her army sisters, which allowed her to endure hardship no matter where her husband was stationed.

There is evidence, however, that certain experiences remained consistent throughout the history of the army family. The presence of consistency does not imply, however, that the family remained stagnant for over 200 years while the army organization developed around it; in
fact, just the opposite is true. Today, members of the army family, through the availability of programs, services, and benefits, enjoy a quality of life greatly improved from the days on the early frontier. Through elevated command awareness and commitment, and the efforts of liaison and advocacy groups, the army family community maintains the ability to lobby for issues for which there is still a concern.

Even the members themselves are different. The flood of war brides from both the European and Pacific theaters following the Second World War brought multi-ethnic families into the army community. The trend continued into the 1950s and 1960s as men brought back Korean and Vietnamese women and children. During peacetime, single men stationed around the world continued to return home with wives and families, further expanding multi-national membership into the established community. On the home front, the official acceptance of African Americans and women into the armed forces heightened the complexity of the army community, and the emergence of dual service couples and single parent households raised serious deployment issues.
This project is an attempt to discover if, in fact, the common experience among the members of the army family community is present throughout its history and if these experiences contribute to the overall success of the community. Diaries, letters, and books left by women such as Elizabeth Custer, Eveline Alexander, and Martha Summerhayes provided valuable insight into these questions. Likewise, the work of Edward M. Coffman, Sandra L. Myers and Shirley Leckie and other scholars, supplied useful background information about the army community and further aided in this analysis.

There are, however, problems in accumulating material about a closed society where the attitudes and actions of the accompanying family can directly affect the sponsoring member’s career. Spouses and children writing during their sponsor’s tour of duty do not readily give up information that may be damaging. It is important to remember that the family’s quality of life is dependant upon the success of the sponsor. The sponsor, unlike a corporate employee, is attached to the army for better or worse. Anything that detracts from success takes away the possibility of promotion, first-class assignments, and the ability to move up the social ladder and the pay chart.
In other areas, such as the American Revolution, the Civil War, western frontier expansion, and most recently, the Second World War, scholarship was readily available. The draft era of the 1950s and 1960s contained a body of work, which for both primary and secondary sources, leaned heavily on the plight of the prisoners of war and the psychological study of this group and their families. Adequate literature exists, as well, for the secondary areas of this thesis, including the history of women in the military, African American service, United States social and family history, and community and military sociology.

Every effort has been made to keep the narrative in a common vernacular. As with any society there are always terms or elements, which are not understood by those who have no connection to the community. It is necessary to clarify several of these terms at the outset. First, for the purpose of this study, only the United States active duty army family is included. The sacrifices of those who serve in reserve components and the National Guard, are recognized, however, the communities in which they live and their relationship to the regular army lay outside of the scope of this analysis. The families of those soldiers who participate in special operations units are also omitted.
because of the unique nature of their mission and the structure of their community.

One needs also to understand the relationship of the family member to the army. The officer or enlisted man is the dependant family member's sponsor. He or she is the link between the army and the family. Officers receive a commission from the president of the United States or the secretary of the army to serve in his or her area of expertise. They remain in the army until they retire or resign. Enlisted men, ranks E-1 (private) through E-3 (private first class) and noncommissioned officers, E-4 (specialist/corporal) through E-9 (command sergeant major) serve for a specific period of time, which is contracted at enlistment or re-enlistment. An enlisted soldier may not legally leave the army until retirement or the term of his or her contract expires.

The soldier is bound to the army and obligated to complete whatever duties are assigned. Owing to the nature of this relationship any factors that contribute to or take away from the ability to serve, must be carefully managed. As a result, the accompanying family members can either help or hurt the soldier and in turn help or hurt the mission. It is vital to remember that despite family
circumstances or the difficulties brought on by poor housing, low pay, or separation, the soldier cannot leave his assigned duty without receiving some form of disciplinary action, the results of which may further limit the soldier’s ability to provide for the family. This relationship is at the heart of the army family community.

The limitations and obstacles placed before the family did not deter participation in the army community. These idiosyncrasies may have even been the catalyst for the emergence of the common experience. Over the past 227 years, countless men, women, and children have followed the army in support of their soldier in order to remain together as a family. These followers formed a community that thrives today, owing to the dedication and perseverance of those who came before.
CHAPTER I

The Birth of the American Army Family

"So now I want to welcome you to this glorious society of Army wives and introduce you to some of its members."

There is no typical army wife and there is no typical family story. The wives of regular army soldiers were different in many ways. Despite these disparities, families associated with the early army, shared many common experiences. Following the example set by the British military, most Colonial troops identified with the traditions and customs already in use. Consequently, the army family, an institution whose official origin dates back to the early Roman Empire, also resembled contemporary English practices. According to British regulations, a company could maintain six women "of good character" who were often soldiers' wives. Known as "camp followers," these women accompanied their husbands and performed various tasks, such as laundry, cooking, sewing, and nursing. Most importantly, however, these women played an

early critical role in the army support system and in the process, laid the foundation for the army family tradition. British military tradition in the seventeenth century was very similar to other European armies, adhering to both formal and informal policies regarding the participation of women in camp activities. This system carried over into colonial America containing a complete set of rules and regulations governing soldiers and their families. By 1685, enlisted soldiers in the British Army were not allowed to marry without permission. For soldiers given permission, regulations provided housing and rations for their new spouse; those who chose to stay without permission were on their own. The availability of domestic jobs allowed family members to work, thus providing an inexpensive labor pool for the army. Out of this practice of employment, family members created an unofficial community within the larger army community.

Even though the camp followers were present, they were not always wanted or understood. George Washington participated in the colonial tradition when he invited his wife Martha to join him in winter quarters, but he did not expect women to be regular attendees in camp. Washington only anticipated that they would join in winter activities
when the hostilities from spring and summer campaigns ceased. Women, in Washington’s opinion, were diversions and consumed much needed rations.\(^3\) When the Commander-in-Chief was faced with the task of fielding a colonial force, he realized that if he did not provide rations or means to provide sustenance to family members, he would be unable to recruit and retain their husbands and fathers as soldiers.\(^4\)

During the American Revolution, the army banned females from enlistment. Most women attached themselves to the army community to be with their loved ones rather than to serve in combat.\(^5\) The traditions of women serving in the military and those in service to the military are often combined in American military historiography. While some soldier’s wives did participate in combat, fighting with the army was not the reason for their presence, and they should not be confused with those who endeavored to become soldiers.

The women of the Continental Army family served in more than a traditional domestic capacity. While the services they provided fell into the domestic nature of the

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\(^3\) Holly Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 125-126.


\(^5\) Mayer, 122-123.
late eighteenth century woman's sphere, they encompassed more than just the daily routines of a housewife. Through this system of labor, these women became dependant on the army for their way of life; consequently, with manpower shortages, the army also became dependant upon them. Having yielded to the reality that women would have to be allowed to follow the army, Washington campaigned to turn their domestic labor into an asset for the army. In line with other domestic trends, washing, sewing, and cooking belonged in the woman's sphere. Even if Washington had the men to do the work, many of them would have refused to take on a woman's burden. Soldiers eventually did learn to take care of themselves and in crossing over gender lines, the army support system filled by women, gradually grew into a soldier-supported service.

Washington's acceptance of women in camp was not exclusive to the wives of officers. Sarah Osborne's story, taken from the sworn account given for her pension application in 1837, provides one description of the family

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8 Mayer, 138-139.
life of an enlisted soldier with the army. In 1780, without Sarah’s knowledge, her husband Aaron re-enlisted and made plans for his family to move into camp. After Sarah refused to go, Aaron brought his captain in to help convince her to join the regiment. Reluctantly, Sarah complied and remained with the army for three years until her separation from Aaron.

One of only four women in camp, Sarah spent her days cooking and sewing for her husband and several others. Although the bulk of her work placed her behind the American tent line, she often went to the trenches to deliver food she had prepared to the soldiers. When asked by General Washington if she was not afraid of the cannon balls, Sarah replied, “It would not do for the men to fight and starve, too.” While Sarah was willing to support the fight, she did not immerse herself in the lifestyle, nor did she consider herself a part of the soldiering tradition. When Sarah inquired about the meaning of sounding drums, a soldier asked her “Aren’t you soldier enough to know what it means?” Sarah replied “No!” and

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9 The entire account of Sarah Osborn’s pension application can be found in John C. Dann, ed., The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 240-250.
10 Ibid., 245.
continued on, delivering food to the entrenched soldiers. The drums had indicated victory for the colonial forces.

Lodging and travel experiences may be the one exception in Sarah’s army family experience. As part of an agreement made with Captain Gregg, to join her husband in camp, Sarah frequently received transport by horse or wagon. She recalled walking only once in her deposition, and even received passage on board ship while soldiers followed by land. Long marches and heavy loads, common to other camp followers did not burden her. Sarah secured lodging in boarding houses while at West Point, but except for her brief description of her quarters at the completion of the war, a log hut with cloth coverings, she left no description of any other structures.

Mary Ludwig Hays and Margaret Cochran Corbin not only performed tasks similar to Sarah Osborn, but also experienced the heat of battle. Better known as the legendary "Molly Pitcher," Mary Ludwig Hays carried pails of water to men on the lines during battle. During the Battle of Monmouth, Mary’s husband, Sergeant John Hays, was mortally wounded, leaving his artillery crew short-handed. While carrying pails of water, Mary found her wounded husband and the crippled crew, took up his rammer and
filled his position for the duration of the battle. For her actions, Washington bestowed upon her the rank of sergeant in the Continental Army.\textsuperscript{11}

Like Mary Hays, Margaret Corbin also followed her husband into camp. When John Corbin enlisted in the army, Margaret refused to stay at home alone. She rolled up her few possessions in a blanket, and followed her husband to camp. Performing tasks common to camp followers, Margaret often took time from her duties to train with her husband’s crew and so inundated herself in soldier companionship that later in life she only found comfort among them. The members of her husband’s crew came to call her “Captain Molly” in recognition of her performance with the artillery. Similar to Hays, Margaret found her husband’s crew knocked out by enemy fire. Having trained with them, Captain Molly took control of the battle station and, with the help of wounded men, continued to fight until she fell injured beside the cannon. In 1779, Congress recognized the measures taken by Margaret Corbin during the battle at Fort Washington and granted her “one-half the monthly pay of a soldier in the services of these States and that she

\textsuperscript{11} Mayer, 144.
now receive out of public stores, one suit of clothes or
the value thereof in money."^{12}

Prominent women and officers' wives also chose to join
their husbands and follow the army. As a result of their
husbands' rank and financial position, they often obtained
better living conditions or possessed the means to come and
go from camp. Unlike enlisted spouses, who stayed in camp
and in some way, participated in battle, officers' wives
frequently evacuated camp when altercations became
imminent. Some wives returned following the campaign,
others like Lucy Knox, wife of General Henry Knox, pleaded
with their husbands for permission to rejoin them in camp.
Lucy ultimately won these arguments, took part in extended
visits to camp, and eventually accompanied the army during
an encounter with the enemy.\footnote{13}

Setting the precedent for generations of Army wives,
Martha Washington left the comfort of her home at Mount
Vernon to endure winter camp with her husband and the
Continental Army. Martha not only joined in caring for the
soldiers, but also participated in organizing the camp
follower community and creating the first military wives

\footnote{12}{Ibid., 144.}
\footnote{13}{Ibid., 147-148.}
club in order to provide support and foster volunteerism among her sister spouses. Keeping "her fears to herself" Martha worked with these women and others to create a military family community, placing calls and receiving visitors as the social customs of the day required. As the war progressed and the winters tallied up, Martha became a reliable and able nurse, her kindness and willingness helped to "dissipate the gloom of the winter quarters."\(^{14}\) During campaign seasons, Martha Washington returned home to Mount Vernon, where she took care of her family, rallied support for the Continental forces, and corresponded with her husband.

Enduring separation is by far the experience most shared by family members throughout the army. Crossing the lines of rank and societal barriers, separation does not discriminate when tapping emotions and instilling hardship for those left behind. All service men and their families at one time or another during their tours of duty spend time apart. Not all Continental Army families joined soldiers in camp and on the battlefield. Most senior officers' wives only resided in camp during the winter

hiatus, for the rest of the year they remained at home involved in activities from maintaining a plantation household to obtaining and encouraging support for the Continental forces. Junior officers' wives quite often never joined their husbands in camp. The financial status, which gave the wives of senior officers' the ability to travel at will, was not readily available for all members of the corps.

Enlisted families endured an even tougher burden. Private Ralph Morgan joined the army without his wife and two children, and in 1775 petitioned for a furlough to return home and care for his family. Fortunately, it was early in the war and manpower shortages had not taken their toll; Morgan was discharged and allowed to return to his family. Family separation also accounted for a large portion of desertions. Washington began to realize that in order to keep his army together, he would have to allow the soldiers to keep their families together.\(^\text{15}\)

In the years immediately following the Revolution, the responsibility to protect the new confederation rested on the shoulders of politicians and professional soldiers whose interests varied regarding the warrant, fielding and

\(^{15}\) Mayer, 126.
maintenance of the emerging military establishment. Older, established communities continued to need local protection while newer frontier establishments required not only protection, but also assistance in pushing the western boundary further into the interior. With minimal exceptions, the new army accomplished these objectives with as few as seven hundred men between 1789 and 1811.

As the country expanded westward, the army followed, setting up and garrisoning posts to protect the passage of explorers and settlers. Growth and expansion led soldiers and their wives into unknown territory. To facilitate travel in the new west, Captain Marcy wrote The Prairie Traveler in 1809 as a guide for travelers. The Prairie Traveler advised such things as proper dress and appropriate items to pack. Mrs. Marcy continued the tradition of her predecessors, following her husband and

16 Political and military leaders struggled against a rising anti-military sentiment among the newly independent colonies, to try to develop an appropriate system of national defense. The events surrounding the growth of the United States Army are recognized, but they are not crucial to the scope of this paper. For further reading see Alan Reed Millett and Peter Maslowski, For the Common Defense: A Military History of the United States of America (New York: Free Press, 1994), and Morris J. MacGregor, "The Formative Years, 1783-1812," American Military History, Army History Series (Washington D.C.: Center of Military History, 1989), also available online at http://www.army.mil/cmh-pg/.

the army into camp. While Mrs. Marcy did not participate in a war in which two armies marched to lines and commenced with battle, she was not without her own dangers and unique experiences. During a ceremonial visit between the army and a local Indian tribe, the Indian chief admiring Mrs. Marcy’s embroidery approached Captain Darcy to trade for his wife. Fortunately, Mrs. Darcy remained with her husband, thanks in part to removing her false teeth and becoming less appealing to the chief. In another episode, Mrs. Darcy attacked a prairie wolf with an iron skillet in order to save her prized turkeys.18

In 1819, soldiers at Fort Atkinson, Nebraska, maintained a community in which “most of the officers and several of the enlisted men were married.” The social activities at Fort Atkinson included dinners and dances. Nearby towns and forts also provided opportunities for social calls. A post library provided popular and cultural enlightenment. By 1821, enough children resided at the fort to warrant the opening of a post school. Command attention to family well-being was present early on. The garrison

18 Totten, 42.
supplied the schoolteacher and soldiers received reprimands for not sending their children to class.¹⁹

A soldier's ability to maintain a family while serving the army varied. Senior officers' pay made it easier to support dependants. Young officers thought the lack of money was leading factor in remaining a bachelor. Enlisted families counted on the income of both spouses to make ends meet. Obtaining work as a laundress, cook, or servant, not only meant extra funds to live on, but also the chance for transportation to the next camp if the unit moved. Given the financial situation soldiers faced, young ladies who came from wealthy families were often the target of attention and proposals. Not all of these marriages ended with the new bride traveling down dusty trails to remote army camps. Even though some officers did marry into prominent families, these marriages did not help their military careers and some of these soldiers eventually left the army and adopted the lifestyle of their new family.²⁰

²⁰ Wade, 157-163. Command and general officer appointments often were the result of political connections and not military service. Line soldiers were promoted based on necessity and brevet systems, which did not always mean they would gain the next command slot.
Newly-weds, who did follow the army, often had no knowledge of what to expect when they arrived at their new "home." After arriving at Jefferson Barracks, Mary Love looked to another army wife, Elise Bragg, for guidance in adjusting to her new life. For Elise, wife of Braxton Bragg, settling was relatively easy. As was the custom for officers, her household consisted of not only her self and her husband, but also four slaves and a soldier as servants. Julia Grant, who also had servants available, found it difficult to maintain the same quality of life for Ulysses that her family kept at home. Nevertheless, she came to enjoy army life and the community of wives.\textsuperscript{21}

Enlisted families led a somewhat more difficult life. Soldiers set up housekeeping for their family out of what they could find. Tents and huts afforded shelter for some, while others like Sergeant Thomas Drury were able to build homes for their families. Further, some soldiers were able to secure lengthy duty stations and provide permanent homes for their families. Sergeant Michael Moore managed to secure assignment a long-term assignment to Governors Island and remained there to raise his family; they became

"fixtures" in the community. Margaret Getz and her husband served Ulysses and Julia Grant as they traveled west. Maggy cooked and provided laundry service and her husband, an enlisted man, did other work around the house, earning them a good reputation and letters of recommendation when Private Getz enlistment period was over.

Families of enlisted soldiers worked for what they had and lived on what they could find. The army's need for labor and a wife's need for work presented opportunities for both parties. Army regulations allowed one laundress for every seventeen men and provided food, bedding, wages and transportation in return for their service. Enlisted wives continued to make up the majority of the laundress corps, adding cooking, and housekeeping to their list of duties.

Even though the quality of life could vary with rank, difficulty with travel, food supplies, and Indians, endangered the daily lives of women and children regardless of the soldier's stature. For some young women, traveling during the early expansion years meant leaving home, permanently, for the first time. For Julia Grant the thought of leaving the comforts of home for life with the

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22 Ibid., 112-114, 116-117.
army, a lifestyle her father thought she was unsuited for, left her wrought with crying spells. Setting out on her journey, she found traveling to Detroit delightful; however, her trip to New York was "long, fatiguing, and expensive."\textsuperscript{23}

Teresa Griffin Viele found her trip from New York to Texas filled with the same varied emotions. The trip by sea, down the Atlantic coast, to Havana and on to New Orleans was enjoyable. She lost sleep to a family of seasick children, but reported no other disagreeable circumstances. The trip from New Orleans to the Gulf ports of Texas left Teresa feeling scared as she anticipated transport on the dilapidated ship through the rough Gulf. Her quarters on the steamer consisted of a shelf bed in the "ladies quarters" among the emigrant women and children. Following a bout of seasickness, Teresa secured travel accommodations more suited to her class. Teresa and her husband spent the last leg of their journey into the fort upon the best horses available.\textsuperscript{24}

Transportation methods were not the only source of discomfort and danger found on the journey westward.

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 119.
\textsuperscript{24} Teresa Griffin Viele, \textit{Following the Drum: A Glimpse of Frontier Life}, with a Forward and Bibliography by Sandra L. Myres (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 43-52; 76-78; 84.
Outbreaks of scurvy and cholera ran rampant in situations where food supplies and medical care already suffered. Owing to the lack or conditions of rations, starvation was common. Hostile relations between local Indian tribes, western settlers, and the United States Government, also proved very dangerous for white women. With Indians in sight, women were ordered to "lie on the bottom of the wagon and under no circumstances to show their faces." Women captured by Indians risked rape by the men and torture by the women, or even being thrust aside, and left alone to die in the wilderness. Elizabeth Custer wrote years later that her escort officers received orders from her husband to shoot her if capture by Indians was imminent.

At Fort Snelling, Minnesota, Captain Nathan Clark and his family took in a young boy named Andrew whose parents did not survive an attack by hostile Indians. Following the attack, Andrew and his brother John escaped, hid, and eventually found their way to the fort. Andrew spent his life with the Clarks and then in a boarding house. John

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Coffman, 121-123, Charlotte Ouisconson Van Cleve, "Three Score Years and Ten": Life-Long Memories of Fort Snelling Minnesota, and Other Parts of the West (Minneapolis: Harrison and Smith, 1888), 19.

Totten, 42.
was not so fortunate. He died at Fort Snelling leaving a life of emotional torment behind.  

Accounts of life with the army often include the activities of children. Very few works, however, provide a glimpse of life from a child’s perspective. Charlotte Ouisconsin Van Cleve and Eunice Tripler both spent their lives involved in some way with the army. As children, they joined their fathers at various posts and then, as young adults, married men in the army. There are many similarities in their stories as well as stark differences. They both had fond memories of their childhood, which contained a long stay in the same army community early in life. Charlotte spent the first eight years of her life on the frontier at Fort Snelling, while Eunice lived for thirteen with her family in Washington, D.C. Other similarities included an understanding of the community in which they lived and how their lives directly connected to the army through their fathers. Moreover, as adults they both reconnected themselves to the army by marrying men who served. Despite the difference in locations, the foundations of their lives remained the same. They were dependant on the army for their lives through their

27 Van Cleve, 40-50.
fathers, and their fathers' relationship to the army directly controlled their lifestyle.²⁸

Past the underlying framework of army life, Charlotte Van Cleve and Eunice Tripler led very different lives, lives completely controlled by the station in which their fathers received assignment. Nathan Clark and his wife headed west and arrived at Fort Snelling in 1819. They traveled with one small child, and their second child, Charlotte after her birth along the way. As a young girl, Charlotte attended the post school and took her Sunday school lessons from Mrs. Clark and Mrs. Snelling because they did not have a chaplain. Her friends consisted of army children and Indians; with the closet white settlement over 300 miles away, visitors rarely made it to the fort. Only when traveling and after reassignments did she recall meeting anyone who was not associated with post life.²⁹

Isolated army life encompassed all of Charlotte’s childhood. When the family took a trip back east, Charlotte remembers, “a quiver of sadness . . . where we lost sight of the flag . . . we felt then that we were away from home.” Life in the city was a new experience, for

²⁹ Van Cleve, 8-15; 38-39.
example, she could not understand why men passed her father on the street without rendering a salute, an infraction for which she suggested punishment in the guardhouse. Reaction by the civilian community to people, who had been so long in the far west, left a great impact on Charlotte. Living in a western army community seemed quite normal to her and being “found famous” seemed quite amusing. Returning home, Charlotte “rejoiced to be once more in the fort, in the midst of military surroundings.” For Charlotte living in a community built out of stone and log quarters, raising animals for food, chasing away wolves and befriending Indians was a life she enjoyed and reveled in.30

In contrast to Charlotte, Eunice Hunt Tripler began her army life in Washington D.C., where her parents sought to obtain the best for their daughter. Like Charlotte, she spent a good portion of her childhood in one location; however, she did not endure the hardships of isolated post life. Her mother relied on a nurse, always paid special attention to Eunice’s clothes and chose only “refined” playmates. She attended church at St. John’s Church, led by Parson Hawley and attended by prominent members of the community such as President Andrew Jackson, whom Eunice

30 Ibid., 32, 54, 61-63, 77-78.
considered her "sidewalk acquaintance." Along with Jackson, the Washington community and the Hunt family’s circle of friends included the families of General Alexander McCombs, General Lewis Cass, and the Marquis de Lafayette. Her father played cards with Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, and future President Martin Van Buren visited often. Her close playmate Lydia McClean married General Joseph Johnston.\textsuperscript{31}

Families in the Washington community lived in houses filled with such popular luxuries as an ice chest at Mrs. Turnbulls, and a piano and big feather bed in the Hunt household. Eunice kept pet birds, bought penny candy peppermints, and played outdoor games with her friends. Not faced with the rigors of the west and dangers of isolated post life, the most disturbing event Eunice remembered came in the form of small boys who were used in a dangerous and abusive manner by their masters to clean chimneys. Always aware of her father’s military status in a civilian community, Eunice did not receive such a shock when she left with her family to travel to new duty in

\textsuperscript{31} Tripler, 13-27, 31, 33, 35-36.
Detroit. She, like Charlotte understood the army in which she lived and enjoyed the life it brought her.\textsuperscript{32}

As adults, Eunice and Charlotte lived lives that are more similar. They both married men associated with the army, Eunice to Dr. Tripler, an army doctor, and Charlotte to Lieutenant Van Cleve. Each woman then followed her husband through initial service and stayed behind when the Civil War broke out. Even though differences in post assignments brought about differences in army community life, Eunice and Charlotte still fell into the category of a family member whose status remained completely controlled by and entirely dependant on the army.

Early family policy was almost non-existent. During the Revolutionary War discussion about family members revolved around how many followers the army would take and who they would be. The most important debates occurred over the distribution of rations, owing in part to the scarcity of supplies. As the army grew and moved west, the same questions continued to plague military leaders. The nature of the journey and the insufficient supply system made western travel dangerous. After arrival at a new fort, some commanders began to forbid family members from

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 26-27, 34, 37, 40, 44.
joining in on local expeditions; instead, they stayed back and continued in their daily routines, laying the foundation for a more permanent community.

Each commander treated the accompanying family differently, with his policies closely mirroring his relationship with the community. Captain Martin Scott, Commander of Company “C” at Fort Snelling maintained a nurturing relationship with Charlotte and her brother Malcolm, teaching Malcolm to ride a horse and live successfully in the western army community. In contrast to Captain Scott, Colonel William Gates lost his command after an incident aboard a crippled transport ship. While traveling aboard the San Francisco, a storm off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, crippled the ship. When a rescue vessel arrived, Colonel Gates removed himself and his family, followed by other officers in order of rank, only Brevet Major Wyse refused to leave, sending his wife on and staying with the men, their families, and the damaged ship. The list of dead for the storm-riddled San Francisco reached more than two hundred, including women and children.

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33 Van Cleve, 62, 80.
34 Coffman, 124.
Whereas army regulations did not expressly forbid enlisted men from marrying and bringing their families into camp, permission and the ability to gain employment and provide for the family was a necessity. With permission, officers' wives could join their husbands as they chose to, without employment obligations and with a higher standard of living. Rank played no part in the army's discouragement of family participation. Women and children, while not forbidden and not wanted, always followed the army.

Despite the transient nature of army life, women continued to follow the army and make a home for their families. Supporting one another and forming their own social circles created a bond that helped to provide a sense of family and community among these women. As the army continued to grow and expand, veteran army wives maintained constant contact with young brides. The pioneering spirit of this first generation of army families directly affected future family communities. By passing on the heritage of family and the army, these older wives passed on a tradition from one generation to another.

Constant family growth created a new need for family services, such as housing, education, and medical care.
The attitudes and actions of these early army families built the framework for dependant attachment to the soldier, and early command awareness of the growing necessity of community maintenance in relationship to army readiness. Women’s roles in relation to their fathers and husbands, defined during this era, continued to flow and advance throughout the development of American army family culture.
CHAPTER II

War and Expansion

"I was early doomed to learn one of the principle lessons of my life which was, that we were to have no permanent abiding place."¹

By 1860, the original thirteen colonies blossomed into thirty-three states encompassing three million square miles; the population swelled to more than thirty-one million people.² As the nation grew, nationalism gradually turned to sectionalism and caused the country to split down geographic lines. Once again, the citizens of the United States of America went to war to fight for ideals, which some believed originated in the first revolution less than 100 years earlier. As tensions grew, each side became determined to succeed with the sword, where the pen had failed.

Continuing current traditions, women, and children with the Union forces greatly resembled the army family of the revolution. Wives of enlisted men could serve as

laundresses and nurses and the wives of officers often joined their husbands during winter quarters. A soldiers' rank continued to define the quality of life a family could live; and command sentiment weighed heavily on the ability of women and children to be present. Moreover, society pressed harder on women's roles than any commander did. The country was at war with itself on many levels, and the army family bore the brunt on all of them.³

Owing to social changes, married women no longer made up the body of female population in camp. Single women, charged by thoughts of patriotism and adventure, worked as nurses and prostitutes in and around army encampments. The roles filled by these women threatened to leave a stain on all single and lower ranking women following the army. Mid-nineteenth century societal views of appropriate behavior for women, according to marital and social status, permeated army camps. Single women looking to work as nurses fought for recognition from not only the medical profession, but also from the society they chose to serve.⁴ Although the enlisted wives and single women performed important services for the army, their character came under

⁴ Massey, 43-64.
fire when society grouped them with prostitutes. The reputations of officer’s wives, however, generally remained unscathed.  

Elizabeth Bacon married George Armstrong Custer on 9 February 1864. An officer in the Union army, Custer arrived at the ceremony only after receiving permission to leave his post. A request to marry, in 1864, went through the chain of command. Even though initial approval might be given at the local level, final authority during a time of war, the War Department, decided a young officer’s fate. The young couple proceeded from the ceremony on their honeymoon where Elizabeth recalled her husband received several telegrams urging him to return to duty, but they continued on their trip so that he could show her West Point. Finally, Custer received official orders to return to the front. He and his new bride proceeded by rail to Stevensburg, Virginia, and the line of the Army of the Potomac.

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5 Massey, 65. Records maintained by both governments indicate that thousands of camp followers lived in or near army camps. The stories of officers’ ladies, nurses and prostitutes flood the literature surrounding the women in camp, and it is in this context that the life of the enlisted spouse either entwines with the lower class or disappears entirely.

Elizabeth Custer’s first introduction to army family life came in the form of an army ambulance ride across battered roads and fields in route to an encampment along the battlefront. She described the ride “to add to my feelings of shrinking from this lugubrious vehicle, the curtains were all strapped down and we rode in gloom.” The toleration of women in camp required that Elizabeth remain secluded in her ambulance, any chance of following her husband depended upon her cooperation and a lack of outward curiosity. Elizabeth and her black servant Eliza took up residence in an old abandoned house. Other wives begun to give “touches to that barren place,” adding what they could to the meager furniture.  

From this first experience, Elizabeth learned the reality of army life. Transportation and housing, isolation and separation, all arose in her first few weeks with the army. Wives, who remain with their husbands during the war and later during the Indian campaigns, passed time waiting on the unit to return safely. A different kind of separation permeated the lives of those families who sent their husbands off to serve.

7 Ibid., 44-45.
Most women and children spent the war at home, separated from their husbands and fathers for extended periods. Some chose not to follow, others like Mary Logan, stayed home because their husbands preferred them to do so. Being an officer’s wife did not always guarantee a place in camp. General John Logan, Mary’s husband, thought it was inappropriate for “nice ladies” to be in camp, and refused to allow Mary to join him for fear that he would set a precedent which other officer’s would surely follow. Mary made one trip into camp following her husband’s injury at Fort Donelson, Tennessee. She left immediately following his recovery and never returned to camp again.⁸

Even though the families of many soldiers spent the war at home, the mail system provided contact with the home front and their loved ones. Henry Clay Trumbull, Chaplain for the Union army, thought mail from home sustained the men to victory, that there was “no influence more potent.” In his opinion, neglect from home through the mail became one of the hardest parts of camp life for a soldier to bear. At times during his service, Chaplain Trumbull witnessed situations, which proved the importance of mail to the men. Officers who would risk prison to see the mail

⁸ Massey, 67.
delivered, men on the front lines who would risk detection by the enemy in order to strike a match and enjoy words from home, and men who rushed to read a letter as they hurried into battle, afraid that they would never get another chance to hear from loved ones at home, all impressed upon Trumbull that there was something supreme about letters from home.⁹

Not all experiences with news from home were joyful. The excitement in camp over the arrival of the mail precipitated a devastating blow to those who received no letters. Many soldiers realized that their families did not understand the importance of even the smallest piece of information. When letters arrived, however, good news did not always follow. After spending forty days in Libby Prison, the first letter Chaplain Trumbull received brought news of the death of his youngest child. Another prisoner, on the day of his release, received word of his wife’s death. Soldiers, who received letters, kept them and reread them until the paper literally crumbled. Frequently, Trumbull removed these letters from the pockets of dead soldiers and returned them home with other

belongings. Without mail for the Union soldier, according to Trumbull, "there could never have been that measure of courage, of patience, and of faith, which distinguished our Union army to the close of the war."\(^{10}\)

Families in camp and at home played different roles in the life of a soldier. Not all women and children remained on the sidelines. Army families in combat together traditionally included women who picked up arms as a matter of life and death, and those women who disguised themselves and joined the army with their husbands. Turned down for service because of his age, William Bircher convinced his father Ulrich to enlist so that he could follow along. Upon enlistment, fifteen-year-old William became a Union drummer boy and his father, a wagoner. Like many other young men, he joined the army looking for adventure - that he joined with his father is especially unique.

William's father Ulrich may have helped his son enlist in the army, and joined with him to protect him, but even the most loving father could not protect his son from the atrocities of war. At Pittsburg Landing, William came face to face with the death and destruction of war. He wrote in his diary following his inspection of the battleground

\(^{10}\) Trumbull, 138, 146-147.
"dead men were lying in the mud . . . others trampled entirely out of sight . . . I sickened of the dreadful sight . . . it was too awful to look at anymore.\textsuperscript{11}

William’s account of life as a child in camp is as impressive as Charlotte Van Cleve’s reminiscences of life on a frontier post. He wrote continuously about the activities of soldier life and army campaigns. William and Ulrich served together throughout the war, accompanying Sherman through Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina, at each stop recalling the horror of death and the sorrow he felt for the families, both northern and southern.\textsuperscript{12}

As some family members continued the traditions of following their soldier husbands and fathers into camp and providing an inexpensive labor force for the army, and others continued to endure separation, a new group of people joined the ranks of the army family. On 3 March

\textsuperscript{11} Emmy E. Werner, \textit{Reluctant Witnesses: Children’s Voices from the Civil War} (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 25-26. In all, over twenty thousand Confederate boys and forty thousand Union boys served as musicians and soldiers during the Civil War. Most boys joined to find adventure and glory. Sectional differences also played a part in a child’s excitement over military service, to teach the South a lesson and to repel Yankee invaders became strong reasons among young boys who wished to serve and fight for their country. See also William Bircher, \textit{A Drummer Boy’s Diary: Comprising Four Years of Service with the Second Regiment Minnesota Veteran’s Volunteers: 1861-1865} (St. Paul: St. Paul Book and Stationary Company, 1889).

\textsuperscript{12} Werner, 26, 120, 141.
1865, Congress declared that all women and children of black soldiers would receive freedom based upon military service. Corporal James Gooding wrote to his country’s leaders on behalf of the soldiers and families who were free by birth and desired the same compensation as white American soldiers so that their wives and children could escape some of the hardships of wartime living.

While service to the Union brought freedom and safety to some women and children left behind when their soldier went off to war, those leaving from masters who refused to honor the Emancipation Proclamation and the Congressional Order, often punished the remaining family members in retaliation. Martha Glover, a slave in Missouri, wrote to her husband on 30 December 1863, “You recollect what I told you how they would do after you was gone. They abuse me because you went and say they will not take care of our children . . . You need not tell me to get any more married men to go. I see to much trouble to try to get any more into trouble too-.“13

Not all black women remained behind. Like their white sisters, they also obtained employment with army units and

joined their husbands in camp. Susie King Taylor’s experience closely resembled that of any other enlisted wife. Born under slave law in Georgia, Susie spent her early years in Savannah. Early in the war, Susie received the opportunity to go to Liberia, which she accepted, only to be denied by Confederate authorities. Her ability to read and write caught the eye of Captain Whitmore and she remained with a company of black soldiers as regimental laundress. Other duties would soon follow “I learned to handle a musket very well,” Susie wrote. Although a black soldier’s reasons for fighting may have differed from his white comrades, wartime experience only varied from the traditional white experience when Susie and other black women left the confines of Union encampments, within the army community customary roles did not waiver based on a person’s race.¹⁴

Despite the ability to gain freedom and pursue employment, African American women did not make the same progress as white women, who pushed the accepted gender lines in areas of labor and medicine during the war. In

addition, military service also vaulted black men further than black women. In spite of the social promotion black soldiers and their families found thorough military service, they still encountered those who thought otherwise. When the Union army sent black troops as part of the army of occupation following the war, white southerners protested violently. The fear felt by former slaveholders over violent uprisings became paramount, now that former slaves were free and legally armed. Following their terms of service, black soldiers and their families returned to the mercies of society, unprotected by the military cloak that had freed them. Attacks on former black soldiers and their families did not deter these men; conversely, their desire to continue to fight for freedom and equality became more vehement.\textsuperscript{15}

Following the Civil War, the United States began an almost unencumbered expansion into the western frontier.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, 49, 157-159, 172-173.
\textsuperscript{16} The families of soldiers were not the only women and children to journey to the western frontier, however, these families went by choice and were not ordered to move to the new territory. The hardships endured by army families were also present in civilian life. For more information on the western frontier experience for civilian families see: Elizabeth Jamison and Susan Armitage, eds., Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Susan Armitage, "Here's to the Women: Western Women Speak Up," The Journal of American History Vol.83, no.2 (September 1996): 551-559; and Sandra L. Myres, Westering Women and the
The army, called upon once again to clear the way for settlers also found duty protecting the railroad as it too pushed westward towards the Pacific Ocean. Along the way, military encampments appeared, some only over night, and others more as permanent garrisons. Regardless of official policy, of which there was very little, families increasingly followed their officer or soldier. At Fort McKavett, Texas, in 1870, fourteen of the 351 officers and men maintained eleven family members and eleven servants. At Fort Robinson, Nebraska, in 1883 approximately six army families resided, however, by 1893, the number swelled to thirty-nine. Furthermore, in 1897, Fort Niobrara, Nebraska, hosted 144 dependant family members.  

New brides arriving at a frontier post did not receive a handbook on how to be army wives. Even the well educated found life with the frontier army difficult. Those who had no knowledge of the army found themselves with much to learn. Some wives wound up at a remote garrison with no other women, save the servant that they brought with them. Others gained experience when other established wives took them in and helped with the adjustment process.

Frontier Experience 1800-1915 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

17 Coffman, 308-309.
Nothing in Elizabeth Custer's upbringing prepared her for army life. Even the simplest things took some getting used to. Early in her relationship with George Custer, she hated the yellow lining in his overcoat, but upon learning it was the color of cavalry, it became her "favorite color from that time til now." While traveling on their bridal tour Elizabeth recalls the event that began her experience of "roughing it." Heading out to the theater in the rain, Elizabeth requested an umbrella, to which her new husband replied, "I don't own one. Never carry one. Wouldn't be caught dead with one." If her bonnet became ruined, he would "get another one." Not to be out done, Elizabeth raced upstairs, donned her traveling dress, pulled a hood over her bonnet, and "began ignoring umbrellas for the future." She returned down stairs, "reported for duty" and "began my education, if not as a soldier, at least as a camp follower, as the head of my household teasingly called me."18

Martha Summerhayes began her introduction to the army life, like Elizabeth Custer, in an army ambulance. Her ride took her to Fort Robinson, where she stayed with Major Wilhelm and his wife. Martha's, husband, Second Lieutenant

18 Reynolds, 5, 42-43.
Jack Summerhayes spent the first day looking for quarters. He succeeded in “turning out” the Lynches, a custom of the old army, often called “ranking out,” in which a higher ranking soldier can secure the quarters of a lower ranking soldier. This soldier must then find quarters for his own family, and quite often turn out someone else. Martha did not understand the custom, but received comfort and understanding from Mrs. Wilhelm, an army wife who did not mind taking in a new bride and showing her the way.

Following the acquisition of quarters, Jack secured a striker to help his new bride with the domestic chores.  

Moving was commonplace in the army. According to Mrs. Wilhelm, “army women were accustomed to it.” An officer’s baggage weight limit did not allow for very much in the way of household goods, army wives learned to make do with little and travel with even less. When General Philippe Regis Denis de Keredern de Trobriand arrived at Fort Stevenson, he took over the quarters of the departing Brevet Colonel Whistler and his family. General de Trobriand’s ready-made quarters consisted of two hospital tents, a separate kitchen, and servant’s room.

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Fortunately, Col. Whistler had no ability to move a ‘house’ full of furniture, so General de Torbriand received enough furniture, which adequately fill the two rooms, where he originally envisioned only his camp bed, racking chair and trunks.\(^20\)

Andrew and Elizabeth Burt served the army in the frontier west for thirty-two years, including several years of Civil War service. During these years, Elizabeth came to expect orders to move every spring, and “generally received the usual dreaded document in April.” As most families could attest, some posts were invariably better than others. Post standardization had not begun in the nineteenth century, at least for families. Arriving at Fort Robinson, twelve-year-old Reynolds Burt was disappointed at the lack of amenities. The post was without regular schooling and church services, had no provisions for fishing and hunting, and few social gatherings, only baseball was available to relieve the monotony.\(^21\)


Benjamin and Alice Grierson also began their army career during the Civil War and continued with an appointment in the officer corps of the regular army. Alice, along with other women and children, spent the last twenty-three years of her life opening the Trans-Mississippi west, while suffering similar struggles. She followed her husband onto the frontier, raised her family, worried over unstable financial situations, and shared in the disappointment when her husband was repeatedly passed-over for promotion. Early wives lived in tents and makeshift quarters, and Alice was no exception, but the progress of army life was not far behind. Upon a return trip to Fort Whipple, Arizona, in 1885, Alice found new quarters complete with indoor plumbing and hot and cold running water, in the place of the old rundown shacks in which she had previously lived. The new plumbing features marked the first time the Griersons experienced indoor facilities in their army quarters.

Modern conveniences did not exist at every military post. Helen Davis, Alice's niece wrote to her from Fort Grant, Arizona, that same year, complaining of the inadequate water supply. Brought in from local creeks, it began to cause illness throughout the camp. Less than a
year later, Alice found herself moving once again, this
time from the newly built, contemporary quarters of Fort
Whipple, to join her niece in the uncertainty and
remoteness of Fort Grant. The Griersons stayed at Fort
Grant only four months before receiving orders to move
Sante Fe, New Mexico. Alice began again the moving ritual
known to all army wives. Army regulation did not allow for
moving large amounts of household goods, officers received
only "one thousand pounds at army expense." Disposing of
household goods and livestock was common to keep from
incurring the extra expense.22

Alice Grierson did not live to write her own memoirs,
or to see her husband's eventual promotion to brigadier
general in 1890. She passed away in August 1888 following
a leg ailment. Army careers are "based upon the efforts of
two people," but only reflected in the achievements of one.
Alice Grierson put forth a complete and unfailing effort
for which she expected "neither gratitude nor public
praise, she performed her assignment with splendid courage,
fortitude, and above all, a minimum of complaint."23

22 Alice Kirk Grierson, The Colonel's Lady on the Western Frontier: The
Correspondence of Alice Kirk Grierson ed. Shirley A. Leckie (Lincoln:
University of Nebraska Press, 1989), 165-176.
23 Ibid., 194-196.
Of all the experiences shared by army families, bearing, raising, and educating children seemed to be the most arduous. Childbirth on the frontier was dangerous for both mother and child. In route from Fort Apache, Arizona, to Fort Whipple, Colonel Wilkins lost his wife during the birth of her second child; a tragedy Martha Summerhayes thought "was caused by the long hard journey." Alice Grierson lost her daughter, Mary Louise, four months after her birth. Mary Louise began suffering from fevers and chills shortly after her birth and never recovered. Alice worked tirelessly to take care of her daughter and her other children while her husband Benjamin continued to head out on Indian campaigns. Medical care was available to an extent. However, competent physicians were rare and a lack of adequate pay and hazardous frontier living discouraged most from joining the army. 

When children did survive, new problems arose; the most pressing was education. Some Officers, who possessed the financial means to send their children east to boarding schools to receive an education, did so. Conversely for those families, officer and enlisted, who could not afford

24 Summerhayes, 149.
the tuition, schooling on the frontier became the only alternative. Most children received their first training in the home, if the mother was able to provide the lessons. By 1866, army regulations allowed the formations of post schools. The progress of building an army school system was slow. The army authorized each post one enlisted man to head the school and allowed wives to fill any vacancies created by the lack of personnel, but by 1881, most posts still not had begun formation of formal schools.\(^{26}\)

General de Trobriand found the difficulty of providing education on the frontier particularly concerning. The options faced by the parents only brought stress for the entire family. Educating army children meant one of three things, an inadequate and haphazard education on post, a lengthy separation to attend school, financial stain to pay for school, and sometimes a combination of all three. Alice Grierson felt that “the damage done” to her son George from his “post education and makeshift arrangements could ever be repaired.”\(^{27}\) Ellen Biddle chose to send her children to boarding school to ensure their quality of education. She recalled leaving them as “the hardest trial


\(^{27}\) Grierson, 174.
I was called on to bear.” Her young sons, Jack and Dave, helped their mother into her carriage and watched, hand in hand, as she rode off weeping, as she “never had before.” Ellen would not see her sons again for six years.28

Although frontier children did not face the danger of a declared war, like William Bircher, they were not without perils and adventure. Young Robert Grierson at age eleven, headed off with his father on an Indian expedition against the Kiowa and the Comanche. Alice worried about him making the long journey, but the trip proved uneventful.29 Ellen Biddle’s son Dave also joined his father on Indian expeditions, joining his first, at the age of six. His father found it to be such an occasion that he had a special corduroy riding suit made for his son. Young Dave’s first trip was nothing like that of the older Grierson. Along the way, three men died from the cold and Dave himself came under fire while fishing. He kept his cool and finished reeling in his fish before taking cover. His father, unable to help without revealing his position could only sit and watch.30

29 Grierson, 48-50.
30 Biddle, 100-102.
Not all army family life involved the drudgery of house keeping and child rearing. Even out on the frontier, social requirements of the day often alleviated the misery of camp life. Margaret Carrington recalled that the garrison in Absaraka maintained "occasional social gatherings." Ellen Biddle remembered Fort Whipple as a "gay post with entertainment of some kind almost everyday and evening." When the soldiers remained in garrison, dinners, dances, and an occasional theatrical play filled the evenings. The women spent the days riding and sewing together to pass time. The winter ball at Fort Lincoln spared no luxury. The soldier's barracks transformed into a hall, with flags and wreathes adorning the walls, and chandeliers made from boxboards held candles. Everyone attended, the laundresses bringing their babies, put them to sleep in the first sergeant's bed while they danced. The frontier may have been difficult, but the ladies refused to be stripped of civilization. By maintaining the customs of both society and the army, they formed their own

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32 Biddle, 166-167.
community regardless of the circumstances. The posts they visited and quarters they received, often inadequate and sometimes non-existent, could change their style of life, but the women of the frontier refused to let it impinge on living.

In order to maintain a home, raise children, and see to social obligations, almost all army officers hired servants to help with the tasks. Throughout the late nineteenth century, these servants came from various groups. Blacks, Indians, Chinese immigrants, Mexicans, and enlisted soldiers and laundresses all made themselves available for hire. Some officers brought their servants from home or had them sent from the states. Others, like Elizabeth Custer and Martha Summerhayes, acquired them upon arrival at their first duty station. Servants in an army household performed a variety of domestic duties including cooking and cleaning, keeping the fire, doing the laundry, helping with the children and on occasion tending the livestock. One group of servants does not seem to have out performed the other. Army wives had their favorites and if they happened to find a good one, they kept it.34

34 Coffman, 303-306.
Known as strikers, a soldier could often find himself serving an officer’s family instead of honing his soldiering skills. Helping with domestic chores and caring for the officer’s horse and other equipment, filled a striker’s day. A striker’s most valuable asset was in numbers. Frequent moves from post to post, required packing and unpacking, setting up new quarters, destroying and rebuilding a home. Upon their arrival at Fort Leavenworth, Andrew and Elizabeth Burt found vacant quarters waiting for them to occupy as soon as the soldiers put their household goods in place.\textsuperscript{35} The availability of several soldiers to do the work made the task less daunting. While not always adept at keeping house, the strikers were an invaluable source of help, at least until 1870 when Congress passed a law prohibiting the use of soldiers as household servants. Officers and their wives complained, but to no avail. The custom of striking, however, continued at most of the remote posts, where Congressional acts were difficult to enforce.\textsuperscript{36}

On the other hand, the problems of securing competent servants on the frontier remained difficult. Some posts

\textsuperscript{35} Mattes, 25.
\textsuperscript{36} Coffman, 305-306.
were so remote, and travel to them so impractical, that civilians rarely visited. No school of servitude existed and the impossibility of frontier life made it difficult to utilize successfully someone sent from the east and lonely soldiers and young officers quickly attempted to court and marry any single young lady who appeared at their post. To fill the need for qualified servants, army wives used local or captured Indians to help with household chores.

Charley, a Cocopah Indian, helped Martha with daily chores, attended to the children, waited on the table, "wheeled the baby out along the river banks," and "understood how to open a bottle of Cocomonga gracefully, and pour it well." Martha wrote, "Charley appealed to my aesthetic sense in everyway." A shocked Alice Martin found Charley tending to the house and the table in no more than a loincloth, asking Martha "Why on earth don’t you put clothes on him?" Martha marked this up to large city life and her friend’s inability to be in touch with her "aesthetic sense." In Martha’s opinion, Martin’s life at Fort Whipple sustained “too much civilization to loosen the bonds of her soul.” The visit with Alice Martin is the last mention of Charley in Martha’s work. One can only
surmise how long she kept him, but probably assume it was as long as possible.\footnote{Summerhayes, 174, 181-183.}

The stories of officers' families are more readily accessible than enlisted army families. Officer's wives came primarily from the middle to upper class and realized the importance of documenting their experiences. Soldiers' wives were mostly lower to middle class women who, even if they knew how to read and write, spent their time trying to keep a home, raise a family, and subsidize their husband's meager wages, often by working for the officer's families as domestic labor, and had little time for writing. Most of the accounts from officer's wives come at the end of her husband's career, a time when an enlisted soldier's spouse would still be working to provide for her family.

The turn of the twentieth century brought changes for the army and the army family. The "old army," would soon be gone. Striking and ranking out, traditions common to army families in the nineteenth century would not last through the twentieth. The old army and all of its glory and suffering, or as Martha Summerhayes called it glittering misery, would begin to fall by the way side; replaced by a new army, with formal programs and services
for family members, standardization of posts and closure of the most remote forts. Moving no longer meant traveling in an over crowded stagecoach or a dusty ambulance. Automobiles and airplanes made moving more convenient, but still unwanted. Moreover, during the twentieth century, the army would return to the battlefield. Germans, Japanese, and Russians replaced Indians, and communism became the invisible enemy. The families of the American frontier became part of history, whether they realized it or not. They left their stories and memories, thoughts on the army and on life. They helped build a nation, often alone and isolated, fearing sickness and death, struggling to make a home out of nothing and keep a home once the made it. They left a tradition of selfless service to those families who came after, often helping those who knew nothing of army life become accustomed to its unique ways. In all, their words speak for themselves:

"I am glad to have known the army: the soldiers, the line, and the staff; it is good to think of honor and chivalry, obedience to duty, and the pride of arms; to have lived amongst men whose motives were unselfish and whose aims were high; amongst men who served an ideal; who stood ready, at the call of their country, to give their lives for a Government which is, to them, the best in the world."  

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\[38\] Ibid, 314.
CHAPTER III
The Formation of Community

"The only white people within three hundred miles were shut within that hollow square, a community, dependant largely on each other for all the little every-day kindness and amenities . . ."¹

Documentation about the participation of family members in camp life exists for most of the two hundred twenty seven year history of the United States Army. Dennis Poplin, however, in his book Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research, questions whether the military organization, as a whole, meets enough of the required criteria to regard it as an actual community.² If the military organization does not possess the attributes of a community, then the actions of participating family members would be a conglomeration of random happenings, which coincidentally share common themes. Based on standard sociological definitions and concepts, the army and its resulting family can be shown to meet the criteria to be a community.

¹ Van-Cleve, 32.
The German concept of community, which has become the standard for analysis of social systems, requires that a man be able to complete all of his life duties within an inclusive set of ties. In other words, he should have everything he needs to be a whole man in one central area. However, modern civilian life-styles have eroded the inclusiveness of man’s community, bringing him in contact with several different circles of people, each separate from the other. The military style of life is in contrast to the divergent civilian pattern, and more like the original German concept. A civilian may be an employee with one company and one group of peers, then return home to fill the role of husband and father, joining his family at church or little league baseball with a completely different set of peers, which may or may not have any relationship to his career. His title may stay the same or change based upon his setting, called “Mister” at work and a less formal given, or nickname at home. He may also be a low-level employee at work, but a high-level leader in a

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3 Poplin, 114. The study of social systems is based in large part on the work of German scholar Ferdinand Tonnies, who is considered the father of the typological tradition. His book Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft, published in 1887, laid the foundation for work in this field. Tonnies influence can be seen in the work of other noted scholars who have also played important roles in the study of society, such as Emile Durkheim and Robert Redfield.

community organization or church. On the contrary, although a soldier may participate in work and home communities, his attachment to his career, the army, does not change and his rank and set of acceptable social roles, remains the same in both settings. Additionally, the army provides a comprehensive life, in most cases furnishing food, clothing, shelter and social and recreational activities to the service member. For those reasons, the changes in modern society, which eroded the inclusiveness of civilian life, does not seem to affect the soldier, and places the army well within the early German concept of community. As a result then, the accompanying dependant family falls within an established community.

In a 1955 article, George A. Hillery outlined three characteristics that define a community: geographic area, social interaction, and common ties. The location of a group of people functioning together, introduces the physical aspect of a community. Each post or outpost existed at specific locations for specific reasons. An army unit traveling on the western frontier placed small garrisons around water supplies, transportation routes, and near the mission. In addition to location, the geographic

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5 Poplin, 9.
area of most early posts fell within a military boundary; these boundaries may or may not consist of walls or fence markings, and required membership to enter.

Membership in a community “involves the idea of identification which seems to presuppose some kind of involvement.” Poplin points out that an individual’s security and stability extends from community membership.

For an army family stationed at a remote post in a western territory, outside the established boundaries of the United States, membership into the army community provided not only a link to a group of peers with a common goal, but also the safety and security of being apart of a structured force in the middle of an unorganized territory. Likewise, family members stationed at a stateside, urban post relied upon their connection to the army for the social acceptance that one received from the advantage of rank and privilege. Membership into the army family community is not always automatic and it is not permanent, it is closed. One cannot move to an army family community, become involved in the daily life and by virtue of participation develop into a member. For spouses it is a voluntary community where

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6 Plant, 58.
7 Poplin, 22.
membership begins with a marriage license and continues with an identification card. For children, there is no choice, membership comes with birth and because of both membership and upbringing, they may be the only whole members of the community. Once a spouse or child becomes a member of the community, they still may not enter or stay without proof of membership.

Community membership and participation in the overall achievement of a common goal or mission, often develops a sense of "we-ness" which distinguishes those in the group, who have a connection to the common purpose, from "they", or those outside of the group, who do not have a connection. The necessity of an individual to find "security and acceptance which comes from being wholly committed to an identifiable social system," can also fuel the need for and creation of a community "we," even at the expense of the development of personal careers, education and goals, in favor of the achievements of the overall

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8 Alfred Schuetz, "The Stranger: An Essay in Social Psychology," American Journal of Sociology Volume 49, Issue 6 (May 1944): 504. Robert R. Archibald, A Place to Remember: Using History to Build Community (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1999), 15. If a person’s connection to a community is partially based upon his relationship to the cultural history of the community, then only the children born into the army family community maintain an inherent connection. They will use the army family community as a measure of all other communities, in contrast to a new spouse who will live with certain expectations until the new role is learned.
The recent victory attained in Iraq by members of the United States military and other coalition forces, brought out a feeling of 'we' in the eyes of the American people.

The achievements of the United States armed forces translated into a victory for the United States, and therefore victory for each member of the community. However, very little of the civilian population had any connection to the actual mission. In contrast, because of their membership into the actual participating community, members of the families of the United States Army's Third Infantry Division soldiers possess a greater concept of "we." By playing a tangible role in the deployment of the mission, they may feel as if they played a larger role in the overall outcome, than the civilian "they," which, from the group perspective, sacrificed nothing, and at times even spoke and acted against the mission and the members who carried it out. It is this concept of 'we,' or belonging, that ties the elements of the army family community, membership, and society, together. It uses these elements collectively to describe who 'we' are, where 'we' have been, and where 'we' are going.

When new spouses enter the army, their initial experience is that of a stranger. Nevertheless, as they move from post to post, they do not continuously revert to the role of stranger. Every community maintains a group of essential elements, which make up the "cultural pattern of group life."\(^{10}\) The members accept the system that governs community life and understand the "recipe" or public culture used to uphold assigned roles, social structure and discipline. Members also recognize the authority of the community system and seldom complain publicly.\(^{11}\) The stranger does not immediately acclimate to the new community's structure of beliefs and assumptions, because there is no personal relationship with them. The assumptions from the stranger's home community or "home town," remain inherent and the only gauge of social action, it is "the irreplaceable measure of all other places."\(^{12}\) Upon arrival, the stranger immediately confronts several new elements inherent to the new community, such as language and idioms; even the physical appearance may be different from the old, natural expectation. Adaptation

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\(^{10}\) Schuetz, 499.
\(^{12}\) Schuetz, 502. Archibald, 15.
into group life depends on the willingness of the stranger to learn and assume the cultural patterns of the new community. Membership may also allow the new colleague permission to join. The army family retains both of these characteristics.

Public culture, embedded with army life supplied the basic tools for the common experience and allowed the family to subsist within the army organization. These commonalities also allowed the army family to gain an immediate foothold in the new community and diluted the effects of being a stranger at each new duty station. Elements of common knowledge such as vocabulary and language, a public belief and value system, and a set of rules, which establish and govern behavior, make up the basis of community life, which for the army family remained consistent despite the location of the next duty assignment.

Despite the indecisive view of commanders over the participation of the family, the army always maintained authority over its members. While not supportive of women in camp, commanders relied on them for service support

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13 Schuetz, 503, 505, 507.
15 Schuetz, 540-505. Sanders, 104.
roles that current manpower and social situations would not allow them to fill with men. Stories of laundresses, cooks, nurses, and an occasional battle participant, permeate the early history of the army. Participation in these roles, in most cases, required membership in the group, which gave the command immediate control over the extended workforce. The spouses of enlisted men most often filled the low wage labor roles and the spouses of officers largely filled in as nurses, ran supply schemes, raised money and support for the force, and established social interaction within the army family community. All members participated in the morale and welfare of not only their soldier-husband, but also the immediate group of men assigned with him.

While membership allowed the family to participate in army life, and the structure of posts supplied the physical element of a community, a lack of standardization made moving from post to post uncertain for the nineteenth century army family. Early on, a spouse or child did not always know the condition of the next duty station. One post may have permanently structured quarters, while another may have a system of tent homes. Amenities at each post also differed. For example, at Fort Whipple in 1885,
residents lived in modern housing with indoor plumbing and running water, while at the same time, the residents of Fort Grant carried water in from surrounding streams, causing sanitation problems and illness. Most cavalry units maintained horses for family members to ride, but urban posts did not. However, several aspects resided everywhere: isolation, poor transportation, lack of abundant food and water, danger and death, knew no boundaries. Furthermore, at all posts, the family knew that their soldier was at the mercy of the authority of the army and that they, too, would need to learn to follow the guidon.

Soldiers and families on the western frontier lived a transient lifestyle. In order to keep this uncertain community together, its members needed something with which to identify, a “form of social interaction” which sustained the reason for being there in the first place and to offset the hardships of nomadic life. Community social organization maintains several other properties in addition to a body of people, which help to keep a community functioning and its members at ease. There may be “one or more tests of membership, a collection of assigned roles,

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16 Grierson, 165-176.
and a set of norms."\textsuperscript{17} A community must also have a continuous supply of members, proper role training for its members, and social controls over its members.\textsuperscript{18} For the army family, inextricable control of each of these properties rests upon the soldiers rank, position, and the needs of the army.

Moreover, periodic permanent change of station also systematically removes and replaces members of the family community. These moves are not at the discretion of the soldier or spouse and can come at anytime during a current tour of duty. As a result, the existence of common bonds, which combine social history and public culture, helps to pull the new members into an appropriate role in the new community.\textsuperscript{19} A soldier receives a certain amount of indoctrination as he goes through his basic, Reserve Officer Training Corps or military academy training. The army family receives no such training. No school exists for instruction on how to be an army wife. She learns what she can from her husband and from other wives; in short, training in the army family is on the job. Some wives, leaving home for the first time required instruction in the

\textsuperscript{17} Poplin, 13. \\
\textsuperscript{18} Sanders, 192. \\
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., 103-104.
most basic tasks, such as cooking and sewing. The presence of servants helped to lessen the burden, but at some point, an army spouse could perform tasks from laundry to temporarily commanding a post. The family participation began as an integral part of recruitment and retention, with needs of the army paramount.

Although the army mission remained the primary force in governing family existence, more formalized training programs developed to provide the family tools for success. This success, however, is not without military necessity. For the same reasons General Washington accepted family members in order to field a fighting force; today’s modern army has added family readiness to mission planning. New programs serve as much for army readiness as they do for positive family structure.

In order to keep a community alive, both the society and the individual must survive. As the army moved into the twentieth century, two world wars and two major conflicts, the inclusion of women and African Americans as permanent members of the organization and the advent of the all-volunteer force, affected the lives of the individuals

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20 Carrington, 200-201.  
21 Hamilton and Marsden, 208-209.  
and threatened to change the society in which they lived.\textsuperscript{23} This new society needed to recruit and retain a work force that served by choice. The ability of the society to fulfill the needs of the individual would prove vital if the old community was to continue to exist within the realm of the new army.

Social fulfillment revolves around several elements. First, "institutionalized norms for regulating sex, reproduction, and the care and socialization of the young," have always been a part of the family's acceptance in the army community.\textsuperscript{24} The army's control over the existence of family members abound throughout nineteenth century and twentieth century literature. Enlisted man always met with marriage regulations and conscription deferments existed for citizens with family issues. The introduction of the Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), the Army Nurses Corps and the Woman's Army Corps (WAC) and regulations governing the status of the family resulted in legal battles reaching


\textsuperscript{24} Yorburg, 135.
all the way the Supreme Court.\textsuperscript{25} The socialization and education of army family children also flourished within the twentieth century, by means of institutionalized childcare and the Department of Defense school systems.\textsuperscript{26}

Secondly, the availability of goods and services, to include recreational programs and facilities, by the army institution for the family involves many organizations regulated by army policy.\textsuperscript{27} Programs, which began as an ad hoc system of family provided services, now fall under the umbrella of such departments as Army Community Services. Medical services gradually became formally available from post facilities, with provisions made for off post care as well. The western post sutler, who camped with the army and provided additional commodities, has been replaced by the Army Air Force Exchange Service (AAFES), which provides Commissary, Post Exchange, Shopette, and other services. The army family member living on post can meet almost every need without leaving the established boundaries of the community. Recreational facilities such as golf courses, bowling alleys, movie theaters, and complete intramural

\textsuperscript{25} Frontiero v. Richardson, 411 U.S. 677 (1993).
\textsuperscript{26} Crawford v. Cushman, 531 F.2d 1114 U.S. (1976).
\textsuperscript{27} Discussion of both the Women's Army Corps and the Department of Defense childcare and education programs can be found in subsequent chapters of this thesis.
\textsuperscript{27} McCubbin and Marsden, 209. Yorburg, 135.
sports programs for both children and adults provide many opportunities for family members to participate in many areas within the army community. Over time, the inclusiveness of these programs and services aided in the development of a vital and appealing community, which allows the army means to fire away at the problems of recruiting and retaining a largely married all-volunteer force.28

Protection against "human destructiveness" or "social controls" governs the actions of the entire community. Without such controls, the community would remain in a state of chaos, and the cultural beliefs, which "give meaning and purpose to life and furnishes motivation for its cultural existence."29 The two main systems of controls govern the actions of members of the military community, the military police and Uniform Code of Military Justice, and the social and cultural beliefs, to which the soldier or officer connects based on his or her rank. For the family this system of social control is a two edged sword. Missteps in either realm can adversely affect the souses career, thus hampering quality and style of life. Actions

28 Sanders, 446.
29 Yorburg, 135.
in the social and community sphere may be even more detrimental.

Consider the fate of a top-notch lieutenant colonel whose career was on the fast track at a major post until his outspoken wife, after too many martinis, decided to give the post commander a piece of her mind, and in the process spilled her drink on his dress blues. The reprimand consisted of sending the officer to a minor post, out of sight and mind, slowing his career, and placing a mental stigma in the minds of his superiors about the abilities of his wife to perform adequately the duties of command. Officer Evaluation Reports (OER) do not require an examination of the spouse in order to rate the officer. However, according to Major General Kenneth G. Wickham before an officer is placed in certain political and international duty assignments, “certain information is sought from knowledgeable individuals about his wife.” Another General believed that “many a fine soldier-officer and enlisted - has been passed over for a dream assignment because his wife failed to measure up to the expected standard.”

A good army wife exhibits many of the following traits, each with some direct relation to the army or her husband's career. She should accept all responsibilities "as if her husband's career depended upon it," and accept the good times and bad times as part of the lifestyle, because "like it or not, she is in the army too." A good wife should also keep a clean home and pleasant appearance "as if company is coming - because it might be," keep low morale hidden, and remember that a wife has no rank, only the responsibilities that come with her husband's position. The cultural heritage of the army and the army family presents a level of expectation for the army family. The level of participation in the morale and welfare of the community is voluntary. With participation a key part of membership, lack of effort can produce a gap between the member and the community, resulting in feelings of insecurity and loneliness. In the words of a retired army wife, "it has always been a mystery to me why some wives make a problem of 'belonging'. Of course, they belong.

This is not to say that a husband has any less effect on his wife's career, however, research into the social and cultural effects of male spouses is so small that the larger situation of male soldier/ female spouse is being used to temporarily represent the spouse's effect on a soldier/ officer's career. Theoretically, these traits should also apply to male spouses.
But you can't expect any real sense of belonging by staying out of the action."\(^{32}\)

Three types of community structures that dominate sociological research, "the isolated, relatively self-sufficient rural community, the town-country community, and the urban community," all exist within the history of the army family in some form or another.\(^{33}\) Frontier families resided in rural communities. Usually isolated from civilian influences, they became self-sufficient societies. Fort Snelling, Minnesota, was three hundred miles from the nearest civilian settlement when it established in 1819. Dennis Poplin writes that in a rural community members are "enmeshed in a tight-knit web of social interaction."\(^{34}\) The interaction between the people in this type of community often share a common set of services and facilities in order to meet their basic needs. Work and social roles maintain a connection, with one often being a direct result of the other. For the army family, work made and controlled the community.

\(^{32}\) Hamrick, 41.
\(^{33}\) Sanders, 62-63.
\(^{34}\) Poplin, 41-46.
In order to function, rural communities must harness the labor of the group to meet basic needs.\textsuperscript{35} Chores such as gathering meat, transporting water, making clothes, and preparing meals, while often attended to by lower ranking soldiers and servants, required at the very least supervision of the labor by the remainder of the community. It is also important to remember that soldiers, acting as servants, were members of the community they served, thereby allowing their effort to be included in the entire body of community labor.\textsuperscript{36} At Fort Atkinson in 1826, community members became so involved in growing vegetables and raising livestock, that Inspector George Croghan found it to be "the weakest fort with the most helpless and untrained garrison that he had ever seen."\textsuperscript{37} The general lack of services and facilities provided other venues for community labor. Providing such things as religious education often fell to the officers' wives who found it necessary to provide the children with instruction. Mrs. Snelling and Charlotte Clark established Sunday school classes at Fort Snelling in the absence of a chaplain.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35} Sanders, 62.
\textsuperscript{36} Plant, 54.
\textsuperscript{37} Wesley, 205-206.
\textsuperscript{38} Van Cleve, 38.
At first glance, the town-country community resembles the modern posts that developed during the twentieth century. Improvement in transportation methods and the establishment of statehood from ocean to ocean, meant that the rural post gradually became less isolated, however, the community attributes nurtured during the early years was not entirely replaced. The modern post is more of a combination between the tight knit web of rural community and more active surroundings of the town-country community. While the latter assumes the members will venture into surrounding communities for goods and service to replace those that are lacking in their local surroundings, the army gradually brought the service to the members. In effect, they built the town around the soldiers and families. This rural-town-country combination dominates the framework of the army post community.

The urban community, according to Irwin Sanders, is larger than the preceding types of communities, and is surrounded by town-country communities, which usually migrate to the larger community for absent goods and

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39 Sanders, 63.
40 A discussion of the modern post and the post community will be provided in subsequent chapters.
services. It is also large enough to provide the members within the urban setting. Again, the army family resides in a combined community. Families stationed in the Washington, D.C. area and at some of the major educational posts, live in both the urban community and the urban-town-country combination. Duty assigned within the perimeter does not allow for extensive family living, as few completely garrisoned posts, of the rural-town-country type, exist. This separates the army family out into surrounding communities with no central location for living and participating in a common community. Children attend off post schools and families participate in off post religious services. In some cases, family members may not participate in the army community at all, until it is time to see the doctor or move. "It is as if they plopped us down in the middle of the real world, and then jerked us right back out again."42

The accomplishments of army family members during the preceding one hundred twenty five years formed a community based on common ties and shared experiences. Well into the twentieth century, regulations continued to disallow

41 Sanders, 63.
enlisted marriage without permission, and as in both the Revolutionary and Civil War, citizens remained able to receive conscription deferments based on marriage and family conditions. In 1891, studies into the living and working conditions of army family members warranted no action, and it would not be until 1973, that male spouses received recognition as full dependants. Years of participation within the military organization despite the army's unwillingness to consider family issues, cemented the dependant family, forming a community encompassed by the military sphere.

43 White Paper.
CHAPTER IV

A Whole New World

"You see we learn what is essential. We learn to enjoy life as those who are bound by conventions never learn. We must make the best out of what we have."\(^1\)

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, despite a national policy of isolationism, the army deployed off the continental United States in order to protect economic and territorial interests. As the twentieth century dawned, the army still had no official policy regarding the dependant family. As soldiers moved to new locations, such as Cuba, Alaska, and the Philippines, they took their families with them. Since official policy neither allowed nor prohibited wives and children from joining their husbands, they followed often at their own expense and at their own risk.\(^2\)

For most of the late nineteenth century, the majority of army wives spent some or all of their lives on the western frontier. Elizabeth Helmick began her army career in the same fashion; however, she would not remain there. As new tours opened up for her husband, Eli, new adventures

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\(^2\) Alt and Stone, 63-64.
came along for her. In 1898, Elizabeth became the only white women stationed with the Army of Occupation on the island of Cuba. She was not the first army wife to be isolated and alone.\(^3\) Martha Summerhayes found herself without the company of other women at Erhenberg, Arizona. Another soldier’s wife, Mrs. Fisher, could not tolerate the post and remained in San Francisco.\(^4\)

Three years later, in 1901, Eli received orders to the Philippines. Elizabeth and her children spent six weeks awaiting ship transport from San Francisco, contracting the measles along the way. Once again, she was the only white woman among the troops. Over the course of her stay, Elizabeth caught dengue fever, but her family remained well even when a cholera epidemic infected several of her husband’s troops. Disease was prevalent and dangerous for the army family; however, moving to a new location did not remove other perils that had befallen the family at stateside assignments. While assigned to the Philippines, Maude Palmer did without hot water and modern shower facilities, and lived in a house with a leaky roof. One night Palmer recalled watching soldiers load wounded

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\(^3\) Alt and Stone, 63.
\(^4\) Summerhayes, 162-163.
soldiers onto a transport, as she waited for news of her husband’s condition. Eda Funston and other family members evacuated their homes and moved to post barracks when the fighting came too close to nearby housing. Eda remembers, “I shall never forget that walk to the barracks. Every step seemed to add a century to my life ... my husband’s cousin and the soldier who escorted us did their best to lessen our fears.” The families listened to gunfire and waited together for news from the battlefield.  

As new frontiers opened and soldiers and their families began to reside in new locations, they did not leave behind the accepted customs of army life. In 1874, Elizabeth McCorkle became one of the first wives to follow her husband to Alaska.  

She found life comfortable with amenities from the states, and two servants to clean and cook. Following duty in the Philippines, the Helmicks also settled in Alaska in 1907. Elizabeth, lived most of her army life without complaint, but failed to see the “necessity of entertaining,” which came with her husband’s rank and position. Her views on entertaining provided a bright side to one of the army’s less enjoyed customs.

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5 Alt and Stone, 63, 67, 69-70.
6 Purchased from Russia in 1867, Alaska became an official territory in 1912, and the forty-ninth state in the Union in 1959. Alaska is still considered an overseas move.
ranking out. Her daughter Francis remembered the "falling bricks," when her father was ranked out at Fort Liscum, Alaska. Elizabeth "parted with great sadness," but was relieved to pass on the duties of entertaining to another wife.\textsuperscript{7}

Elizabeth Helmick and her counterparts enjoyed the adventures that came with following their husbands to new places. In addition to Cuba, Alaska, and the Philippines - Hawaii, China, and Panama, all became places for army families to live. They enjoyed the good times and dealt with the bad, making refrigerators out of ammunition boxes and sharing a single stove in order for everyone to eat.\textsuperscript{8} Their lives would continue just as life had for those before, making the best out of the worst, creating something from nothing.

Even as foreign duty created new frontiers for soldiers and their families, other members of the community remained at stateside posts. Katherine Tupper Brown and Lieutenant Colonel George Marshall married in 1930 at her home in Baltimore. The Marshall's small affair turned into a media circus when General John Pershing arrived.

\textsuperscript{7} Alt and Stone, 64-65.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid., 71,73.
Following the chaos of the wedding, Katherine received her first introduction to army life when she arrived at Fort Benning, Georgia. A receiving line held the following evening and a reception the next day, brought her fully into the social customs and the protocol of the army. After near disasters at both, she asked the wives of other officers for help and survived her first tour as "fair" army wife. Along the way, she learned a few things, which she listed in her book, Together: Annals of an Army Wife, such as "to be on time, to listen rather than express opinions and that Lieutenants do not dance with Colonels wives for pleasure...".

Katherine Marshall quickly learned that the army is always in control. The Marshalls' wedding was just one wedding taken over by the presence of the army. For Helen Montgomery, the self-proclaimed "Most Ignorant Army Bride of All Time," there were no books to turn to for advice in the early 1920s. Her marriage to her fiancé, Johnny, scheduled for September, commenced earlier because of his travel orders. The new couple set up house at Fort Brady, Michigan, in brick quarters, with Government Issue

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9 Katherine Tupper Marshall, Together Annals of an Army Wife (Atlanta & Nashville: Tupper and Love, Inc. 1947), 4-9. The marriage of Katherine Tupper and George Marshall was the second for both. They had each lost their first spouses to early deaths.
furniture made out of dark mahogany. Helen Warren also found her wedding plans quickly changed when her fiancé, Captain John J. Pershing, received an assignment to Tokyo. At the time, married officers did not receive orders for Tokyo; however, Pershing was not married when his orders were cut, and was advised that what he did after he received them was his business. Instead of on the originally scheduled September date, the couple were married on 26 January 1905 and immediately left for the west coast to travel to Japan.

After four years at Fort Benning, George and Katherine Marshall moved to Fort Screven, Georgia, and then to Fort Moultrie, South Carolina. Katherine described her quarters at Moultrie as a large hotel with forty-two French doors. Her husband spent great efforts to fix up the post, even going as far as to ask the wives what color of paint they would like for their quarters and then making it available to them. Colonel Marshall also formed a community garden and community mess so that soldiers and their families received healthy meals during the depression. Their

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efforts transformed Fort Moultrie. Katherine kept busy by making curtains for the French doors throughout their home. “But, Alas! The very week that the last curtains were to be hung, orders came for Colonel Marshall to go to Chicago as Senior Instructor for the Illinois National Guard.”

The Marshalls continued to remain stateside, finally arriving in Washington, D.C. in 1938, to which Katherine recalled knowing “as little of the demands of official life in Washington as I had of Army traditions and customs when I arrived at Fort Benning.” Fortunately, protocol in D.C. was a “cut and dried code”; regrettably, it also governed their social lives. As General Marshall began to travel more and more in preparation for United States involvement in the Second World War, Katherine remained behind, receiving and placing calls, serving on boards and committees and keeping the family homestead running. During the war, both of Katherine’s sons served in the army. Second Lieutenant Allen Tupper Brown hit the Anzio beachhead with the First Armored Division in 1944. Following the battle, he and his brother Clifford met in passing and celebrated the recent hard fought victory. Allen died a few days later, during a tank battle on the

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12 Marshall, 17.
subsequent march towards Rome. Clifford arrived home with
his brother’s personal effects, and returned to Europe to
serve in the Army of Occupation.\footnote{Ibid., 37-38, 195, 268. Katherine Marshall’s wartime activities are
to numerous to mention and are dispersed quite freely throughout her book.}

In 1945, Marshall attempted to retire from active
service. With his final orders in hand, the couple packed
up their Fort Meyers quarters and moved to Leesburg. After
arriving at their new home, George received a phone call
and Katherine retired to take a nap. Years earlier, in
1936, the news of his promotion to general reached
Katherine via a congratulatory phone call, before George
had the opportunity to tell her himself. That afternoon in
1945, the General once again missed the opportunity to
deliver important news to his wife. Katherine rose from
her nap and found her husband listening to the radio news
broadcast, "Mr. Hurley resigns. President Truman has
appointed General of the Army George C. Marshall as his
Special Ambassadorial Envoy to China. He will leave
immediately." Katherine stood, frozen in place; her
husband came over, "That phone call . . . was from the
President. I could not bear to tell you until you had your rest."\textsuperscript{14}

The need for manpower during the twentieth century brought the addition of other groups into the army and into the politics and policy of the army family. Female members of the army family always served as unofficial support elements for the troops. Those women, who chose to accompany the army as soldiers and as non-dependant support personnel, began the formal service of women in and to the army.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century army policy prohibited the enlistment of women, but it did not stop them from masquerading as men and young boys in order to serve their country. During the American Revolution, Deborah Sampson served for three years as Robert Shirtliffe, before an army doctor discovered her identity. In 1846, Sarah Borginis managed a career with Zachary Taylor's line in Mexico.\textsuperscript{15} Throughout the Civil War, young women from across the country, looking to be the next Joan of Arc, rallied to the cause on both sides. Amy Clark and Malinda Blalock both posed as men and enlisted, along with

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid., 21, 273, 282.

their husbands, in the Confederate Army. Sarah Emma Edmonds posed for more than two years as Franklin Thompson in the Union army without detection and Jennie Hodges managed a four-year career as Albert Cashier. Both Sarah and Jennie applied for and received Federal pensions for service after the war. Female soldiers largely went undetected unless they required medical treatment, but that did not stop them from moving on and reenlisting elsewhere.\textsuperscript{16}

As the first official occupation open for women’s service, nursing was inherently female and did not threaten the masculinity of the army. The services of Dorothea Dix, Clara Barton, and Mary Ann Bickerdyke, during the Civil War, cemented the necessity of women as nurses in camp. These women, and others, served without rank and benefits, and often without pay. Barton, through her own initiative, and often at her own expense, went to great lengths to provide the army with medical supplies and other equipment. Serving as a nurse on the battlefield and narrowly escaping enemy fire, Clara began a life of dedicated service to the health and well being of the sick and injured. Following the war, she helped found the American Red Cross, an

\textsuperscript{16} Massey, 79-81; Etling, 117-118.
organization that today remains committed to serving citizens in crisis and the United States Armed Forces.\textsuperscript{17}

Mary Ann Bickerdyke and Dr. Mary Walker received acclaim on the Civil War front that military women in general would not obtain until well into the mid twentieth century, the ability of woman to be fully enlisted or commissioned members in the United States Army and the authority to out rank and assume command over men.

Bickerdyke began her tour taking supplies to troops in Illinois. Upon arrival, she discovered that the wounded were not adequately cared for and began a campaign to clean up battlefield hospitals and provide better care for wounded soldiers. Her innovations included changing the flooring in ward tents to remove dirt, blood, and disease, washing the clothes of wounded soldiers to provide comfort and save money, and taking measures to insure that food and supplies actually reached the intended soldiers. Her hard work caught the eye of General Grant who asked her to accompany the Union army to Atlanta.

Bickerdyke’s insistence upon hospital cleanliness and her dedication to the soldiers met with mixed emotions, army hospital staff disliked Mary’s presence and her

\textsuperscript{17} Massey, 51.
agendas. When doctors complained about Mary to General Sherman, he replied, “She out ranks me,” an accomplishment not allowed her successors until the full integration of women into the army in the 1950s. The soldiers, however, loved Mary and called her Mother Bickerdyke. Through her determined spirit and dedication to the men, she earned the designation as “Mother of the Union Army.”

Army policy made it impossible for Dr. Mary Walker to join forces with other women as a doctor in order to provide medical care to soldiers. In 1861, determined to serve Union troops, Walker gave up her private medical practice and traveled to Washington, D.C. to become an army surgeon. Rejected, she stayed in the area and worked, unpaid, as a nurse and as an assistant surgeon, and began a program for the families of wounded soldiers to come and visit. Dr. Walker approached Major General Ambrose Everett Burnside, in 1862 and received permission to accompany the army as a volunteer field surgeon. After serving the army at the battles of Fredricksburg and Chickamauga, she once again requested a commission, and in 1863 received appointment as “an assistant surgeon of the Army of the Cumberland” by Major General George Henry Thomas and

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 48-49.
assigned to the 52nd Ohio Regiment. Walker served the army for the remainder of the war, becoming the first female member of the United States Army Medical Corps, the first woman taken prisoner exchanged for a man, and the only woman awarded the Medal of Honor.\textsuperscript{19}

Appointed superintendent of nurses 1861, Dorothea Dix began a program to recruit suitable women to serve the Union army as nurses. Dix imposed strict regulations that mirrored the acceptable social customs for women in the mid nineteenth century. Women wishing to serve in an army hospital had to be younger than thirty, plain looking, with conservative dresses, bows, jewelry, and hoops expressly forbidden. Dix worked along side her nurses to provide the army with the best care possible.\textsuperscript{20} Because of Dix, Barton, Bickerdyke, and Walker, women, at least in the nursing profession, emerged from the Civil War recognized as competent nurses and as much needed assets for the army.

Following the war, women continued to serve the army as nurses. By the turn of the century, female nurses became “officially recognized as a necessary and permanent part of the army,” but received no rank, benefits or pay

\textsuperscript{19} United States Army Forces Command, FORSCOM Regulation 215-5. (Fort McPherson: Department of the Army, 1996).
\textsuperscript{20} Holm, 8.
commensurate with that of an officially enlisted soldier or commissioned officer. The formalization of the Army Nurses Corps in 1901 coordinated the existing nurses into an auxiliary and brought it under military control, but still gave no military status to the members. 21

Even as women gained recognition by the army, American businesses and industries also began to recognize the advantages of women in the work place. A new and developing consumer culture, brought about by the availability of such luxuries as the automobile and the washing machine, and the emergence of retail stores and revolving credit, gave the family a need for greater income in order to fulfill materialistic needs, thereby encouraging women to leave the home and obtain gainful employment. 22 New office machinery like the telephone switchboard and the typewriter feminized the work force, providing labor roles for women to fill. Female clerks and factory workers followed and as a result, women completely filled certain occupational areas. 23

21 Ibid., 9.
23 Holm, 11.
Drawing on the change in social culture, the Navy began enlisting female yeoman to fulfill clerical duties. This move allowed commanders to free men for service on combat-bound vessels, during the build up for the First World War. By 1918, the Marine Corps also found the need for women to supplement manpower shortfalls. The tradition of female auxiliary nurses serving the needs of the army continued, however the army would not follow suit in other occupational roles. Instead of military-controlled units, Pershing struggled to balance the efforts of contract civilians and unorganized humanitarian groups, over which he had no control. Following the war, the issue of women's service was set aside and not reopened until the dawn of the Second World War, more than two decades later.²⁴ The army's policy towards female labor remained status quo; wives of service member could maintain service-support labor roles and the nurses' corps would remain. In the eyes of leaders, with the manpower crunch passed, it was no longer necessary to form units of women to serve the army.

The interwar period saw the repeated rejection of proposals, which involved the militarization of women within the confines of the army organization. For twenty years

²⁴ Ibid., 14-15.
the concept of women becoming regular members of the armed forces, tumbled around, until the rumblings of the Second World War began. Margaret Chase Smith, wife of Congressman Clyde Smith became an early proponent of war preparation. She worked during the late 1930s for better workplace conditions, better housing and adequate childcare, and to improve the circumstances for those women who accompanied their husbands to towns outside training posts. Because of her husband's death in 1940, Smith became Congresswoman and an advocate for war preparation, garnering support for the Selective Service Act, the Lend-Lease Bill, and the campaign to make women permanent members of the armed forces.

The first official proposals made by Smith and others for the inclusion of women revolved around activities that were already within the women's sphere such as knitting, recycling, and gardening. The formation of the Woman's Land Army provided women as farm hands to replace men who had gone into the army. Civilian women, however, took it upon themselves to form their own militaristic groups in

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support of the impending war. Units of the "Molly Pitcher Brigade," the "Civilian Air Corps," and "The Green Guards of America, Inc." drilled and marched causing some members of Congressional leadership to regard the thought of women in uniform, "silly."\(^{27}\)

In 1941, Edith Norse Rogers introduced legislation to create the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC). The WAAC would not be part of the regular army and would be the only other official auxiliary corps to serve the army. Membership in the WAAC was to be voluntary and non-combatant, built around four main themes; to free men for combat, to make use of women's natural abilities, to provide opportunities for women to exercise citizenship responsibilities, and to enable the army to control and limit duties, authority, and length of service. Only two arguments remained - the use of women in combat and the authority of women in command. In short, the members of the WAAC would be "not in the army, but of the army." With the support of Chief of Staff General George Marshall, the WAAC bill passed as Public Law 554 in May 1942, with Oveta Culp Hobby named as the first director.\(^{28}\)

\(^{27}\) Sherman, "They Either Need Them or They Don't," 53-54.
After a complicated year, the WAAC experiment proved to be a nominal success. Working towards a system, which would be less confusing, Rogers introduced legislation to make the WAAC the Women's Army Corps. The bill allowed for 15,000 women with the director given the rank of colonel. In the reorganized organization, no women would assume command over men and women would receive most of the benefits of their male counterparts. The main themes of the legislation were very much the same as the first program; women would serve in a limited auxiliary capacity, assume no command over men, be utilized to free able bodied men for combat, their duties, numbers, and authority limited for the period of the emergency plus six months. Hard work and dedication gradually allowed female soldiers to gain the trust and acceptance of army commanders, and moved female enlistment from four military occupations to 239.29

Even with new legislation and a new program, benefits for dependant family members remained unavailable to female soldiers, unless proven that the husband and children actually depended upon her for support. This included

29 Sherman, "They Either Need Them or They Don't," 57-58. Holm, 24.
extra pay and eligibility for on post housing.\textsuperscript{30} In addition, initially prohibited was the right of a husband to obtain burial by his service member/spouse in a national cemetery. Spouses of male service members had always been allowed a burial plot next to the deceased soldier, on the other hand, the husband of a female service member was only allowed a plot if he had earned it through service of his own. The regulation eventually changed, provided the services commenced without publicity. The army did not want to give the public perception that husbands took the place of wives.

While equality for women in the military establishment should include the same compensation, the question of dependant benefits for female service members in the 1940s, does not bear as much importance as it will later in the history of women's service. The Army Nurses Corps maintained a long tradition of single women, giving a dishonorable discharge to those who chose to wed, until the advent of WAAC regulations, which allowed a woman to marry and remain in service. Neither group allowed pregnancy or dependant children within their ranks. Women who became pregnant, either married or unmarried, were discharged.

\textsuperscript{30} Sherman, "They Either Need Them or They Don't," 57.
This policy remained in effect well into the 1970s. Dual service couples continued to serve; however, the army denied concurrent duty, thereby removing the need for quarters. Only those women who chose to marry a civilian spouse and remain childless suffered from this regulation at the time.

The next decade brought an outbreak of attention to the campaign for women’s permanent military service. In 1944, the United States Navy broke ground by allowing nurses to become full members of the organization. By 1946, military leaders in all branches realized the need for women to remain in service, and that they needed legislation to keep them. Once again, the Navy stepped forward to produce a plan that would allow women to become members of a female reserve force. Congresswoman Smith saw this as problematic: “there is no such thing as a service career for a reservist,” “they either need them or they don’t.” Reserve duty lacked security, benefits, and retirement, nevertheless, the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act passed in 1947, creating reserve status for

females. Smith continued to fight to change not only the reserve status of women, but also the misleading title given to the new legislation. In 1948, she successfully completed one of her tasks, securing the change of the Women’s Armed Services Integration Act to the Women’s Armed Services Reserve Act. With the support of General Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of Defense James Forrestal, President Truman signed the new Women’s Armed Services Integration Act, Public Law 625, on 12 July 1948, granting women regular status in the armed forces.33

As United States grew into a world power, the eruption of four major global conflicts tapped the strength of military forces; the army needed more men to accomplish its tasks of protecting interests both home and abroad. General enlistment practice met peacetime needs. However, the unwanted but unavoidable involvement of the United States, Europe, and the Pacific during the later part of both the First and Second World Wars, made raising and training adequate manpower an immediate concern. Retaining that force through the Cold War, and the especially Korean and Vietnam conflicts, became a more difficult problem. Because of a long-standing tradition based on the public’s

33 Sherman, “They Either Need Them or They Don’t,” 59, 62-76.
negative perception of large military force, the army generally relied upon the ability to conscript whatever forces it needed to combat an enemy. Conscription, which began in the American forces during the Revolutionary War, and supplemented both sides during the Civil War, once again became the method of increasing military manpower during times of crisis.34

Women's Auxiliaries alone could not fill the call for additional personnel. The implementation of the draft during the Second World War swelled the family ranks just as it filled the soldier ranks. In addition, the large number of officers no longer came only from West Point. The elite social and cultural background, which often accompanied a cadet, was not a factor in advancing through ROTC and Officer's Candidate School (OCS). These men and their wives not only knew nothing of army life, but also lacked the prior social knowledge to participate in the old army protocol. The willingness for the existing members to aid the new members should have come into play, but the new members did not always come to reside on post. In fact,

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34 For further reading about the implementation of conscription and the ability for Congress to require compulsory service see Charles A. Lofgren, "Compulsory Military Service under the Constitution: The Original Understanding," The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Volume 33, Issue 1 (January 1976): 61-88.
most draftee-family members did not receive compensation unless their soldier completed time in service or rank requirements. The category “other than regular army” grouped the fate of most of the draftee families into an ambivalent world that needed the knowledge possessed by experienced army wives, but lacked access to it.

As a guide to army family life, several wives penned handbooks. Not seen since the days of Captain Randolph Marcy’s 1809 Prairie Traveler, guides to life for an army spouse provided detailed information for both the regular army wife stationed at an army post and the new wife of a draftee who often followed her soldier to a training base and joined the wartime labor effort. Other wives wrote down their experiences and even offered advice, but no one wrote in the form of a handbook, addressing the army family community as a whole.

Nancy Shea, wife of Major Augustine Shea, wrote The Army Wife to introduce army customs to new brides. The forward, penned by Elizabeth Helmick, then stationed in the Territory of Hawaii, understood the importance that a wife plays in her husband’s career, and realized the necessity of Shea’s volume for young brides and new members of the
community. "The original Emily Post for army wives," Shea relied on the experiences of those around her to provide answers to questions on topics ranging from customs and entertainment, to children and moving. In her attempt to comfort and educate, Shea offered up a bit of her own experience. After marrying Augustine, she arrived at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and became acquainted with her first set of army quarters. The beaverboard walls and Government Issue, olive drab furniture and fixtures sent by the Quartermaster, were "shabbier than ever." She reminded new wives, that whatever their lot, to learn about and remember those wives who served before. Present experiences, "would make a pioneer woman of the frontier day's smile." References to wartime living, in brief, dwell at the end of her book, couched with other information about life and the future. United States formal participation in the Second World War had not begun during the time Nancy Shea was researching and writing The Army Wife and her experiences did not include wartime living. However, the

37 Shea, vii, xi-xiv, 72-73.
wartime spouse did not go without her own reference guide. So Your Husband’s Gone to War written in 1942 by Ethel Gorman, gave advice to army wives left behind, waiting for letters, phone calls, and the return of their loved ones.  

The women Gorman addressed did not live on army posts. Just as they had during the First World War, some women gravitated towards cities where wartime jobs became available. In 1941, 200,000 people relocated in order to obtain jobs at Ford’s Willow Run plant, built to assemble the B-24 Liberator.

Living conditions became cramped and unsanitary, and a new term “bureau-drawer-crib-babies” came to describe to shortage of living space for mothers to house their young children. One of Margaret Chase Smith’s first assignments as a member of the House of Representatives involved investigating prostitution near local posts. After speaking with several inmates, she became aware that not all of those arrested participated in the crime. Sisters and wives searching for loved ones shared the same cells as the guilty. Imprisoned with them, Smith found army wives,

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38 Ethel Gorman, So Your Husbands Gone to War (Garden City: Double Day, Doran and Company, Inc., 1942).
39 Blackwelder, 64, 123.
41 Ibid., 55.
who, finding themselves alone after their husbands moved to a new location or left to fight were arrested after going out without an escort. Margaret Smith worked to clean up over-crowded and unsanitary prison conditions, and recruited social agencies to find housing and jobs for service member’s families. ⁴²

Other families either remained at or followed their husbands and fathers to stateside camps, residing in nearby towns, so that their family could stay together for as long as possible. ⁴³ Elizabeth Schluemer remembers seeing her family’s belongings placed into storage, as they prepared to follow her father, who volunteered for service as an army chaplain. The Schluemers traveled for three years and attended five different schools in Michigan, Nebraska, New York, and Washington. The family returned to Iowa when her father received orders for Alaska. ⁴⁴ In contrast to the Schluemers, Eleanor Noone stayed near the Maxton Glider Base with her mother following her husband’s deployment overseas. After the birth of their child, Eleanor remained

⁴² Sherman, "Margaret Chase Smith," 122-123. ⁴³ Blackwelder, Chapter 5. See also Susan M. Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940’s (Boston: Twayne Publishing, 1982). ⁴⁴ Tuttle, 53.
with her mother and made ends meet with the allotment her husband sent home.  

For many families moving facilitated togetherness. Separation was worse. William Tuttle remembers childhood activities such as collecting recyclables, listening to updates on the radio, playing war on a side lot, and receiving V-mail. He does not however remember who his father was before the war. Four years old at his father's departure and seven upon his return, Tuttle never bridged the gap caused by three years of separation; he regrets that he and his father never became friends.  

V-E day and V-J day caused celebrations across the country. Anita McCunes' "dreams came true" when her father returned and jubilant Judy Fisher announced to everyone on the street "Daddy's Coming Home." Judy's father and grandfather spent thirty-four months imprisoned on Wake Island. The returning men suffered from battle fatigue, flash backs and alcoholism. The effects of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder on the soldier and his family were not widely studied until after Vietnam. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of American did not rejoice during the

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46 Tuttle, vii-xiv.
celebrations, 400,000 men had died and 180,000 children had lost their fathers.\textsuperscript{47}

Letters written during both the First and Second World Wars resemble those from earlier wars. Common thoughts and themes are prevalent in all branches of service; the army did not hold a monopoly on family separation and wartime stresses. Moreover, as before, the mail was no less important. On 22 April 1918, Major Edward Cole, serving with the United States Marine Corps, described his living quarters and his dug out to his sons Charlie and Teddy, including a small drawing of him running from a 9.2mm shell. He reminded them to do well in school and to take care of their mother. Two months later Major Cole died from blood poisoning from wounds received in battle.\textsuperscript{48}

Second Lieutenant Francis Tracey wrote home to his wife, Gertrude, declaring his love for her and describing the recent rampage of a wild boar through their camp. Tracey,

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., 44, 212-218. From October 1943 through December 1945, 944,426 fathers were drafted or enlisted into military service.

\textsuperscript{48} Andrew Carroll, "Maj. Edward B. Cole Provides His Two Young Sons with a Lighthearted Account of His Experience in France," \textit{Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars: War Letters} (New York: Washington Square Press, 2001), 135-139. Following his death, the United States Navy commissioned destroyer no. 155, the USS Cole. Terrorist forces in Aden, Yemen attacked the Cole on 12 October 2000. It has since been returned to duty. For other letters and personal accounts of the World War II experiences see \textit{We Were in the Big One: Experiences of the World War II Generation} ed. Mark P. Parillo (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2002).
declared that through separation he "learned his lesson," about his actions towards her. He would not get to show her. Gertrude learned of her husband's death on 6 November 1918.49

Dwight Fee, veteran of the First World War offered advice to his son William as he embarked on his journey into the Second World War. He recalled the similarities, of the infantry and the medics, wished he could go for him or at least with him, but understood this was William's war, or at any rate, the war for his generation. As a child, William spent his time as a member of an army family.50

Martha Smith, wife of Sergeant J. M. Smith also received battlefield letters from her husband. One letter in particular contained an additional note from her brother, Captain James Sadler, while the two fought on Bataan in 1942. The message remained the same. Sergeant Smith sent his love to his wife and two daughters and described as much of the circumstances about his military situation that censors would allow. His brother-in-law and

49 Carroll, "In an Impassioned Letter to His Wife Gertrude, 2nd Lt. Francis M. Tracy Declares That Their Separation Has Only Intensified His Love For Her," 151-154.
50 Carroll, "World War I Veteran Dwight Fee Offers Some Fatherly Advice to His Son, William, 'Off On the Great Adventure,'" 187-188.
commander added a brief note, sending his love and assuring his sister that her husband was doing well. Neither Smith nor Sadler survived the tortures to befall the men on Batann. 51 Legendary World War II cartoonist, Bill Mauldin, wrote, "A soldier's life revolves around his mail. Like many others, I've been able to follow my kid's progress from the day he was born until now he is able to walk and talk a little, and although I have never seen him I know him very well ... it makes all the difference in the world." 52

Tragedy did not always strike on the battlefield and family correspondence was not primarily relegated to war. Following extensive tours in Japan and the Philippines, General John J. Pershing and his family moved to the Presidio in San Francisco. While Pershing was away, performing duties at Fort Bliss, fire struck the Pershing home, taking the lives of his wife and three daughters. Pershing rushed to California to be with his only surviving child, six-year-old Warren. In one fell swoop, General Pershing became a single parent within the army organization. Warren lived with his aunts and kept up a

steady correspondence with his father. During the First World War, Pershing wrote to his son, like many other fathers, explaining the reasons for fighting and making postwar plans. Pershing promised his young son a tour of France following the hostilities.53 Young Warren, outfitted in a miniature officer’s uniform, traveled to France and toured the country with his victorious father in March 1919.54

The first official group of army families sent in mass, boarded transports and headed off to Europe and the Army of Occupation in 1946. Family members assembled at Fort Hamilton to await their transport. While there, post facilities, such as “a library, nursery, diet kitchen, post exchange, electric washing machines, beauty parlor, movies, and a hospital,” made their stay comfortable. After boarding the Holbrook, families enjoyed almost the same amenities as they had on shore. Staffed with military personnel and Red Cross volunteers, the Holbrook became a “floating military community.” Passengers worked to keep the vessel clean and orderly, forming childcare groups and laundry rotation schedules. Following the voyage, family


54 Smith, 217-226.
members traveled through the countryside to meet their husbands and rejoin the overseas army community.⁵⁵

In the years that followed the Second World War, diplomatic struggles with the Soviet Union and eruptions in South East Asia, called upon the army to provide a larger standing force than ever before. With problems enlisting appropriate numbers, the army once again resorted to the practice of conscription. During the Vietnam conflict, however, the American public would not readily accept the concept of compulsory service for its young men. From 1968-1974, the army transitioned from a minimally manned force, which conscripted citizens to fill the ranks during emergencies, to a volunteer force, relying on freewill enlistments to maintain the new All-Volunteer Army. The new army would have to use everything to its advantage to recruit and retain a ready force. The families on the frontier had made a place for the new modern army family, if not by policy, at least by their presence. As the new volunteer force grew, the army family services became a recruitment tool. Army leadership quickly realized that

they needed to keep family happy in order to get and keep the soldier.
CHAPTER V

The Army and the Army Family

"When I die, the recording angel can put on the credit side of his book that I was an Army wife . . ."\(^1\)

Following the Second World War the army began rapidly demobilizing the large force essential to defeating the Axis powers. Unlike past peacetime circumstances, which revolved around a policy of isolationism, diplomatic struggles with the Soviet Union required global participation by the United States. A new, large peacetime force became necessary in order to fight the Cold War.\(^2\) In addition, combat heavy conflicts, in Korea and Vietnam, required a still higher number of soldiers. All of these events, led to decisions regarding the acquisition and retention of manpower.

The population of the army organization up to the mid twentieth century consisted of a largely unmarried group of white enlisted men and an oft-married white officers' corps. Enlisted men continued to be discouraged from

\(^1\) Virginia Weisel Johnson, Lady in Arms (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 64.
\(^2\) For more information regarding the construction of the new Cold War force, see David T. Fautua, "The 'Long Pull' Army: NSC 68, the Korean War, and the Creation of the Cold War U.S. Army," The Journal of Military History Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1997):93-120.
having families while in the army, and enlistment and draft restrictions and deferments remained in place. While they possess a long heritage of military service, women and African Americans did not begin to see a push towards integration and equality until the mid-twentieth century.

In 1996, Charles Moskos and John Sibley Butler wrote that the army institution contradicted current racial patterns in the United States, where socialization by choice replaced the civilian trend of segregation by choice, and that within the civilian world "the most racially integrated communities in America are towns with large military installations." Nevertheless, it did not start out that way. The integration of African Americans into the United States Army encroached on the organization as a whole, but it did not bring new members into the army family. Unlike the addition of male spouses, which brought changing roles for family members, the black family experience did not shift because of a change in the community, but rather as a result of civilian and military policies of segregation.

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Black soldiers maintained families from the beginning of their formal acceptance into military service during the Civil War. Following the war, in an effort to reward black soldiers for their efforts on the battlefield, and to man western frontier posts, the army formed the first black unit, the Tenth Cavalry at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas under the command of Colonel Benjamin Grierson.\(^4\) Married soldiers eventually maintained homes both in town and in the post cantonment area.\(^5\) From 1896-1899, the black soldiers and their families from the Twenty-fourth Infantry, served in Utah while all white units served at other western posts, living, working and attending school at Fort Douglas. They participated in sports, service, and religious organizations. While they met with some opposition, the members of the Twenty-fourth and their families made significant contributions to the economic and social realms. Many soldiers remained or returned to the area to live following the end of their service.\(^6\)


\(^5\) Major George E. Knapp, Buffalo Soldiers at Fort Leavenworth in the 1930s and Early 1940s (Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 1991), 46.

By the turn of the twentieth century, racial tension in the South sparked a confrontation between black and white citizens over segregation. The army organization paralleled the civilian society in segregation practices. The practices brought about greater difficulties for black army families, not a change in the army family community. Benjamin Davis, Sr. and his first wife Elnora experienced first hand the effects of segregation upon black soldiers in the army. Married in 1902, while on leave from duty in the Philippines, Benjamin and Elnora moved more frequently than other officers did in order to prevent Davis from mixing with white soldiers and assuming command over them. Early appointments to National Guard Units and ROTC programs kept them in close contact with both civilian and military circles. After the birth of their third child, Elnora died, leaving Davis to raise their children alone. Upon receiving assignment back to the Philippines, the children went to live with his parents. After remarrying, the Davis family reunited and continued as members of the army family. The senior Davis served through two world wars, led inspections, and investigations into the segregation, training, protection of black service men,
fought for the inclusion of black soldiers in combat theaters, and achieved the rank of brigadier general.\textsuperscript{7}

Despite the unequal treatment of black service men, there remained a pull towards military service as an authentication of American citizenship. W.E.B. DuBois turned down a commission in the army and followed the troops during the First World War reporting on the poor treatment of black soldiers. He later said that the idea of being a commissioned officer brought him "nearer to feeling myself a real and full American than ever before or since."\textsuperscript{8}

When Benjamin Davis, Jr. and his wife Agatha moved to Fort Riley, Kansas, in 1941, they moved like any other family, packing up "all our worldly possessions," and occupying government quarters. Upon arrival at the Tuskegee Army Air Field, however, they had to find rental property owing to the unavailability of post quarters.\textsuperscript{9} The difficulties encountered by both the senior and junior Davis and their families resulted from racial tensions,

\textsuperscript{8}Moskos and Butler, 25-26.
discrimination, and segregation, not from any change in the practice of the army family.\textsuperscript{10} In 1948, President Harry Truman signed Executive Order 9381, officially ending segregation within the United States military forces promoting "equal treatment and opportunity of all persons in the American forces." The following year, black soldiers deploying to Korea went in mixed units, while training and installation integration continued at home.\textsuperscript{11}

Black soldiers and officers serving after the Davis men reaped benefits from their struggles professionally, but not socially. When Truman desegregated the military, he did not effect such sweeping changes for the black population as a whole. Colin and Alma Powell began life together in the army in 1962 immediately after he received orders for his first tour in Vietnam. Alma’s first introduction to army family life came during her trips to

\textsuperscript{10}The study of the African American army family deserves more consideration that the scope of this paper can allow. First, a greater volume of material is needed to look adequately at these members of the army family. The biography of Benjamin O. Davis, Sr. and the autobiography of Benjamin O. Davis, Jr. are valuable resources, and their efforts and successes in the integration of African Americans into the military organization is not under appreciated. These works however deal more with the conflict of race and equality, than they do with life in the army, and while they do make mention of family life, it is generally interspersed within the actions of the army and the training and career progressions of these two men. Secondly, more important information may be found in researching the change in African American social culture and to what extent the army institution eroded that culture, either by segregation, removal and indoctrination to the army way.

\textsuperscript{11} Moskos and Butler, 30-31.
Fort Devens, Massachusetts, to visit Powell. She took pleasure in the larger feeling of ‘family’ among the other members and discovered a “sense of community and belonging,” which she found enjoyable.¹²

Traveling to Fort Bragg on Temporary Duty Orders for training in route to an unaccompanied tour overseas, Powell did not receive authorized travel and housing for his new bride. Alma, like many wives before her, followed anyway. The couple tried repeatedly to find rental housing, but resulting from a lack of racial cooperation around Fort Bragg, North Carolina, they were unable to secure a place for Alma to live. Finally, the Powells received an invitation to double up with Joe and Pat Schwar, where Alma stayed until just before the birth of her first child. In 1963, upon returning from Vietnam, Powell received authorized travel for his Permanent Change of Station to Fort Benning, where he, Alma, and their new son spent time on the housing waiting list before signing for officers quarters.¹³ Colin Powell’s career proceeded on a standard track for army officers. The difficulties faced by

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¹³ Ibid., 55-56.
generations before had fallen, for the most part, by the wayside.\textsuperscript{14}

For women, equality among the ranks required intervention by the United States Supreme Court and the Department of Defense. Continued service in the Women's Army Corps after the close of the Second World War established women as permanent soldiers, not only by legislation and law, but also by dedication and service. By 1973, women could serve in the armed forces and marry, however certain limitations were placed on the status of her spouse and her ability to give birth plagued her ability remain in the ranks.

In 1973, Lieutenant Sharon Frontiero, United States Air Force, appealed to the Supreme Court to have her husband considered a full military dependant based upon her service, not upon his ability to provide more or less than fifty percent of his own financial support. Tradition always accepted the female spouse and children of a male member of the "uniformed services" as a dependant without question. The Supreme Court ruled that the judgment under appeal "should be reversed on the ground that the picture.
difference in treatment between service women and servicemen under the statutes constituted an unconstitutional discrimination against service women." Although Lieutenant Frontiero served in the Air Force, the decision, effected policy for all branches of the United States Armed Forces.\textsuperscript{15} Spouses of women in the army now received full dependant benefits and services.

The fight to serve as a wife and mother did not fully resolve until 1975. In 1974, the Department of Defense required that all services remove restrictions on female soldiers in regards to pregnancy by May 1974. The Air Force and Navy (which includes the Marine Corps) complied, although the army continued to fight pregnancy policy until well into the 1980s. With dependency and childbearing issues legally resolved, female soldiers turned their fight towards equal opportunities in employment and advancement.\textsuperscript{16}

The social upheaval surrounding American participation in Vietnam met head-on with the army family on several occasions. The civilian population could see no reason for conflict and many soldiers and their families expressed

\textsuperscript{15} Frontiero v. Richardson, 411 U.S 677 (1973).
similar confusion and frustration. Lower class white men and African Americans became frustrated with the rate at which middle and upper class white men evaded military service. Real and perceived discrimination, a rising drug problem, and a loss of military bearing caused racial tensions and disciplinary problems in units grow. Service members and their families wrote of their frustrations in letters to one another, however, the soldier continued to fight and the family continued to wait. The addition of an extraordinarily high number of prisoners of war made the wait, for some families, even longer.

Throughout the changes in the structure and demographics of the army, dependant family members continued to follow their soldier from post to post, recreating home out of whatever the army gave them. For the army, the existence and function of that home became an important priority in the ability to recruit, retain, and keep a ready volunteer force. Family services, which began to take shape in the 1940s with the creation of the Army Emergency Relief fund and continue to the present, became important tools in presenting the soldier and his or her family with an attractive quality of life.
Certain aspects of family living always attracted the attention of the army. During the Revolutionary War, Washington came to understand the importance of family and manpower issues. Regulations began to allow laundresses, who were often the spouse of enlisted men, to receive rations and dwelling space. Families followed at their own risk and made do out of what they could find or afford. In 1866, Eveline Alexander described her quarters, "My tent is lined with blue army blankets, which not only protect it from dampness and make it much cooler on hot days, but subdue the light, which makes a distressing glare in the canvas tents."\(^{17}\) Any dwelling, that would adequately protect a person from the elements, sufficed.

As the army embarked westward and posts sprang up, the tradition of erecting family quarters for officers started and continued. The enlisted soldier and his family lived wherever they could find shelter. Changes in housing and housing concepts did not take place until the twentieth century. By the end of the Second World War, the army realized that a larger force would be necessary to staff the new global mission. This force and their families

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would need places to live. When Alma Powell reached her new quarters at Fort Campbell, Kentucky, she expected to find herself and her family residing in nice, large, fancy quarters, suited to her husband’s rank and command level. “We passed a small Capehart home . . . another Capehart, and another, and another, and another, all the same.” Much to Alma’s dismay, the brigade and battalion commanders at Fort Campbell resided in these Capehart houses. “Same house we had at Benning with the hardwood floors, dishwasher, and air conditioning when you were a captain,” she told her husband, “except here we’ve got linoleum floors, no dishwasher and no air conditioning, and you’re a colonel.”

The immediate increase in the need for family housing in the late 1940s and early 1950s forced the army, the Department of Defense, and Congress to come up with a way to provide affordable adequate housing to service members. Early traditions housed single soldiers in barracks and officers in bachelor officer quarters. When possible, the army attempted to supply housing for the families of officers and qualified enlisted men, or allot a monetary basic allowance for quarters in order to offset the cost for rent in the outlying communities. In 1948, the army’s

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18 Powell, 210-211.
goal of providing "quarters on posts for all authorized military personnel" stalled owing to a lack of permanent construction and adequate maintenance during the war years, and the inability of Congress to allocate enough military construction funding to offset the growing need.  

Initial attempts to alleviate the problem included the conversion of wartime mobilization buildings, the acquisition of Federal Public Housing Administration and Lanham Act temporary wartime service housing, and the use of trailer parks to offset both the on post housing crunch and over burdened community housing. By 1949, the struggle to ensure acceptable housing to service members attracted the attention of Life Magazine, which exposed the "squalid conditions" under which lower enlisted men and their families lived. The Department of Defense, concerned with recruiting and retaining much need manpower, began to search within the private sector for a solution to a problem that they could not solve on their own.  

20 Baldwin, Four Housing Privatization Programs.
For the next thirteen years privatized housing initiatives, named for their sponsors, Republican Senator Kenneth Wherry from Nebraska and Republican Senator Homer Capehart from Indiana created the largest growth in family housing in the army's history. These two programs created over 200,000 housing units for the Department of Defense. Both programs relied on sponsors from the private business sector to build low cost housing on or near military installations, however, several differences, which were significant for the occupying families, set these two programs apart.²¹

Starting in 1949, Wherry legislation required that the private sponsor build, operate and maintain the units on private land or leased government property and that the proprietors give occupancy priority to service members who would in turn pay rent from their basic allowance for quarters. Wherry properties quickly became too expensive for junior grade officers and enlisted men. In order to turn a profit, and fill the units, builders began to cut manufacturing costs. The army, in turn, tried steering higher ranking officers and enlisted men to the Wherrys hoping to alleviate the vacancy rate and at the same time

²¹ Ibid.
open up existing government quarters for lower ranking personnel. Unfortunately, at just over 800 square feet, the new housing was not appealing and the lack of controlled maintenance allowed the units to fall quickly into disrepair. By 1954, internal problems and a lack of private sponsor interest exterminated the Wherry program.²²

In 1955, a new housing initiative, sponsored by Senator Capehart, allowed private sponsor to build the units, but upon completion, the mortgage, operation, and maintenance fell back to the Department of Defense. Capehart units looked to correct to the major complaints from Wherry occupants. Higher construction allotments meant larger units, and instead of paying higher rent, the service member moved into his assigned quarters and forfeited receipt of his BAQ. Critics of the Capehart program found it more expensive than housing built with appropriated funds. Internal conflict over the program eventually led to its demise in 1962. In all, the Wherry and Capehart programs, which "produced the largest increase in family housing in the Army's history," provided over 55,000 sets of quarters for families and set the standard for the Section 801 and Section 802 housing programs in the

²² Ibid.
1980s.\textsuperscript{23} Privatization programs continue to be the preferred method for funding new housing.

According to one author, "rare is he who has talked about housing to a career service member . . . without hearing the full catalog of woes." Major complaints included "long waiting lists, cramped quarters, and shoddy construction," followed by outdated appliances and "dunderheaded" floor plans.\textsuperscript{24} Other complaints revolved around the furnishings provided by the quartermaster in order to help alleviate the burden on a soldier's baggage allowance.\textsuperscript{25}

In addition to housing, soldiers and family members required services in many other areas. The smaller peacetime army, before the Second World War, answered family problems through local organizations and the efforts of the Red Cross and the United Service Organization. While these programs provided much needed care for dependant family members, they could not keep up with the larger postwar demand for services. During the war, the

\textsuperscript{23} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{24} Eric C. Ludvigsen, "Everybody Talks About Family Housing, But..." ARMY Vol. 20 (March 1970): 25. Floor plans in some quarters featured bedrooms, which could only be entered through other rooms and other unorthodox layouts.

army took steps to aid soldiers and their families during times of financial stress. In 1942, Army Emergency Relief allowed soldiers to seek financial assistance without immediately resorting to public relief organizations. The Army Emergency Relief slogan, “The Army Takes Care of Its Own,” survives today and symbolizes more than just the early stages of family programs.26

Two studies in the early 1950s highlighted the need for more services on a broader social scale than just money and housing. Elizabeth Wickenden found in 1952, that families needed more than just housing. Problems with social services, education, and survivors insurance, according to her report, all called for more attention than they were presently receiving. In 1954, the army began its own study of the affect of families on military members, in order to solve problems with retention after the conflict in Korea; the military establishment came slowly to the realization that in order to maintain a force they would have to accommodate the family completely.27

27 Albano, “Military Recognition of Family Concerns.” Alt and Stone, 109. See also, Bruce D. Bell and Robert B. Iadeluca, “The Origins of Volunteer Support for Army Family Programs,” Army Research Institute
Proper medical care also proved to be a long-standing obstacle. Created in 1956, the Dependents Medical Care Act developed full medical benefits for the first time in army history. Full medical coverage for families members added to the assurance of housing considerations, began the foundation of a benefits package, which with the addition of educational and other support assets, would allow the army to recruit and encourage the retention of its all-volunteer force.

Recognizing the demographic shift in personnel, the army gradually lifted its ban on enlisted marriage and by 1960 raised the number of married soldiers above that of the single soldier for the first time in American military history. Military leadership also recognized the need to continue to the expansion of family service to a broader platform. The ad-hoc, largely volunteer and inconsistent services made it difficult for dependant family members to rely completely on certain programs. To combat this problem, army officials created Army Community Service in 1965 as an umbrella organization to bring together existing family services in a formal setting. Opportunities for


Alt and Stone, 110.
members to continue volunteering as a way of staffing programs and allowing families to participate in the community remains a central focus.

Presently Army Community Service encompasses almost every aspect of family life, providing deployment, and financial support, assistance with the relocation and employment processes, family maintenance programs from childbirth and development to marriage and spousal abuse counseling. Army Community Service also encompasses other programs such as the Army Family Action Plan, which provides the tools to function as a healthy family. Army Family Team Building teaches soldiers and their families not only how to be a healthy family, but also how to maneuver through the army, and the Exceptional Family Member Program supplies much needed assistance to those with special needs children. By the time American forces deployed for Operation Iraqi Freedom, ACS was ready. Building on lessons learned from Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, Operation READY combines training, information, and resources to assist the family during times of deployment.29

Army family members do not just follow their soldiers aimlessly around the world, they are active participants, and first-hand witnesses to history. When Pauline Keehn became a WAC in 1971, she was a single soldier with no children. By the time she retired in 1992, she and her family, like others before them, had been a part of a transforming army. Changes in regulations governing female soldiers and dual service couples allowed her to serve her country while married to a service man, during and after the birth of her son, and then as a single parent. Her experiences with on-post and off-post housing and the logistical and financial trials of permanent change of station moves, remain consistent with those of other army family members regardless of gender or marital status. During the 1980s and early 1990s activities for her son included scouts, sports, camping and traveling. Fortunately, for Keehan, the institution of the Exceptional Family Member Program allowed her son to receive additional assistance in several areas relating to school and extracurricular activities.30

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Overall, Keehn’s experience with her son in the army family community was “happy and contented.” She participated in the integration of the WAC into the regular army, served through the bans on female pregnancy and female single parent service. She and her family witnessed the creation of and participated in the Army Married Couples Program, the adjustments in basic allowance for quarters, basic allowance for sustenance, and cost of living allowance for dual service couples, the implementation of Defense Enrollment Eligibility Reporting Systems and the transition from CHAMPUS to TriCare. She and her son reaped the benefits of Department of Defense schools, deployment support programs, and the execution of the Family Care Packet. Looking back on her service, Keehn writes, “I think the biggest change of all is the Army no longer views families as something that is issued. They finally realize that a happy family makes for a happy soldier.”

Throughout their history, army families took care of themselves. Wives clubs, spouses clubs, and Family Support and Readiness Groups created lifelines between the members and the units. Experienced wives helped new brides adjust

31 Keehn interview.
and support groups came together to assist each other during deployments. They worked together to improve conditions on individual posts as well as army wide. Family Advocacy, however, is not limited to the active army community. In 1969, wives of retirees formed the National Military Wives Association (NMWA) in an effort to further the important issues and legislation surrounding the army family. Today the NMWA, now known as the National Military Family Association remains a strong political ally for the rights of the active duty family.\textsuperscript{32}

The next great boom in family advocacy came in the 1980s. From 1980-1983, volunteers worked to sponsor three Army Family Symposia aimed at researching the army family and putting forward suggestions to better the family experience. In 1983, Office of the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, published the \textit{White Paper: the Army Family}, formally asserting,

"The Constitution of the United States calls for raising and maintaining an Army for the purpose of national defense. As a consequence the Army's first priority must be to execute the missions entrusted to it by political authority. While this priority is clear, the Army can and must assure within available resources and commitments adequate care for families of its members."

Other studies by the RAND Corporation, the United States Army Research Institute for Behavioral and Social Sciences, and the United States Army War College brought additional information into the discussion and understanding of the needs of the army family.33

Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s up to the institution of the all-volunteer force, the public spotlight on the army, required both immediate and long-term restructuring. A variety of factors, including the draft, media coverage of the families of prisoners of war and soldiers missing or killed in action, and the civil unrest among the American home front, directed attention towards the army and the army family. In addition, support in the civilian community for women's rights and the new role of married women in the work force during the 1970s and 1980s further developed the role of women in the family and the community, a trend which gradually crept into the army community. The termination of the draft and the reliance on volunteers to step forward and staff the Cold War force required that soldiers from every portion of the

population be accepted and equally supported through training, opportunities, and services.

According to Morris Janowitz, author and noted military sociologist, "the military profession is more than an occupation; it is a complete style of life." This style of life is "an almost medieval closed society with its own clubs, tribal rituals, and language" where "life seems so normal," where "times have changed; times have stood still."35 The elevation in command awareness and provision of family services and programs have brought the army family into the twenty-first century well equipped to continue the positive progress made during the last fifty years.

When the first wife followed her husband into an American army camp, she was following tradition. Those who came after her, continued that tradition and went on to create their own community, which they in turn passed onto other wives and children throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The addition of new services and new members in the twentieth century did not affect the experience of the army family they only enhanced it. Ruth

35 Alt and Stone, 3-4.
Ellen Patton Totten, daughter of General George S. Patton, Jr., and wife of Major General James W. Totten, spent her entire life in some fashion, as a member of the army family. Her insights into the heart of the community echo the sentiments of others who have gone before her.

"The old Army was no better in its ways than ours today, and no worse . . . they were great people, and their daughters and god-daughters are among you today. I could go on forever, but we are making our own legends in the new army all the time. You are living in the company of heroes and heroines who have chosen to practice a life of service to their country . . . knowing that the final acknowledgment of a lifetime of service, is for all, the flag-draped coffin, the volley, and the bugler's lonely farewell."36

36 Totten, 39-44.
CONCLUSION

On 22 June 1999, Chief of Staff of the Army, General Eric K. Shinseki unveiled a new concept in commitment to the army family, in which stated:

Army readiness is inextricably linked to the Well-Being of our People. Our success depends on the whole team - Soldiers, civilians, families - All of whom serve the Nation. Strategic responsiveness requires that our support structures provide soldiers and families the resources to be self-reliant both when the force is deployed and when it is at home. When we deploy, Soldiers will know that their families are safe, housed, and have access to medical care, community services, and educational opportunities. We have a covenant with our Soldiers and families, and we will keep faith with them.¹

The inclusion of the family as part of the over-all strategic initiative for total army readiness is a landmark achievement for the army family community. The family has always been a factor in force management; however, there has not always been a total command commitment to the well being of the family members.

The consistent presence of spouses and children and their willingness to maintain a home under any

circumstances has done as much for the status of the army family as any piece of policy or legislation. The army would not have provided for a community that did not exist. Through the advent of army family well-being initiative, the sacrifice and perseverance of centuries of army families service has come to fruition.

We live in a free society that relies upon volunteers to defend it borders. The quality of life led by the members of this force during the last two centuries has been, at times, mediocre at best and the depths of poverty at its worst. Soldiers and their families served despite the quality of life afforded them either by services in kind or monetary stipends. Nevertheless, future generations of army family members, will go forward, knowing that those who have already been, found following the army and supporting the soldier important enough to fight for things such as better housing, programs, and medical benefits.

This study suggests that there are other questions and areas for further research. First, a formal analysis is needed of the effect of the army community upon the many cultures that gradually gained membership. Did the army community allow family members from other cultures to
prosper or did the army way become paramount to cultural and ethical traditions? In addition, to what extent, if any, did the appearance of new cultures play a part in the common experience?

Second, it would be useful to find and preserve the documents pertaining to other members of the army family community. The conservation of these documents will enable scholars to continue the study of the heritage of the army family. Preservation of the portions of American history, which exists within these documents, will also be accomplished. The story of the army family is one-sided, favoring the lives of officer’s wives and children. The lives of enlisted families are under represented, and the experience of male spouses within the army family community is almost nonexistent.

The experiences of dual service couples also needs further study. Do the members function only as soldiers or as both soldiers and family members, and when children are present which spouse takes on primary responsibility of childcare and household responsibilities? Research into the effects of dual memberships, belonging to the army and the army family, will establish the ability for both
parties to fit into and be accepted by the entire community.

Finally, the army family community living on bases around the world probably has no knowledge of the common experience that they share with past generations or even the families living around them. Would the knowledge of a rich heritage make community life more positive or fulfilling? Would the members of the present army family have something to gain by fostering and encouraging the presence of the common experience? One would suspect so, but these questions deserve further study.

Army family membership has come a long way in the last fifty years. Prior to that time, enlisted men required permission to marry and officers maintained a large portion of their individual lifestyle. The housing boom in the 1950s began the first major attempt by the army and the Department of Defense to make a formal place for the dependant army family. The brief overview of the growth in family services given in chapter five is just that - brief. As this project developed, it became apparent that the number of factors, which touched the army family experience, grew over time. The result of the growth of programs, benefits, and services, available to the army
family during the later part of the twentieth century was too large to cover adequately in this project.

Improvement in command attitude and the development of services directly affected the quality of life for the accompanying family, however, heightened awareness and an expanse in new activities and benefits did not seem to change the stories or the attitudes of these women and children. Just because one family traveled thousands of miles to reach a post with no tents and another, made the same journey only to find that there was a waiting list for housing and the rental market was flooded does not mean that they did not share in the experience. The result was the same - there was no available housing at the end of a long forced move. For the army family experiencing this event, the type of structure is irrelevant. The realization that the institution which forced the relocation of one’s family without considering how to provide for them upon arrival at the destination is the same no matter where or when the move took place.

The common experience found among the members of the army family did not depend on race, gender, or the availability of specific services, and in some instances, actually bridged the gap between ranks. The experiences
shared among the members of the army family community gave
the impression of transcending the actual activity, and
taking on a ritualistic quality. This quality became an
apparent trend throughout the lives of army family members
and thus a common thread throughout the life of the
community.

The common experience in the army family community is
absolute. Anyone, whose soldier serves more than one tour,
will move, pack, unpack, and learn interior design.
Members of the army family will commit to memory the
numbers to the automated housing waiting list and at some
point in time, endure separation, and come to understand
the meaning of mission first. Most importantly, they will
participate in a community whose sole purpose is to provide
support for the men and women of the army whose primary
mission is maintenance and protection of our freedom.
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APPENDIX A

Georgia Southern University
Office of Research Services & Sponsored Programs

Institutional Review Board (IRB)

Phone: 912-681-5465  4 College Plaza, P.O. Box 8005
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To:         Stacey L. Brown
            c/o History Department
Cc:         Dr. Alan C. Downs, Faculty Advisor
            History Department
From:       Dr. Howard M. Kaplan, Coordinator
            Research Oversight Committees (IACUC/IBC/IRB)
Date:       October 13, 2002
Subject:    Application to Utilize Human Subjects in Research

Your e-mailed responses of October 9 and October 13 have satisfactorily addressed the issues raised by the Institutional Review Board following its review of your proposed research, “Survey of Army Family Members.”

It now appears that (1) the research subjects are at minimal risk, (2) appropriate safeguards are planned, and (3) the research activities involve only procedures which are allowable under the following expeditable research category:

Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Therefore, as authorized in the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects (45 CFR §46.110), I am pleased to notify you that the Institutional Review Board has approved your proposed research.

This IRB approval is in effect for one year from the date of this letter. If at the end of that time, there have been no changes to the expedited research protocol, you may request an extension of the approval period for an additional year. In the interim, please provide the IRB with any information concerning any significant adverse event, whether or not it is believed to be related to the study, within five working days of the event. In addition, if a change or modification of the approved methodology becomes necessary, you must notify the IRB Coordinator prior to initiating any such changes or modifications. At that time, an amended application for IRB approval may be submitted. Upon completion of your data collection, please notify the IRB Coordinator so that your file may be closed.

C:         Dr. Tom Case, IRB Chairperson
            Dr. Bryan Riemann, IRB Associate Chairperson
APPENDIX B

Army Family Member Survey

Please indicate the person completing this survey.

Sponsor’s Information: ________________________________
Date of Birth __________________________ Gender ____________
Race/ Ethnicity ____________________________
Branch of Service __________ Years of Service ______
Current status ________________________________

Spouse’s Information: ________________________________
Date of Birth __________________________ Gender ____________
Race/ Ethnicity ________________________________

Service Information

1. Please describe your military service to include
   method of entry, dates, posts and ranks.

2. What main factors prompted you to remain in or
   separate from the Army?

3. What was the size and make-up of your family during
   your time of service?
Transition and Housing

1. What type of housing was your family provided at different posts during your time of service? What physical and / or policy changes did you experience?

2. What changes in PCS moving and travel did you experience during your time of service? Please include transportation methods and any type of services or aide provided by the Army.

Benefits, Facilities, and Programs

1. What changes in family benefits occurred during your time of service? Please include personal experiences and policy changes by which you were affected.

2. What types of facilities were available for your family (commissary, library, gym, etc.) and what changes in these facilities did you see during your time of service?

Lifestyle

1. What rules, customs or regulations governed your family’s behavior?
2. What changes in these rules, customs, or restrictions did you see during your time of service?

3. What did your family do for recreation and entertainment? (On-post and in the local community)?

4. In what religious, social, civil, service, volunteer, or other organizations did your family participate?

5. Was participation by your family members in any group or organization ever "required"?

6. What types of educational opportunities were available for your spouse and children?

7. Were there circumstances which made it difficult for your family members to obtain education or employment?
8. What types of luxuries or conveniences did your family have to sacrifice due to military life or a post assignment?

Social Culture

1. What firsts did you and your family experience during your time of service?

2. What elements of popular culture flowed over into your family experience?

3. Were your family members allowed to participate in changing social culture? (To include such actions as voting, participation in civil and women's rights movements, etc.)?

4. To what extent was participation in social or popular culture prohibited or regulated?

Separation

1. What types of separation did your family endure?
2. What programs did the Army provide to support times of separation?

3. What other ways did your family endure times of separation?

In Conclusion

1. Looking back, overall, what changes in military family life did you see during your time of service?

2. How would you characterize your life as a military family?

3. Please feel free to add any additional anecdotes or information.
The following information is voluntary. You are not required to complete it. The information given here will be used to contact you in the event that your responses warrant further research, or are used in a manner that requires documentation. By providing this information you are giving permission to use your responses in a manner that cannot guarantee your anonymity.  

Name: __________________________________________

Address: ________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

Phone: __________________________________________

E-mail: __________________________________________

1 Please return this survey in the self-addressed stamped envelope provided or mail to: Stacey Brown 290 Sandy Creek Farms; Pembroke, GA 31321.
APPENDIX C

United States Army Rank

E-1  Private
E-2  Private
E-3  Private First Class
E-4  Specialist/ Corporal
E-5  Sergeant
E-6  Staff Sergeant
E-7  Sergeant First Class
E-8  Master Sergeant/ First Sergeant
E-9  Sergeant Major/ Command Sergeant Major

WO-1  Warrant Officer 1
WO-2  Chief Warrant Officer 2
WO-3  Chief Warrant Officer 3
WO-4  Chief Warrant Officer 4
WO-5  Chief Warrant Officer 5

O-1  Second Lieutenant
O-2  First Lieutenant
O-3  Captain
O-4  Major
O-5  Lieutenant Colonel
O-6  Colonel
O-7  Brigadier General
O-8  Major General
O-9  Lieutenant General
O-10  General
APPENDIX D

Internet Resources

Army Community Service
www.armycommunityservice.org

Army Family Liaison Office
www.aflo.org

Army Family Team Building
www.armyfamilyteambuilding.org

Army Link News
www.dtic.mil/army/link

Association of the United States Army
www.ausa.org

Family Advocacy Program Online
www.child.cornell.edu/army/fap.html

Military.com
www.military.com

Military Family Resource Center
www.mfcr.calib.com

Morale Welfare & Recreation
www.armymwr.com

National Military Family Association
www.nmfa.org

United States Army
www.army.mil
APPENDIX E

Maps
Major Active Duty Army Installations

Legend

Bases
Command
- FORSCOM
- MACOM
- NGB
- TRADOC
- USARC

NAME | REFERENCE
--- | ---
Fort Lewis | 1
Yakima Firing Center | 2
Fort Drum | 3
Fort Riley | 4
Fort Carson | 5
Fort Campbell | 6
Fort Bragg | 7
Fort Irwin | 8
Fort Stewart | 9
Hunter Army Airfield | 10
Fort Hood | 11
Fort Polk | 12
West Point | 13
Fort Monroe | 14
Fort McPherson | 15
Fort Indiantown Gap | 16
Fort A. P. Hill | 17
Fort Chaffee | 18
Fort Belvoir | 19

NAME | REFERENCE
--- | ---
Fort Eustis | 20
Fort Leavenworth | 21
Fort Knox | 22
Fort Leonard Wood | 23
Fort Jackson | 24
Fort Gordon | 25
Fort Sill | 26
Fort Benning | 27
Fort Bliss | 28
Fort Rucker | 29
Fort Huachuca | 30
Fort Sam Houston | 31
Fort Devens | 32
Fort McCoy | 33
Fort Hunter Liggett | 34
Camp Roberts Annex | 35
Camp Shelby | 36
Fort Meyer | 37