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Leave your mark on our campus with a **Classic Red Brick**. Over nine million Museum visitors have been moved by the impact of the more than **55,000 red Victory bricks** lining our sidewalks. With three lines of personalized text, including the name of your honoree, you can **create a lasting tribute** that will be installed on the perimeter of our campus.

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**Our new Slate Blue Pavers, symbolic of peace and tranquility, honor the responsibility, sacrifice, commitment, and loyalty of those who helped to preserve our freedom.*

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Our pavers are **located at the heart of the Museum's campus on the Col. Battle Barksdale Parade Ground**, guaranteeing your commemoration will be appreciated by hundreds of thousands of visitors each year.

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TRIBUTE BOOKS

This elegant, **44-page hardcover book** immortalizes the story of America's role in World War II through awe-inspiring images and powerful commentary. Personalize the cover with an image of your **commemorative brick or paver**, or choose to include a custom message alongside an image of **Iwo Jima** or the **American flag**.

**Allow up to 8 weeks for delivery.*





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Remembering a great leader on the 80th anniversary of Operation Overlord

Operation Overlord, the Allied invasion of Northwest Europe, was unleashed on the Nazis on D-Day—June 6, 1944—on the orders of one man. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander Allied Expeditionary Force, had the weight of the world on his shoulders. The worst weather across southern England in half a century had forced a postponement of 24 hours, and when the high Allied command met at Southwick House in the predawn hours of June 5, 1944, the supreme commander asked each one for their opinion. He paused and said, “Ok, we’ll go!”

In his memoir, *Crusade in Europe*, Eisenhower recalled that “the inescapable consequences of postponement were almost too bitter to contemplate.” The moon and tides would not be favorable again until June 19, two weeks away.

It would have been virtually impossible to keep the Allied juggernaut poised, taut, and ready to go for such a long period—not to mention the inevitable intelligence leaks that could warn the Nazis that the invasion was coming...not in the Pas de Calais as the deception of Operation Fortitude had successfully proposed, but in Normandy where the Germans would be waiting on full alert.

When and where has another military commander in modern times borne such a great burden, the fate of the largest amphibious, air, and naval operation in history up to that time, thousands of lives hanging in the balance, and the probability of winning or losing a world war in one bold stroke?

Eisenhower made the call. He owned the responsibility for it. He even penned a communiqué to be distributed to the press in the event of failure that read in part: “If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt it is mine alone...”

American Legion Magazine’s 2014 reader survey of “America’s Most Beloved Veterans” received more than 70,000 responses. Across the span of U.S. history, Eisenhower placed sixth—behind only, in order: Audie Murphy, the most decorated American soldier in history; Founding Father George Washington; President Theodore Roosevelt, leader of the Rough Riders during the Spanish-American War in the famed capture of San Juan Heights, and recipient of the Medal of Honor in 2001 (103 years after his heroic battlefield deeds); Alvin York, recipient of the Medal of Honor in World War I for heroism in killing numerous enemy soldiers and capturing 132 Ger-

mans in a single action; and General George S. Patton, Jr., the flamboyant, boisterous, and controversial commander of the U.S. Third Army.

Each man had earned the respect and gratitude of the nation, each possessed characteristics of leadership and courage, some under direct enemy fire—and one of them on a stormy early morning in England, the future course of World War II in Western Europe in the palm of his hand.

I was honored to write for *American Legion* the short synopsis of Eisenhower’s contribution to victory and the conduct that later assured his place in history as a two-term President of the United States.

Still, quite probably Eisenhower’s finest quality was his unwavering focus on the task at hand. I wrote in 2014, “Dwight Eisenhower placed the success of the mission ahead of any personal reward or gain. In doing so, he defined leadership by example, and he shouldered the great weight of responsibility that came with it like no other individual in the 20th century.”

As Allied fighting men ventured into harm’s way on D-Day, Eisenhower told them, “You are about to embark upon the Great Crusade, toward which we have striven these many months. The eyes of the world are upon you.”

Indeed, the eyes and expectations of the world were on Dwight Eisenhower, and therein he did not fail.

—Michael E. Haskew, Editor

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On August 14, 1945 the Japanese government called to the U.S. their surrender. On August 15, news of the surrender was announced to the world.

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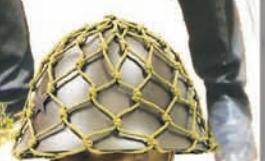
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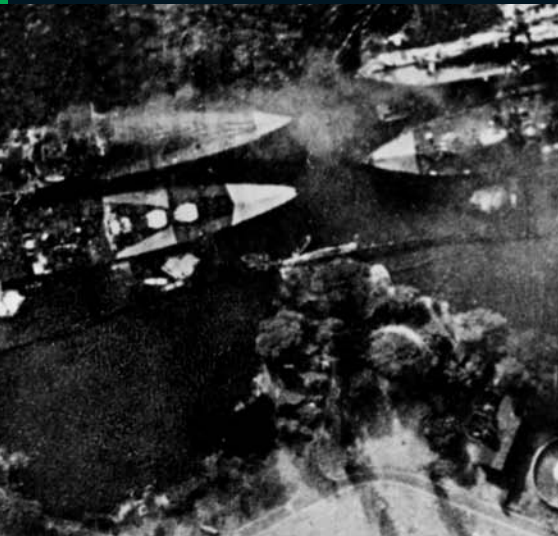


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1928 Thompson w/ Stick Magazine



Captain Young received the Medal of Honor at Pearl Harbor and a posthumous Navy Cross for gallantry off Guadalcanal.

In Hawaii, on Saturday, December 6, 1941, Commander Cassin Young eased his repair ship, *Vestal*, outboard of the battleship *USS Arizona*. Soon the two ships were moored together, bow to stern along Battleship Row because on Monday, *Vestal* was to begin preparing the *Arizona* to go into dry dock—an event that, infamously, never happened.

Commissioned as a collier in 1908, *Vestal* was one of the oldest ships in the U.S. Navy. She was converted to a repair ship in 1913 and still served in that capacity in 1941. Her commanding officer, Cassin Young, was born in 1894. He was a descendent of Steven Cassin, a naval hero of the War of 1812. Enthralled by sailing and the sea, young Cassin received an appointment to the Naval Academy and graduated in 1916. Like most naval officers, he would be given divergent assignments to familiarize himself with the Navy’s many tasks.

Young’s first posting was to the battleship *Connecticut* (BB-16). He served several years aboard submarines, then was posted to Naval Communications ashore, and also taught at the Naval Academy. In 1931, having risen to the rank of lieutenant commander, he was assigned to another battleship.

In 1933, he was given his own command, the aging destroyer *Evans* (DD-78). Assigned to the Pacific Fleet, Young would



TOP: A Japanese military photo depicts the repair ship *USS Vestal* moored outboard the *USS Arizona* on Battleship Row at Pearl Harbor on the fateful morning of December 7, 1941. INSET: Another Japanese photo shows the explosion that shattered the *USS Arizona*. BELOW: Commander Cassin Young was blown overboard from the *USS Vestal* by the catastrophic explosion and received the Medal of Honor for heroism during the raid. He later received a posthumous Navy Cross for action off Guadalcanal.

take *Evans* as far afield as Alaska and Hawaii. In 1937, he was promoted to commander and placed over a division of submarines in Groton, Connecticut.

Young next took command of *Vestal*. A crew member later remembered his arrival. “He said to me, ‘Hello, sailor, how are you doing?’ I said, ‘Fine,’ and we had a nice chat. He was making the rounds getting acquainted with the ship and meeting the crew.” They would never forget him.

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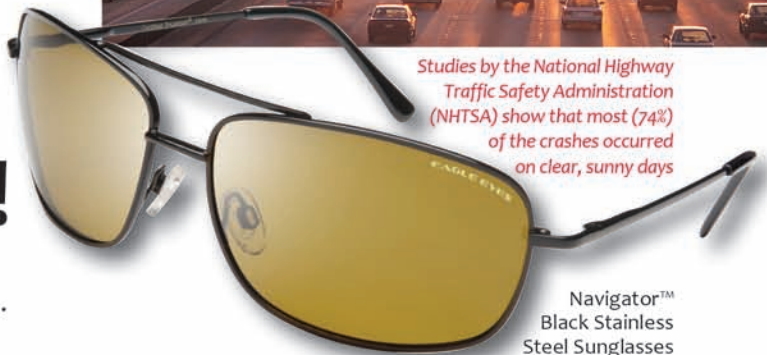
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On the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941, even before the sirens blared for general quarters, Young had reached the bridge. It was clear that Pearl Harbor was under attack. He ordered the engineering officer to work up steam to get the ship moving. From there, he rushed to one of the ship's three-inch guns, organized its crew, and directed its firing at incoming Japanese planes. The bombs from two of those planes missed the *Arizona* and hit *Vestal* instead. One bomb pierced the deck on the starboard side and exploded near the hull.

As *Vestal* took on water, *Arizona* was hit again by a bomb near the forward magazine, causing an explosion that wrecked the bow of the ship.

The blast blew 100 men off the decks of *Arizona* and *Vestal*, some of them in pieces. Young was among those in the burning oil-soaked waters. The intense heat from *Arizona* started fires on the smaller ship. With Young overboard, the ranking officer on the bridge gave the order to abandon ship.

Men rushed out of their duty stations. Some jumped overboard and swam, and some were picked up by a passing barge. Young made his way back aboard his ship. Seeing his men trying to leave, he ordered them, at the top of his lungs, to man their posts or help put out the fires. When the engineering crew came on deck from the engine



ABOVE: Commander Young ordered the USS *Vestal* to get underway as flames engulfed *Arizona*, then grounded his ship to save it. *Vestal*'s crew aided sailors trapped in the capsized battleship USS *Oklahoma*. **TOP:** During Guadalcanal in November 1942, the bridge of the USS *San Francisco* was hit by a shell from a Japanese battleship, killing Captain Young, Admiral Daniel Callaghan, and several other officers.

room, they were ordered to return and build up steam—a difficult task because several of the steam lines had been broken.

Young then ordered that the ship be cast off from the burning *Arizona* so it could get underway. This order was not immediately obeyed because *Vestal* crewmen were helping *Arizona* survivors.

Time was precious, because *Arizona* was sinking and the mooring lines would take

Vestal down with her. Once cast off, *Vestal* had just enough steam to cross the channel as her list to starboard increased, and settle onto a shallow mud bank. It was a good thing because for the next four months, *Vestal* would be the most important ship in harbor.

Vestal's first task began immediately as its crew and equipment worked to rescue men trapped inside the hull of the capsized battleship *Oklahoma*. From there, the repair

work seemed to never end as her crew worked overtime to repair other ships while she remained beached.

All the while, the Navy brass were aware of Young's heroism in saving his ship and the invaluable service it had played in repairing or salvaging the damaged fleet. In February, Young was promoted to captain, and on April 18, 1942, Admiral Chester Nimitz, Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Fleet, was piped aboard the still beached *Vestal* to present Captain Young with the Medal of Honor for his actions during the attack.

The Medal of Honor citation reads in part, "*Vestal* was afire in several places, was settling and taking on a list. Despite severe enemy bombing and strafing at the time, and his shocking experience of having been blown overboard, Commander Young, with extreme coolness and calmness, moved his ship to an anchorage distant from the U.S.S. *Arizona*, and subsequently beached the U.S.S. *Vestal* upon determining that such action was required to save his ship."

The citation should have mentioned that Young's ship and crew were vital to the restoration of several of the ships damaged in port during the Japanese attack. In addition to the promotion and Medal of Honor, Young received a prestigious new assignment. He was posted as Captain of the heavy cruiser *San Francisco*.

Young took over his next command by November 9, 1942. It is not clear whether he was in command of *San Francisco* during the confused Battle of Cape Esperance, which took place on the night of October 11-12, just north of the embattled island of Guadalcanal.

Young was definitely in command of *San Francisco* for the Naval Battle of Guadalcanal on the night of November 12-13, 1942. If, indeed, he took command on November 9, he had little time to acquaint himself with the ship or its crew. In any event, he was not fully in charge of the cruiser during the mid-November battle. It was now the flagship of Admiral Daniel J. Callaghan, who himself had once been the captain of *San Francisco*.

It was a dire time for the Americans. Japanese ships were able to bombard Henderson Field on Guadalcanal at night with seeming impunity, while landing reinforcements and supplies in preparation for a major assault on Marine positions around the airfield. At sea,

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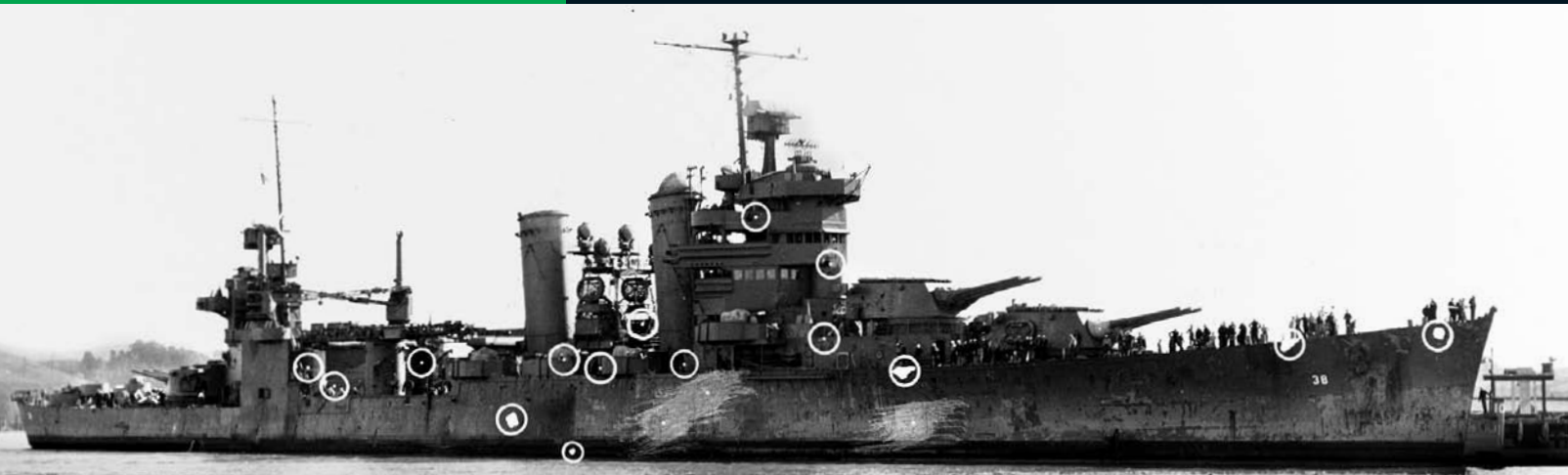
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the Japanese had sunk the aircraft carriers *Wasp* and *Hornet*. Only the badly damaged *Enterprise* could still launch and retrieve planes, but had only one working elevator. Forty crewmen from *Vestal* were aboard *Enterprise* making repairs during this time.

Enterprise and her silent escorts steamed southwest of Guadalcanal and staged her fighter planes over Henderson Field in both directions so as not to lead pursuing enemy planes to the vulnerable aircraft carrier.

The Japanese were making another reinforcement and supply run to Guadalcanal in November. Long-range American reconnaissance planes discovered the enemy ships and warned the defenders of the island. A hastily gathered task force of two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and eight destroyers was assembled to stop them.

The Japanese task group, which included slow transports carrying 7,000 troops and their equipment, was protected by two fast battleships, one light cruiser, and eleven destroyers. Their orders were to deliver the troops, then bombard Henderson Field. Not expecting naval opposition, the Japanese had preloaded their guns with “san shiki”—an exploding shell that scattered shrapnel over a wide area—meant to devastate Henderson Field and its parked aircraft.

The hastily assembled U.S. Navy flotilla steamed in line northward toward the channel dividing Savo Island from Guadalcanal—nicknamed “Ironbottom Sound” due to the many ships sunk there fighting for control of the southern Solomon Islands.

Five of the American ships carried the new state-of-the-art SG radar, but Callaghan did



ABOVE: After Pearl Harbor, Young made captain and was assigned to the heavy cruiser USS *San Francisco*. At Guadalcanal during the night battle of November 12-13, 1942, he was killed. **TOP:** After returning to Mare Island Naval Yard for repairs following the Naval Battle of Guadalcanal, the heavy cruiser USS *San Francisco* is shown with circles marking areas where the ship sustained battle damage. Capt. Cassin Young and Adm. Daniel Callaghan were killed during the nocturnal battle in the Solomons.

not place these ships in the vanguard of his task force and did not select any of them for his flagship. He chose *San Francisco*, which was not equipped with the new radar, because as her former skipper, he knew the ship and her crew. For steering the ship and the care of its day-to-day operations, Callaghan relied on Captain Young.

Steaming through a rain squall with poor visibility as they approached the islands that night, the Japanese ships inadvertently split into small groups on their final approach to Guadalcanal. American radar operators, who reported several columns of enemy ships, were confused. When the two hostile fleets finally sighted each other in the dead of night, around 1:30 a.m., the Japanese

found themselves moving along both sides of the single-file column of U.S. ships.

The hastily assembled American task force suffered from communication breakdowns and lack of a coordinated battle strategy. Without a plan, each ship found itself fighting alone against any enemy ship it could target in the chaotic close-quarter slugfest.

Superior Japanese optics, extensive pre-war night fighting exercises, and the superb Type 93 “Long Lance” torpedo gave an advantage to the Japanese. However, the preloaded san shiki shells could not penetrate the thick-hulled American cruisers, forcing them to hurriedly use up this ammunition to make way for armor piercing rounds. Then the fight became bloodier.

Some ships turned on their search lights to illuminate the enemy, turning themselves into targets. Friendly fire added to the confusion. The *Hiei*, a 36,600-ton Japanese battleship mounting 14-inch guns, was swarmed by three American destroyers that fired away at her from close range. *Hiei* could not adjust her guns to fire on the close-in destroyers. Instead, the battleship's gunners focused their fire on *San Francisco*, which was passing within range. *Hiei*'s bridge took a hit from either the destroyers or the *San Francisco*, seriously wounding Admiral Hiroaki Abe.

Due to the fog of battle, what happened next is not precisely known. The bridge of the *San Francisco* was destroyed by a shot from either the *Hiei*, or the battleship *Kirishima* coming up directly behind her. The hit was most likely made by a high explosive shell whose shrapnel tore through the thin armor protecting the bridge— instantaneously killing Admiral Callaghan, Captain Young, and most of the bridge personnel.

Not long afterward, the two sides ceased fire and disengaged. It was a tactical victory for the Japanese, who did more damage to the American ships than was done to them. However, Admiral Abe chose to declare victory and depart without landing the reinforcements and supplies—and also without bombarding Henderson Field, giving the Americans a strategic victory at the cost of their damaged ships and men like Young. The gallant officer would be awarded a posthumous Navy Cross, and the citation read in part, “Captain Young contributed largely to the success of the battle and upheld the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service.”

In 1943, a *Fletcher*-class destroyer was named for Cassin Young, and the warship survives today as a museum and memorial at the Boston National Historical Park. In the city of San Francisco, a memorial erected for those lost aboard the namesake heavy cruiser. Located at the Lands End area of the city, the memorial uniquely includes portions of the shot-up bridge where Young was killed. The memorial is oriented in the direction of Guadalcanal. □

Glenn Barnett has published more than 30 articles on World War II. He has worked in aerospace on the Apache Helicopter, B-1B bomber and several space craft programs.

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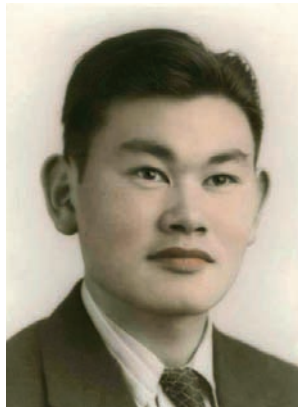
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Japanese-American Fred Korematsu's battle for civil liberties went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The afternoon of May 30, 1942, found Clyde Sarah waiting for his girlfriend Ida on Estudillo Avenue, one of the main thoroughfares in San Leandro, a small town just across the bay from San Francisco. She knew the address, so he couldn't help wondering what was delaying her. It was Memorial Day, a time when Americans honored those who gave their lives defending the United States, and this year the event was particularly poignant.

For a little over six months, the U.S. had been at war with the Axis powers—but here in California the focus was on the Far East and Japan more than Germany. Clyde's focus was on his missing girlfriend, not the issues of war and peace. At 22, he still had the impatience of youth, and while he waited he went into a drugstore to buy cigarettes. After he emerged from the store, pack in hand, he took up his previous position on the street corner.

A San Leandro policeman asked Clyde if he had seen any Japanese in the area. Clyde said no, but the policeman asked to see some identification. After the officer had a look, he asked Clyde—who claimed to be “Spanish Hawaiian”—to come with him to the station. It was no use, so “Clyde” confessed that his real name was Fred Korematsu. He was a Japanese American,



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born in this country and so an American citizen, but the policeman was forced to arrest him for violating the government's evacuation order. All persons of Japanese ancestry were to report to assembly centers, to be processed for “relocation” away from the west coast.

Korematsu had deliberately broken the law by refusing to be interned, saying quite simply that he was an American citizen and that he hadn't done anything wrong. Fred acknowledged he may have technically broken a military law by not reporting, but as a civilian he was not bound to obey such directives. His courageous stand evolved into a court fight that went all the way to the Supreme Court. Korematsu's stubborn and often lonely battle became a landmark in the struggle for civil rights in the United States.

The first laws concerning the Japanese appeared in the early 1900s, not long after the

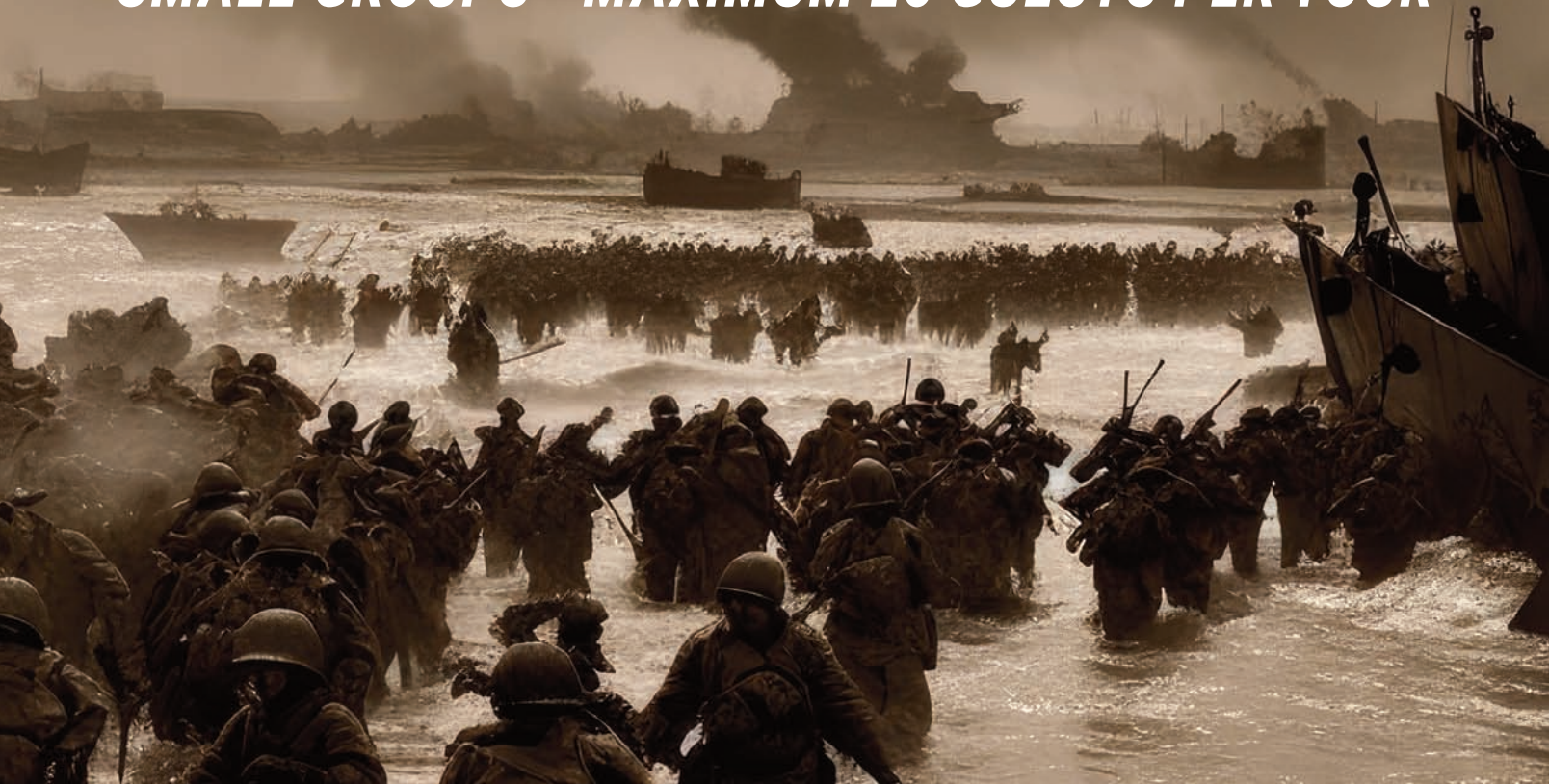
Japanese-Americans await orders to board a train to a resettlement camp during the early days of U.S. involvement in World War II. Fred Korematsu (inset) took his case against the injustice of American policy against the country's own citizens to the Supreme Court.

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Spanish-American War. The U.S. had recently acquired Hawaii, which had a substantial Japanese immigrant population, and it wasn't long before many of them settled on the mainland, chiefly California.

In 1908, President Theodore Roosevelt stepped in with the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan. The pact allowed Japanese students already in the U.S. to attend "white" schools at a time when racial segregation was the norm. In return, Japan pledged to stop issuing passports to Japanese workers bound for the United States—in short, to severely limit immigration.

The initial wave of Japanese immigrants were mostly men working in agriculture. Loopholes in the pact permitted Japanese women to enter the United States, a crucial development in the formation of a viable Japanese-American community. Men could marry, start families and produce American-born children. The Japanese started to name the successive generations as the years went by. The Issei were the foreign immigrants, the Nisei the first American-born generation.

White nativist elements on the West Coast were outraged by these developments and did all in their power to restrict, and if possible expel, the Japanese and all other Asian immigrant communities. In 1905, the California state legislature passed a law that prohibited marriage between whites and "Mongolians"—a contemporary catch-all term for Asians. This law had little practical impact, because the Japanese tended to wed people of their own culture and/or ethnic identity.

Another California law, the Alien Land Act of 1913, was far more troubling. This law prohibited foreign-born people who were not eligible for citizenship from owning property. Since at the time only Caucasians could be citizens, Japanese immigrants didn't even have to be specifically mentioned. Such "aliens" could rent or lease land, but only for a maximum term of three years. Gov. Hiram Johnson made it crystal clear that the measure was designed to "protect our agricultural lands" from Japanese acquisition.

It was against this backdrop of simmering racial and ethnic tensions that Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu was born in Oakland, California, on January 30, 1919. His father Kakusaburo immigrated from Japan to Hawaii in 1905 as a farm laborer, a destina-

Korematsu Family



A young Fred Korematsu, second from right (in back), stands with members of his family in the 1940s. Korematsu was caught up in the execution of an executive order mandating the resettlement of Japanese-Americans due to fears of sabotage and subversion.

tion many Japanese favored due to the booming sugar industry. Kakusaburo found that working conditions were far from ideal, and the workers were often exploited. Higher wages drew him to California.

Kakusaburo Korematsu's timing was fortunate. In 1913, he managed to buy some land in east Oakland, just across the bay from San Francisco, before the Alien Land Act took effect that August. Though he had no previous experience in the trade, he opened a flower nursery on his property that soon became a growing and successful concern.

Young Korematsu was a typical teenager of the Depression era 1930s, hanging out with friends and listening to the "Big Band" sounds of Glenn Miller and Tommy Dorsey. He felt good in high school, and fully equal, but outside the classroom Fred experienced the racial prejudice that was a sad hallmark of the time. Restaurants could, and frequently did, refuse to serve Asians, and barber shops would not cut Fred's hair because of his "oriental" face. Usually, he had to go to Chinatown to get a haircut.

Fred's home life was a pleasant amalgam of "old country" cultural traditions and American values. When his father hired a tutor to teach the children Japanese, Fred showed little aptitude for the language and even less interest. When engaged in a conversation with his parents, he could only manage a hodgepodge of English and Japanese phrases haphazardly mixed together.

And then, in 1938, a 19-year-old Fred fell in love with Ida Botano, the daughter of Italian immigrants. At first their respective families allowed the relationship, thinking it wouldn't last. But when they started getting serious, things quickly turned sour. Both sets of parents objected and were even horrified at the prospect of an interracial marriage.

Fred's older brother tried to break them up, even insisting it would "kill" their mother. But Fred and Ida continued in secret and planned to get married as soon as they could. But they would have to travel out of state because interracial marriage, sometimes called "miscegenation," was illegal in California and 37 other states.

In the meantime, the clouds of war darkened the mood of a country painfully trying to emerge from the depths of the Depression. Japan was controlled by the military, which started an aggressive war against China. The Japanese army committed many atrocities in China, most notably the rape of Nanking (today Nanjing) in December 1937. Americans started to look on Japan with distrust and revulsion, and some of that feeling was directed at Japanese Americans.

By 1940, the U.S. and Japan were on a collision course. Diplomatic efforts to end the conflict by the Roosevelt Administration had failed. In Europe, Hitler defeated France and looked poised to invade Britain. An isolationist America still hoped the vast Atlantic and Pacific oceans would protect it.

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This bleak 1942 aerial view depicts the relocation center at Topaz, Utah. The center became the temporary home of 9,000 Japanese-Americans who were forcibly removed from areas on the U.S. West Coast. The camp was closed in October 1945.

These events prompted Congress to institute the first peacetime draft in American history. Fred, now 21, was the first to register for military service. He was classified 4-F, disabled because of a gastric ulcer, but he suspected his rejection was based at least in part because he was Japanese-American.

Disappointed but still wanting to do his “bit,” Fred asked for and received permission from his father to leave the nursery business. He took a welding course and landed a job at a shipyard, where his slim frame could fit between the double bottoms of ships to work. Korematsu found he had a special aptitude for the job, and the superintendent was so impressed he wanted to make him foreman.

Fred was happy at the news, but the euphoria was short lived. The following Monday, he was told he was expelled from the welder’s union and could no longer work at the shipyard. “That was it,” Fred later recalled. “I lost my job. I was very discouraged. I wanted to be in defense work. I’m an American and I have nothing to do with Japan. And so it’s sort of an insult to me.”

Lou Hoffman, the foreman at the Golden Gate Iron Works in San Francisco, sympathized with Fred, offering him non-union contract work until the arrangement was discovered and Korematsu fired.

The December 7, 1941, Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor produced a toxic brew of racism, fear, and hysteria throughout the nation, especially in California. Rumors of Japanese sabotage and espionage spread like wildfire.

The *Sacramento Bee*, long noted for its anti-Japanese stance, happily fanned the flames of prejudice. The growing public feeling was that

people of Japanese descent should be removed from the west coast, lest they commit sabotage or become spies for the enemy. Groups like the American Legion, the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West, the American Growers Protective Association, and the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce were happy to add their voices to the growing demand for expulsions.

Lieutenant General John DeWitt of the Western Defense Command was initially doubtful, but by 1942 he said the “Japanese race is an enemy race,” and along the “vital Pacific coast over 112,000 potential enemies of Japanese extraction are at large today.”

DeWitt became the spokesman for Japanese “relocation.” In a masterpiece of convoluted, nonsensical “logic,” the general said, “...the very fact that no sabotage has taken place to date is a disturbing and confirming indication that such action will be taken.”

Roosevelt’s liberalism bowed to intense political pressure. Since the military—people like DeWitt—were making the most noise about the issue, he said the question would be decided entirely on “military grounds.”

On February 19, 1942, the president signed Executive order 9066, authorizing Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, “...whenever he or any designated commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe the military areas from which any or all persons may be excluded.”

Stimson assigned the problem to DeWitt. A Military Area No. 1 was created, which included the western halves of California, Oregon, Washington, and the southern half of Arizona. Eventually a Military Area No 2,

covering the rest of the western states and Arizona was created.

On March 2, 1942, the Western Defense Command issued a Proclamation No. 1, ordering persons of Japanese ancestry to voluntarily leave the designated Military Areas. This “voluntary phase” was an abject failure, ending on March 27. After that date Japanese Americans were ordered to stay put for the moment and wait until the authorities could organize “controlled evacuation.” Just under 5,000 persons of Japanese descent left voluntarily in this period, and when the later “relocation” prison camps were established, they remained free.

Yet even before the forced removal to internment camps, the Japanese Americans were the victims of increased white paranoia. Their homes were randomly searched, and Korematsu recalled how police entered his home and confiscated cameras, flashlights, or anything that they deemed might be used for “signaling” or espionage activities.

The so-called “evacuation” of all persons of Japanese ancestry would be administered by a new government agency, the War Relocation Authority. Milton Eisenhower, the youngest brother of general and later President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, was its first director. Eisenhower was strongly opposed to the idea of forced removal and hoped that temporary camps much like the New Deal Civilian Conservation Corps would be set up as kinds of “halfway house” transition zones.

The Japanese Americans would find employment and living quarters in host communities in various designated states. In time they would be integrated into the host communities, or at least that was the earnest hope

of Eisenhower and many WRA officials. But it was the vehement racism displayed by the various state governments that doomed his plan and led to the 10 permanent prison camps, complete with armed guards, watch towers, and barbed wire, that are chiefly remembered today.

Eisenhower chaired a western state conference on April 7, 1942, that from his point of view was an unmitigated disaster. With one exception—Colorado’s Governor Ralph Carr—the various officials were outspoken in their opposition to having any people of Japanese extraction in their states, save as prisoners behind barbed wire. The racist rhetoric that poured forth shocked and dismayed Eisenhower.

Arizona Governor Sidney Osborne declared, “We do not propose to be made a dumping ground for enemy aliens from other states. We want to keep this a white man’s country.” Wyoming’s Governor Nels Smith went even further, saying, “We will not stand being California’s dumping ground,” and if they came, “there would be a Jap hanging from every tree.” The others—save for Carr—concurred



National Archives

Mitsuye Endo, left, and Fred Korematsu. Korematsu was convicted in 1942 for not following an evacuation order. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld his conviction, which was vacated in 1983. In Endo’s case, the Supreme Court ruled that the U.S. government could not detain loyal American citizens.

and added their own similarly racist comments.

There was no other alternative: the “relocation” prison camps would be permanent, at least for the duration of the war. There would be an intermediate stage, where “internees” would first report to assembly centers while the permanent camps were being built. Japanese Americans would usually have about a week to settle their affairs, meaning selling or

giving away virtually everything they owned—businesses, homes, furniture, automobiles, even dishes, pots, pans, and pets.

The internees’ whole world would be reduced to whatever they could wear or carry in a few suitcases. Some white neighbors were sympathetic, holding Japanese possessions with the intention of returning them after the war. Sadly, many more were opportunists, using the crisis to exploit and victimize their former neighbors.

Korematsu was the proud owner of a 1938 Pontiac—“a very nice car. A sedan. I loved that car” he sadly recalled years later. He paid \$800 for the car about a year and a half earlier, but with “evacuation” imminent a dealer offered only \$200 for it. “That’s war,” the dealer smugly informed Korematsu almost nonchalantly. “I felt like I was robbed,” he remembered, “but there was nothing I could do about it.”

The evacuation was soon underway, with military notices sent to different sections of California informing “persons of Japanese ancestry” when and where to report for pickup to assembly centers. These assembly

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centers were race tracks, fairgrounds, or livestock exhibition centers.

On Friday, May 8, 1942, the Korematsu family reported as ordered to Watkins Street in Hayward, California, to catch the bus that would take them to their assembly center. Fred was not with them. In what was the most momentous decision of his life, he decided not to obey the evacuation order. He felt forced removal was wrong, a violation of his rights as an American, and he desperately wanted to stay with Ida, his fiancée.

Fred wanted to move out of state, away from the coastal Military Area, but Ida didn't want to leave, at least not yet. As a kind of compromise, Fred rented a room in the Fruitvale area of Oakland. Ida saw an ad in the newspaper about a doctor who performed plastic surgery. Perhaps that was the answer; by this time the couple were clutching at straws.

Hopeful but still a bit dubious, Fred visited Dr B.B. Masten and discovered the address was a regular private home, not a medical clinic or hospital. Masten was a real doctor, not a quack, and told Fred he could build up his nose and eliminate much of the epicanthic

fold, the distinctive "double" eyelid of many Asian peoples. The fee was \$400 for such work; Fred had only \$100.

Nevertheless, the doctor agreed and the procedure on Fred's face began. But when the operation was over Korematsu was disappointed to see there was very little change in his face—he still looked Asian, and people who knew him easily recognized him. Whether it was a question of very little work done because Fred couldn't pay the full fee will never be known.

Once Fred was arrested, he was briefly incarcerated in a San Leandro jail, then transferred to an Oakland jail before finally ending up in a military stockade in San Francisco's Presidio. Things looked pretty grim for the young man when he received an unexpected and very welcome visitor. His name was Ernest Bestig, and he was a lawyer with the American Civil Liberties Union. Bestig read newspaper accounts of Fred's arrest and wanted to help.

Bestig was, in fact, the executive director of the San Francisco branch of the ACLU and was hoping he could persuade a Japanese

American to fight the various evacuation orders in court. He knew the person he chose would have to be willing to go the distance, right to the Supreme Court if necessary. The lawyer realized he had found his man—the person he was sure would stay the course no matter what difficulties might arise.

On June 12, 1942, formal charges were filed against Korematsu for deliberately staying in the Military Area No 1. According to the charges, he was more specifically guilty of not obeying Civilian Exclusion Order No. 34, the evacuation order that applied to his particular section of Alameda County, California. Number 34 was the summons that the rest of his family had obeyed over a month earlier, becoming "family 21538" according to the authorities.

Fred was sent to the "assembly center" at Tanforan Racetrack in San Bruno, not far from San Francisco. There were several thousand "evacuees" there, including Fred's family, but he requested to be lodged in separate quarters because his family would disapprove of his defiance of the law.

Tanforan was dirty, cramped, crowded, and

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certainly not designed for human habitation. The “rooms” were mostly old horse stalls that were bitterly cold at night and were infested with mice and other vermin.

But perhaps the worst of it came when he finally visited his family in the same facility. They did not completely ostracize him but made it clear that in their minds he had brought trouble, dishonor, and shame to the Korematsu name. Most members of the Japanese American community felt the same way about Fred.

According to Japanese cultural norms, one should passively, even stoically, accept adversity. The phrase used was “shikata ga nai,” or “it can’t be helped.” The family, and indeed the whole community, was trying to show their loyalty to the United States by obeying the laws that deprived them of home, livelihood, and even basic human rights. Fred, by his defiance, was rocking the boat.

Fred’s arrest and subsequent legal battles made Ida have second thoughts. Not wanting



For his courageous stand against the injustice of wartime internment of Japanese-American citizens, Fred Korematsu received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest civilian recognition given on behalf of the U.S. government, from President Bill Clinton in 1998.

National Archives

On September 8, 1942, Korematsu was found guilty in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of California. The only witness was the FBI agent who interviewed Korematsu. As evidence the government used his altered draft card, his birth certificate, and various statements he made over time.

Korematsu could appeal, and did, but in the meantime he was sent to Topaz Relocation Camp in Utah, one of the 10 permanent camps spread throughout the United States. These relocation camps were really prison/concentration camps complete with barbed wire, watch towers, and armed guard.

Some 4,000 young adults were released from the camps to complete their college educations. In 1943, Korematsu himself was allowed to work at a pipe construction company in Toole, Utah, though he still had to report back to Topaz.

After a two-year wait, Korematsu’s hopes of justification were dashed when the Supreme Court ruled against him, 6-3. On December
Continued on page 98

to get into trouble herself, Ida told an FBI interviewer she realized that the idea of marriage was a “mistake.” She also regretted not alerting authorities when Fred decided to stay and not be “evacuated.” To her credit, Ida did insist Fred was a loyal citizen.



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In "Saburo Sakai" by Jack Fellows, Japanese ace Saburo Sakai's Mitsubishi A6M Zero fighter banks away from a flight of Douglas SBD Dauntless dive bombers from the carrier USS *Enterprise* on August 7, 1942, the day U.S. Marines landed on Guadalcanal. Sakai had mistaken the SBDs for Grumman F4F Wildcat fighters and was seriously wounded by one of the dive bombers' rear gunners firing a .30-caliber machine gun. He managed to return to base.

© Jack Fellows, www.jackfellows.com

The Myth of the invincible fighter: the rise and fall of the Japanese 'Zero'

For thousands of Allied airmen the most terrifying sight they ever beheld was a Mitsubishi A6M Zero bearing down on them—burnished black cowling over a snarling Sakae engine, staccato bursts flashing from two machine guns and two cannon—often the last thing they ever saw.

No fighter in history has been the subject of more debate than the Zero. When it first took undisputed command of the Pacific skies in 1941 it gained a reputation for being the best and most dangerous enemy plane in the world.

For the first two years of the war, the British, Dutch, French, Chinese and American fighters that faced the Zero were woefully inadequate in the draconian new world of high-speed aerial combat. The Zero reigned supreme until the Arsenal of Democracy was ready to put its newest fighters into front-line service. Then, with the downing of one plane in June of 1942, the slow but inevitable fall from glory for the legendary Zero began.

Preceding the Zero was the Mitsubishi A5M Type 96, code-named the "Claude" by the U.S., the first all-metal monoplane carrier-based fighter in the world. The Claude was reasonably successful during the Second Sino-Japanese War against Chinese fighters, most of which were obsolete by 1937, and set the standard for what Japanese Navy pilots sought for the next generation super fighter.

However, what the Claude had achieved over Nanking and Manchuria was deceiving. The Boeing P-26 Peashooter and Curtiss F11C Goshawk fighters they faced were hardly a challenge for the highly skilled and motivated Japanese pilots. Here the Samurai ethos played

a significant role in the birth of the Zero. Japanese fighter pilots were modern-day aerial warriors more focused on duty and honor than in survival. They wanted a swift and light fighter, a modern aerial equivalent to the Katana sword carried by the medieval Samurai. The Imperial Japanese Navy Air Force's (IJNAF) specifications for the new fighter called for high speed, high rate of climb, long range, high maneuverability, machine guns and cannon—with the ability to land on and take off from carriers. In order to expedite development, only existing engines or ones already on the drawing board were to be used for the new plane.

The 800 horsepower generated by the Nakajima Kotobuki nine-cylinder radial engine used in the Claude was sufficient for 1937, but was far below what was already in service around the world. Almost from the



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outset the Zero's design was the result of a series of compromises dictated by its perceived mission and what the pilots wanted. In the Imperial Japanese Navy, test pilots at the main IJNAF base at Yokosuka had more to say about what they expected of a proposed design than their western counterparts. Consequently, when Mitsubishi submitted its proposal for the new fighter in 1939 they gave the pilots what they wanted. As Chief Designer Jiro Horikoshi wrote later, "Instead of pondering the future of the aircraft, our immediate goal was to win the contract."

There was no mention of armor protection, which was anathema to a Samurai. Therefore what the new fighter gained in performance it sacrificed in structural strength and safety. Again the Japanese cultural mindset played a role. A pilot was expendable as long as he did his sacred duty for the Emperor. Armor protection and self-sealing fuel tanks were left out in favor of lighter weight and greater range. The Japanese Air Ministry bowed to the wishes of the pilots, whereupon Horikoshi and his team began work on the new super fighter. To save on weight, Horikoshi's design utilized advanced light aluminum alloys. The huge wing, unlike nearly all American and British designs, was integral to the fuselage. Large ailerons, rudder and elevators gave the Zero unprecedented maneuverability. Interestingly, Allied air forces were learning that maneuverability was the least important criteria for a fighter. The powerful pursuit planes being developed in the United States and Great Britain were faster, more powerful, better armed and more heavily armored.

The new plane gained considerably more power with the Nakajima 950-horsepower Sakae 14-cylinder radial, without a drastic increase in weight, again a design compromise. But it wasn't the quantum leap forward that most new designs demanded. To illustrate, consider that the U.S. Navy's obsolete Grumman F3F, the last biplane in the inventory, was powered by a Wright R-1820 with the same rated power. Of course, the Zero would have torn the F3F apart with ease.

Again following the Samurai philosophy, the plane was more a close-in sword than a flying machine-gun platform as in the West. In combat a machine gun will always beat a sword. Still, a sword in the hands of a



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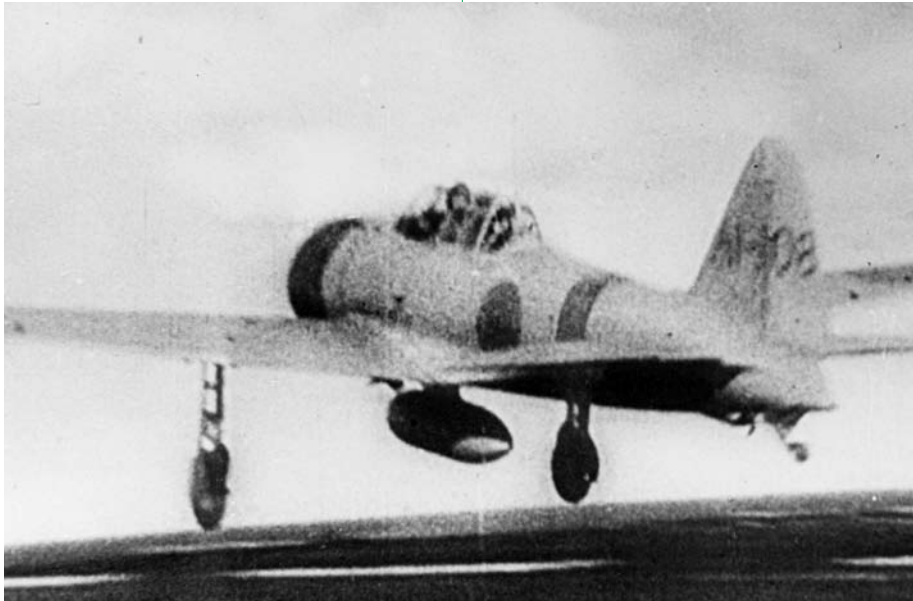


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On the morning of December 7, 1941, a Mitsubishi Zero fighter, tail number A1-108, takes off from the aircraft carrier *Akagi* en route to attack Pearl Harbor and other American military installations on the island of Oahu. For a short time, the nimble Zero dominated the skies during the Pacific War.

master can be deadly as the world would soon learn. The new fighter was designated the Type 0 *Rei-sen*. “Zero” is a loose translation of the name.

Saburo Sakai, the highest-scoring ace to

survive the war, thought the new plane was a wonder. “It excited me as nothing else had ever done. Even on the ground it had the cleanest lines I had ever seen in an airplane,” Sakai said. “It was a dream to fly, and even

light finger pressure brought instant response. We could hardly wait to meet enemy planes in this new aircraft.”

The IJNAF pulled a cloak of secrecy over their new project, so as far as the West was concerned, in any future air war, they were likely to face only the Claude and other familiar Japanese aircraft. The illusion was shattered with the first appearance of the Zero in 1941. The new fighter was a shock to Allied naval and army air forces. In contrast to the Claude, the Zero was swift and dangerous, tearing through less maneuverable American, French, Chinese and British formations. The legend of the Zero had a psychological impact that is hard to imagine today. Nearly every Allied fighter was judged by how it might perform against the Zero.

It should be remembered that fighter pilots all over the world tended to overstate the abilities of their foes in order to make their own losses tolerable and increase the glory of victory.

The Zero enjoyed numerical and psychological superiority in the months after Pearl Harbor. From 1940 to 1945 nearly 11,000 Zeros were produced in five major variants.

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A Japanese Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero fighter trails smoke as it loses altitude during an air raid on the U.S. base at Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands. The raid took place in June 1942, during the campaign to seize the islands of Attu and Kiska along with Midway Atoll in the Central Pacific. A Zero that crash-landed on Akutan Island during this raid was discovered virtually intact by the Americans a month later. Delivered to Naval Air Station San Diego, it was repaired and evaluated, providing valuable intelligence that allowed U.S. aircraft designers to develop a generation of fighters that eventually defeated the Zero.

It was the core of the IJNAF as well as several units of the Japanese Army Air Force (IJAAF). Its long range and low landing speed made it perfect for Pacific carrier operations.

Because of its clean design, excellent stability and low wing loading the A6M could be considered the best fighter in the war. At low speed it could turn inside any Allied fighter in service until 1943. Yet there were some quirks. The torque of the three-bladed propeller and high-power-to-weight ratio meant the Zero could snap-roll to port in the blink of an eye, but a turn to starboard took longer and required more effort. Zero pilots learned to use the left rolling turn as a way to get inside the turn of an enemy fighter and to evade a pursuing one.

For the first year of the war Allied pilots—if they survived the encounter—were amazed at what the new Japanese fighter could do and the legend quickly grew. Joe Foss, the Marine ace of the famous Cactus Air Force on Guadalcanal had told his pilots, with grim tongue-in-cheek humor, “If you find yourself alone and see a Zero at the same altitude as you, consider yourself outnumbered and go home. They were not a plane to tangle with unless you had an advantage.”

From December 1941 until the fall of

1942, Zeros shredded the air forces defending the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Singapore. No Allied fighter could stand up against the Zero in a dogfight, not even the superb Supermarine Spitfire. The Allied air forces had all made one crucial mistake. They fought the new Japanese plane on its own terms, in its own performance envelope. In retrospect, they cannot be blamed for this. The learning curve against such an adversary was extremely steep. Those who survived and those in a position to be objective found that the Zero was not perfect. It could be defeated.

Slowly the Allies began to test different tactics against the Zero. Its light weight was actually a liability as Japanese pilots soon found out over China and the South Pacific. If an Allied fighter gained an early advantage in altitude, as demonstrated by the Flying Tigers, they could dive into and attack a Japanese force with little danger of being pulled into the dogfight.

The Zero was also vulnerable to the heavy machine guns carried by American fighters, as well as effective anti-aircraft artillery.

But what ultimately led to the demise of the Zero’s myth of invincibility was chance—and perhaps human nature.

As the two mighty fleets of the U.S. and Japan began their legendary duel to the death at Midway on June 4, 1942, two small Japanese aircraft carriers attacked the U.S. naval base at Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Island chain. The *Junyo* and *Ryujo* launched 20 Vals to bomb hangars, oil tanks, warehouses and a freighter, while 11 Zeros ran strafing runs. One three-plane element was under the command of Chief Petty Officer Makoto Endo. He and the other two pilots, Flight Officers Tsuguo Shukada and Tadayoshu Koga made an attack on a PBV Catalina in the harbor and strafed its crew as they tried to paddle away in a life raft. Then, during another run over the island, ground fire hit Koga’s Zero.

Banking away, the 19-year old pilot made his way to a small island designated for emergency landings. A submarine was on hand to recover any downed airmen. But he had 25 miles to go and an American bullet had severed the oil line between the engine and oil cooler. With every passing mile, the precious fluid sprayed out into the cold slipstream of the Aleutian sky. The A6M, number 4593 had only been in service for three months after rolling out of Mitsubishi’s Nagoya factory in February. The regulation light gray



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paint and bright red “Hinomaru” emblem were being spattered with oil as Koga lowered his wheels over Akutan Island. His comrades watched as he lined up on a flat patch of grassy ground and touched down. But the wheels dug into what turned out to be tall grass under two feet of water. The Zero slammed to a stop as the propeller dug into the soft tundra and flipped onto its back. Endo and Shukada circled to see if their friend got out. They couldn’t know that Koga had been killed in the impact. Under orders to destroy any downed Zeros, they were unable to bring themselves to fire on Koga’s plane and flew back to the *Ryujo*.

On July 10, a PBY returning from a patrol flew over Akutan Island and a gunner spotted the red “Meatballs” on the Zero’s wings and told the pilot. After a few passes they were certain that a Japanese plane was lying in the marsh. The PBY’s pilot, Navy Lieutenant Bill Thies and his co-pilot, Ensign Bob Larson led their crew on foot to examine the strange plane. What they found was a nearly intact Mitsubishi A6M2 Zero with a dead pilot in the cockpit. Though excited, the men had no idea of the magnitude of the intelli-

gence bonanza their find was for the Allies.

Before the plane was hauled to the beach and crated for shipment, Koga was buried on the island. His plane soon arrived at Naval Air Station San Diego on Coronado. There, under heavy security it was studied and repaired. Bearing U.S. Navy markings it was test flown by Lt. Com. Edward Sanders over the ocean off the California coast from September 20 to October 15, 1942. What Sanders and other pilots learned would be a major factor in winning the Pacific air war.

While the Zero proved to have amazing stability and agility, it did have some remarkably vulnerable handling characteristics. For one thing, it took a lot of effort to make a roll to the right. Also, while it was able to turn on a dime at low speeds, its large wings and ailerons tended to lock up at speeds above 200 knots. Another flaw was the float-type carburetor, which cut off fuel when the Zero went into a steep dive. These defects were made known to the navy and army air forces in the Pacific.

The examination of Koga’s Zero was a coup for the Allies. What was learned helped American fighter pilots fight the Zero on

nearly equal terms. However, the story that the Grumman F6F Hellcat was designed and built based on what the navy learned from test-flying the A6M is not true. The Hellcat was already in prototype form in the summer of 1942. But what Koga’s Zero taught the navy was incorporated into the training of new Hellcat pilots. In addition, a careful examination of the Zero’s structure showed that its light weight and lack of armor and self-sealing fuel tanks was also a serious liability. American fighters utilized greater power, climb rate and excellent high-altitude performance, and these factors would prove to be the Zero’s undoing.

The superb new planes rolling out of the factories of Grumman, Vought, North American, Martin, Douglas and other manufacturers incorporated the best materials, aeronautical engineering knowledge and ingenuity in the world. What the Japanese Zero pilots faced in the skies over the western Pacific after the spring of 1943 could no longer be overcome. The aegis of the Zero was over.

However, no matter how good a plane is, the outcome of any aerial engagement usually comes down to the skill of the pilot.

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This original Japanese Zero was recovered from New Guinea and restored. The plane was reportedly used in the film "Pearl Harbor" and was a highlight of numerous air shows across the U.S. It was recently purchased by a Japanese businessman and returned to its country of origin, where this photo was taken.

Saburo Sakai, in his book *Samurai!* cites an event in June 1944 near Iwo Jima in which he duelled 15 Grumman F6Fs in a running air battle that lasted for nearly half an hour. The Japanese ace shot down two Hellcats, and though the Americans made repeated runs at Sakai and literally filled the sky with hot lead and steel, they failed to

bring him down. His experience with the nimble Zero was the key factor to survival that day. When he landed on Iwo Jima, there was not a single bullet hole in it.

Of the nearly 11,000 A6Ms built during the war, only 16 still exist in museums and private collections. Ironically, the only two flyable Zeros are in the United States. One is

owned by Planes of Fame Air Museum in Chino, California, while the other is in the collection of the Commemorative Air Force in Midland, Texas. □

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Nearly a year before U.S. Marines captured Tarawa Atoll, 22 captives were executed by the Japanese on the islet of Betio.



On October 15, 1942, a total of 22 men, all British subjects and all prisoners of war captured by Japanese military forces in the Gilbert Islands in the Central Pacific, were executed on Betio islet at Tarawa Atoll.

Those executed were mostly civilians, 17 New Zealand coastwatchers, an Australian (Reg Morgan), who also did coast watching work, two Englishmen, a Scotsman, and one European Fiji citizen. The men were beheaded, and their bodies were buried on Betio in separate graves, the location of which was later obscured when the Japanese constructed military fortifications and an airfield in the area.

Operation Galvanic, in November 1943, of which the Battle for Tarawa was a component, caused further obscuration of the graves, and when the United States Marines defeated the Japanese defenders and took control of the islet many more graves were created to bury the war dead of both sides. The more than 6,000 dead were hastily buried in often unmarked graves scattered all across the islet. After U.S. forces occupied Tarawa, Navy Seabees rebuilt the Japanese airbase, leveling and compacting the airfield and its approaches. The work disturbed grave sites.

Over the years since the end of World War II, hundreds of American and Japanese remains have been recovered from Tarawa,

ABOVE: Four New Zealand coastwatchers who were fortunate to survive World War II in Japan's Zentsuji Prison. From left is M.P. McQuinn, S.R. Wallace, J.M. Jones, and M. Menzies. **LEFT:** Infamous photo of the execution of Australian Army coastwatcher Leonard Siffleet by Japanese naval officer Yasuno Chikao. Siffleet was one of 22 prisoners tortured and executed on Betio in October, 1942.

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RIGHT: The heavy cruiser USS *Portland* shelled Japanese installations on the islet of Betio at Tarawa Atoll, while its two scout planes conducted attacks against Japanese ships in the lagoon at Betio on October 15, 1942. These actions may well have prompted the Japanese to execute the 22 captives being held at Betio a year before U.S. Marines took Tarawa Atoll during Operation Galvanic. **BELOW:** During the USS *Portland*'s action at Betio, the Japanese destroyer *Yunagi* was spotted in the expansive lagoon. However, the enemy ship was undamaged during the raids by *Portland*'s scout planes and the shelling of the islet by the cruiser's eight-inch guns. **OPPOSITE:** Following the capture of Betio by U.S. Marines in November 1943, this aerial view of the islet's western shore depicts the shell holes and other evidence of the vicious fight for control of Tarawa Atoll. The victims of the mass execution that occurred in at Betio in October 1942 are believed to have been buried in the area marked in red.



Gilbert Islands were captured and their radios destroyed. These New Zealand men, soldiers and Post and Telegraph Department radio men, were taken to Japan, where they spent the remainder of the war in Zentsuji Prison on the home island of Shikoku.

At the time the Japanese focus in the Gilbert Islands was on constructing a sea-plane reconnaissance base at Makin Atoll. However, they did visit Tarawa, a port and trading center in the central Gilberts, to inform the inhabitants that they were now under Japanese control and that no one was to leave the island. No New Zealand coast-watchers were stationed on Tarawa; instead, coast watching and radio reporting were the duties of European administrative staff as well as Gilbert and Ellice Islanders trained in Morse code and radio operation.

By the end of February 1942, two of the Europeans involved in Tarawa coast watching, Dr. K. R. Steenson, Senior Medical Officer, and F. G. R. (Frank) Holland, Education Officer, had escaped from the island along with other Europeans on two launches and had safely arrived in Suva, Fiji. One radio operator who remained on Tarawa was an Australian, Reginald (Reg) Morgan, who had been in charge of a radio station owned by the trading company Burns Philp South Seas Ltd.

Japanese Naval forces from Truk, a major military base in the Caroline Islands, occupied Ocean and Nauru Islands on August 26, 1942. Tarawa was occupied on September 3.

Between September 25 and 29, the Japanese

but nothing among the remains has been identified as belonging to the 22 British subjects.

Coast watching in the Gilbert and Ellice Islands began in September 1939, with the British declaration of war on Germany. Island observers reported any ship or airplane that they sighted from their coasts to the colony headquarters at Ocean Island (Banaba). The initial fear was of German commerce raiders disguised as merchant ships, but by early 1941 the focus had shifted to looking for aircraft and ships of a Japanese invasion force.

The Gilbert and Ellice Islands were in key locations between the Japanese-held Marshall Islands and British Fiji in the Central Pacific,

along with New Zealand and Australia further south. In an effort to improve the effectiveness of the coast watching service, the Australian, British, and New Zealand governments agreed in March 1941 that New Zealand would provide radio equipment and personnel to upgrade the Gilbert and Ellice coast watching network. The 14 new stations would be part of a much larger South Pacific network controlled by the New Zealand Naval Board in Wellington. Australia would provide a similar coast watching network for the Southwest Pacific.

Three days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, coastwatchers on the three northern



shut down the remainder of the Gilbert Islands coast watching stations. The New Zealand soldiers and radio operators were all taken prisoner and transported to Tarawa, where they were held captive in the local lunatic asylum compound on Betio. They were put to work on a Japanese construction project, building a small jetty on the lagoon side of Betio.

On the afternoon of October 15, after the coastwatchers had been imprisoned on Betio for two weeks, the U.S. Navy cruiser *Portland* arrived on the scene. The *Portland* was on a lone-raid mission to investigate the Gilberts, particularly the atolls of Tarawa, Maiana, and Abemama, for signs of Japanese activity. The ship approached from the southeast, and the first Gilberts land mass sighted was Tarawa Atoll.

At 1 p.m., *Portland*'s two single-engine Curtiss SOC Seagulls were catapulted aloft, at first spotting only a single Japanese ship from the air. This was the *Tsukushi*, an Imperial Japanese Navy survey ship of 1,400 tons which was at anchor in the lagoon at Betio. The *Tsukushi* had been engaged in marine survey work at Jaluit and was now at Tarawa to survey the lagoon there. Soon, a further three ships were spotted within the lagoon, but not at the anchorage. These were the *Yunagi*, a destroyer, the *Hitachi Maru*, a merchant ship of 6,172 tons which was designed for carrying both passengers and cargo, and the *Ukishima Maru*, a naval transport ship of 4,731 tons.

The armament of the Seagull scout planes

was limited to one machine gun and a maximum bomb load of 650 pounds. This enabled each plane to strafe the ships with machine-gun fire and to have a single bombing opportunity with one 500-pound bomb each. The Seagulls dive bombed the merchant ship, *Hitachi Maru*, as it was approaching Betio. According to Japanese reports there was a near miss which caused only slight damage to the ship, but some laborers who were passengers on the ship were killed or injured. The *Tsukushi*, at anchor, was strafed, with the result that the ship's launch was sunk, but there was little other damage.

At 2:29 p.m., the *Portland* commenced firing her main guns at the Japanese ships, aiming with the assistance of information from her observation planes. As the *Portland* steamed along the south coast of Tarawa, a total of 237 rounds were fired over the next 20 minutes, and the observers claimed that heavy smoke was seen billowing from the *Hitachi Maru*. Japanese sources confirm that the *Hitachi Maru* was damaged, but not seriously. At 2:50 p.m., the *Portland* ceased firing and changed course for Maiana Island. No Japanese activity was observed at Maiana or Abemama, and the cruiser steamed away from the Gilbert Islands.

During the raid one of the prisoners, Reg Morgan, escaped from the compound where captives were being held. The Japanese hunted down Morgan, killed him, and then killed all other European prisoners, apparently in retaliation for the escape and the *Portland* raid.

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In 1943, U.S. Marines erected a makeshift cross of coconut logs as a memorial for the 22 victims of the Japanese executions of Allied prisoners on Betio. A permanent concrete memorial, shown here, was later constructed.

It seems likely that to the coastwatchers and other prisoners on Betio the raid was an attempt to rescue them. They would have heard the shells flying over them toward the ships in the lagoon, and apparently they heard, saw, and waved to the small observation planes. Perhaps they cheered and made a lot of noise. This behavior, in addition to Morgan's breakout, was more than the Japanese could tolerate, and they executed all their prisoners.

But were the executions really an act of reprisal for the *Portland* raid? On October 16, the day after the Tarawa executions, nine captured U.S. Marines were executed at Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands. The Kwajalein commanding officer reportedly stated that he had received orders to execute the American Marines. Had the Tarawa commanding officer received similar orders?

Probably the full circumstances surrounding the decision to execute the prisoners will never be revealed. However, even if no specific order was given to execute the Tarawa prisoners in October 1942, general guidelines covered the circumstances when it was permissible to kill prisoners. These described such situations as a prison uprising that required the use of firearms to suppress, escaped prisoners turning hostile, or an enemy attack that threatened to free prisoners. These general orders stressed that it was imperative not to let prisoners fall into enemy hands. It seems that the Japanese at Tarawa

considered the *Portland* attack and escape of one prisoner to be sufficient justification to execute all prisoners.

Those executed included the seven New Zealand coast watching radio operators and their 10 soldier companions; Reginald Morgan, the Australian radio man who had been attested into the Fiji military forces as a lieutenant; four civilians—the government pharmacist Basil Cleary, originally from Fiji; retired master mariner Isaac Handley; Reverend Alfred Sadd from the London Missionary Society's Beru mission station; and A.M. McArthur, a retired trader from Nonouti Island.

A Gilbert Islander named Mikaere, was an eyewitness to two of the executions. He remembered, "One European ran away, and the Japanese searched for him at the west end of Betio. One Japanese came to the Bishop's fence and showed them his sword, there was fresh blood on it, he said the European was dead... I saw the Europeans sitting down in line in front of the first house inside the lunatic enclosure. One Japanese stepped forward to the first European in line and cut off his head. Then I saw a second European have his head cut off, and I could not see the third one because I fainted."

No one saw the remainder of the executions, but two reliable witnesses, Frank Highland, a local resident of partial European ancestry, and Constable Takaua, saw the remains after the bodies had been burned in

an old babai pit, or taro garden.

"I went with Constable Takaua and saw the bodies ... burnt in a babai pit," Highland remembered. "Takaua watched, and I went in the pit and lifted up coconut branches and corrugated iron... There were no heads on the bodies. Then I kept watch while Takaua looked."

At this time the Catholic missionaries became the only Europeans left alive in the Gilbert Islands. There remained many others of mixed European and Gilbertese or Marshallese descent, but the Japanese treated those of mixed race in the same way as they treated the full-blooded Gilbertese and did not harm them.

The Japanese spared the Catholic missionaries because most came from countries that were allies of Japan or neutral—France, Germany or Switzerland. Given that a group of Australian nuns on Abemama were treated no worse than the French sisters who were present, another factor contributing to their special status may have been the close association between their church and Italy, the third Axis power. The Japanese commander on Tarawa told Bishop Terrien that leaving the Catholics alone made good propaganda.

Nonetheless, although the European members of the Catholic mission were not molested overtly by the Japanese, much of their property was stolen, and they were frequently in fear of their lives. The Japanese regarded them with constant suspicion and refused to give them permission to travel between islands in the Gilbert chain.

After the Gilbert Islands returned to Allied control in November 1943, the deaths of the 22 Europeans were investigated. In January 1944, Captain John R. Grigg, a New Zealander on loan to the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Labour Corps from the Fiji Military Forces, was assigned the task of locating the remains of the 22 Europeans killed by the Japanese.

He reported on his work: "When I received instructions to find the remains so that they might receive a decent burial, I asked Josefa to show me the spot. He also brought along a native medical dresser who knew the exact locality. Each separately walked to the only remaining landmark—a well with a circular stone top. From this point they paced some distance in a northerly direction and pointed to a certain spot. I contacted the officer in

charge of the unit in that area, and he told me that when he had first taken up his position there had been a deep hole but he had noted nothing unusual about it. He reminded us that the whole place had been so bombed and shelled that everything had been changed beyond recognition. He had arranged for a bulldozer to fill in the excavation from which the Japs had probably obtained spoil for a fortification nearby, and coconut tree trunks and heavy roots embedded in the coral sand would now make it extremely difficult to reexcavate. Even if the pit were laboriously cleared of all its debris it was problematical whether we should find what we were seeking. I reported accordingly to the Resident Commissioner.”

In October 1944, a court of inquiry convened on Betio and established that, although their remains were never found, the Europeans had been killed by the Japanese there, on or about October 15, 1942. Sister Oliva of the Catholic mission stated that she thought the place of burial was covered by the airfield runway which the Japanese later built. In responding to a New Zealand inquiry, the resident commissioner explained that during the U.S. bombardment preceding the Marine landing a shell struck the spot where it was believed the bodies had been buried and that there was no possibility of identifying the remains now.

The remains would have been either completely incinerated and turned to dust when the area was hit by the shell or at least widely scattered as fragments. More than 80 years have gone by, and the area is now covered with domestic dwellings and large trees, which would hamper searching. The outcome of any new search could well be the same as it was in 1944, that there was no possibility of finding the remains.

The three Japanese deemed responsible for the massacre, Commander Matzu Shosa, Lieutenant Yokata, and Shingo Masubusi were never brought to justice. □

In addition to articles for WWII History, Naval History, The Journal of Pacific History, Pacific Affairs, and Pacific Islands Monthly, Peter McQuarrie has written two books: Gilbert Islands in WWII (2012) and Strategic Atolls, Tuvalu and the Second World War (1994).

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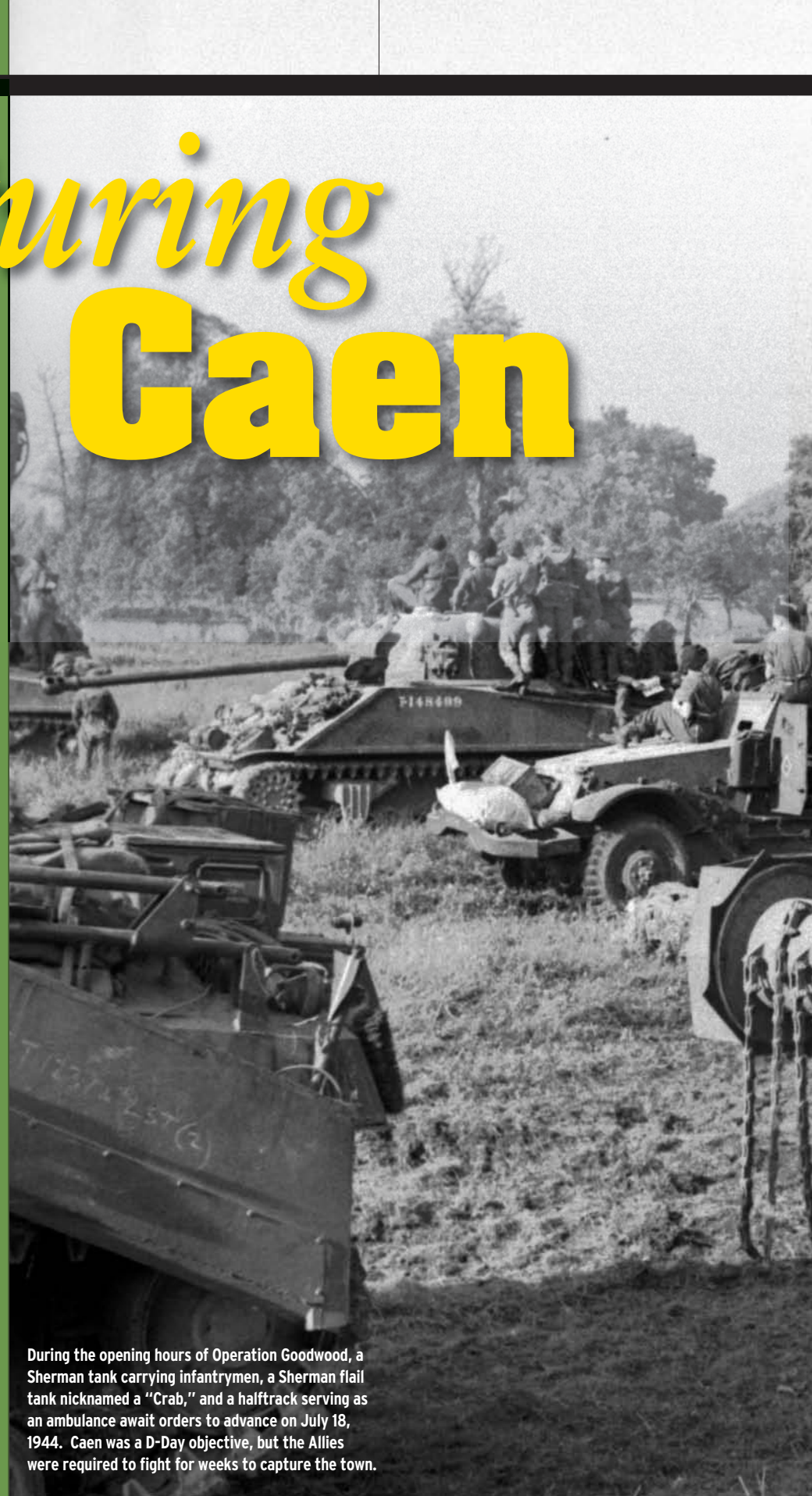
BY ALAN DAVIDGE

One of the most important tasks for Allied troops after the D-Day landing was to seize the city of Caen, nine miles behind Sword Beach. The plan was to take it the same day, but progress was so slow that German troops were able to establish strong defenses around the city, making it impregnable for many weeks. The Allies then prioritized the consolidation of the divisions that had landed on the five D-Day beaches into a secure beachhead in preparation for a breakout inland and to facilitate the U.S. capture of Cherbourg at the tip of the Cotentin peninsula. Once liberated, Cherbourg would become the main port for the supply ships needed to support troops in their fight across Western Europe.

Taking Caen remained a primary objective for the British and Canadian armies, keeping most of Hitler's strongest panzer divisions occupied defending it and depleting their strength, so that other Allied units could concentrate on laying the foundations for victory in Normandy.

It was mid-July when Caen was taken and its German occupiers forced out to the south and southeast of the city. By this time much of western Normandy was in American hands, and the final details were in place for Operation Cobra, the breakout from the beaches. The cost had been high, however, with the beautiful medieval city in ruins and littered with the bodies of British, Canadian, and German troops. It had also become a graveyard for 3,000 French civilians.

There were a number of important centers behind the beaches which had to fall into Allied hands as soon as possible after D-Day to facilitate the advance into France and beyond. Carentan in the west, between Utah and Omaha Beaches, where the fighting is



During the opening hours of Operation Goodwood, a Sherman tank carrying infantrymen, a Sherman flail tank nicknamed a "Crab," and a half-track serving as an ambulance await orders to advance on July 18, 1944. Caen was a D-Day objective, but the Allies were required to fight for weeks to capture the town.

A major objective in the Allied landing at Normandy was the capture of Caen on D-Day—but it took a month of hard fighting to wrest the key communications center from the Nazis.



well documented in the Band of Brothers stories, fell to the 101st Airborne after bloody fighting during the period June 10-12, and this linked the U.S. divisions which had landed on the two beaches. The historic city of Bayeux, behind Gold Beach, was taken by British troops the morning after D-Day, but Caen was a prize which held the key to the interior with roads providing access to all points of the compass and the River Orne bisecting the city west to east. The area around it was sufficiently flat and low-lying to build temporary landing strips, and furthermore it had an airfield of its own, at Carpiquet on the western perimeter.

Given its importance, it would be fair to assume that preparations for the capture of Caen would have received a priority similar to other key objectives such as the storming of the cliffs at Pointe du Hoc by U.S. Rangers or Operation Tonga, which involved the silencing of the Merville Battery, and the capture of Pegasus Bridge by the British 6th Airborne. In his planning, Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery failed to consider this, and right from the start the capture of Caen on D-Day appeared a very ambitious undertaking. The ability to hit its German occupiers hard with armor as well as infantry would be challenging at best, and there was

no directive to prioritize the exit from the D-Day beaches by the tank regiments which would be essential in tackling the German panzers believed to be in the vicinity of the city. The task of capturing Caen was given by Montgomery to the British 2nd Army under Lieutenant General Sir Miles Dempsey, who had three armored divisions at his disposal plus a number of infantry divisions and the Canadian 1st Corps.

One factor which was to help the British and Canadian invasion in this area, and of which they were unaware, was the chaotic organization of the German high command and the fact that no major decisions could be made without Hitler's approval. His two key field marshals in Normandy were Erwin Rommel and Gerd Von Rundstedt, and both had different views on how to stop the inevitable invasion when it took place. Rommel believed in deploying his powerful panzer divisions to the coast immediately, whereas Rundstedt wanted to keep most of the troops back until the Allied plan was clear and then defeat the enemy inland. Rommel famously said that if the invading troops were not defeated in 24 hours, it would be the end of the war for Germany.

Hitler attempted a compromise by reallocating responsibilities for the main panzer divisions, but the result was too few in the central reserve to be of use to Rundstedt and not enough near the coast for Rommel. Personality clashes and personal ambitions among senior generals also slowed down the operation of key decisions, and unlike the senior team assembled by General Dwight D. Eisenhower as supreme commander, albeit with a few personality clashes of its own, there was no clear, workable process of delegation among the German commanders.

In the opinion of the British historian Antony Beevor, the only way the British 3rd Infantry Division could have reached Caen in a single day would have been to send at least two battle groups, each comprising an armored regiment and an infantry battalion, immediately after landing on Sword. Ideally, the infantry would travel by armored personnel carriers, which they didn't have at the time. Unlike the Germans, the British had no integrated armored infantry that could work closely with tank units.

However, there was a plan to reach Caen on the afternoon of June 6—but as the day progressed, factors beyond British control, exacerbated by lack of foresight made it look increasingly impossible. Had the British troops even reached the city, they could well have been

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outgunned by the three elite divisions, 21st Panzer, Panzer Lehr, and 12th SS Hitlerjugendpanzers, which had been swift getting into position to mount a strong opposition.

The plan was for the British 8th Infantry Brigade to seize the fortified Périers Ridge, five miles inland. Then the 185th Brigade—with three infantry battalions, but only one armored regiment—would pass through them and on to the city of Caen. The 2nd Battalion King's Shropshire Light Infantry (KSLI) would meet the Staffordshire Yeomanry near Hermanville, less than a mile from the coast and lead the advance, supported by infantry battalions from the Royal Warwickshire and Royal Norfolk Regiments.

The three infantry regiments duly arrived at Hermanville at 11 a.m., but the tanks of the Shropshire Yeomanry failed to appear. The foul weather that had hampered the invasion had also brought exceptionally high tides to Sword Beach, severely reducing its width and causing horrendous traffic jams at the exits. After this delayed start, the tanks then encountered minefields that prevented them traveling cross-country and confined them to already congested roads, some of which had been the recipients of the early Allied pre-invasion bombing that had missed the bunkers on the beach and caused carnage inland.

To make matters worse, the 8th Infantry encountered stiff opposition when it reached the strongpoint codenamed Hillman on Périers ridge and needed backup. Their forward observer, who could have called for support from the 15-inch guns of the British battleships *Ramilles* and *Warspite* anchored offshore, had just been killed. That meant the struggling Staffordshire Yeomanry, on its way to joining the infantry, was asked to send a squadron to blast holes in the Hillman defenses instead. If the rest of the regiment ever got to Caen this meant that their commander would have even less firepower, but he reluctantly agreed to the request.

British reconnaissance had seriously underestimated Hillman's strength and complexity. If this had been understood in advance and knowing it barred the way to Caen, perhaps a strategy could have been put in place to ensure it was neutralized early.

The understrength but determined infantrymen continued toward Caen with the Shropshires leading the way, successfully skirmishing with isolated groups of Germans en route. But the Norfolks who followed them suffered 150 casualties from the Hillman guns before it was neutralized. The Shropshires cleared the small town of Biéville, before stopping at Lebissey Wood at 6 p.m., only three miles from the city. Here their remarkable first-day con-



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ABOVE: General Miles Dempsey, commander of the British 2nd Army, and Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, commander of the Allied ground troops in Normandy two days before the opening of Operation Goodwood. **TOP:** Less than three weeks before D-Day, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, commander of Army Group B, inspected the 21st Panzer Division in Normandy. Rommel is seen here during a pass-in-review that followed the inspection. He is standing alongside 21st Panzer Division commander Gen. Edgar Feuchtinger. **OPPOSITE:** Soldiers of the British 3rd Infantry Division wait alongside their vehicles for orders to move inland on D-Day. Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery was overly optimistic in his assessment that Caen could be taken within hours of landing, and a difficult fight for control of the communications center lay ahead.

tribution to the liberation of France came to a grinding halt. Waiting for them were elements of the 21st Panzer Division. Having sustained 113 casualties—and fully aware of the consequences of trying to take on Ger-



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ABOVE: British soldiers of the York and Lancaster Regiment move warily through the French village of Fontenoy-le-Pesnel in Normandy on June 25, 1944. The fight for Caen was long and arduous during the Normandy campaign. OPPOSITE: Soldiers of the 6th Royal Scots Fusiliers prepare to move forward during Operation Epsom, one of Field Marshal Montgomery's attempts to capture Caen, on June 26, 1944.

man tanks without serious armored support—they dug in for the night.

Elsewhere, in the gap between the Canadian 3rd Division's landings on Juno Beach to the west and the right flank of the British troops on Sword another panzer unit mounted a counterattack, heading for the coast. The commander of the Staffordshire Yeomanry, Lt. Col. J.A. "Jim" Eadie, had anticipated this and positioned three troops of Sherman Firefly tanks, which had gotten through the coastal traffic jam, in their path. Thirteen Mk IV tanks were destroyed in minutes and the rest retreated back to Caen.

This encounter was a glimpse of things to come for the panzer divisions. Their Mk IV tanks were formidable, as were the Tigers with their 88mm guns. German commanders felt they could dominate the battlefield and destroy any Shermans in their path. But the Sherman had evolved into the Firefly with a 17-pounder antitank gun. Coupled with its

better maneuverability, the Allies now had a tank that, in skilled hands, could take apart its most fearsome opponents.

The British armored divisions had several more surprises for the Germans. In addition to adapting the Sherman to carry a game-changing gun, several other tanks were transformed for specialist roles. Beach defenders were shocked when what looked like floating bath tubs rolled up on the sand and transformed into Sherman tanks. These were the Duplex Drive tanks with protective screens that facilitated amphibious landings. Flail tanks with rotating drums in front whipped chains across minefields to clear them for the infantry to follow. Further inland, those troops holding up infantry advances in reinforced concrete bunkers soon lost their feeling of security when the troops summoned up a Crocodile—a Churchill tank mounting a flamethrower with a range of 80 yards. These specialist machines were the brainchild of Major General Percy Hobart and known to the troops as "Hobart's Funnies."

After a disappointingly slow start, the British troops who survived the Sword Beach landings had their first sleep on French soil and hoped the next day would go according to plan. But for the inhabitants of Caen it had been a lot worse—as an exhibition in the Caen Memorial museum now chronicles.

First had come the leaflet drop, warning them of imminent air raids and advising them to disperse into the countryside. Few had time to respond before the first British air raid in the morning. In the afternoon it was the Americans, then three more raids hitting populated neighborhoods and the city center. By the evening, Caen was ablaze. The targets had been the four bridges over the Orne, but these remained intact.

After four years of occupation, it seems reasonable that the French could have expected and accepted the odd friendly fire incident and the shocks that came from being caught in the cross-fire before they saw the end of the hated Boche. But this bombing was without precedent. Nobody had taken the trouble to explain or justify that the Allied bombing strategy was not so much about killing Germans as hitting strategic targets. Bridges, railways, crossroads, anything that could slow down the enemy, were the main focus of the Allies' so-called Transportation Plan and from thousands of feet in the air, the only way to hit these targets was to plaster the surrounding area with as many bombs as possible. This was supplemented with 15-inch shells from ships in the English Channel that could not see their targets, but had to hope the

coordinates they had been given were correct. There were only 300 Germans in Caen at the start of D-Day, and by the end of June 7, there were 800 French civilian dead, thousands injured, and the city lay destroyed. The French civilians were not to know that ordnance would continue to rain down on them for a further six weeks of horror, resulting in a total of 3,000 civilian deaths before the enemy was on its way. Not exactly the Libération of their dreams.

The Allied plan prescribed the bombing of any center of population that was considered a strategic target. Another local casualty was Aunay sur Odon southwest of Caen, population 800 and a major crossroads linking Bayeux, Caen, Falaise, and Vire. Fearing it would be critical to the supply of German reinforcements to Caen, it was bombed the nights of June 12 and June 14, killing 25 percent of its residents and completely destroying the town.

With the Shropshire Light Infantry and the remainder of the British 185th Infantry Brigade held up at Lebisey Wood by the 21st Panzer on the morning of June 7, it was now the turn of the Canadian 3rd Division, moving inland from Juno Beach, to attempt a breakthrough into Caen. Their objective was Carpiquet airfield to the west of the city. Here they found the fanatical, young Hitlerjugend of the 12th SS Panzer Division in their path, ready to convert the ideology they had been consuming since childhood into action.

The next few days saw bloodthirsty duels between the two divisions—attacks, counterattacks, villages lost, then gained and scenes reminiscent of World War I. By the end of their first week in Normandy, the Canadians had suffered 3,000 casualties, but they were winning the war of attrition. The Luftwaffe were now a spent force in the war, so the men enjoyed unchallenged air support, and whereas fresh troops and supplies could arrive daily to replace them via the landing beaches and the developing Mulberry harbor at Gold Beach, the German army would find it more challenging to refresh its front line. Furthermore, Hitler's orders were to stand and fight rather than make tactical withdrawals, a strategy preferred by Rommel and his other generals who were in the thick of the action and therefore had a better impression of how the invasion was progressing.

Montgomery had to revise his plan as taking Caen head-on was no longer practicable. His answer was Operation Perch, which involved the British I Corps under Lt. Gen. John Crocker

in the east and XXX Corps under Lt. Gen. Gerard Bucknall in the west launching a joint pincer attack to envelop the city. At the same time, the panzer divisions were planning counterattacks outward from Caen, causing stalemates and more battles of attrition when both sides met. Crocker's I Corps in the east was halted south of the Orne by 21st Panzer, and in the west, Panzer Lehr put up strong resistance against XXX Corps. But here Montgomery had more success directing the British 50th Infantry Division and the tanks of the 7th Armored, the "Desert Rats," out from Bayeux to Villers Bocage as the right flank of his pincer, which resulted in a ferocious battle at Tilly sur Seullles that left the town in ruins.

Then, to the surprise of the 7th Armored, a gap opened up before Villers Bocage as units of Panzer Lehr had been moved eastward to defend against attacks by the Canadians, creating the impression that there was now a clear path to Caen. Bucknall saw the opportunity and seized it. Tanks and troops entered the town in triumph at 8 a.m. on June 13, cheered by ecstatic French residents, and then moved up to Hill 213 to get a clearer view of the route into Caen. But they were



not alone. Watching them from beside his Tiger was Michael Wittman, “The Black Baron,” Germany’s most celebrated destroyer of enemy tanks with a total of 119 kills achieved on the Eastern Front alone. A brilliant team leader, Wittman was just as dangerous when he worked alone.

With no other tanks for support, Wittman headed for the town. The confident British crews had stopped for maintenance and breakfast, leaving their vehicles unguarded. Wittman then proceeded to take out 12 half-tracks, a series of lightly armored Honey tanks, and three Cromwell tanks, sweeping swiftly into the center of town and out again to collect reinforcements. He returned in the afternoon with more Tigers and MK IVs, destroying a row of Fireflies, Cromwells, and Bren Gun carriers. A number of German tanks were destroyed in the process, but at the end of the day the town was back in German hands and the British 7th Armoured Division, heroes of El Alamein, had lost 25 tanks, 14 carriers, 14 halftracks, and several hundred dead.

The German occupiers of Caen had now

effectively formed a solid ring around the city. It could have been worse, however, as Hitler was still taken in by the D-Day deception plan Operation Fortitude, believing the main Allied thrust would come across the English Channel to Calais with Gen. George S. Patton’s fictitious First Army Group, so he had to keep all of his Atlantic Wall protected. In addition, such was the Allied command of the air that troop trains provided an easy target. Most German movement toward Normandy had to be by road which would take longer. Intelligence from the French Resistance on troops moving by road was also acted upon, so they would be depleted in numbers when they finally arrived.

Montgomery took significant criticism from day one for failing to capture Caen, some of which he deflected toward Dempsey to whom he had delegated the task, but strategically he was gaining some ground. His subsequent efforts in containing the Germans around Caen were certainly keeping the panzers away from the U.S. army further west, which had suffered a traumatic landing on Omaha Beach and now had its hands full, fighting through the hedgerows to cut off the Cotentin Peninsula and capture the major city of St Lo. Montgomery was also putting so much pressure on his old desert adversary Erwin Rommel that the German field marshal could not release any of his panzer divisions to create an operational reserve.

On June 18, Montgomery ordered Dempsey to put in place a pincer plan with the main thrust from the Orne bridgehead in the east, taken by the British 6th Airborne on D Day, but this was reconsidered when it appeared there would not be enough space to assemble all the troops and tanks required. The emphasis would have to come again from the other side of Caen. Despite the success of the sudden overnight attacks by the paratroopers and gliders on D-Day, the subsequent German counterattacks had prevented the enlargement of the Orne bridgehead until weeks later.

At about the same time, Rommel was ordered to mount a counterattack between Caumont, west of Caen, and the city of St Lo, which would separate the U.S. troops from the remaining Allied forces, and head for the coast, recapturing Bayeux in the process. This attack would

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Canadian War Memorial

comprise units currently moving toward Normandy: 2nd Panzer Division and five SS panzer divisions, namely the 9th and 10th from the Eastern Front plus 1st SS Leibstandarte Adolf Hitler and 2nd Das Reich from southern France. Because of the Allied air threat, they traveled by road where some were attacked by the French Resistance. The SS, in reprisal, carried out atrocities en route among the French population with Das Reich hanging nearly 100 suspected résistants in Tulle before wiping out the population of Oradour sur Glane the next day.

On June 19, the weather added more misery. The worst storm for many years hit the Normandy coast, grounding bombing and strafing missions from England, sinking ships in the Channel, and destroying the artificial Mulberry harbor at Omaha Beach. Its counterpart at Gold Beach was also damaged. Supplies to troops were delayed, as was Montgomery's plan. The Germans seized the opportunity to hunker down and recover for a couple of days until the storm blew itself out. General Eisenhower shared the frustration but with a sense of relief. His decision to launch D-Day on June 6 had been a serious gamble because of the weather. If he had decided to defer it, the next date when tides and other conditions would be right was June 19.

Montgomery's new plan, code named Operation Epsom, was now to kick off on June 26, four days later than scheduled. Operation Martlet, an attack on the Rauray Spur to the west of Caen where panzers were taking advantage of the high ground, would take place a day before that. With this threat contained, the main thrust would curl around the city, cross the Odon, and finish up on the high ground south of Caen at Bretteville sur Laize on the road to Falaise. If all went well, the Canadian 3rd Division would attack north of Caen, then move southwest and finally take the coveted and highly strategic Carpiquet airfield.

The main role in Epsom was assigned to the 60,000 men of VIII Corps, who had just arrived in France under Lt. Gen. Sir Richard O'Connor. Among them was 28-year-old Harold Sykes. Working in farming, a reserved occupation, he could have stayed safely at home, but his sense of duty had gotten the better of him. Fate had now placed him with the crew of a Mk 5 Sherman tank of the 2nd Battalion, Fife and Forfar Yeomanry, 29th Armored Brigade.

On June 14, having sailed from southern England on the 9th and awaiting orders to join the line, Harold with time on his hands penned a note home which he hoped would never be sent: "Dear Ma, Dad and sisters...I thought it would be a good opportunity to write this letter. It is intended to be a last goodbye as we do not know when the end will come so I wish to thank you for all you have done for me. You will not get this letter until something has happened to

ABOVE: A Cromwell tank of a Canadian armored regiment climbs a hill during the intense fighting in Normandy following D-Day. Canadian troops came ashore at Juno Beach and contributed substantially to the eventual Allied breakout and defeat of the enemy around Falaise. OPPOSITE: Two German grenadiers of the 12th SS Panzer Division Hitlerjugend man a defensive position in Normandy with an MG-42 machine gun. The 12th SS fought doggedly in the defense of Caen and during the German retreat from Normandy.

me....It was my wish that I went and I have had some happy times and do not regret it. It is only bad luck if something happens to me.. Your loving son, Harold."

Three days later Sykes wrote a more cheerful note describing his impressions of France and sent it home. On June 20, while the storm in the English Channel was imposing a pause on Montgomery's plans, he wrote again, thanking his "Ma" for the parcel he had received the day before, which contained some soap and the local newspapers. He complained about the army food and asked for some dried eggs and jam, if she could send him any. He finished with "One of the last things that I shall remember of the old country was the smell of fish and chips just before we embarked. What I could do with a plate now!"

At first light on June 25, Operation Martlet was launched to occupy the high ground around Rauray and the town of Fontenay le Pesnel so as to protect the right flank of the

units which would spearhead Epsom. By dawn the next day, Fontenay was in British hands after some fierce fighting, but the Germans still held the Rauray Spur. Epsom went ahead as planned amid rain and poor visibility with a huge artillery barrage and with Harold and the 2nd Fife & Forfars supporting the 15th Scottish Infantry Division. The ground was boggy, and the weather prevented air support. Progress was slow, but the small town of Cheux was taken and Harold's A Squadron with others of the 29th Armored Brigade worked around the town to Haut du Bosq, a hilly wooded area to the southwest.

It was a day of attack and counterattack, with the Germans still established in Rauray pouring shells into what was left of Cheux. In the smaller villages, fighting was hand to hand between Scottish infantry and panzer-grenadiers. An armored reconnaissance squadron was sent forward to seek out the bridges over the Odon but penetrated no further than the high ground south of Cheux. It was a disappointing day for the British troops, many of whom had moved back to a position north of Cheux for a more secure night, but they were not to know that the force of their attack had persuaded Rommel that he could not contain them without moving more of his panzers that had been destined elsewhere behind the beaches.

The inhabitants of Cheux had already evacuated the town and begun the long refugee trail to a safer area near the Brittany border. Local historian Maurice Lajoie recalled, "My father, the baker, was killed on June 10. On June 12 everyone was ordered by the Germans to leave the town. My grandfather who was the mayor and all the other families left with their horses and charrettes in the direction of the Mayenne, not returning till September, when they found our town 80 percent destroyed. My mother gave birth to me at the end of October."

At 4:45 a.m. on June 27, the British attack resumed, led by the 10th Battalion, Highland Light Infantry supported by Churchill tanks. Casualties were high, but by the afternoon the Odon had been crossed and a bridgehead established at Tourmaville. The panzers had also been cleared from Rauray. The Scots had been relieved by the 43rd



ABOVE: Sherman tanks and a 6-pounder anti-tank gun occupy a city street in Caen on July 10, 1944. After heavy bombing and numerous ground attacks, Caen finally fell to Allied forces weeks after D-Day. **BELOW:** A Hawker Typhoon fighter bomber fires a missile against a target at Carpiquet airfield west of Caen. The airfield was tenaciously defended, but after several attempts, troops of the Canadian 3rd Division captured the important location on July 4, 1944. **OPPOSITE:** Map shows the fighting that raged around Bourquebus Ridge, high ground in the vicinity of Caen, during the Normandy campaign, particularly from July 18-21, 1944, as the Germans stubbornly clung to the tactically vital area.



Both: Imperial War Museum

The expected counterattack materialized on the afternoon of June 29 with the recently arrived 9th and 10th SS Panzer Divisions playing a lead role. Dempsey responded with a tactical withdrawal from some of the frontal positions, including Hill 112, in order to reinforce the bridgehead on the Odon and keep hold of the higher ground at Rauray.

On June 30 the fog of war descended upon the battlefield, affecting troops and civilians alike. The 9th Panzer Division resumed the attack, and the 10th Panzer Division delivered a heavy barrage on Hill 112, then charged the summit only to discover that British troops had gone. Elsewhere there were costly individual encounters, forcing Hausser to call off counterattacks temporarily. Unaware of this, Dempsey decided to consolidate. Offshore, the guns of the battleship HMS *Rodney* began firing at small villages believed to be occupied by Germans, and in the evening 250 British heavy bombers destroyed the small town of Villers Bocage, also believing it to be occupied, but only French civilians were present.

Counterattacks recommenced the following day, but Dempsey's line held firm except for a temporary incursion at Haut du Bosq. Casualties were high on both sides, and a British attack with flamethrowing Crocodile tanks provided a particularly painful conclusion to the day's fighting.

Rommel's decision to commit the last of his forces to containing the British advance without success in this battle for Caen now resulted in his requesting a tactical withdrawal to the River Seine, but Hitler refused.

Operation Epsom had cost more than 3,000 casualties on both sides and could have been seen as a stalemate, but its result should not be judged in terms of winners and losers. Despite the efforts of his troops, Dempsey was nowhere near his objective of Bretteville-sur-Laize, and the Canadians were still impatiently waiting to get their hands on Carpiquet airfield, but a cost-benefit analysis of events would put the Allies ahead. The Germans never recovered from their losses during Epsom and entered the next phase significantly weakened. Everyone knew this except for the Führer, and the all-time low in confidence felt by his senior staff became a contrib-



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ABOVE: With the ruins of the Church of Saint-Pierre in the background, a pair of German panzergrenadiers pick their way through a rubble-strewn area of Caen. **OPPOSITE:** Deployed east of the Orne River in Normandy, tanks of the 21st Panzer Division pause during operations against the Allies in Normandy. Elements of the 21st Panzer reached the French coastline late on D-Day, fought through July, and was almost totally destroyed in the Falaise pocket in August.

utory factor in the tragic assassination attempt the following month. With reinforcements and supplies arriving daily from across the English Channel, Montgomery, on the other hand, had the resources he needed to continue his drive into Caen, and by July 5, he had formulated his next plan, Operation Charnwood.

The Charnwood assault was to be launched at 4:20 a.m. on July 8, and this time Montgomery was back to tackling the city head-on. Crocker's I Corps was assigned the task of attacking from the north with three brigades and the 3rd Canadian Infantry with hitting Carpiquet from the southwest. The city was defended by the experienced 12th SS Panzer Division in the center and the 16th Luftwaffe Field Division in the northeast, which would prove to be a much weaker unit.

During the late evening of July 7, the northern part of Caen was bombed massively by British Lancaster and Halifax bombers, followed by six squadrons of Mosquito fighter bombers. The huge guns of HMS *Rodney* and other ships anchored offshore then added to the destruction, but reports from troops on the ground signaled an enormous morale boost after weeks of slow progress as they assumed that this would end the German resistance once and for all. Unfortunately, in an attempt to avoid any blue-on-blue casualties the planes had been ordered to hold back a few seconds, and although some damage was inflicted upon the enemy, it was once again the French civilians who came off worse as 80 percent of the northern part of the city was destroyed.

The next day, July 8, British and Canadian forces entered a number of small villages north and west of Caen. Then, following attacks from American bombers and British Typhoon fighter bombers on visible German positions, they moved within sight of the city. The Canadians to the west suffered very strong opposition from the fanatical Hitlerjugend who had no qualms about following the Führer's orders to fight to the last man. "We were supposed to die in Caen," noted their commander, Col. Kurt Meyer. By nightfall the Allies were a kilometer from the heart of the city, unaware that during the night and against Hitler's orders, the majority of German troops would make a tactical retreat to the south side of the river.

When the men eventually entered the city itself they were to find that the rubble would be more dangerous than the original buildings as it provided concealment, sniper hideouts, opportunities for mines and mortar teams and booby traps, as well as general obstacles to movement. Furthermore, there had been a five-hour gap between the bombing and the actual assault, which allowed the enemy time to occupy defensive positions. One effective, if unintended, result of the bombing was the destruction of several bridges, which had hitherto remained intact, by stray bombs, making it difficult for the Germans to resupply from the south side of the Orne.

Troops pushed forward into the city on July 9, and by noon the British 3rd Infantry, after decimating the 16th Luftwaffe Field Division, had reached the banks of the Orne. At 4 p.m., they met up with the Canadians in the center of the city, but it felt a hollow victory to many who had survived. The cost of the two days of Charnwood was 3,500 casualties, and half of Caen was still occupied.

The remaining Germans were rounded up and taken prisoner. Among them were the remnants of the 12th SS Panzer Division, the "Hitler Youth," the young warrior athletes nurtured into an ideology that would not have seen them out of place in a Kamikaze squadron. One of the saddest indictments on how they were used to advance Nazism is illustrated by a comment from a British Tommy whose unit captured a group of Hitlerjugend. "We went through their pockets and instead of cigarettes we found bags of sweets."

Despite their own suffering, the surviving French residents appeared through the dust and

rubble to welcome the troops. The War Diary for the King's Own Scottish Borderers remarked: "The ghostlike houses suddenly came to life as civilians began to realize we were entering the town. They came running out with glasses and bottles of wine."

A month after D-Day, the northern half of Caen was now liberated, and the Canadians were at last occupying Carpiquet and its airfield. As the bulk of the Canadian 1st Army was still in England, Montgomery hoped that there would be reserves to call upon for the next stage in the liberation, but the British army was now at maximum strength, with the potential well of new recruits drying up. His plans from now on would have to minimize infantry casualties in particular. Not surprisingly, many German formations were a shadow of their former selves. The mighty Panzer Lehr could no longer operate as a division, and so many of the Hitlerjugend had followed their Führer's orders and sacrificed themselves rather than surrender.

U.S. General Omar Bradley felt that the position which the British and Canadians had gained in Caen gave him the space to push ahead with the breakout from the beaches and the capture of the vital city of St



Lo, which he eventually entered on July 18. Rommel, cognizant of the seriousness of this latest development, finally sent infantry divisions west to try and frustrate the American plans. As for the French, the partial capture of Caen, with all its death and destruction, gave them heart that the Allies were here to stay. On July 10, they raised their tricolor in the city, and on the 13th, held a parade with a Scottish piper playing “La Marseillaise.”

In order to complete the capture of Caen, Montgomery felt it important to consider it in the wider context of his Normandy objectives, and between July 10 and 13, meetings were arranged with Bradley, Lt. Gen. Guy Simonds of II Canadian Corps, as well as his own generals. His next advance would coincide with the U.S. breakout from the beaches, Operation Cobra, and involve a coordinated two-pronged advance on both Caen and the Verrieres-Bourguebus Ridge to the south of the city with a Canadian attack, Operation Atlantic, pushing south across the river and a major British armored advance from the Orne bridgehead to the northeast, Operation Goodwood. The timing would have the advantage of creating a useful diversion for Bradley, making it harder for any more German divisions to be released westwards to tackle his breakout.

The first task would be to secure the city south of the Orne, but the opportunity of taking the southern ridges beyond raised hopes of a breakout to the plains to the south to facilitate a push eastward toward Falaise. Montgomery did not expect to get this far but felt that the resources at his disposal for a tank battle in open country would, at the very least, seriously weaken the German forces to the point where retreat would be their only option in the following weeks.

Goodwood and Atlantic would commence on July 18, but a series of diversionary attacks around the River Odon (subsequently known as the Second Battle of the Odon) would start on July 15. It was important for these to divert attention from the Orne bridgehead on the east side to allow British armor to assemble for what was to be arguably the largest tank battle in British history. Montgomery would normally plan an assault with a good balance of infantry and

armor, but the lack of replacements meant he had to limit his infantry’s involvement.

Operation Atlantic began as planned with heavy air support, and soon Colombelles and other industrial centers in the southeastern suburbs of Caen were in the hands of the 3rd Canadian Infantry. By the end of the day, several units had progressed to the southwestern outskirts at St. André. The subsequent consolidation the following day meant that the Battle for the city of Caen was effectively over.

Before Operation Goodwood could begin pontoon bridges had to be built across the River Orne and the Orne Canal south of the two bridges taken on D-Day to move armored vehicles eastward to the assembly area near Ranville. The British advance, consisting of three armored divisions (11th, 7th and Guards), started on time with a huge RAF bombing raid and smaller groups of planes hitting specific individual targets. From the 11th Armored Division, its 3rd Royal Tank Regiment led the attack with the 2nd Fife and Forfar Yeomanry following, and Harold Sykes’ former Lieutenant Brownlie leading his squadron. They were preceded by a creeping artillery barrage and made good progress on the flat terrain, ideal for a fast-moving tank battle.

Imperial War Museum



ABOVE: During the opening day of Operation Goodwood, British troops aboard Bren gun carriers advance toward their objective near Caen. A Sherman tank being utilized as an artillery unit headquarters accompanies the infantrymen. **OPPOSITE:** A Sherman tank successfully crosses Winston Bridge, a British Bailey bridge erected across the Orne River in preparation for the Operation Goodwood offensive. After weeks of fighting, Caen was finally secured, and both the Allies and the Germans had paid a high price.



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The German defenses on the Bourguebus ridge, south of the Orne, were 10 miles deep and arranged in four lines. The tanks also had to cross two railway embankments. By the evening of the first day, losses were considerable, with the 11th Armored losing over half its tanks. The division was replaced by Canadians the following day, and some progress was made by capturing villages on and around the ridge. The next day was hampered by poor weather, and by the morning of July 21 Goodwood was called off.

Overall, Goodwood could be considered to be a success, gaining seven miles of ground and causing significant German losses but at the expense of thousands of troops and a great many tanks. The attrition of the panzers was continuing, meaning fewer units to frustrate Bradley's breakout to the west. The British breakout, Operation Bluecoat, which started on July 30 closer to Caen after the withdrawal of the 2nd Panzer Division, was another beneficiary. From July 19, Caen was conclusively in Allied hands, and the bridgehead to its east had been widened so the city could expect no further trouble from the Führer. Ironically, the day after its liberation saw the attempt on Hitler's life by his generals, which sent shock waves through the command structure of the German army.

The city of Caen, freed from its German occupation, would try to rise like the proverbial phoenix from the ashes of the Allied bombing. The Marshall Plan after the war would assist the French to get started, but some of its renovation began within days of its liberation, thanks to the work of the Royal Canadian Engineers who had arrived at Juno Beach on July 11 and headed straight for Caen to begin clearing a path through the rubble, defuse mines, and build new bridges across the river. Ostensibly this was for military purposes, but it was the first sign of hope for the city's inhabitants who had seen nothing but destruction these past few weeks. Furthermore, some of these men spoke French and shared a cultural heritage.

The Canadian sappers cleared a path they called "Andy's Alley," after General Andrew McNaughton, also a civil engineer. It would officially become Avenue Triomphale, then Avenue du Six Juin. When they arrived at the River Orne, they started building five Bailey bridges. These prefabricated truss bridges were appearing all over Normandy and were strong enough to carry the weight of a tank. The first were named Monty's, Winston, and Churchill bridges. When the engineers began building a large 50-meter span to connect the city's Vendeuvre and Hamelin wharves, news arrived that their captain, Gilbert Reynolds, had just been killed so it was dedicated to him. Today it is the Pont Capitaine George Gilbert Reynolds. The role of combat engineers is often overlooked by historians, but they played an essential role in supporting Allied forces and indirectly in bringing back some normality for the civilians who had found themselves sharing the front line with them.

The Battle for Caen subsequently evolved into the battle for the Verrières/Bourguebus

ridge, and much of the lead fighting would be done by the Canadians. Within a month, the remnants of the German army would be pushed eastward toward Falaise with the prospect of encirclement, capture, or being squeezed through the Chambois/Falaise pocket.

In trying to summarize the success or otherwise of the Battle for Caen, it is easy to focus on the failure to capture it on D-Day or on the death and destruction inflicted on both its population and its liberators as a result of the attempts to evict the Germans during the next six weeks. In truth, given the determination of the well-resourced Allies to occupy the European mainland and the desperate reaction of an experienced, well-equipped and highly trained enemy which knew it was fighting for survival, the Battle of Normandy was going to be a fight to the death wherever the two sides met. The fact that the immediate German D-Day restrictions kept the panzer divisions away from the western beaches and concentrated them around Caen meant that the city and its environs were where they were most likely to be forced to make their stand. The total destruction of St Lo in the western half of Normandy is further evidence that no center of population was going to be safe once the enemy had turned it into a fortress for defense.

If Caen had been taken on the first day, it could not be assumed that the subsequent battles would be fought cleanly and out in the

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The BIG RED ONE

BY KEVIN SEABROOKE

In celebration and commemoration of the courageous actions of the “The Big Red One” during the Allied Invasion of Normandy, the First Division Museum at Cantigny has unveiled two interpretive murals and a companion book outlining both the story of First Division on D-Day and the making of the murals by artist Keith Rocco.

Since it first opened in 1960 on the 500-

acre grounds of Cantigny Park, in Wheaton, Illinois, the First Division Museum has been telling the story of the unit nicknamed “The Big Red One.” The park was formerly the estate of Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*, and a colonel in the 5th Field Artillery Regiment, serving with the First Division during World War I. The Museum’s mission is to interpret and promote military history through the lens of the U.S. Army’s 1st Infantry Division, including the diversity of the U.S. Military.

Two things happened in 2019 that led to creation of the murals and the new *Big Red One D-Day* book.

The first was that the museum appointed a new executive director. When U.S. Army Col. Krewasky A. Salter, (Ret.) took the helm, he felt the museum could be updated to improve the visitor experience, and better reflect all who served in the First Infantry Division.

The First Division Museum unveils new D-Day and D-Day +1 interpretive murals by historical artist Keith Rocco.



ON D-DAY

From his personal experiences visiting museums and recent work with the Smithsonian Institute, Salter knew “that artwork was powerful and, when used correctly in museums, it creates a magnificent interpretation tool.”

In meetings with the museum staff, Salter said questions began to arise about the D-Day immersive gallery.

“Discussions soon turned to questions of where is the Navy, the Coast Guard, and the minorities that landed on the beaches of Normandy; where are the swimming/fording tanks, and more?” Salter recalls in the book.

As part of this update, the existing mural detailing First Infantry Division’s activity on June 7th at Normandy would be updated, and a second mural added to interpret the June 6th landings.

Medics, who have lost most of their supplies, still treat the wounded on Omaha Beach on June 6, 1944, in this mural by Keith Rocco. Center, left, bandaging a soldier’s leg is medic Charles Norman Shay, of the Penobscot Indian Nation, who received a Silver Star. Further to the left is wounded African American medic Waverly Woodson, Jr., who is helping a fellow soldier crawl forward. Woodson, who treated more than 200 men before collapsing after 30 hours, received a Bronze Star.



The second thing that happened was that the museum, in looking for an artist for the project, contacted a man who had been born in Chicago and had, in fact, visited Cantigny Park when he was about 10 years old. Now over 60, that artist could clearly remember the French Hotchkiss machine gun.

“I can still recall putting my hand on its trigger guard, polished by a thousand hands,” said artist Keith Rocco.

Known across the country as a painter of authentic scenes of battles from the age of Napoleon and the American Civil War, Shenandoah Valley-based artist Rocco’s work has been acquired by collectors around the world, including the National Park Service and the U.S. Army, as well as many

museums and historical societies. Rocco and his art have been profiled in numerous books and magazines and his prints remain internationally popular.

“We were extremely lucky to obtain the acclaimed and highly sought-after artist Keith Rocco,” Salter said. “His paintings include the centerpiece mural ‘Gettysburg,’ for the Abraham Presidential Library and Museum, in Springfield, Illinois, and a one-man exhibit at the Cyclorama Building in Gettysburg National Park.

For Rocco, the feeling was mutual and serendipitous. He got an email in June asking if he would be interested in looking at a project to revitalize and re-interpret the existing mural in the D-Day Gallery of the museum.

“When I received the inquiry about the possibility of having my work in the museum that meant so much to my early years and to my chosen profession, I had to pinch myself that this was really happening,” Rocco said.

A month after that first email, Rocco went out to see the wall and speak with the curator concerning what exactly the staff had in mind.

Rocco’s first trip to the museum had been in 1965, when he was about 10, and the family drove from the Chicago suburb of Cicero out to Wheaton.

“It was a hot summer day,” Rocco recalled. “I know this because I have a picture of myself



from that day, sitting on the seat of a French 75 artillery piece and holding my hand next to its barrel, not touching it though, as it was too hot to lay my hand on.”

For a boy of that age, the park was amazing—real tanks that could be climbed on—and the visit made a huge impression on him.

“I saw my first dioramas in that museum and the piece-de resistance, the full-scale section of a World War One trench, complete with flashes and explosions that when they went off, lit the sky so that you could catch a glimpse of the barbed wire overhead,” Rocco said.

Rocco knew that his father had been a World War II combat veteran, who never talked about his experiences, though they did watch a lot of TV shows and documentaries together and that was enough to spark his interest in history.

Today’s museum is the “big brother” of the white-washed brick building—McCormick’s tribute and memorial to his beloved division—that Rocco had visited as a boy.

“Looking back through more than 50 years of memories, I realize what an impact the First Division Museum had on my future,” Rocco said. “It was a match to my fuse of interest in history, an igniter full of remarkable stories told through creative displays and artwork.”

Rocco returned to the museum three months after that June 2019 visit to make full-size tracings of all the elements that were in the existing mural. These tracings were made onto

The men pictured at left are members of the 320th Barrage Balloon Battalion, the only African-American unit to land in the first wave on D-Day, hoisting a Very Low Altitude (VLA) balloon. These figures and others were added by artist Keith Rocco in a 2019 expansion of the First Division Museum’s D-Day interpretive exhibit.

acetate, rolled out and taped to the walls. The plan had been to build the composition of figures into the preexisting scene of beach, surf and obstacles adding new landing craft and ships over the old mural work.

“The D-Day mural at the [museum] and other Rocco works are so impressive because he conducts exhaustive research,” Salter said. “Rocco was like a detective on a case... It is our hope that [visitors] enjoy the history and



LEFT: Much of the radio equipment in the first assault wave was lost, either destroyed while aboard landing craft or jettisoned in the sea by men struggling to survive and reach the shore.

BELOW: An infantryman from one of the later assault waves picks his way up a cliff in a German minefield along a safe path marked with engineer's white tape.

RIGHT, ABOVE: Pinned down by enemy fire, this Keith Rocco painting was inspired by the famous series of Robert Capa photos taken on Easy Red Beach in the early hours of D-Day.

RIGHT, BELOW: Artist Keith Rocco sits on the scaffold in front of the June 7th mural.



the art of the First Infantry Division, by one of the nation's best."

By mid-September, Rocco was in his Virginia studio working on conceptual drawings he would submit for approval. When they were accepted, he began creating full-size drawings.

For this phase, Rocco had a lot of help from the museum researchers and librarians.

"They found the correct types of D-Day ships and landing craft, including their number designations seen on the hulls, for me to work from as well as eye-witness reports and all kinds of minutiae that added to the final visual history," Rocco relates in the book.

For first-hand details, Rocco also had the help of Ray Lambert and Ed Morrisette, two 1st Division veterans who landed in the first assault waves on June 6.

"Their recollections were both inspiring and educational, adding a human element to

the numbers and statistics," Rocco said. "Both men had made all three amphibious landings with the 1st Division—North Africa, Sicily and Normandy."

The central theme of the completely new June 6th mural is the medic aid-station in the foreground, Rocco said, depicting things at about 9 a.m. "when the beach of the Fox Green sector was in complete chaos."

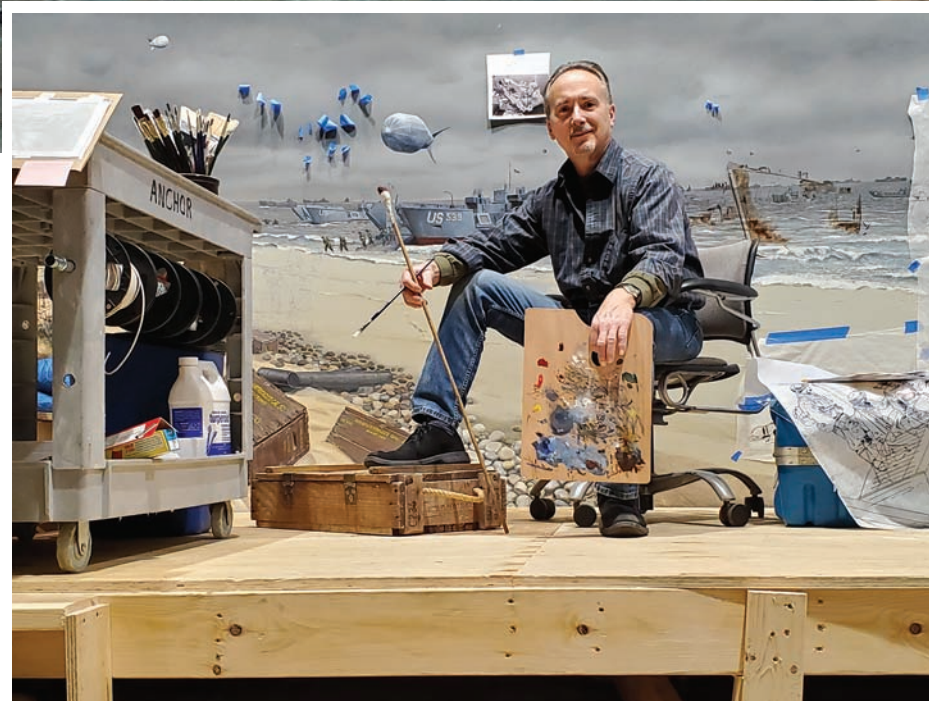
At roughly 8 feet by 18 feet, Rocco said the mural took him about 211 hours to paint, plus hours of preparation in the studio, noting that his months working on the project were "sublime."

"I hope that what I have done for the museum, and ultimately for the visitor, is to have provided a worthwhile service with these two depictions of such a momentous event in world history and that these murals will help you pause and reflect on the real sacrifice and stoic resignation with which my parent's generation met its destiny" Rocco said.

The First Infantry Division was organized on June 8, 1917, for duty on the Western Front in World War I. This was the first permanent division in the regular Army and has served in all American wars, except Korea, when it was serving in Germany.

As America's involvement in World War II became likely, the Division grew to 20,000 soldiers, and began training for war. In 1942 the Division was sent to North Africa, joining the first U.S. amphibious assault of the war on Algeria. In July 1943 the Division took part in the Allied invasion of Sicily where it took part in heavy fighting, serving in George Patton's 7th Army.

In November 1943 the Division was sent to England to prepare for the invasion of France.



On June 6, 1944, elements of the 1st Division, with elements of the 29th Division and the 2nd and 5th Ranger Battalions, made up the first wave that stormed ashore on Omaha Beach.

As is well known today, the Omaha Beach landings were extremely difficult, and little about them went according to plan, resulting in heavy casualties for all the units in the initial waves. Despite heavy casualties, the 1st Division, along with the other units

in the initial waves, secured a foothold by the end of the day. Over the next two days, they achieved their D-Day goals and reorganized into their original battalions and regiments for the next phase of the invasion.

The Division fought across France, captured the German city of Aachen in October, and fought in the Hürtgen Forest. The unit fought with First Army during the Battle of the Bulge, and moved into Germany, crossing the Rhine at Remagen in March. The unit then crossed the Harz Mountains and ended the war in Czechoslovakia.

A commemorative hardcover book full of glossy color photos of the murals with notes from the artist on their creation, along with a color trifold insert of both complete murals, The Big Red One D-Day is available from Monroe Publishing for \$49.95 at <https://bit.ly/3SKqLJf>. □

Combat Engineers at TROIS-PONTS

With courage and TNT, U.S. combat engineers blunt Hitler's armored spear at Trois-Ponts during the Battle of the Bulge.

BY PATRICK J. CHAISSON

Major Robert B. Yates arrived at the 1111th Engineers' headquarters in Trois-Ponts, Belgium, around 13:30 on Monday, December 18, 1944, expecting to sit in on an ordinary staff meeting.

Instead, he found himself thrust into command of a desperate defense against powerful German armored forces. For the past two days, these marauding SS tanks had been rampaging throughout the Americans' rear area in a frenzy of blood and terror. Now it was Trois-Ponts' turn to feel their wrath.

Yates hurriedly reviewed his situation. To oppose this impending onslaught, the 175 lightly-equipped U.S. combat engineers holding Trois-Ponts had on hand exactly eight "Bazooka" rocket launchers. Their meager complement of crew-served weapons totaled six .50-caliber and four .30-caliber machine guns. There were no mortars, artillery or friendly tanks available to provide support. Major Yates could expect nothing in the way of reinforcements, and all communications lines with higher headquarters had been cut. He was on his own.

As Yates considered these facts, the distinc-

tive roar of TNT detonating signaled a renewed German assault on Trois-Ponts. Summoning all his courage, he set off to lead the fight.

At 6'3" and 200 pounds, "Bull" Yates had worked as a builder in Harrison County, Texas, before the war. The former National Guardsman had risen steadily up the ranks to executive officer of the 51st Engineer Combat Battalion (ECB), First U.S. Army.

As he prepared to face the German onslaught, he was also AWOL from an American field hospital. Yates had spent the past three and a half months impatiently recovering from a motorcycle accident that crushed his right foot. According to battalion lore, one day he just cut the cast off his leg, "borrowed" a jeep, and drove out to Marche-en-Famenne, Belgium, where the 51st ECB was based. Bull Yates, still walking with a limp, had returned to duty just three days earlier.

At the time, his outfit was running at least 32 sawmills as part of First U.S. Army's winterization program. Those troops performing this unglamorous but essential mission produced thousands of board-feet of lumber per





Soldiers of the 291st Engineer Combat Battalion trudge through snow while carrying bazookas. According to their commanding officer, Lt. Col. David E. Pergrin, the brave engineers stayed to defend Trois-Ponts during the Battle of the Bulge after they had been taunted by fellow soldiers. Pergrin recalled that the infantrymen had shouted, "You engineer so-and-so! Why don't you come on up there and fight?"

day for use as bridging materials or building frames. To carry out their chores, the 51st ECB's 650 soldiers were spread out in small groups over a 30-mile work zone.

While arduous, the lumbering operation had its benefits. The men slept indoors, enjoyed regular hot meals, and felt secure in the knowledge that their duties put them 25 miles behind the front lines. Best of all, they were no longer building bridges—a hazardous, exhausting job that had been the 51st ECB's main function all summer as the unit helped speed First Army's advance across France and Belgium.

Meanwhile, Yates spent his first day back to work assessing the battalion's status—where its three engineer companies ran their sawmills, their logistical requirements, and anything else that was on the 51st's task list apart from cutting wood. Those assignments typically included road maintenance, bridge repair, and snow removal.

He also learned his higher headquarters—the 1111th Engineer Combat Group (ECG)—was led by Colonel H. Wallis Anderson, a man Yates knew well from Stateside service. Anderson's primary mission was to coordinate the activities of four engineer battalions located throughout First Army's sector. On Saturday, December 16, he and his small staff of officers, NCOs, and enlisted technicians maintained their command post inside the Hôtel Crismer, at a small Belgian village called Trois-Ponts.

Unknown to anyone in the 1111th, some 1,600 German artillery pieces had opened a devastating barrage on U.S. forward positions beginning at 05:30. This bombardment heralded the start of Hitler's Operation Watch on the Rhine (*Wacht am Rhein*), better known as the Battle of the Bulge.

The Germans' most powerful mechanized formation was Sixth Panzer Army, led by SS General (*Oberstgruppenführer*) Josef "Sepp" Dietrich. As the operation's main effort, this command had to push aside all Allied defenses in its zone of attack, move swiftly across the Ardennes' poor road net, and seize a number of bridges spanning the Meuse River near Liege, Belgium. Dietrich's goal was to reach Liege—halfway to Antwerp, his ultimate objective—within 48 hours.



ABOVE: U.S. Army combat engineers shovel cinders onto an icy road in Belgium during the Battle of the Bulge. This effort was essential in moving Allied troops forward in response to the German thrust through the Ardennes Forest during December, 1944, into January, 1945. **OPPOSITE:** A German Fallschirmjäger hands a cigarette to a messenger who has just come up on a motorcycle during the advance of the 501st Heavy SS Battalion in the Battle of the Bulge. The German paratroopers pictured aboard the Tiger tank were attached to Kampfgruppe Peiper. The German battle group led by SS Lt. Col. Joachim Peiper was intent on capturing bridges at Trois-Ponts, Belgium, but heroic American combat engineers thwarted his plan.

At the tip of Sixth Panzer Army's armored spear was a battle group (*Kampfgruppe*) belonging to the 1st SS Panzer Division. This 4,800-man task force consisted of 117 medium and heavy tanks accompanied by mechanized infantry, artillery, and mobile antiaircraft guns. It was named for the officer in command: SS Lt. Col. (*Obersturmbannführer*) Joachim Peiper.

Peiper seemed well-qualified to lead Sixth Panzer Army's exploitation force. An ardent Nazi, he embodied the spirit of audacious action and ruthless devotion to duty demanded of every Waffen-SS fighting man. A veteran of service on the Eastern Front and in Normandy, his aggressive, even reckless tactics had twice earned him the Knight's Cross along with Adolf Hitler's personal congratulations.

His reputation as an individual who got things done regardless of cost or consequences likely led to this assignment as commander of Sixth Army's "point" (*spitze*). Yet Peiper's designated route of march appalled him. "The roads were suitable for bicycles and not tanks," he observed afterward. The SS panzer leader also requested bridging equipment be attached to his Kampfgruppe but was denied these assets. Army headquarters figured a lightning-fast advance would result in all necessary river spans falling into German hands before the enemy could fortify or destroy them.

Just prior to the December 16 assault, Peiper issued orders to his subordinate commanders. "You will go ahead at full speed," he admonished them. "There will be no stopping for anything." He concluded his remarks with a warning familiar to those SS officers who had served with him in Russia: "It is not the job of the spearhead to worry about prisoners of war.... Armed civilians will be treated as partisans." In other words, they were to be shot on sight.

Peiper hoped to start his run for the Meuse before dawn on December 16, but a combina-

tion of unexpectedly heavy resistance, enormous traffic congestion, and soggy, nearly-impassable roads caused many frustrating delays. It wasn't until after midnight that his 16-mile-long column finally began moving forward.

The route that Peiper's battle group followed through the Ardennes Forest on Sunday, December 17, consisted of paved main highways, soft-surfaced secondary roads, and even narrow firebreak trails. From their starting point at Losheim, Germany, his tanks proceeded steadily all morning through the Belgian towns of Honsfeld and Büllingen, flushing coveys of disorganized U.S. service troops along the way.

That afternoon at a small road junction named Baugnez, members of Peiper's command gunned down 84 surrendering G.I.s — the "Malmedy Massacre" — just one of many atrocities committed by his men against helpless prisoners of war and innocent Belgian civilians.

Farther west, at Ligneuville and Stavelot, the Germans' forward progress was slowed by small groups of defiant American soldiers who were literally buying time with their lives. In fact, 13 combat engineers blocking the road into Stavelot made so much noise that Peiper—convinced he was up against a large and tenacious enemy defensive force—halted for the night.

While Peiper and his SS panzers had traveled 30 miles in 18 hours, 50 miles still separated

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them from their objectives on the Meuse. Yet it now appeared they would have to fight for the Amblève River bridge at Stavelot. Disturbingly, another set of timber trestles—just four miles down the road in Trois-Ponts—also needed to be seized intact. Kampfgruppe Peiper did not possess the time, the bridging equipment, or the fuel supplies required to bypass this key crossroads.

Another man who understood the importance of Trois-Ponts was Colonel Anderson, who on December 17 occupied that small hamlet together with his 1111th ECG headquarters staff. Anderson also realized these clerks, radiomen, and technical specialists plainly lacked the weapons and training necessary to defeat tanks. But his practiced eye saw one clear solution to the coming crisis.

A road, rail, and river junction, Trois-Ponts sat at the confluence of the Salm and Amblève Rivers. The Salm, some 30 feet wide, coursed northward through town and joined with the larger Amblève flowing west from Stavelot. While both watercourses could be waded by foot soldiers, tracked vehicles were unable to ford due to sharp riverbanks. Steeply-sloped ridges loomed over the settlement on all sides and restricted mechanized movement primarily to narrow valley roadways.

Trois-Ponts received its name for the three highway bridges that provided entry from the north, south, and west. Two trestles—one in the village center and the second two miles south of town—crossed the Salm River, while another—some 500 yards north of Anderson's HQ building—spanned the Amblève. Several railroad viaducts and light footbridges, all capable of supporting dismounted infantry but not heavy armor, also required attention.

Anderson knew that whoever possessed the town's three highway bridges controlled access to the entire area. He and his staff tracked Kampfgruppe Peiper's route throughout the day on December 17, concluding that Trois-Ponts had to be its next objective. "We must stop the enemy," Anderson declared, "and we must stop him here." But how?

Appeals to First Army for infantry or armored support all went unanswered. Fur-





U.S. Army

thermore, Anderson had already sent away his two closest combat engineer battalions—most of the 291st ECB was now in Malmedy and a company of 202nd ECB engineers occupied Stavelot. Smaller detachments, scattered all across the region, had either been swallowed up by the foe or were bravely standing guard over lonely crossroads and bridge sites.

Twenty miles away in Marche, the 51st ECB was closing down its sawmill operations and organizing for battle. At 17:30 on December 17, Anderson phoned with orders for one company to move on Trois-Ponts at once. Company C, commanded by Captain Sam C. Scheuber, drew this assignment.

An advance party of about 75 soldiers, led by Company C's admin officer, 1st Lt. Joseph Milgram Jr., got on the road by 22:00. Their squad trucks filled with explosives, ammunition, and rations, the engineers traveled a familiar route from Marche to Trois-Ponts. Their journey should have taken 45 minutes, but as Milgram remembered, an unexpected traffic snarl created long delays.

“Although it was pitch black, our eyes had grown somewhat used to seeing and it seemed to us that every conceivable kind of

vehicle including tanks, tank destroyers, artillery pieces in tow, command cars, jeeps, and trucks was coming the other way, bumper to bumper, sliding off the road and having all sorts of trouble moving. And here we were idiots heading east.”

Milgram and his detachment arrived around 23:30, while Company C's remaining 65 G.I.s (21 men were left behind to guard equipment) closed on Trois-Ponts during the early morning hours of Monday, December 18. They got to work immediately, setting up machine-gun positions and wiring the two bridges in town for demolition.

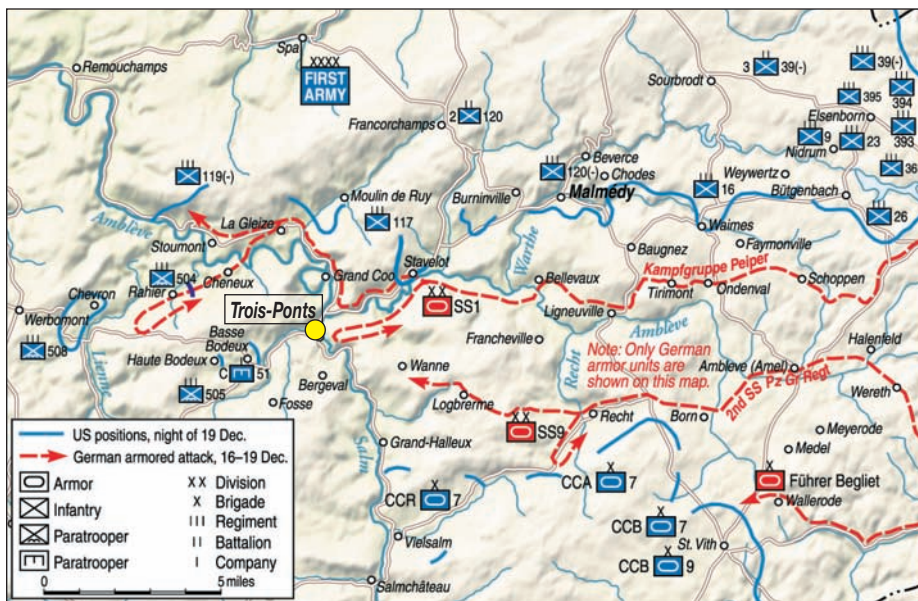
As Company C lacked sufficient manpower and explosives to cover all three spans, Colonel Anderson called on the 291st ECB for additional troops to rig the Salm River trestle south of town for demolition. Lieutenant Albert W. Walters' platoon arrived after dawn to complete this task. Leaving a squad at the bridge to blow it in case enemy forces approached, Walters and the rest of his unit then joined Captain Scheuber's defenses inside Trois-Ponts.

Another welcome addition to the U.S. garrison arrived early on December 18 when a half-track and 57mm gun combination from Antitank Platoon, Company B, 526th Armored Infantry Battalion, suffered a mechanical breakdown while passing through Trois-Ponts. After its crew got their vehicle repaired, the cannon was positioned east of town along the Stavelot road. Two infantrymen, Privates Francis R. Frazier and Ralph J. Bieker, next went out about 250 yards to provide early warning. Frazier and Bieker carried with them a “daisy-chain” of linked antitank mines they were to draw across the road right in front of the lead panzer.

Back at the ambush site, engineers S/Sgt. Fred Salatino and T/5 Jacob Young manned a truck-mounted .50 caliber machine gun to provide covering fire. Their platoon leader, Lt. Richard Green, posted himself in a ditch behind the 57mm cannon. In overall command was the 1111th ECG's Capt. Robert Jewett, who monitored events from a halftrack parked nearby.

On a rise 1,200 yards south of Jewett's position, Lieutenant Fred Nabors' engineer platoon set up a blocking position designed to close the back door against any assault on Trois-Ponts. Nabors had just two Bazookas in his antitank arsenal but convinced himself that poor roads on the hilltop he was holding ought to deter armored vehicles from attacking there.





ABOVE: The stout defense of Trois-Ponts by American combat engineers was a key component of the Allied response and eventual defeat of the Nazi winter onslaught during the Battle of the Bulge. The engineers prevented Kampfgruppe Peiper from reaching the bridges across the Meuse River at Dinant. **OPPOSITE:** American soldiers advance warily through heavy snow during the Battle of the Bulge. The surprise German offensive caught the Americans off guard, and many service personnel were pressed into action against the enemy. Clerks, cooks, and drivers were among those who took up weapons such as the M-1 carbine in the hands of the soldier in the foreground. In fact, the carbine may indicate that this soldier has been pulled from a service post for combat duty.

With all highway bridges loaded for demolition, fighting positions dug, and a rearguard keeping watch on the western approaches, Colonel Anderson decided to relocate the 111th ECG's command post. At 10:00, with the sound of gunfire in Stavelot clearly audible to all, his staff began evacuating the Hôtel Crismer. Anderson remained behind to direct the desperate battle he knew was about to take place.

Four miles to the east, Peiper had enjoyed a bit of good luck when earlier that morning attacking SS PzKpfw. V Panther medium tanks found the Stavelot bridge undamaged. By 10:00, his tanks were over the Amblève and headed toward Trois-Ponts. Another flanking column of PzKpfw. IV medium tanks split off to ascend the high ground where Lt. Nabors' engineers lay in wait.

First to see the fearsome Panthers clattering down from Stavelot were Frazier and Bieker, who dragged their daisy-chain of antitank mines across the road before dashing to safety. SS Senior Sgt. Oscha Strelow, commanding the lead panzer, calmly dismounted and removed the explosives before continuing on his way. It was now 11:15.

The first three tanks in line rounded a bend and spied the Americans' 57mm, opening up on it with their powerful 75mm cannon. Shooting back, the gun crew temporarily immobilized Strelow's Panther with a lucky hit. They managed to get off a few more rounds before German high-explosive shells destroyed the piece, killing the crew.

Back in town, Anderson heard tank guns firing 500 yards to his front and knew exactly what it meant. There was only one thing to do; at 11:45 he ordered the Amblève River bridge blown. The roar of exploding TNT told all within earshot that armored vehicles using the Stavelot road could no longer enter Trois-Ponts.

The noise of the Amblève bridge going up behind him prompted Captain Jewett to order a hasty retreat. Boarding their squad truck and halftrack, those surviving members of the Stavelot road ambush force drove north along a country lane to La Gleize, then over the river at Cheneux. Green's platoon returned to Trois-Ponts via a roundabout route at 15:00.

Peiper, expecting the Amblève crossing might be denied him, detoured his advance guard up the same route taken by Jewett and Green. From an observation post across the river, Anderson counted 19 German tanks heading north and dispatched several couriers to warn First Army HQ of this alarming development. Anderson also witnessed a war crime when he saw an SS tank commander execute two elderly Belgians who had unwisely emerged from their house.

A total of 19 civilians from Trois-Ponts are known to have been murdered by Peiper's men. Their names have been listed on a plaque now affixed to the rebuilt Amblève River bridge.

As Kampfgruppe Peiper's main body advanced northward along the Amblève, a new threat emerged on high ground south of town. Three PzKpfw. IV tanks, vanguard of that armored element sent to outflank Trois-Ponts' defenders, entered the battlefield around 12:00. Encountering a string of landmines blocking their path, these panzers halted directly inside Lt. Nabors' kill-zone.

His first Bazooka team missed its target, unfortunately, while Nabors' second rocket launcher malfunctioned. The now-alerted tanks began firing back, destroying his platoon's one working Bazooka and disabling their daisy chain. Unable to hold, the engineers withdrew off their hilltop ambush site and moved down to rejoin Company C's position across the Salm.

They were not followed, as Peiper had ordered his southern attack force back due to low fuel. The Americans, however, could not know this. Seeing enemy panzers on the hillside opposite Trois-Ponts, Anderson reasoned his adversary's next objective was the Salm River highway bridge in town. To deny the Germans that critical structure, he had it dropped at 13:00.

Conditions were deteriorating rapidly inside Trois-Ponts. That afternoon, machine-gun fire nearly decapitated Anderson as he conferred with a lieutenant outside his old headquarters building. Later, while observing from a ridgeline with Captain Scheuber, the stoic colonel attracted a German tank crew's attention.

"There we stood," related Scheuber in a

postwar account, “when an 88mm tank shell went between us or slightly overhead to explode on the hillside beyond.... When we finished tumbling off that ridge (there wasn’t time to run) Col. Anderson and I ended up in about the same pile!”

Anderson had done all he could do to keep Trois-Ponts from falling into enemy hands. Peiper was still running rampant, though, and the 1111th ECG needed its commander present to help contain this dangerous foe. Yet the situation here required an experienced officer in charge, someone who would motivate and inspire the village’s defenders to keep fighting even though they were outnumbered, outgunned, and completely isolated from all friendly troops.

He found that strong leader at 13:30 when Bull Yates of the 51st ECB pulled into Trois-Ponts for what was supposed to be a routine staff conference. Scheuber showed Yates around Company C’s 500-yard outpost line and, before taking his leave, Anderson updated him on the situation. Yates also met with Albert Walters, the 291st ECB lieutenant whose engineer squad stood ready to blow the remaining Salm River bridge.

This detachment, led by Sergeant Jean Miller, sat tight until midafternoon when some German engineers (*Pioniere*) were seen approaching. Grimly, Miller waited for those men to step onto the bridge before he sent it skyward in a flash of blue light. Boarding their squad truck, Miller’s detail then escaped into the gathering dusk.

Meanwhile, in Trois-Ponts an enemy tank that had taken a wrong turn stopped straight across the river from Sergeant Evers Gossard’s position. When its crew dismounted, he opened fire on them with a .50-caliber machine gun. Five of six SS tankers fell, but one crewman climbed back inside and started to traverse the panzer’s main gun toward Gossard’s gun pit. He and his engineers “discreetly retired” until that vehicle eventually drove off.

As night fell, the immediate crisis confronting Trois-Ponts’ little garrison appeared to have passed. Peiper was now miles to the north, which meant those G.I.s holding the town no longer had to worry about a direct armored assault. Yet they were still vulnera-



ABOVE: U.S. Army combat engineers wait for the order to destroy a bridge in the village of Malmédy, Belgium, after wiring the span with 850 pounds of explosives to deny its use to the Nazis. Many personnel of the 291st Engineer Combat Battalion were positioned in Malmédy at the height of the Battle of the Bulge. **BELOW:** A U.S. Army combat engineer stands with hands on the plunger of a detonator box. Engineers have just completed wiring explosives to large trees along a roadway, expecting the detonation to fell the trees and block the progress of the Nazi spearheads toward the Meuse River during the Battle of the Bulge.





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ble to occasional artillery, mortar, and machine-gun fire, so Yates instructed his engineers to tighten their perimeter and stay alert.

“We kept sniping at them across the river,” he recalled, “but every shot of ours seemed to draw about a thousand in return. So we decided to deceive them as to how great a force we had available.”

He devised several ruses intended to convince any nearby German observers that the U.S. presence in Trois-Ponts was strong and growing. First, Yates assembled all six of his 2.5-ton trucks and repeatedly sent them speeding up and down a hill with their headlights on to suggest reinforcements arriving. He also had tire chains put on Company C’s 4-ton truck, instructing its operator to drive slowly around the village so as to simulate tanks moving in.

A vehicle accident occurring the night before further contributed to Yates’ deception plan. Sometime before dawn on the 18th, an open-topped artillery piece (variously identified as either an M7 or M8 Howitzer Motor Carriage) slid off the main bridge in town and ended up on its side in the Salm. The crew used thermite grenades to scuttle their mount, which caused the ammunition carried on board to “cook off” at irregular intervals over the next 24 hours. This pyrotechnic display sounded like artillery being fired and may have impressed inquisitive German listening posts.

Shortly after daybreak on Tuesday, December 19, a small patrol of combat engineers crossed the Amblève and cautiously made their way up the Stavelot road. Covered by Yates and three others, Lt. Green and Tech. Sgt. Matthew R. Carlyle observed four soldiers dressed as G.I.s standing around the wreckage of that 57mm gun knocked out in yesterday’s ambush. An M8 armored car and a jeep sat parked farther up the road.

Yet when Carlyle hailed the group, they yelled, “Amerikans!” and opened fire on him. He and Green had undoubtedly run into Panzer Brigade 150, a unit of German troops wearing Allied uniforms and equipped with captured vehicles whose mission was to infiltrate the lines, spread confusion, and—if possible—seize the Meuse crossings. Green’s party returned from this unusual encounter without loss.

Later that day, Lieutenant Nabors’ platoon engaged some infantrymen seen moving around on the hilltop they had abandoned the day before. The enemy replied with a storm of small-

A Tiger II tank of Kampfgruppe Peiper lies wrecked and abandoned after running into a house in the Belgian town of Stavelot, where U.S. soldiers put it out of action permanently. The tank belonged to the 501st Heavy SS Battalion, a component of Kampfgruppe Peiper, which was denied entry into Stavelot by American combat engineers for a critical period during the Battle of the Bulge.

arms and artillery fire, prompting Nabors’ engineers to conceal themselves better and frequently change positions in the face of what everyone in Trois-Ponts recognized was an expanding SS presence across the river.

At 20:00, help finally arrived in the form of three armored cars belonging to the 85th Cavalry Reconnaissance Squadron. Creeping in from the west, these vehicles took fire from Yates’ rear guard—likely out of fear they were part of Peiper’s group or Panzer Brigade 150. Once the recon troopers identified themselves, though, they were eagerly incorporated into Yates’ defenses.

Although the G.I.s holding Trois-Ponts could not know it, senior commanders on both sides had started moving men and armored vehicles toward this key crossroads village as a direct response to Kampfgruppe Peiper. That SS officer, stymied by another blown bridge at Habimont, detoured north





Both National Archives

American engineers at Trois-Ponts destroyed the bridges over the Salm and Ambleve Rivers as they stood up to German armor and infantry of Kampfgruppe Peiper during the Battle of the Bulge. Fighting raged at Trois-Ponts as the engineers displayed great valor against Lieutenant Colonel Joachim Peiper's tanks and troops at the critical juncture.

to Stoumont where his column ran out of fuel. The Germans dispatched a mechanized relief column to link up with Peiper's battle group, resupply his panzers, and continue 1st SS Panzer Division's drive on the Meuse.

Another powerful task force gathered 10 miles to the west in Werbomont. The elite 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment (PIR), 82nd Airborne Division, had recently traveled 150 miles from its rest camp in France after being released from Allied theater reserve to join the fight. In its haste to deploy, however, the 505th was "going in blind"—that is, without any maps or tactical intelligence on what lay ahead.

Unaware of the situation in Trois-Ponts, Regimental CO Colonel William E. Ekman joined his 2nd Bn. (2/505) as that unit warily moved forward on the morning of Wednesday, December 20. Most of Ekman's paratroopers were on foot, but the colonel per-

sonally led one truck-mounted platoon into town as an advance guard. He found it held by weary but resolute U.S. combat engineers under the command of Yates, who greeted him with an exuberant "I'll bet you guys are glad we're here!"

Things began to happen quickly. To provide early warning, one rifle company crossed the Salm and established an outpost along the same high ground previously held by Nabors' platoon. The rest of 2/505 deployed on line, lengthening the engineers' defensive perimeter by several hundred yards.

With assistance from Scheuber's men, a platoon of airborne engineers partially rebuilt the bridges inside Trois-Ponts that were destroyed on December 18. Soon, jeeps towing 57mm anti tank guns started making their way up a winding cart path to the Airborne's hilltop observation post.

Back in town, sporadic artillery fire took its toll on several 51st ECB engineers manning the line. Around 19:30, large-caliber shells struck a machine gun position occupied by Sgt. Joseph Gyure and Pvt. Carl Strawser. Gyure was seriously wounded and Strawser killed in the blast. Later that night, another barrage took the life of S/Sgt. William W. Rankin.

At 03:00 on Thursday, December 21, G.I.s manning 2/505's forward listening post reported hearing movement to the east. About daylight, Bazooka teams ambushed two armored cars bearing the insignia of 1st SS Panzer Division. These vehicles belonged to Kampfgruppe Hansen, a powerful task force built around one battalion of armored infantry (*panzergrenadiers*) as well as some Jagdpanzer IV tank destroyers.

Seasoned veterans themselves, 2/505's paratroopers had never before fought against the SS and were shocked by the aggressive tactics of their heavily-armed opponents. Despite timely support from the 476th Parachute Field Artillery Battalion, by mid-afternoon it became evident the hilltop outpost was about to be overrun. Ekman ordered a retreat, with Yates' soldiers providing suppressive fire.

Incredibly, Colonel Hansen's panzergrenadiers followed their foe across the Salm, fighting American paratroopers and combat engineers in the streets of Trois-Ponts until well past dusk. At 15:00, when this vicious brawl was at its worst, Yates received a phone call





from the 1111th ECG directing him to pull his command out immediately.

Later, Yates recalled informing Anderson that “it was impossible to disengage from the enemy” just then, “as Company C was covering the withdrawal of the 82nd Airborne Division.”

Once the last panzergrenadiers were chased out of Trois-Ponts, though, Yates notified 2/505’s commander that his engineers had been ordered to depart. Yet there was one last task to perform, as both river bridges in town needed to be blown—again. The Amblève River span went up easily enough, but accurate German harassing fire kept a detail led by Lt. Joseph Milgram from properly rigging the larger Salm trestle for demolition.

After sunset, Milgram and T/5 Paul H. Keck crawled out over the bridge to load several TNT-filled “necklace charges” against a stone abutment on the enemy side. Then, rolling a length of primacord out behind them, both men waded the icy river back to friendly lines where Milgram checked their work and lit a fuse igniter. The shot fired perfectly, sending timbers flying in every direction.

At 19:30, Company C’s exhausted G.I.s boarded their squad trucks and departed the village they had held for four eventful days. Yates also released Lt. Waters’ 291st ECB platoon, offering that officer a hearty “well done” for his soldiers’ stalwart work. The engineers’ mission in Trois-Ponts was finally accomplished.

Yates looked back with pride on his troops’ performance there. “I would find them asleep standing up after 94 hours on the job,” he said, “but they were standing up.” Indeed, the men under his command had done something truly remarkable. Against enormous odds, they stood their ground while all around them other U.S. forces were fleeing the battlefield.

Credit must also be given to Yates’ superb leadership. As one Army historian noted on the defense of Trois-Ponts: “[E]asy-going in nature but determined in spirit, Major Yates held together his little company by prodding, cajoling, and encouraging them to resist long after they had reached reasonable limits of human endurance.”

Perhaps the finest tribute to these G.I.s’ heroic stand came from the man they had thwarted. Speaking after the war, Peiper claimed, “If we had captured the bridge [sic] at Trois-Ponts

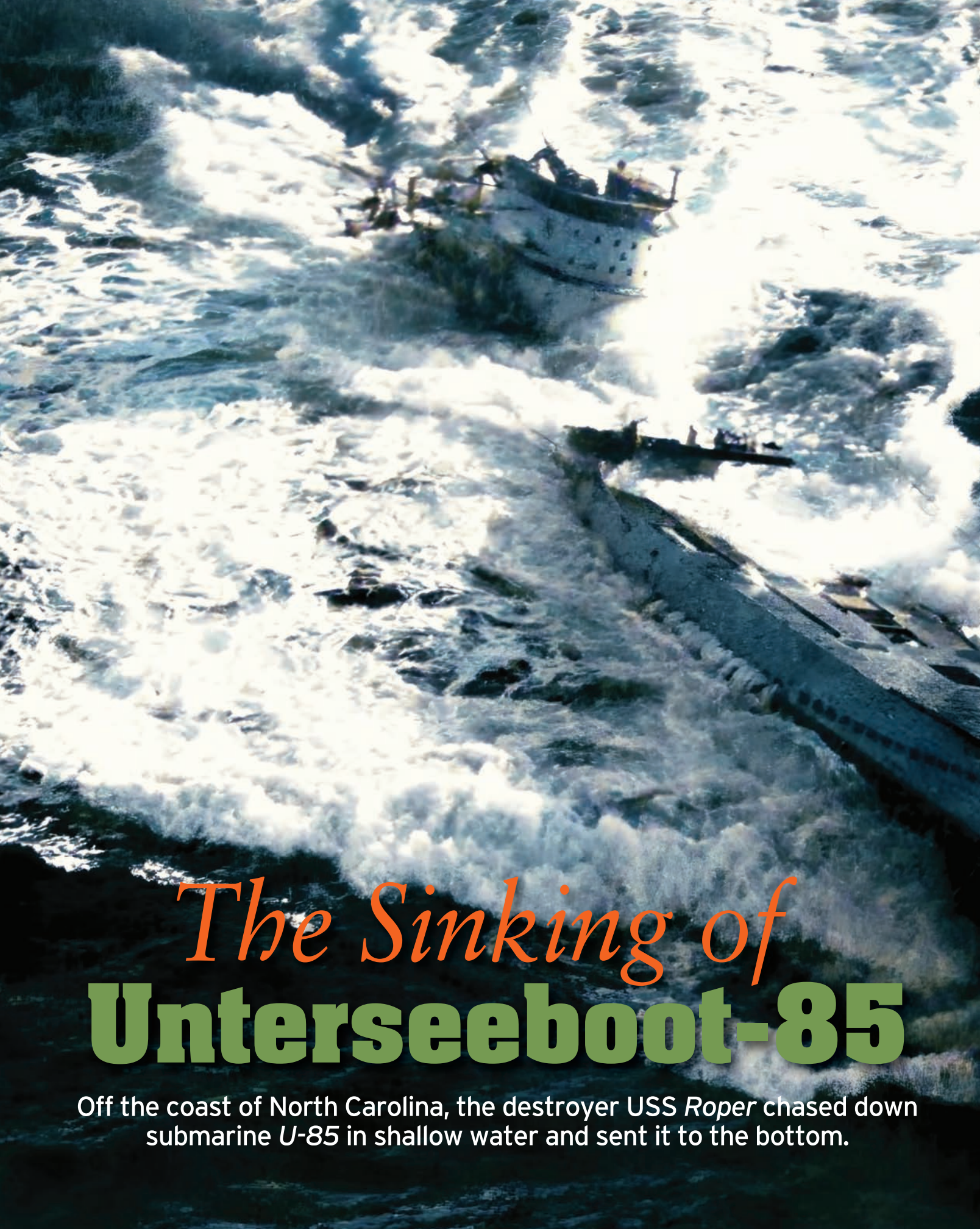
Elements of Lieutenant Colonel David E. Pergrin’s 291st Engineer Combat Battalion were located in Malmedy when Kampfgruppe Peiper passed through and massacred 84 American prisoners of war at the nearby Baugnez crossroads. Among the first Americans to discover evidence of the war crime were engineers of C Company pictured in this photo.

intact and had enough fuel, it would have been a simple matter to drive through to the Meuse River early that day.”

A handful of steadfast soldiers led by courageous, inspirational officers helped turn the tide at Trois-Ponts. Already, Allied commanders had started planning a massive counterthrust that would first “flatten the Bulge” and then drive deep into Nazi Germany to end the war in Western Europe. Hard-working combat engineers were destined to play a vital role in this, the last offensive. □

Author Patrick J. Chaisson writes from his home in Scotia, New York. The author wishes to thank Dr. Florian Waitl and Mr. Sam Robertson of the U.S. Army Engineer School Historian’s office, and Mr. Troy Morgan of the U.S. Army Engineer Museum, Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri, for their invaluable assistance.





The Sinking of **Unterseeboot-85**

Off the coast of North Carolina, the destroyer USS *Roper* chased down submarine *U-85* in shallow water and sent it to the bottom.



BY ERIK PETKOVIC

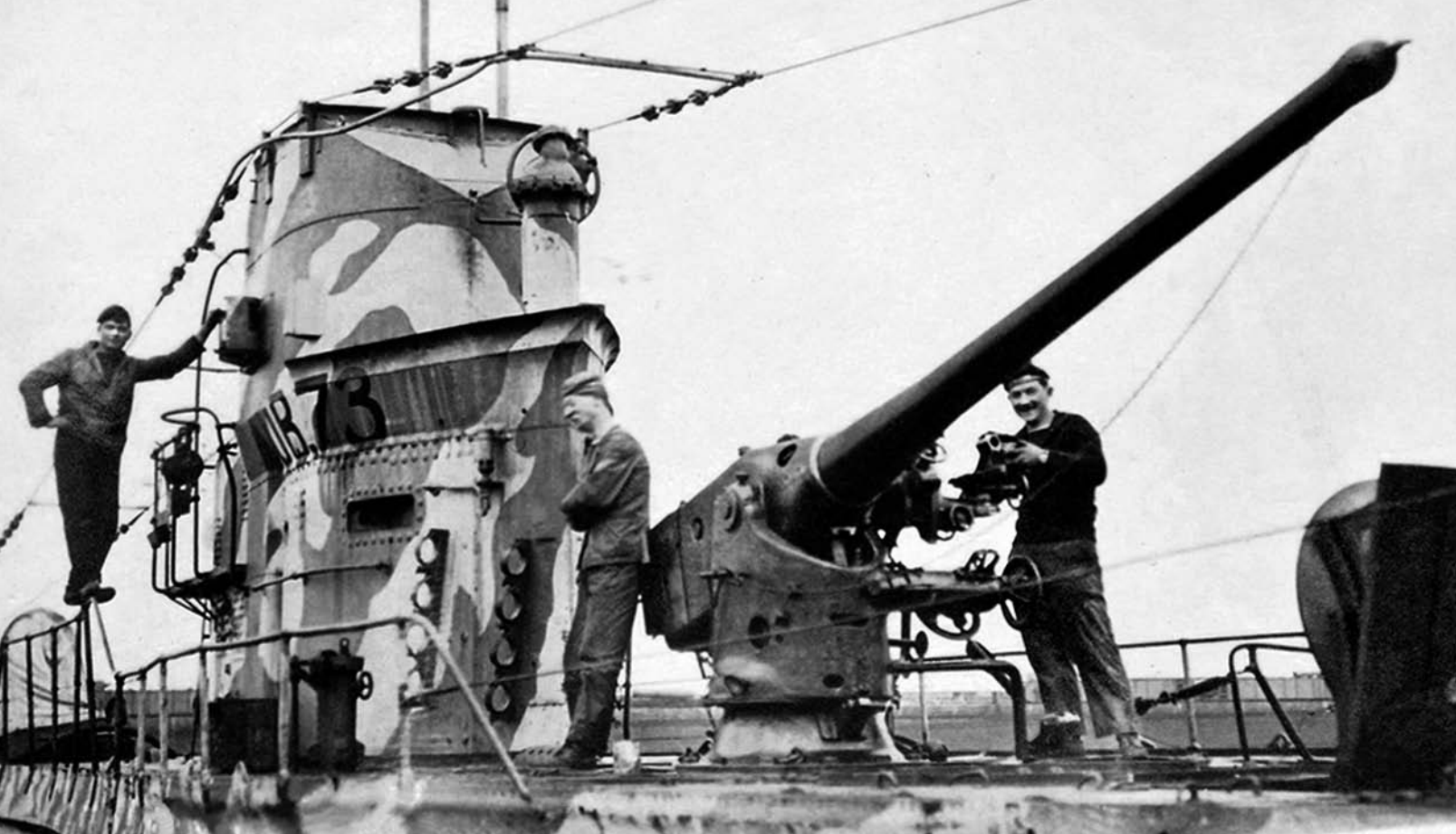
On September 3, 1939, when Great Britain and France declared war on Germany, the Kriegsmarine only had 46 operational U-boats, the majority of which were used for training. More than half of them were the Type II and its four variants, which were all coastal submarines with limited range. Given the circumstances, they were kept close to the Fatherland. Most were withdrawn from the Atlantic and started operating in the North Sea until longer range and more capable U-boats were available.

Meanwhile, German design and engineering continued to advance the U-boat. Applying lessons learned from World War I in conjunction with extensive trials, which included tactical scenarios, the Kriegsmarine continued to develop its underwater fleet. Improvements were designed, tested, and implemented, not only in the U-boats already in service, but to the overall design.

Type I and Type VII U-boats were being launched at shipyards simultaneously throughout Germany. The first Type VIIA U-boat was tested against the Type IA. Despite the initial Type VII carrying three fewer torpedoes than the Type IA and the Type IA having a better turning radius and faster surface speed, the Type VIIA displayed better underwater performance. After close comparison, Admiral Karl Dönitz, commander of the Kriegsmarine U-boat fleet, completely abandoned the Type I and discontinued the coastal Type II. Dönitz chose to concentrate on perfecting the Type VII and Type IX. The improved designs incorporated more torpedoes, a faster surface speed, and a better turning radius. The Type VII would become the most produced U-boat during the war.

One of the shipbuilders which produced Type VII for the Kriegsmarine was Flender Werke AG. The shipbuilder was situated southeast of Kiel in the second largest city on the German-Baltic coast, Lubeck. Over the course of the war, Flender Werke AG produced 42 U-boats. *U-85* was one of only five Type VII B U-boats built in Lubeck.

A German U-boat, forced to the surface by depth charges dropped from a patrolling Allied aircraft, founders in the turbulent Atlantic Ocean. *U-85* was attacked and depth charged by Allied aircraft during a war patrol.



National Archives

U-85 was ordered on June 9, 1938. The keel was laid on December 18, 1939. *U-85* was launched on April 10, 1941, and officially entered the Kriegsmarine two months later on June 7, during commissioning. One of only 24 Type VIIB U-boats produced for the Kriegsmarine, *U-85* was attached to the Third Flotilla based at Kiel and La Palice.

The Type VIIB incorporated the recommended changes made by both the U-boat trial committee and Dönitz. The addition of a second rudder improved the excessive turning radius of the Type VIIA. The aft torpedo tube was repositioned inside the pressure hull. This allowed for more torpedo storage inside the pressure hull and additionally outside the pressure hull beneath the deck. Speed was also increased with the introduction of a superdrive for the diesel engines. An increase in overall length and larger fuel tanks expanded its range.

At 26, Eberhard Greger already had several years of combat to his name when he was given command of *U-85*. In addition to being Second Watch Officer aboard the destroyer *Wolfgang Zenker* from February to October 1939, Greger was First Watch Officer for legendary commander Kapitan-

leutnant Fitz-Julius Lemp aboard *U-30*. Lemp, a Knight's Cross holder, was at the helm when *U-30* sank 17 Allied vessels totaling 86,490 tons. In October 1940, Lemp transferred to *U-110*—a Type IXB. Greger joined Lemp as First Watch Officer until he enrolled in the U-boat commander course. *U-110* was captured by the British on May 9, 1941, and the Royal Navy obtained an enigma machine and, more importantly, an up-to-date codebook. Lemp died during the attack.

After commissioning, Greger and *U-85* spent most of the summer of 1941 undergoing hull and engine trials conducted by the U-boat Acceptance Commission (UAK-U-Bootsabnahme-kommission). Handling trials were administered by the Technical Training Group for Frontline U-boats.

From August 11 to August 28, *U-85* held firing exercises in Trondheim Fjord, Norway. During the exercises on August 13, the small German destroyer *T-151* rammed *U-85* in 45 feet of water. *U-85*'s number one diving tank and steering gear were damaged, but it didn't sink. After it was repaired and given a final overhaul in dry dock, the crew painted a wild boar logo on the front of the conning tower as a tribute to Oberleutnant zur see Eberhard Greger—the German translation of “Eber” is boar. *U-85* was ready for war.

On August 28, *U-85* departed Trondheim on its first war patrol. Assigned to the Markgraf Wolfpack, *U-85* headed north through the North Sea with 13 other subs destined to patrol the waters off southwestern Iceland. Less than 12 hours after departing, alarms rang out. *U-85* was sighted by an Allied aircraft and forced to crash dive at 9:04 p.m. Thirty minutes later, *U-85* surfaced and continued on its cruise. The following day *U-85* was forced to crash dive again as it was spotted by another Allied aircraft. On the third day, *U-85* entered the North Atlantic and spotted a freighter, which escaped before an attack could be coordinated.

On Sunday, August 31, at 11:40 a.m., *U-85* spotted a steamer and altered course to head off the unknown vessel. At 12:30 p.m. *U-85* submerged for an attack that was called off as the steamer was deemed to be too small to waste a torpedo on.

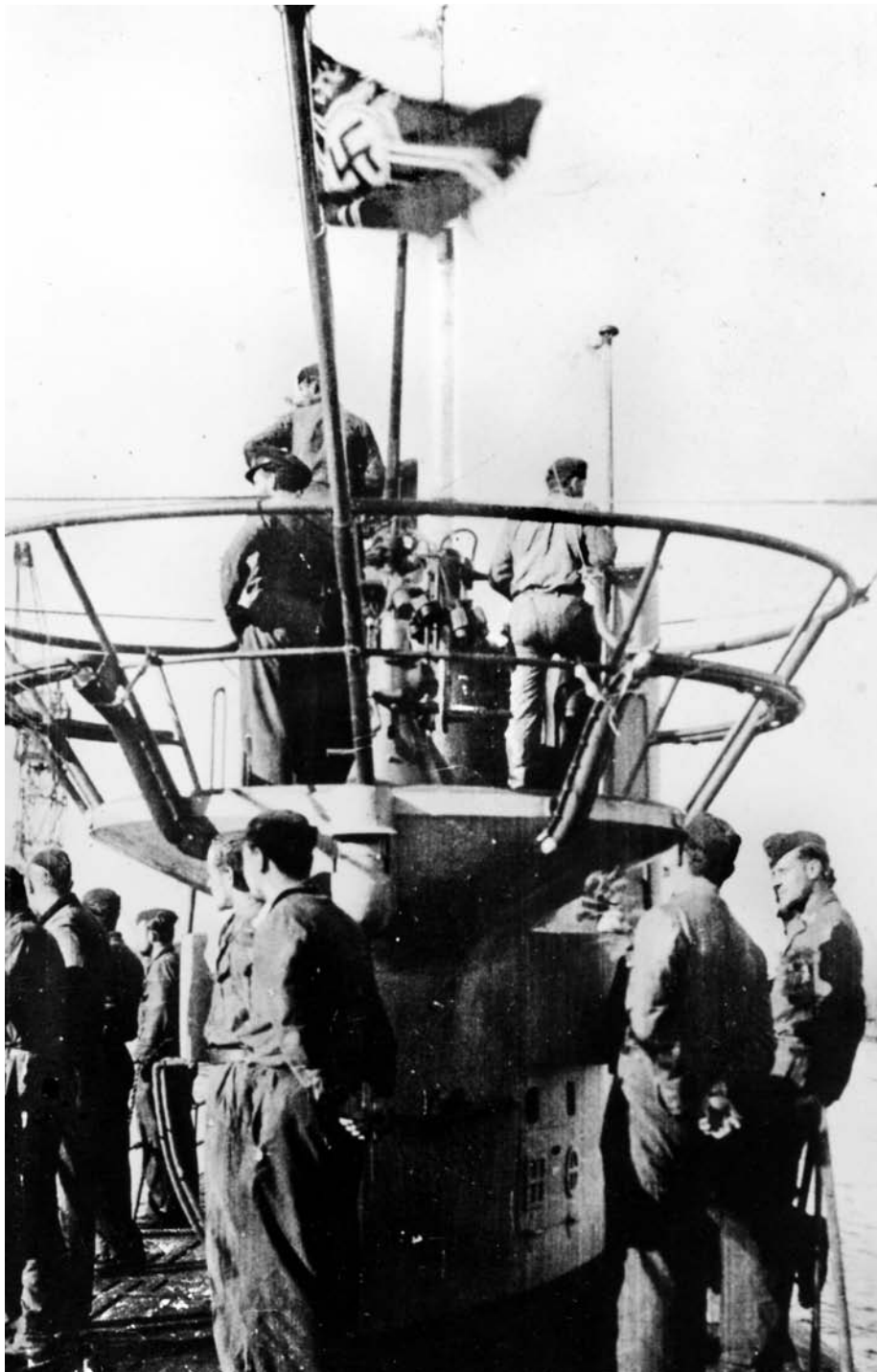
On September 2, a patrolling aircraft spotted *U-85* and dropped three depth charges that did no damage. *U-85* spotted *U-105* later that evening and exchanged recognition signals

and accounts of what had transpired since the beginning of the cruise.

U-85 reached the waters south of the Denmark Strait on September 4 and had to crash dive three times over the next 24 hours as it was spotted by coastal surveillance planes.

On September 9, southeast of Greenland, *U-81* and *U-85* found convoy SC-42. Greger

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ABOVE: This photograph of the crew aboard the *U-85* was recovered after the sinking of the submarine by the destroyer *USS Roper* off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, on April 14, 1942. OPPOSITE: German sailors pose on the deck of *U-75* as one of them tends to the 88mm deck gun. The *U-75* was a Type VII B submarine like *U-85*, and only 24 of the type were constructed with more powerful engines and greater speed than the preceding Type VIIA.

radioed that the convoy contained as many as 65 ships—a massive discovery with the potential for inflicting significant damage. The entire Markgraf Wolfpack was redirected to Greger’s position. SC-42 was protected by Canadian escort group EG.24 consisting of the destroyer HMCS *Skeena* and the corvettes HMCS *Kenogami*, HMCS *Alberni*, and HMCS *Orillia*.

As the wolfpack descended upon its prey from various directions, *U-85* heard a distant explosion. *U-81*, under the command of Kapitänleutnant Friedrich Guggenberger, hit the British steamer *Empire Springbuck* on the port side with two torpedoes. The steamer exploded and disappeared quickly beneath the surface, and 39 lives were lost.

U-85 had to crash dive again just after noon and, while submerged, fired five torpedoes at the convoy that did not find their mark.

Surfacing at 3:45 p.m., *U-85* sounded the alarm five minutes later when two vessels were sighted. The closest was an escort ship that was curiously stopped dead in the water. Suspecting a trap, *U-85* disengaged and left the area. *U-85* surfaced at 4:50 p.m. and followed the convoy from a distance until forced to crash dive after being sighted by an airplane. *U-85* continued to follow the convoy while navigating through an iceberg field.

Sighted by a destroyer the next morning, *U-85* was forced to alter its course after it opened fire. The destroyer dropped a depth charge on *U-85* just over 20 minutes later but it inflicted no damage. *U-85* remained submerged for the next 75 minutes.

Nearly three hours later *U-85* found the convoy and fired multiple torpedoes, hitting the British steamer *Thistleglen*, killing three sailors and sending 2,400 tons of pig iron and 5,200 tons of steel to the bottom of the North Atlantic. *U-85* descended to a depth of 308 feet to escape the heavy barrage of depth charges. Greger surfaced three times over the next several hours but was forced to immediately dive because of aircraft overhead.

On September 11, *U-85* surfaced in an attempt to repair damage suffered during the earlier depth charge incident. At 9:45 a.m., Greger ordered a test dive. It did not go well. *U-85* was in a “state of limited readiness to submerge.” Greger had no choice but to head

to the U-boat pens at St. Nazaire on the French coast.

After 22 days at sea, *U-85* arrived at St. Nazaire. Greger was disappointed his first war patrol was cut short. Even though *U-85* claimed only one kill, Greger's spotting of the convoy was a major success. A total of 16 Allied ships, 68,259 tons, were sunk and four additional vessels were damaged.

Following repairs, *U-85* departed for Lorient on October 11, where it took on provisions and fuel. On October 16, *U-85* departed Lorient. Not much is known about *U-85*'s second war patrol other than its ending in failure. *U-85* was continuously plagued by bad weather and limited visibility for much of the 43-day cruise. *U-85* chased two convoys, but there is no evidence of any success and it returned to Lorient low on fuel and a full complement of torpedoes.

On January 10, 1942, *U-85* began its third war cruise with orders to patrol off Gibraltar and then enter the Mediterranean Sea. One week later while chasing a convoy, Greger received new operational orders to head for American waters.

On January 21, *U-85* sighted a lone steamer heading toward the British Isles and immediately submerged. At 6:42 p.m., *U-85* fired four torpedoes. Two crewmen aboard *U-85* claimed two detonations were heard. The U-boat surfaced and claimed to have seen a steamer with a list. *U-85* submerged to stealthily approach the stricken steamer, surfacing 21 minutes later to find no sign of it. Greger searched until after midnight for debris, but nothing was ever found. No Allied records confirm this incident.

Off Newfoundland on January 28, *U-85* went through a "baptism by fire." At 1:48 p.m., the submarine was rocked when a depth charge exploded near the hull. A Lockheed Hudson coastal reconnaissance aircraft piloted by Donald Francis Mason of the U.S. Navy, was making an anti-submarine sweep astern of convoy HX-172 when he sighted a periscope. Two depth charges were dropped approximately 25 feet apart.

According to the official U.S. report of engagement, *U-85* was "apparently completely surprised" by the attack. "Plumes of the explosions were seen to spread, one on



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ABOVE: During a violent storm on her last war patrol, *U-85* sustained damage on March 29, 1942, when gale force winds caused torpedoes to shift and later created problems with the operation of the electric motors. **OPPOSITE:** Commanded by Lt. Com. Hamilton Wilcox Howe, the destroyer *USS Roper* made sonar contact with the German submarine *U-85* just after midnight on April 14, 1942. The *U-85* surfaced in an attempt to outrun *USS Roper* but failed and fired a torpedo at its pursuer, which missed.

either side of the periscope, estimated distance 10 feet from wake line and nearly abreast the periscope. The submarine was lifted bodily in the water until most of the conning tower could be seen. Headway of submarine seemed to be killed at once and she was observed to sink from sight vertically. Five minutes later, oil began to bubble to the surface and continued for ten minutes." The pilot famously reported "Sighted sub, sank same."

U-85 surfaced 70 minutes later undamaged.

On February 8, *U-85* met with *U-654* under command of Oberleutnant Ludwig Forster, and the two U-boats jointly pursued convoy ONS-61. Forster hit the French corvette *FFL Alyssa* with a torpedo on the port side. Thirty-six crew were lost. Thirty-four survivors were picked up by the corvettes *HMCS Moose Jaw* and *HMCS Hepatica*. *U-85* fired three torpedoes at the convoy. All three missed.

The following day in continued pursuit of ONS-61, *U-85* sighted a steamer. At 11:28 a.m., *U-85* submerged for an attack, but the British steamer *Empire Fusilier* zigzagged away. An hours-long pursuit commenced. At 10:20 p.m., *U-85* fired a spread of three torpedoes. Greger scored one hit, and *Empire Fusilier* sank immediately with a loss of nine crewmen. Thirty-eight survivors were picked up by the corvette *HMCS Barrie* and later landed at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Low on fuel, *U-85* started the 1,000-mile return to St. Nazaire.

After provisioning and refitting, *U-85* left for its fourth, and final, cruise on March 21. Two days west of St. Nazaire, depth charges were heard in the distance. Greger kept *U-85* submerged until he deemed it safe to surface on the fourth day and then proceeded westward

on the surface toward America's East Coast. *U-85* carried two enigma machines. Designated Schlüssel M, the four-wheeled enigma was the latest cipher technology.

Little is known about the trans-Atlantic crossing after the fourth day other than a diary entry noting "fine weather and a sea as smooth as a table." The good weather only lasted a few days. By March 29, gale force winds battered *U-85*. The winds and seas were so heavy that several torpedoes inside *U-85* shifted. The following day the electric motors were damaged due to the incessant heavy seas. On March 31, the gale fizzled out. On April 5 at noon, *U-85* reported "magnificent sunshine just off America." Two days later *U-85* was 300 nautical miles from land and 660 miles from Washington D.C.

An alarm sounded on April 9, and the contact turned out to be a buoy. *U-85* had been at sea for nearly three weeks, and the crew was on edge. The following day, *U-85* spotted a lone freighter traveling outbound from New York. The Norwegian-flagged *Christina Knudsen* was headed to Cape Town, South Africa, hauling general cargo and nitrate. Greger fired two torpedoes, sinking it with all 33 hands.

Greger continued south toward Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, spending the daylight hours running submerged or sitting on the bottom. *U-85* surfaced only at night to hunt for ships under the cloak of darkness.

On April 13, *U-85* arrived off the North Carolina coast and sat on the bottom in shallow waters off Bodie Island Lighthouse, just north of the Oregon Inlet. Greger could not afford to surface in daylight with only shallow waters beneath him should he need to run and hide.

The USS *Roper*, a destroyer commanded by Lieutenant Commander Hamilton Wilcox Howe, departed Norfolk Naval Base that same night for an anti-submarine patrol off the Outer Banks. A 1926 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy Howe, now 37, had been well seasoned in the early stages of the Battle of the Atlantic. Just two weeks earlier, Howe and the USS *Roper* had been on hand to pick up 70 survivors from the American passenger liner *City of New York*—torpedoed by *U-160* in the same waters they were heading for. Howe was joined by Commander Stanley Cook Norton, commander of Destroyer Division 54.

An aging but sturdy vessel, the USS *Roper* (DD-147) was a Wickes Class four-stack destroyer commissioned on February 15, 1919. *Roper* was armed with five 3-inch guns, four .50-caliber machine guns, six torpedoes, two racks of depth charges, and Y-guns and K-guns for propelling the depth charges at distance.

Naval History and Heritage Command



At 11 p.m., Howe retired to his cabin, as did Norton. Ensign Kenneth M. Tebo, the officer of the deck, commanded *Roper's* bridge and continued south. Six minutes after midnight on April 14, *Roper* made a sonar contact at a range of 2,700 yards. The captain later reported, "The night was clear, with many stars visible; the sea was very nearly calm, and the water phosphorescent. A wind of force one was blowing from the Southeast. Bodie Island Light and Bodie Island lighted Bell Buoy No. 8 were discernible to starboard."

As *Roper* tracked the sonar contact, the sound operator was performing echo ranging on the object. The range decreased as the bearing "began drawing to the left." When the range closed to 2,100 yards, a wake and small silhouette were seen. The sonar operator heard "rapidly turning propellers." The vessel appeared to be turning away. Howe and Norton were awakened and reported back to the bridge.

Greger surfaced *U-85* in an attempt to outrun *Roper* and reach deeper water as quickly as possible. *Roper's* sound operator and radar operator concurred on the distance and speed of the fleeing vessel. Tebo increased speed to 20 knots, and *Roper* was gaining on *U-85*. Knowing that U-boats had a stern torpedo tube, Howe maintained a slight starboard position from *U-85's* wake. The precaution paid off when, at a range of 700 yards, *U-85* fired a torpedo that passed *Roper* harmlessly to port. General Quarters echoed throughout the ship.

As they closed to within 300 yards, *U-85* turned sharply to starboard. Trapped in only 100 feet of water, Greger had no choice but to fight. Men poured out of *U-85's* conning tower to man the deck gun. Executive officer Lt. Williams Winfield Vanous tracked the sub with *Roper's* powerful 24-inch searchlight for the first visual of *U-85*.

When the searchlight caught the Nazi sub again as it continued turning hard to starboard, Chief Boatswain's Mate Jack Edwin Wright used a .50-caliber machine gun to cut down the Kriegsmarine sailors trying to get to the 88mm deck gun.

Howe later wrote that Wright "opened fire so promptly and effectively that he was a



National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration

major factor in bringing about the destruction of the submarine. He raked the submarine in the vicinity of her gun and prevented every attempt by the crew to man this gun and counter attack *Roper*. The promptness and accuracy of this fire undoubtedly materially hastened the decision of the submarine commander to scuttle, and saved this vessel from possible damage and loss of life.”

Coxswain Harry Heyman manned *Roper*’s No. 5 three-inch gun, scoring a direct hit just aft of the conning tower below the waterline. Heyman had only replaced the regular gun captain two days earlier. Firing a large caliber gun required a team. Seaman John Nicholas McCarter, Seaman Woodrow W. Darden, Seamen Harold E. Hanshaw, Robert D. Orr, and Lon Howser, and Machinist Mate Frank S. Bukovics assisted Heyman on pointing, training, sighting, and loading the three-inch gun.

Only two of *Roper*’s guns were fired. The others could not be brought into operation—two misfired, probably due to ammunition failures. The casings were removed and inspected. All showed large indentations, which meant the firing pins had struck the casings. The sailors believed primer failures had been caused by bad weather.

“The guns are kept half-loaded at all times

when at sea,” Howe noted, and it was difficult to “protect the ammunition from rain, sun, and spray.” Unfired for three weeks, the ammunition left inside the guns was never rotated.

U-85 began to sink slowly, stern first. It is surmised Greger gave the order to scuttle as *U-85* slowed and came to a complete stop prior to the direct hit. Men rushed out of *U-85* as it went down. Howe reported approximately 40 sailors in the water.

The sound operator aboard *Roper* heard an “excellent sound contact” in the water. Those on *Roper*’s bridge believed this to be another U-boat hunting with *U-85*, but in all likelihood, this was *U-85* settling on the bottom. Unwilling to put *Roper* at undue risk if another U-boat was on the prowl, the American officers decided not to rescue *U-85*’s men in the water. Instead, *Roper* powered through the middle of the area while they were all yelling for help and dropped 11 depth charges. All the men in the water were instantly killed.

It was too dark to see any debris in the water, and it was also deemed too dangerous to wait until daylight in case *U-85* was part of a wolf pack. *Roper* departed the area.

At daybreak a U.S. Navy PBY Catalina patrol plane commanded by Lieutenant C.V. Horrigan arrived on scene to conduct a visual assessment. “Suspicious oil slicks and bits of debris were investigated.” Not liking something that he saw, Horrigan dropped a depth charge.

At 7:06 a.m., two additional planes arrived and spotted floating bodies on the water’s surface. The planes dropped smoke floats in order to get *Roper*’s attention. Nine minutes later, *Roper* released two lifeboats and “commenced recovering bodies and floating articles.”

At 7:27 a.m., an observation blimp arrived and circled *Roper* to provide a set of eyes from the sky. As many as seven planes assisted in aerial surveillance throughout the morning. In less than a half hour, the first lifeboat returned to *Roper* with five German bodies. Within minutes, 15 more were recovered.

Just before 9 a.m., *Roper*’s sonar operator detected “a sharp echo at a range of 2,700 yards.” Seven minutes later, *Roper* dropped four depth charges. “One very large air bubble and one smaller one appeared, together with fresh oil,” according to a report. The blimp dropped flares on the spot to assist *Roper* with visual awareness and reported a “continuation of the air bubbles.”

At 9:32 a.m., the last of 29 bodies was recovered. Howe reported two additional bodies

were permitted to sink after a thorough search for “articles of possible use to Naval Intelligence.” Howe did not provide a reason for not recovering these bodies; however, it is thought that they were mauled from the depth charges. Two of the bodies appeared to be officers, although Greger’s body was never located. Two others had escape lungs and mouth pieces inserted. This indicates the two men escaped after *U-85* sank. Fifteen empty life jackets were seen floating on the surface along with six escape lungs. Two diaries were discovered and brought aboard *Roper* for safe transfer to Naval Intelligence. They belonged to Seaman Eric Degenkolb and Stabsobermaschinist Eugen Ungethum.

Just before 10 a.m., *Roper* dropped two additional depth charges over the largest air bubble to ensure the U-boat would never again hunt. *Roper* placed an orange buoy about 250 yards from the largest air bubble to mark the location and returned to Lynnhaven Roads that afternoon. A report was made to the Commandant of the Fifth Naval District.

At Lynnhaven Roads, the bodies of the 29 Germans were transferred from *Roper* to the U.S. Navy tug *Sciota* (AT-30). The bodies were delivered to the naval base at Norfolk, each transferred via stretcher to a truck which delivered them to a small hangar at Naval Air Station Norfolk for initial examination. Each body was examined, photographed, searched for personal effects, and identified. A report was issued for each examination. Fingerprints were taken, and all personal effects were individually dried, wrapped, and packaged with a serial number.

The Norfolk Naval Base needed the space, so the bodies had to be moved, but a report noted that there was an “insufficient supply of caskets available at the U.S. Naval Hospital, Portsmouth, Va., and in the Norfolk area and private undertakers could not guarantee delivery of the required

number in time to be of use.”

Contact was made with Colonel Keith Ryan at the Veterans Administration in Kecoughtan, Virginia. Ryan transferred “twenty-nine standard Veterans Administration specification caskets and shipping boxes from his stock.” The U.S. Navy was billed \$33.02 for each casket, and \$8.13 for each shipping box.

On April 15, each body was placed into a casket, sealed in a shipping box, and transported under military guard to the Hampton National Cemetery, Hampton, Virginia. The procession consisted of Navy Lt. A. J. Bush, Army Lt. Splain, and a squad of 24 seamen.

The procession was met by Provost Marshal Major C.P. Wade, eight senior and junior Army officers, 20 military police officers who acted as honorary pallbearers, and 52 prisoners from Fort Monroe who dug the 29 graves. The Germans were buried at 8 p.m. The “firing party fired three volleys” while Taps was played.

For their actions in the sinking of *U-85*, Heyman, Tebo, Vanous, and Wright received Silver Stars. Howe and Norton received the Navy Cross. Heyman’s gun crewmen were given commendations.

Within 24 hours of *U-85*’s sinking, the U.S. Navy Experimental Diving Unit arrived to conduct an initial survey of the new wreck and to see if *U-85* could be refloated. Navy divers were transported to the wreck site via HMS *Bedfordshire*, a British trawler. Visibility was poor and impending bad weather kept divers from the wreck for the next five days.

On April 22, the fleet tug USS *Kewadin* was assigned to the dive project as HMS *Bedfordshire* returned to convoy protection duty. The second diver down discovered an unexploded Mark VI depth charge along the starboard side of *U-85*. All dive operations were halted pending the destruction of the depth charge by the U.S. Navy Mine Disposal Unit.

On April 26, while the U.S. Coast Guard Cutter *Cuyahoga* guarded USS *Kewadin*, divers descended to *U-85*. The first diver down “made descending line fast to cleat on port side of submarine just forward of gun.” With *Kewadin* tied to *U-85*, six dives were conducted. Divers noted the following: “(a)

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ABOVE: The body of a dead German sailor recovered after the sinking of *U-85* is brought aboard the destroyer USS *Roper*. Bodies of the German dead were taken to the U.S. Navy base at Norfolk, Virginia, and later buried in Hampton National Cemetery. **OPPOSITE:** This photo mosaic shows the wreck of the German submarine *U-85* off the coast of North Carolina, where it rests in 90 feet of water east of Oregon Inlet near Cape Hatteras. A Type VIIB submarine, *U-85* was the first German submarine to be sunk by the U.S. Navy off the East Coast of the United States during World War II.

BY ARNOLD BLUMBERG

Evolution *of the* Army Airborne


The United States Army came late to the idea of employing airborne troops in time of war. The first U.S. military man to see the potential of such a force and then formally propose the concept was Brig. Gen. William “Billy” L. Mitchell. In October 1918, Mitchell suggested the creation of an American airborne component to Gen. John J. “Black Jack” Pershing, commander of the American Expeditionary Force fighting in France against Imperial Germany.

A maverick and outspoken proponent of airpower, Mitchell posited that as part of any Allied general offensive which might take place in 1919 one U.S. Army infantry division (at the time each contained 28,000 men, 17,000 of which served as combat troops) should be employed as an airborne unit.

“We should arm the men with a great number of machine guns and train them to go over the front in our large airplanes which would carry ten or fifteen of these soldiers,” he explained. “We would equip each man with a parachute, so that when we desired to make a rear attack on the enemy, we could carry these men over the lines and drop them off in parachutes behind the German position.”



A U.S. Army recruiting poster from the 1940s touts the airborne forces. Volunteers were numerous for the first airborne formations of the U.S. military.



Paratroopers of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division perform a mass jump during the 2006 Joint Service Open House at Joint Base Andrews in Prince George's County, Maryland. The 82nd was the U.S. Army's first airborne division, converted from an infantry division prior to World War II.

Inspired by the success of German and Russian parachute troop operations, the U.S. Army committed to an airborne force that gained lasting fame in World War II.



All photos from National Archives

Mitchell outlined the tactics the paratroopers would use once they dropped to the ground: “They could assemble at a pre-arranged strong point; fortify it and we could supply them by aircraft with food and ammunition” and then, supported by friendly airpower, “we could attack the Germans from the rear, aided by an attack from our army on the front.”

But World War I ended before the general could carry out his plan, and the idea of creating an American parachute division disappeared as the U.S. Army rapidly demobilized.

During the interwar period, interest in airborne capacity was almost non-existent. When the U.S. military conducted an early parachute troop experiment—12 Marines over Washington, D.C.—it was downplayed as a “carnival attraction” by the Marine

Corps brass. In 1926 the Army dropped three soldiers and a machine gun from four two-man observation planes at Brooks Field, Texas, and did not conduct a second drop until 1940.

The U.S. military also had little interest in gliders, despite a robust national civilian gliding program. In 1922, the Army Air Corps briefly considered gliders as aerial targets. The Navy began training glider pilots in 1933, but dropped the program after three years due to an already sparse interwar budget.

The U.S. Army’s main interests in gliders during the interwar period was for moving troops and equipment by aircraft from point to point. The use of gliders, paratroopers, and air-landed forces in combat wouldn’t be fully explored until events overseas prompted serious attention to the matter.

After the Nazis came to power in 1933, a wide range of programs were put in place to train future German aviators by supporting civilian glider clubs. Beyond this, gliders were turned into weapons of war with the creation in 1939 of the DFS-230, a 37.5-foot glider that weighed 1,800 pounds, with a wingspan of 72 feet. It could transport a pilot and nine combat equipped soldiers or 2,800 pounds of equipment towed by a Junkers Ju-52 transport plane. The DFS-230 became Germany’s primary military glider during World War II.

In the meantime, the Soviet Red Army was theorizing about airborne warfare. In 1931, a 164-man parachute experimental unit was formed. By 1932, the Soviets had performed 550 airborne exercises, and the next year they had formed 29 parachute battalions. According

to regulations promulgated in 1936, the Red Army stated, “Parachute landing units are the effective Means ...[of] disorganizing the command and rear services structure of the enemy.” Along with its growing parachute force, the Soviet military crafted a glider command manned by 57,000 glider pilots.

Ironically, despite forging a commanding lead in the doctrine and establishing a formidable



ABOVE: Paratroopers line up to board their transport plane for a practice jump at Lawson Field, near Fort Benning, Georgia. This jump took place in April 1941, eight months before the United States entered World War II. **TOP:** An Army jump master checks parachutes of the 501st Parachute Infantry Battalion prior to loading aboard an aircraft for a practice jump at Lawson Field. **OPPOSITE:** Army paratroopers jump from biplanes during an early airborne exercise at Brooks Field, Texas, in the mid-1920s. The military showed little interest in Airborne capability until the late 1930s.

parachute and glider command, the Soviets never dropped more than a brigade-sized unit at any one time during World War II. In 1943, they abandoned large-scale airborne operations in favor of using their skilled parachute warriors in partisan and diversionary roles.

While most military observers in the U.S. and Western Europe saw “doubtful tactical value” in Soviet airborne progress, Germany had a different take. With the full support of Herman Goering, head of the nascent Luftwaffe, Col. Kurt Student pushed for a robust German glider and parachute force. In 1933 Goering, serving as the Prussian Minister of Police, authorized the formation of a small parachute unit made up of policemen. When he became chief of the Luftwaffe, he promoted Student and made him commander of Germany’s first airborne division. By the end of World War II, Student had raised 11 airborne divisions, two airborne corps, and one airborne army, the latter which he commanded.

Following the success of German glider and parachute units during the first two years of the war—including the invasions of Denmark and Norway (April 1940), Holland and Belgium (May 1940), and Crete (May 1941)—U.S. airborne supporters began pressing for similar capability. The conquest of Crete solely by glider and parachute troops was “the greatest single impetus to airborne development and expansion” in the U.S. Army. Lt. Col. Jack C. Cornett, an instructor at the U.S. Army’s Command and General Staff College, wrote that the invasion of Crete was a “definite shock to many who had scoffed at this new weapon. It was startling.... It was thought-compelling. It was new.... And most important of all, it was successful!”

Unknown to the U.S., German airborne forces had suffered heavy losses in “Operation Mercury,” the invasion of Crete. So much so that Hitler forbade further large-scale airborne operations for the duration of World War II.

Immediately, American military airborne enthusiasts, like future General James M. Gavin, started studying German tactics, especially the “German method of organizing

after landing, the equipment used in the assault and follow-up, and their means of control and command.”

Another early student of airborne warfare was General William C. Lee, who came to be known as “the father of American paratroopers.” Lee published several papers in early 1941 stressing the importance of forming this new arm of the military.

Lee, Gavin, and others argued that merely copying the German airborne forces model would never be enough to assure victory. Understanding that the U.S. was far behind, they demanded a “quantum jump on the Germans.” By war’s end, through the efforts of Lee, Gavin, and Generals Matthew B. Ridgeway and Maxwell D. Taylor, the U.S. Army fielded five parachute divisions (11th, 13th, 17th 82nd and 101st), as well as several separate airborne regiments and battalions.

The first step toward a permanent U.S. Army airborne came in May 1939, when the War Department authorized a small outfit that could be “...transported by airplanes, to parachute to the ground a small detachment to seize a small but vitally important area,

primarily an airfield, upon which additional troops will later be landed by transport aircraft.” The resulting study came up with four scenarios for the use of airborne formations: (1) drop within enemy territory to destroy opposing communication and industrial sites; (2) use for reconnaissance missions; (3) drop battalion or regiment size units to occupy key points behind enemy lines; and (4) work in conjunction with friendly mobile forces at far distances from the main body of friendly forces.

Nothing came out of the study for eight months until Lee, a World War I veteran and Regular U.S. Army officer, was tasked with breathing life into the airborne project. He first had to determine which command section—Engineers Corps, Air Service, or Infantry—would control a fledgling airborne force. Infantry was ultimately chosen in August 1940. To assist, Lee took on board then-Captain Gavin, a young combat veteran, who like many flocking to the paratroopers was tough, adventurous, and spread the novel idea that airborne warriors had to be able to think for themselves since they would be fighting isolated and in small groups, sometimes without officer guidance.

In April 1940, a parachute test platoon was formed from the 29 Infantry Regiment based at Fort Benning, Georgia. Its platoon leader was Lt. William T. Ryder. The unit was made up of two officers and 48 enlisted men, all volunteers, seasoned soldiers and all in very good physical condition. An eight-week training program was established, based on that of the U.S. Army Rangers and British Commandos. This model was used as parachute troops, in theory, were to be used only in small numbers against high-risk targets. Physical training, night fighting, use of explosives, and hand-to-hand combat were stressed. The training regiment was then to be used at its conclusion to help determine airborne tactics, equipment, and uniforms.

The platoon’s first jump occurred on August 16, 1940. It was viewed by Gen. George C. Marshall, U.S. Army Chief of Staff, who was so impressed with the demonstration that he ordered the formation of the 1st Parachute Battalion (later renamed the 501st Parachute Infantry Battalion) on September 16, 1940. In November of that year the battalion was





All photos from National Archives



ABOVE, LEFT: The “Father of the U.S. Airborne,” Major General William C. Lee, formed the first U.S. airborne platoon, commanded the first jump school at Fort Benning, Georgia, and became the first commander of the 101st Airborne Division. Heart attacks prevented him from leading the 101st on D-Day. **ABOVE, RIGHT:** Lt. Col. James M. Gavin congratulates officers of the 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment who have just received their jump wings during ceremonies at Fort Benning, Georgia, in August 1942. Gavin went on to command the 82nd Airborne Division. **TOP:** After boarding their transport plane for exercises in July 1942, paratroopers listen as the jump master calls their names. A pre-jump roll call was required for all airborne parachute exercises. **OPPOSITE:** After his squad members have recovered weapons from equipment rolls that have parachuted separately, a non-commissioned officer brandishes a pistol during exercises in June 1941. By this time U.S. airborne battalions were being organized in the Army and the Marine Corps.

assembled at Fort Benning. The unit was swamped with volunteers, and the subsequent training resembled that of Rangers or Special Forces since it was still assumed the parachute troops would remain as small commando-type units.

In March 1941, a new organization designed to train, organize, and create tactics for the rapidly expanding U.S. Army airborne effort was established at Fort Benning. The Provisional Parachute Group enhanced the already tough physical training and mental fitness regime already established. Three new parachute battalions, the 502nd, 503rd, and 504th, were

formed by October 1941.

As American airborne forces developed, the means to deliver soldiers and equipment by glider moved apace. In February 1941, the concept had been batted around in the circles of the U.S. Army Air Corps. By December 1942, a total of 6,000 glider pilots had been trained. Most were trained on the CG-4A Waco constructed of wood, steel tubing, and canvas. It had a wingspan of 83.6 feet, was 48 feet long, and had a cargo capacity of 4,060 pounds. In addition to a pilot and co-pilot, it could carry either 13 combat soldiers, a jeep, a trailer, or one small artillery piece. More than 14,000 Wacos were built during the war.

By the spring of 1942, the leaders forming the American airborne force realized that in order to make a real impact on any battlefield, the disparate parachute and glider units had to be combined into larger formations. The German assault on Crete and the force used by them confirmed the American premise. So, in mid-1942, Lee and Gavin traveled to Washington, D.C., with the idea that an entire parachute division must be created. With their urging and, with the German example of the successful use of airborne troops clear, the U.S. 82nd Infantry Division, which had seen service in France during World War I, was reactivated on March 25, 1942, and on August 15 of that year designated the U.S. Army’s 82nd Airborne Division under the command of Major General Ridgeway. Its initial cadre consisted of 700 officers and 1,200 enlisted men from the 9th Infantry Division stationed at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

The 82nd, nicknamed the All-American Division in World War I, since it contained men from all the states of the Union, would take part in every airborne operation initiated by the U.S. Army in Sicily, Italy, and Northwest Europe. Through its actions, it would serve as the laboratory in which the American airborne tactics, organization, weapons, and leadership would be developed throughout the war, as well as to this day. □

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Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Travers Harris, the burly, red-haired chief of Royal Air Force Bomber Command, was an anxious man on the evening of Saturday, May 30, 1942.

Attending a late dinner party in Prime Minister Winston Churchill's weekend retreat at the leafy Chequers estate in Buckinghamshire, Harris expounded on the need for the long-range, strategic bombing of Germany. Besides the premier, his listeners included General Henry H. "Hap" Arnold, commander of the U.S. Army Air Forces. Forward elements of his Eighth Air Force were then assembling in England to join the RAF's aerial offensive against Nazi-occupied Europe.

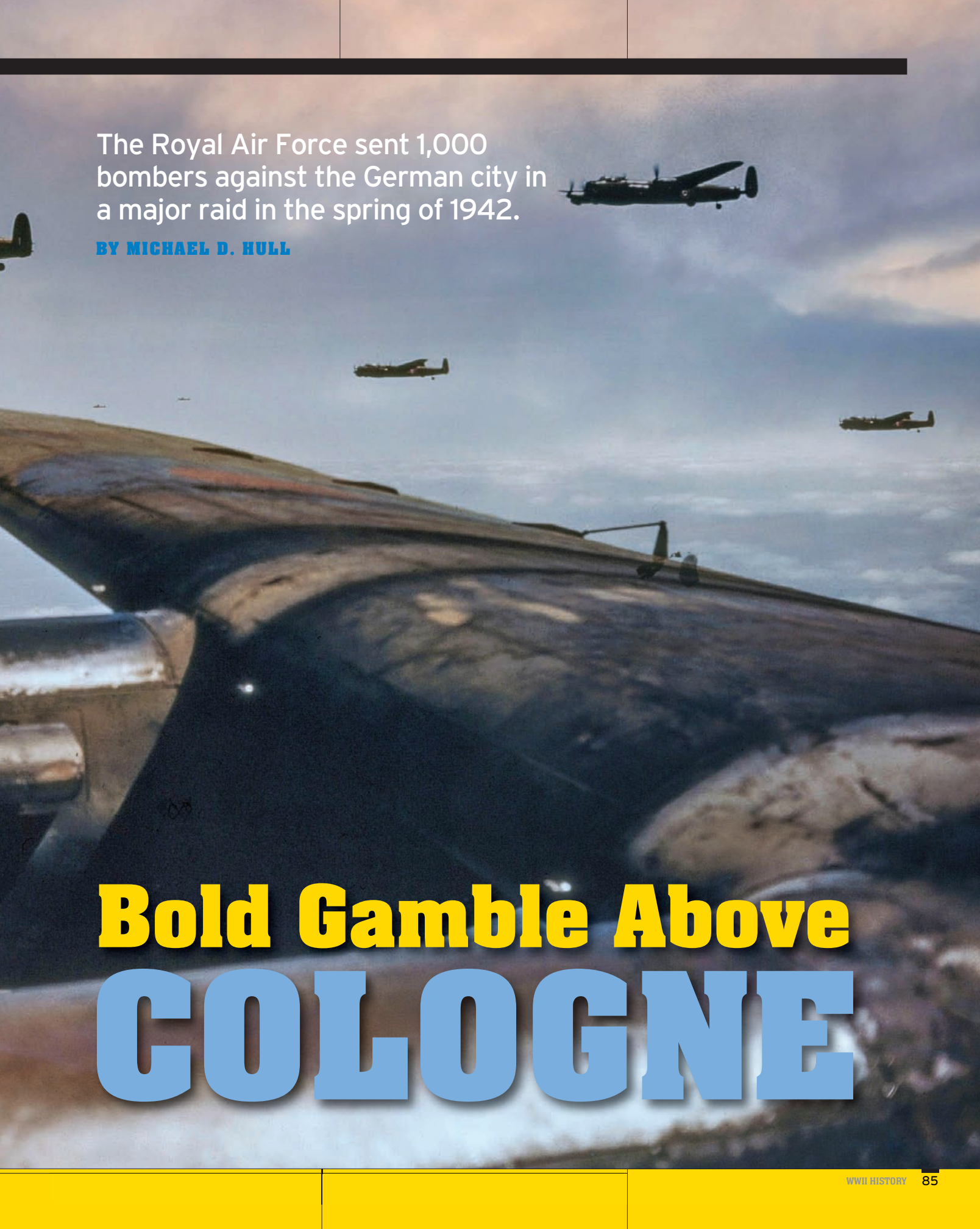
"Bomber" Harris enjoyed the full backing of the prime minister, who had declared in 1941, "When I look round to see how we can win the war, I see that there is only one sure path. We have no continental army which can defeat the German military power. There is one thing that will bring Hitler down, and this is an absolutely devastating, exterminating attack by very heavy bombers from this country upon the Nazi homeland." Dishing out some of the same death and destruction which enemy planes had wrought on Britain for two years, Harris had complied by initiating relentless nighttime raids on German industrial centers and cities. Daylight sorties had proved too costly.

Like his American colleagues, Arnold and Generals Carl A. Spaatz and Ira C. Eaker, Harris believed naively that a round-the-clock strategic bombing offensive would bring Germany to its knees without the need for a major ground campaign in Europe.

Now, on the evening of May 30, 1942, the resolute, blunt-spoken air marshal was ready with a major gamble to dramatize his crusade and convince pacifist doubters by launching Operation Millennium, the biggest and most daring air raid ever attempted. Bomber Command's first-line strength amounted to only 416

Avro Lancaster heavy bombers of the Royal Air Force fly in formation toward a target in Nazi-occupied Europe. Air Chief Marshal Arthur "Bomber" Harris had promised retribution for Luftwaffe raids against British cities, and the 1,000-bomber raid on Cologne devastated the city on the night of May 30, 1942.



An aerial photograph showing a massive formation of bombers flying over a city. The foreground shows the wing and tail of a bomber, with other bombers visible in the distance against a cloudy sky.

The Royal Air Force sent 1,000 bombers against the German city in a major raid in the spring of 1942.

BY MICHAEL D. HULL

Bold Gamble Above **COLOGNE**



Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: A four-engine Short Stirling bomber sits at an airfield in England while armorers prepare to place the first of 16 250-pound bombs aboard the aircraft for an RAF raid against the Third Reich. **RIGHT:** During a meeting at his Bomber Command Headquarters in High Wycombe, Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur “Bomber” Harris examines reconnaissance photos from a raid on Nazi-occupied Europe.



Wikimedia

aircraft that month, but by using second-line and training squadrons, Harris was able to line up 1,046 bombers for an attack against the historic city of Cologne on the west bank of the River Rhine on the night of May 30-31. The principal objective of World War II's first 1,000-plane raid was the city's chemical and machine-tool industries.

The striking force comprised 598 twin-engine workhorse Vickers Wellingtons, 131 four-engine Handley Page Halifaxes, 88 Short Stirlings (the first Allied four-engine bombers to see service in World War II), 79 twin-engine Handley Page Hampdens, 73 four-engine Avro Lancasters, 46 twin-engine Avro Manchesters, and 28 obsolete twin-engine Armstrong Whitworth Whitleys. The

future of Bomber Command and the growing Allied aerial offensive rested upon the mission's success or failure.

Postponed twice because of bad weather, the complex operation had been meticulously planned by Harris; his pudgy, mustached deputy, Air Marshal Sir Robert Saundby; and their staffs. Ground crews worked around the clock, and the morale of the flight personnel was high. Churchill asked Harris, “How many are you going to lose?” The air marshal replied, “Say 50 aircraft and crews.” The premier responded, “I’ll be prepared for the loss of 100.” Harris was sure that he could keep the losses to five percent or lower

by concentrating an unbroken stream of bombers over the target for 90 minutes.

During their final briefings after teatime that Saturday, the Millennium air crews listened to a message from Harris. “The force of which you form a part tonight is at least twice the size and has more than four times the carrying capacity of the largest air force ever before concentrated on one objective,” he wrote. “You have an opportunity, therefore, to strike a blow at the enemy which will resound not only throughout Germany, but throughout the world.... Let him have it—right on the chin.” Churchill added, “This proof of the growing power of the British bomber force is also the herald of what Germany will receive, city by city, from now on.”

Hearing a clock chime at 10:30 that evening, Harris glanced briefly at his watch. His

thoughts went to the 53 airfields scattered across Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and East Anglia where bomber engines were coughing into life as 6,000 of his young pilots, navigators, and gunners nervously waited for takeoff signals. They formed the largest air armada in history.

Weather conditions, a concern until the last minute, “had absolute power to make or mar an operation,” said Harris. “If I waited,” he added, “I might have to keep this very large force standing idle for some time, and I might lose the good weather over England. To land such a force in difficult weather would at that time have been to court disaster.” But the latest report on May 30 said that while the clouds were thick over Germany, there was a 50-50 chance that the sky would be clear over Cologne by midnight. Harris was not enthusiastic about this, but there would not be a full moon for a month. He did not wish to wait that long.

Takeoff signals flashed at 10:30 on the fateful Saturday night, and the first wave of incendiary-laden Wellington “Wimpys” and big Stirlings of the pathfinder squadrons lifted from the runways. They were followed at precise intervals by the main force. Carrying maximum loads of high-explosive and incendiary bombs, the planes thundered across the North Sea above a blanket of moonlit clouds. More than 100 bombers were forced by icing or mechanical problems to turn back, but the rest streamed on eastward over the Dutch coast toward Germany. There

Imperial War Museum



During preparations for the approach to a target inside Germany, a flight engineer aboard an Avro Lancaster heavy bomber of No. 619 Squadron RAF checks engine settings. Note he has already donned his oxygen mask, necessary for flight at high altitude.

was no letup in the thick clouds for an hour.

The RAF pilots and crews peered tensely for signs of interception as they flew through German air space, but the night fighters of Reichsmarshal Hermann Goering’s Luftwaffe steered clear of the mighty armada. As the pathfinders approached Cologne, they could see that the cloud cover had dissipated. Only a few cirrus wisps drifted over the city, and the shimmering Rhine and 500-foot-tall twin spires of the city’s famous 13th-century cathedral glistened in bright moonlight. The visibility was good.

Flying at 15,000 feet, the first two Stirlings headed for their aiming point in the city’s old Neumarket section. It was 12:47 a.m. on Sunday, May 31, and the British bombers were eight minutes ahead of schedule. Cologne, which had been the target of 1,346 RAF sorties in the previous nine months, was quickly alerted. An air-raid warning had sounded, most of the city’s 800,000 citizens had taken shelter, and fire-brigade squads were standing by.

Five hundred anti-aircraft batteries surrounding the city spat fire at the vanguard formation, but the Stirlings and Wellingtons flew undeterred through the shell bursts and started their runs. Bomb-bay doors swung open, and 20-pound and four-pound incendiaries showered on the blacked-out city. Fires broke out immediately and spread.

As the leading bombers wheeled and started back for England, their crewmen saw unrelated fires springing up on the outskirts of the city in an attempt by the Germans to confuse the following planes about the true aiming point. But the bombers kept coming, threading their way through the blue-white glare of 150 powerful searchlight beams and salvos from deadly 88mm flak guns. The bombs fell, and so did 16 planes and their crews. Another four were shot down by enemy fighters. A total of 40 bombers were lost during the raid.

Many areas of Cologne were soon ablaze as the relentless formations of bombers dropped their deadly loads. When the main body of Harris’s force drew near, it appeared to the surprised crews that the whole city was alight. Bombardiers peered down to detect unburned sections before releasing their high explosives

and incendiaries. The fires continued to spread, acting as beacons for incoming bombers, and the glows from some large blazes were visible 150 miles away. Cologne was an inferno.

Stores, factories, office buildings, and many churches were leveled, and 3,330 houses were destroyed and 9,510 damaged. An estimated 45,152 people were left homeless. Six hundred acres of the city were devastated, but the cathedral's landmark twin spires still stood. The death toll was 474, and more than 5,000 citizens were injured, though only 565 required hospital treatment.

Operation Millennium's Sunday punch was delivered by more than 200 Lancasters and Halifaxes carrying 4,000-pound bombs. The plan called for the last bomber to be over the target no later than 2:25 a.m. on May 31, but stragglers—delayed by having to break formation to avoid anti-aircraft bursts and collisions—still came on. The last bomb was dropped from a Lancaster at 3:05 a.m. The 898 bombers that reached and attacked Cologne dropped a total of 1,500 tons of bombs, two-thirds of which were incendiaries.

After devastating the city, the British bombers fought their way back to England.

Although they were set upon by swarms of Messerschmitt Me-109 and Me-110 fighters, most of them managed to touch down at their bases. The crews turned in optimistic reports at their debriefings, but the success of the mission could not be fully evaluated until daylight reconnaissance photographs were available from Bomber Command's long-range De Havilland Mosquito fighters.

At dawn on May 31, one of the Mosquitoes reported a great pall of smoke over Cologne, with many fires still burning and "heavy and widespread damage." The bombs and incendiaries also took a toll on the city's industry. Thirty-six factories were crippled, and another 70 had their output halved. Yet only one month's war production was lost. Displaying the same stoicism that British civilians had shown in London, Coventry, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bristol, and Plymouth in 1940-41, the people of Germany's fifth-largest city took swift measures toward recovery.

The bombing of Cologne—the first great air raid of the war—stunned the German high command. Albert Speer, the war production minister, disbelieved the initial reports, and when Reichsmarshal Goering received a telephone call the following day from the city's gauleiter, he ranted, "Impossible! That many bombs cannot be dropped on a single night. The report from your police commissioner is a stinking lie!" Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler, who had said ironically on May 30 that he did not see much of a threat from RAF raids, accused the Luftwaffe of failing to defend Cologne and blamed Goering personally for neglecting to provide sufficient flak batteries.

The raid made front-page news from London to New York to Watertown, S.D., and provided a welcome tonic for the morale of the British people, frayed by two and a half years of bombing, hardships, and defeats. Churchill congratulated Air Marshal Harris and Bomber Command on their "remarkable feat of organization," and telegraphed President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "I hope you were pleased with our mass attack on Cologne. There is plenty more to come." General Arnold called it "a wonderful show," and the RAF official history recorded later, "Bomber Command had at last won a major victory against a major target."

Imperial War Museum





Imperial War Museum

In the infamous Warsaw ghetto, captive Jews rejoiced at the news. Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum, the noted historian and diarist, reported, “Cologne was an advance payment on the vengeance that must and shall be taken on Hitler’s Germany for the millions of Jews they have killed.... After the Cologne affair, I walked around in a good mood, feeling that, even if I should perish at their hands, my death is prepaid.”

The Germans were quick to retaliate for the raid. On the night of May 31, three waves of 25 bombers swept over the historic city of Canterbury in Kent and inflicted heavy damage. But casualties were light, and the famous Anglican cathedral suffered only superficial damage.

Air Marshal Harris had displayed great courage and skill in executing Operation Millennium, and his gamble paid off. The raid captured the imagination of the British and American public, elevated his command presence, won the unreserved admiration of Churchill, and ensured a vigorous future for the bomber offensive, soon to be widened by the B-17 and B-24 bombardment groups of General Eaker’s U.S. Eighth Air Force. The calculated risk taken in the dark skies over Cologne paved the way for Nazi-occupied Europe to be bombed “around the clock.”

Fresh from his triumph, Harris declared, “It is imperative, if we hope to win the war, to abandon the disastrous policy of military intervention in the land campaigns of Europe, and to concentrate our air power against the enemy’s weakest spots.... The success of the 1,000 Plan had proved beyond doubt in the minds of all but willful men that we can even today dispose of a weight of air attack which no country on which it can be brought to bear could survive.... It requires only the decision to concentrate it for its proper use.”

Harris had convinced Churchill and his war cabinet of the value of large-scale bomber missions, so he kept his large force intact and without delay audaciously maintained the offensive. Only two nights later, on June 1-2, 1942, he launched 957 bombers against the Ruhr Valley city of Essen and its 800-acre Krupp armaments plant. But it was a notoriously difficult target

ABOVE: An RAF Bristol Blenheim IV bomber banks sharply away from the city's Goldenburg power station during a daylight raid on August 12, 1941. A total of 262 Allied air raids struck the city of Cologne, Germany, during World War II. OPPOSITE: A trio of Avro Lancaster heavy bombers of No. 44 Squadron RAF fly toward a city in Germany during a raid in September 1942. To many observers, the Lancaster was the finest Allied bomber of World War II in Europe.

to find, and low cloud and haze hampered the RAF raiders. Little damage was done to the city, the Krupp works went unscathed, and 32 planes were lost. Essen was attacked four more times that month.

Bomber Command’s next target was the great port of Bremen, with its important docks, U-boat construction yards, and Focke-Wulf aircraft plant. Although the 1,000-bomber force was disbanded, Harris borrowed 20 Wellingtons and 82 twin-engine Lockheed Hudsons from RAF Coastal Command and marshaled 1,003 planes for the June 25-26 operation.

But heavy cloud cover again prevailed, and the results were disappointing. Although



National Archives

Focke-Wulf buildings were hit, the overall damage inflicted was relatively slight and the effect on German production minimal. The raid's cost to the RAF was high, with 291 crewmen killed. Bomber Command lost 44 planes, four more crashed in the sea, and five Coastal Command aircraft failed to return. Another 65 planes were damaged. The Bremen operation was the last 1,000-plane mission launched until 1944.

Although Air Marshal Harris was able to increase his command's strength to 50 operational squadrons and still mount some large-scale attacks, the tempo of the air offensive against Nazi-occupied Europe was markedly reduced in the second half of 1942. Missions against the Rhine River port of Dusseldorf on July 31-Aug. 1 and Sept. 10-11 involved 630 and 476 bombers, respectively. They inflicted heavy damage but failed to retard industrial production. Losses remained relatively high.

The air war against Germany escalated dramatically in 1943 as the RAF continued to mount punishing, and often costly, night



Bundesarchiv Bild 121-1343; Photo: Unknown

ABOVE: Military personnel detailed to clear rubble from the streets of Cologne labor to complete the task after one of many Allied air raids against the city during World War II. A total of 898 RAF bombers actually reached Cologne during the 1,000-plane raid, but despite widespread destruction the productivity of area factories was slowed only for a month. **TOP:** The devastation wrought against the city of Cologne, Germany, was starkly visible on the day after the historic RAF 1,000-plane raid of May 30, 1942. The extent of the destruction was appalling, and it shocked the German High Command and even Hitler himself, who just a day earlier had dismissed the RAF as little threat to the Third Reich. **OPPOSITE:** Their Avro Manchester bombers parked in the background at RAF Coningsby, Lincolnshire, and soon to be replaced by the hefty Lancaster, members of No. 106 Squadron RAF celebrate their return from the 1,000-plane raid against Cologne. Among those pictured is the squadron commander, Wing Commander Guy Gibson, standing in the center of the front row. Gibson later gained fame and received the Victoria Cross for leading No. 617 Squadron in the famed "Dambuster" raid a year later. He was killed in action in 1944.



raids. The great commercial city of Hamburg was reduced to a charnel house with 50,000 dead in late July and early August. That year, Bomber Command flew 64,528 sorties and dropped 200,000 tons of bombs on enemy targets.

Meanwhile, the powerful American Eighth Air Force came into its own, stoutly clinging to the daylight precision-bombing concept and complementing the British nighttime efforts. American losses were high until the advent of long-range P-51 Mustang escort fighters. But, from 1943 until the end of the European war, all German cities and industrial centers felt the weight of Allied bombs. In the final eight months of the war, the USAAF dropped 350,000 tons of bombs on Germany, and the RAF 400,000 tons, 10 times the weight dropped on Britain during the entire war, including V-1 and V-2 rockets.

The air offensive climaxed on February 13-14, 1945, when British and American bombers targeted Dresden, an important rail and communications center for German forces on the Eastern Front. During the night, two waves of RAF Lancasters, totaling 805 aircraft, dropped 2,659 tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs, setting up the worst firestorm of the war. At noon on February 14, Eighth Air Force B-17s fed the flames with 771 tons of bombs, and on the following day another 210 Flying Fortresses unloaded 461 tons.

The fires raged for four days and could be seen 200 miles away. The raid leveled 1,600 acres in the center of the historic Saxony capital famed for its baroque churches, art galleries, museums, and spacious parks, and the death toll was estimated at between 25,000 and 35,000. Dresden was heavily bombed again on March 12 and April 17 and was captured by Soviet troops on May 8.

The aerial sacking of the ancient city and the killing of so many civilians triggered an uproar from religious and pacifist leaders in Britain, despite the havoc that had been wrought by the Luftwaffe from 1940 onward. When moral questions were raised in Parliament, Prime Minister Churchill called for a review of “the question of the bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing terror, though under other pretext.”

He told Air Marshal Sir Charles Portal, chief of the air staff, on March 28, “The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing. I am of the opinion that military objectives must henceforth be more strictly studied in our own

interests rather than that of the enemy.” An indomitable warrior, but also a humanitarian sensitive to the suffering of civilians, Churchill nevertheless told a Bomber Command officer after the war, “We should never allow ourselves to apologize for what we did to Germany.”

The Dresden raid led Churchill to distance himself from Air Marshal Harris, who became a reviled figure for carrying out—with vigor—the policy of his government. He led a futile campaign to secure a campaign medal for the men of Bomber Command, which had lost 72,350 air-crew personnel in six years of combat. Inexplicably, such recognition did not come for several decades.

Denied a peerage, unlike most other British wartime leaders, Harris resigned in 1946 and was promoted to marshal of the RAF. After retiring to South Africa, he was offered a peerage by Churchill in 1951. He refused, but accepted a baronetcy in 1953, and died in 1984. The Queen Mother unveiled a statue of Harris in London in June 1992, while a Lancaster flew overhead. □

The late Michael D. Hull was a frequent contributor to WWII History and resided in Enfield, Connecticut.



National Archives

From left, Lieutenant General Omar N. Bradley, Supreme Allied Commander Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower and Lt. Gen. George Patton survey the ruins of Bastogne, Belgium, after the epic attack to relieve the besieged town.

Weather prayer bonded Third Army soldiers during the Battle of the Bulge.

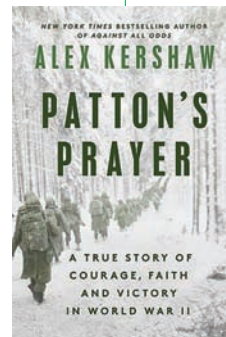
The U.S. Army’s summer campaign of 1944 proved hard-fought, but successful. The Normandy landing succeeded in establishing a lodgment in mainland Europe. The GIs broke out of Normandy and sent the German army reeling backwards in retreat. They liberated Paris on August 25 and kept pushing east. The landings in Southern France pushed up the Rhône Valley toward Germany as well, making the Third Reich’s position in France increasingly untenable. Soon the Allies were on the frontiers of Germany, fighting in Aachen and from the low countries to the Swiss border. Some believed the war might be over by Christmas at the rate the Germans were being routed.

The German recovery dashed those hopes and prolonged the war. Their army managed to regroup and stabilize their lines. They put up stiff resistance at Aachen. The Allied supply lines became too stretched, especially the vital flow of gasoline a modern, mechanized force needed to stay in the field. There was a shortage of infantry replacements for the casualties suffered so far. Finally, the autumn weather changed, bringing rain, cold and mud. Soon winter set in, one of the worst winters in years. Rain changed to snow and the allies realized the war would not end by Christmas.

Meanwhile, German leader Adolf Hitler enacted his plan to split the Western Allies and change the course of the war. The German offensive during the Battle of the Bulge threatened to inflict a serious defeat if not dealt a heavy response. The Allies were capable of dealing such a blow—if not for the weather, which grounded the air force and slowed road

travel to a crawl. General George Patton’s Third Army was placed to pivot from its eastward advance and attack north into the German flank, dealing it a fatal blow. If only the weather cooperated.

By modern standards Patton was a bit odd. A devout Christian, he was also mercurial, profane, and a believer in reincarnation. In a moment when much depended on something he could not control, Patton asked his chaplain, James H. O’Neill, to create a prayer for good weather. O’Neill dutifully complied, writing “Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee, of Thy great goodness, to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have had to contend. Grant us fair weather for Battle. Graciously hearken to us as soldiers who call upon Thee that, armed with Thy power, we may advance from victory to victory and crush the oppression and wickedness of our enemies, and establish Thy



Popular CoQ10 Pills Leave Millions Suffering

Could this newly-discovered brain fuel solve America's worsening memory crisis?

PALM BEACH, FLORIDA — Millions of Americans take the supplement known as CoQ10. It's the coenzyme that supercharges the "energy factories" in your cells known as *mitochondria*. But there's a serious flaw that's leaving millions unsatisfied.

As you age, your mitochondria break down and fail to produce energy. In a revealing study, a team of researchers showed that 95 percent of the mitochondria in a 90-year-old man were damaged, compared to almost no damage in the mitochondria of a 5-year-old.

Taking CoQ10 alone is not enough to solve this problem. Because as powerful as CoQ10 is, there's one critical thing it fails to do: it can't create new mitochondria to replace the ones you lost.

And that's bad news for Americans all over the country. The loss of cellular energy is a problem for the memory concerns people face as they get older.

"We had no way of replacing lost mitochondria until a recent discovery changed everything," says Dr. Al Sears, founder and medical director of the Sears Institute for Anti-Aging Medicine in Palm Beach, Florida. "Researchers discovered the only nutrient known to modern science that has the power to trigger the growth of new mitochondria."

Why Taking CoQ10 is Not Enough

Dr. Sears explains, "This new discovery is so powerful, it can multiply your mitochondria by 55 percent in just a few weeks. That's the equivalent of restoring decades of lost brain power."

This exciting nutrient — called PQQ (*pyrroloquinoline quinone*) — is the driving force behind a revolution in aging. When paired with CoQ10, this dynamic duo has the power to reverse the age-related memory losses you may have thought were beyond your control.

Dr. Sears pioneered a new formula — called **Ultra Accel II** — that combines both CoQ10 and PQQ to support maximum cellular energy and the normal growth of new mitochondria. **Ultra Accel II** is the first of its kind to address both problems and is already creating huge demand.

Over 47 million doses have been shipped to men and women across the country and sales continue to climb for this much sought-after brain fuel. In fact, demand has been so overwhelming that inventories repeatedly sell out. But a closer look at **Ultra Accel II** reveals there are good

reasons why sales are booming.

Science Confirms the Many Benefits of PQQ

The medical journal *Biochemical Pharmacology* reports that PQQ is up to 5,000 times more efficient in sustaining energy production than common antioxidants. With the ability to keep every cell in your body operating at full strength, **Ultra Accel II** delivers more than just added brain power and a faster memory.

People feel more energetic, more alert, and don't need naps in the afternoon. The boost in cellular energy generates more power to your heart, lungs, muscles, and more.

"With the PQQ in Ultra Accel, I have energy I never thought possible at my age," says Colleen R., one of Dr. Sears's patients. "I'm in my 70s but feel 40 again. I think clearly, move with real energy and sleep like a baby."

The response has been overwhelmingly positive, and Dr. Sears receives countless emails from his patients and readers. "My patients tell me they feel better than they have in years. This is ideal for people who are feeling old and run down, or for those who feel more forgetful. It surprises many that you can add healthy and productive years to your life simply by taking **Ultra Accel II** every day."

You may have seen Dr. Sears on television or read one of his 12 best-selling books. Or you may have seen him speak at the 2016 WPBF 25 Health and Wellness Festival in South Florida, featuring Dr. Oz and special guest Suzanne Somers. Thousands of people attended Dr. Sears's lecture on anti-aging breakthroughs and waited in line for hours during his book signing at the event.

Will Ultra Accel II Multiply Your Energy?

Ultra Accel II is turning everything we thought we knew about youthful energy on its head. Especially for people over age 50. In less than 30 seconds every morning, you can harness the power of this breakthrough discovery to restore peak energy and your "spark for life."

So, if you've noticed less energy as you've gotten older, and you want an easy way to reclaim your youthful edge, this new opportunity will feel like blessed relief.

The secret is the "energy multiplying" molecule that activates a dormant gene in your body that declines with age, which then instructs your cells to pump out fresh energy from the inside-out.



MEMORY-BUILDING SENSATION: Top doctors are now recommending new Ultra Accel II because it restores decades of lost brain power without a doctor's visit.

This growth of new "energy factories" in your cells is called mitochondrial biogenesis.

Instead of falling victim to that afternoon slump, you enjoy sharp-as-a-tack focus, memory, and concentration from sunup to sundown. And you get more done in a day than most do in a week. Regardless of how exhausting the world is now.

Dr. Sears reports, "The most rewarding aspect of practicing medicine is watching my patients get the joy back in their lives. **Ultra Accel II** sends a wake-up call to every cell in their bodies... And they actually feel young again."

And his patients agree. "I noticed a difference within a few days," says Jerry from Ft. Pierce, Florida. "My endurance has almost doubled, and I feel it mentally, too. There's a clarity and sense of well-being in my life that I've never experienced before."

How To Get Ultra Accel II

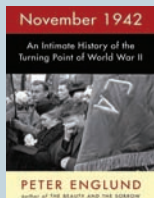
This is the official nationwide release of **Ultra Accel II** in the United States. And so, the company is offering a special discount supply to anyone who calls during the official launch.

An Order Hotline has been set up for local readers to call. This gives everyone an equal chance to try **Ultra Accel II**. And your order is backed up by a no-hassle, 90-day money back guarantee. No questions asked.

Starting at 7:00 AM today, the discount offer will be available for a limited time only. All you have to do is call TOLL FREE **1-800-961-9483** right now and use promo code **WWHUA424** to secure your own supply.

Important: Due to **Ultra Accel II** recent media exposure, phone lines are often busy. If you call and do not immediately get through, please be patient and call back.

New and Noteworthy



November 1941: An Intimate History of the Turning Point of World War II (Peter Englund, Alfred A. Knopf Books, 2023, \$32, HC) This new book goes into detail about

November 1942, using the perspectives of both soldiers and civilians worldwide.



The Breaking Storm: 10 July 1940 - 12 August 1940 (Dilip Sarkar, Air World Books, 2023, \$54.95, Hardcover, HC) Sarkar has written several books on the Battle of Britain.

This latest covers the initial German onslaughts.



Early Pacific Raids 1942 (Brian Lane Herder, Osprey Publishing, 2023, \$25, SC) Before Coral Sea and Midway, the US carrier force conducted an aggressive campaign against the Japan-

ese periphery. These hit and run actions proved a crucible for preparing US naval aviators.

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justice among men and nations. Amen.”

Patton had this prayer printed, along with his signature, on 250,000 prayer cards and distributed to the men of his army. Instructions to pray when they could accompanied the tiny cards. Paradoxically, Patton, a man who has become the practical symbol of aggressive action, had to bend his knee and ask for help in a moment of need. Ultimately, this prayer seemed to be answered as the weather cleared long enough to allow Third Army to make its bold change of direction and smash in the German southern flank, ending any hope they had of achieving their objective.

This story of Americans at war in the winter of 1944 is well told in *Patton's Prayer: A True Story of Courage, Faith and Victory in World War II* (Alex Kershaw, Dutton Press, New York NY, 2024, 348 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, \$32, HC). The prayer provides a connection to the hundreds of thousands of soldiers struggling in the winter weather to achieve victory over Germany's last offensive in the West. Their story is told in this book through the experiences of paratroopers, tank crews and the odd general or staff officer.

The author is an established writer on the history of the war with 10 works to his credit. This latest book continues in the traditions of his previous volumes with gritty realism, descriptive prose and a focus on the human experience in the world's largest conflict. The author excels at taking the disparate stories of different soldiers serving during the Battle of the Bulge and weaving them together into a coherent, readable and page-turning narrative. There are thousands of books on the Ardennes campaign available to the reader; what makes this one worthy is its unending focus on the personalities who made victory possible, from Patton himself to the private shivering in a muddy ditch, a rifle clutched in his hands.



Fighting the Night: Iwo Jima, World War II, and a Flyer's Life (Paul Hendrickson, Alfred A. Knopf Books, New York, 2024, 320 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, \$32, HC)

On September 20, 1944, 1st Lt. Joe Paul Hendrickson said goodbye to his wife and two small children. He was leaving to join the war as a pilot flying the P-61 Black

Widow fighter, the first operational American fighter designed to operate as a night fighter. His unit, the 549th Night Fighter Squadron, soon to be attached to the VII Fighter command of the Seventh Air Force, had no orders yet, but it would soon be headed for the Pacific. After a brief stay in Hawaii for outfitting and training, the unit went to Saipan, flying relatively safe missions designed to blood the unit for combat operations. At the end of March 1945, not long after the Marines conquered the island, Hendrickson landed at Iwo Jima. Over the next five and a half months he flew seventy-five missions. One of the unit's targets was nearby Chichi Jima, a well-defended island where future President George H. W. Bush was shot down on a different occasion. Hendrickson went through a harrowing night attack on the island on April 11, 1945, with heavy flak directed by accurate searchlights. It was just one of his missions.

This book, completed after Hendrickson's death by his son, is a tribute to the man and the service he gave in the Pacific. He never told his son very much about his wartime experiences, common for veterans. The author used what little he knew to begin extensive research, resulting in this well written volume about his father, the squadron he fought in, and the price he paid for doing his duty.

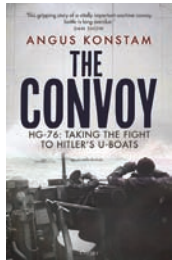


The First Hellcat Ace (Cdr. Hamilton McWhorter III, USN Ret.; Lt. Col. Jay Stout, USMC, Ret., Casemate Books, Havertown PA, 2024, 225 pp., photographs, \$34.95 HC)

Georgia-born Hamilton McWhorter III wanted to be a fighter pilot. When the Pearl Harbor attack happened on December 7, 1941, he was a naval aviation cadet still in training. Within a few months he earned his gold aviator's wings, assigned to fly the tough but outdated F4F Wildcat fighter. With squadron VF-9, he sailed to North Africa aboard the USS *Ranger* and took part in Operation Torch, the invasion of North Africa. Returning to the U.S., VF-9 was reassigned to the new carrier USS *Essex*, bound for the Pacific. Hamilton discovered his unit was also receiving a new fighter, the F6F Hellcat. Soon he and his squadron fought the Japanese in an unending campaign across the Pacific, growing ever closer to Japan. He shot down his fifth Japanese plane in November 1943 near

Tarawa, making him the first ace flying a Hellcat. By the end of the war his total was 12.

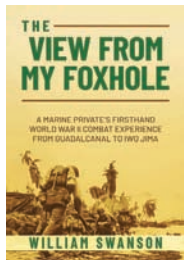
This memoir is a tribute to the author's service in World War II. It is a realistic look at the life of a carrier pilot, eschewing any attempt at glory-seeking, instead delving into their concerns, duties and hardships. The book provides an interesting look into the war from a carrier pilot's point of view.



The Convoy HG-76: Taking the Fight to Hitler's U-Boats (Angus Konstam, Osprey Publishing, Oxford UK, 2024, 320 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, \$35, HC)

Convoy HG-76 departed Gibraltar for Liverpool in December 1941. The 32 ships had to make a 2,000-mile voyage, braving the dangers of German U-Boats and maritime strike aircraft. Royal Navy Commander Johnnie Walker commanded the escort group. He faced a daunting task, but he was an anti-submarine warfare expert who was about to prove his skills. He also commanded HMS *Audacity*, a new type of ship, the escort carrier. It carried only four fighters, but they were enough to give the convoy effective air cover.

The author is an acknowledged naval historian and this newest volume tells the history of HG-76 and its fight for survival. This battle used elements of convoy escort techniques which would be perfected over the next two years. The book is not only a history of the battle but also how the tactics and technology needed to defeat the U-Boats were developed.



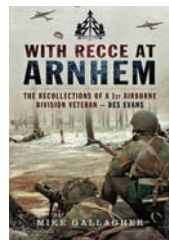
The View from my Foxhole: A Marine Private's Firsthand WWII Combat Experience from Guadalcanal to Iwo Jima (William Swanson, Permuted Press, New York NY, 2023, 176

pp., photographs, \$26, HC)

William Swanson described himself as an ordinary rifleman, but there was nothing ordinary about his experiences as a United States Marine in World War II. He joined the Marines in late 1942, excited for the adventure of it. Eight months later he arrives on Guadalcanal as part of the Ninth Marines, Third Marine Division, the fighting over

except for occasional air raids and enemy stragglers. In October 1943 the division goes to Bougainville, where young William sees combat for the first time. He is soon dispelled of the notion of adventure by two months of action. After a brief return to Guadalcanal, his unit ships out for Guam, attacking the enemy in pillboxes and caves, respecting their courage but hating them, nonetheless. Finally, William lands on Iwo Jima, where he receives a wound to the hand which takes him out of the battle. After convalescing, he awaits reassignment for the invasion of Japan, but the atomic bomb spared him that fate.

The author of this memoir spent twenty-seven months in the Pacific and took part in three separate campaigns. His writing is clear and engaging, giving the reader the unembellished point of view of a rifleman. The narrative is reminiscent of more famous memoirs such as those by Eugene Sledge or Robert Leckie and sits compares well to both.



With Recce at Arnhem: The Recollections of Trooper Des Evans - A 1st Airborne Division Veteran (Mike Gallagher, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2023, 160 pp., photographs, \$29.95, HC)

Trapped in a reserved occupation which prevented him from enlisting, Des Evans abandoned his job and ran off to join the army. A natural soldier, he soon volunteered for the Reconnaissance Corps. He served as a motorcycle Despatch Rider in North Africa, Sicily and Italy. Sent back to England due to a bout of pneumonia, he recovered and volunteered for the airborne forces. Placed in a reserve group, fate decreed Des would land at Arnhem when another man got injured in a football match. Soon he was in the Battles of Arnhem and Oosterbeek. Captured, he was a POW until escaping in April 1945.

Des Evans started writing his memoir in 1984, just after his first visit back to Arnhem since 1944. His recollections of the events as he experienced them extend to tiny details which, while not unusual for veterans, is appreciated in their accounts for the authenticity it lends. In gathering other viewpoints for this work, he communicated with other soldiers, officers including generals, and historians for added details to flesh out his tale. The result is a very engaging and interesting book.

History does not pick sides but it does tell our story.

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Simulation Gaming

BY JOSEPH LUSTER

TANK OPERATIONS LEAVES EARLY ACCESS AND HELL LET LOOSE IS ON GAME PASS

HELL LET LOOSE (GAME PASS)

PUBLISHER TEAM17 • **GENRE** SIMULATION

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From games exiting Early Access to games entering Microsoft's Game Pass subscription service, we now come to another look at *Hell Let Loose*. Developed by a small independent team and powered by Unreal Engine 4, this teamwork-based shooter emphasizes communication and playing roles within the platoon for maximum effectiveness. As a result, survival becomes the name of the game along with a focus on historically accurate tactics, armor, weapons, and logistics. Whether you've been playing since 2021 or have been meaning to check it out for years, *Hell Let Loose* is now available to sample as long as you're paying for an Xbox Game Pass sub.

The first theater of war to be featured in *Hell Let Loose* takes players to the Norman countryside in the early stages of 1944's Operation Overlord. One of the most attractive features is the sheer scale captured in this and other maps that are currently in the works. According to the devs at Black Matter, it takes approximately 15 minutes to cross the Norman countryside map on foot. The surroundings include a mix of small villages, dense woodland, winding canals, and open countryside, offering up a bunch of different strategic possibilities along the way.

The battles themselves will be waged with over 16 true-to-life rifles, machine guns, and pistols, all of which come with their own realistic pros and cons. From jamming to overheating and other aspects of true weapon limitations, the goal is to get as close to mimicking real issues without making said limitations too much of an annoyance. All said, there are 14 playable roles that come equipped with their own unique weapons and other combat-ready items such as mines, mortars, and anti-tank measures.

Hell Let Loose is split up into three key levels of warfare: Strategic, Operational, and Tactical. The first involves taking on the role of Commander and deciding on adaptive strategies for your ground forces. Call upon reinforcements and supplies and send in outside strikes to properly respond to the ever-changing field of battle. Operational duties consist of establishing supply lines to bolster forces, and Tactical roles include setting up observation posts and garrisons before settling on the appropriate course of action.

Hell Let Loose is another WWII shooter with great ambitions, and they've mostly paid off since its initial launch. Thousands of reviews have poured in on Steam since it debuted, adding up to a "Very Positive" overall consensus. With two teams of 50 players each facing off against one another on the battlefield, the creation of this relatively small team is most impressive indeed.

TANK OPERATIONS: EUROPEAN CAMPAIGN

PUBLISHER 2TAINMENT • **GENRE** STRATEGY • **SYSTEM** PC

• **AVAILABLE** NOW

Publisher 2tainment and the indie game devs at Linked Dimensions launched their turn-based tactical war game *Tank Operations: European Campaign* in Steam Early Access back in August 2019, but the time has finally come to unleash the full game. After working on bugs and continuing development with the help of player feedback—garnering the distinction of "Very Positive" reviews along the way—*Tank Operations* officially exited Early Access in February 2024.

Just because the Early Access period is over doesn't mean they're done with the game. Linked Dimensions plans to continue providing updates until they achieve version 1.0, adding more language support, enhancing gameplay, and introducing Steam Achievements. At the time of this writing, the devs are also still looking to integrate more community feedback, so if you want your voice to be heard there's plenty of time to do so via the Steam discussion board.

Dealing out a cool dozen historically accurate scenarios set in World War II with, at the time of this writing, over 50 authentic units at your disposal, *Tank Operations: European Campaign* takes a lot of inspiration from the classics. Some of the games cited include *Panzer Corps*, *Panzer General*, *Xcom*, and even *Sid Meier's Civilization*, with nods to *Steel Division 2* and *Panzer Strategy*.

Those who dive into the action at hand will find themselves in the boots of an American general tasked with leading tanks through Europe and Northern Africa. You'll capture buildings, hide units, and implement complex strategies using real-world infantry, as well as authentic tanks and planes from the era. If what we've seen during the Early Access period is any indication, this is one you'll want to jump into if you haven't already given it a shot. □



The Rifle 2: Back to the Battlefield (Andrew Biggio, Regnery Publishing, Washington, DC, 2023, 331 pp., photographs, index, \$29.99, HC)

Emilio Magliacane, a second-generation Italian from Boston, joined the Marine Corps in 1942. After training he went to the Pacific, assigned to Company A, 1st Battalion, 5th Marines, 1st

marine Division. He joined the unit just after they returned from Cape Gloucester. On September 15, 1944, he climbed aboard an amtrac and landed on Peleliu. The beachhead was chaos. "There were no officers I could find or anyone taking control of the situation," Emilio said. "I just kept moving through the trees until I saw everyone assembling on the edge of an airfield." Soon, Japanese tanks and infantry attacked. Emilio raised his rifle, an M1 Garand, and emptied it at the advancing enemy.

This book is the sequel to the author's work collecting the experiences of World War II veterans. He took an M1 rifle with him and had each veteran sign it. Soon his rifle was covered with signatures. The book is full of fascinating vignettes from the participants in his project and stands as a fitting tribute to their service and sacrifices. Not every chapter is about a rifleman, but each shows a service member fighting the war in the way they could. The reader is given a variety of engaging battle stories. □

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KOREMATSU

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18, 1944, the court majority upheld the constitutionality of Executive Order 9066 and the Army's excuse of "military necessity." The majority opinion had a narrow focus on the issue of disobeying the Army's evacuation order—ignoring the constitutional issue of the mass imprisonment of American citizens without due process.

By focusing on the issue narrowly, they ruled on the Japanese evacuation, not detention. And that is why another case, *Ex Parte Endo*, had a dramatically different outcome. Mitsuye Endo was a young Nisei woman who had obeyed the evacuation order and allowed herself to be imprisoned at the relocation camp. Only then did she allow herself to be used as a test case.

The Supreme Court unanimously ordered her immediate release, ruling that the government had no right to imprison a citizen who was law-abiding and loyal. Its rulings on the two cases were contradictory, so the Court tried to reconcile the glaring differences by implying Endo had behaved correctly, but Korematsu did not—by willfully disobeying, getting plastic surgery, trying to assume a new identity, and going "underground."

Korematsu's case was reopened in 1983, after researchers found documents that showed the authorities deliberately withheld and/or covered up evidence that the Japanese American community was no threat to national security. Even J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI—and no friend of racial minorities—concluded that there was no evidence of Japanese American wrongdoing.

Because of the evidence hidden from the Supreme Court, Korematsu's conviction was formally overturned on November 10, 1983. He was also honored when in 1998 he received the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, from President Bill Clinton.

Fred Korematsu died in 2004 at the age of 86. He remained active to the end, making appearances all over the country and speaking about his experiences. □

Eric Niderost is a long-time contributor to WWII History and teaches at a community college in the Bay Area of California.

CAPTURING CAEN

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open with fewer civilian casualties because Allied control of the skies made them very vulnerable in the field. A bigger mistake than failing to take Caen immediately may have been the actual bombing of the city without consideration for the lives of the thousands of French civilians living there, which also reduced the townscape to features that proved protective for the enemy and easier to defend. This was a serious error from both a human and a tactical perspective. If, in the dark days of 1940, Hitler had managed to establish a foothold on the south coast of England, it is difficult to imagine the RAF bombing civilians to drive out the invaders.

Whether Montgomery's subsequent operations to seize Caen were an attempt to make up for his failure to capture the city on D-Day or a clever plan to contain the bulk of Hitler's men in one area so that the rest of the liberation would be less hindered is debatable. It was probably a bit of both with the wily old opportunistic British warrior seeing the chance of turning a negative into a positive. The outcome was the attrition of an increasingly isolated German army which became even more vulnerable when, during the first week of August, the Allies were joined by General Philippe Leclerc's French 2nd Armored Division from North Africa and the Polish 1st Armored Division. Whether by accident or good Allied planning, the onslaught by the Canadians and British in Caen had left the Germans weakened to a level from which they could not recover.

Today Caen is a vibrant modern city and cultural center with pavement cafés along the river, a top university, and the status of the capital of the Calvados Department. It also contains the largest World War II museum in Normandy, The Caen Memorial, a beautifully designed and well-resourced structure which leaves visitors in no doubt as to the sacrifices made by Caen's residents and their liberators in the pursuit of peace and freedom in the summer of 1944. □

Author Alan Davidge is a frequent contributor to Sovereign Media publications. He is a resident of Normandy, France, and is quite familiar with the campaign of World War II.

U-BOAT 85

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Submarine listed to starboard practically on its side—angle of deck with bottom about 80 degrees. (b) Forward on port side several stanchions torn away. Hull appears intact. (c) No other damage noted except clearing lines torn loose. (d) Forward gun swung forward and to port slightly elevated with tampon in place. (e) 20mm AA gun aft of conning tower in place, lines and wires fouled with it. (f) Conning tower apparently undamaged. (g) Upper conning tower hatch open with lubricating oil coming up through the hatch below."

The diving report suggested *U-85* was remarkably intact. The pressure hull was flooded as multiple hatches were open, but there was substantial integrity to the U-boat. The propellers were undamaged. The bow diving planes and aft diving planes were unscathed. The U.S. Navy wanted to raise *U-85* only a week after its sinking.

The diving and salvage platform *USS Falcon* arrived on site. Over the course of 78 dives, Navy divers recovered the 20mm anti-aircraft gun, the gun sights for the 88mm deck gun, elements from the gyro, and other instruments from the bridge. A Navy diver noted a wild boar with a rose in its mouth painted on the front of the conning tower.

Dive operations ended May 4, with the following recommendation by G. K. Mackenzie, Jr., commanding officer of *USS Falcon*: "Combining the information contained in the *USS Roper* report of action with that gained by divers, it is my opinion that this vessel was thoroughly and efficiently scuttled by her crew, and that successful salvage can be accomplished only by extensive pontooning operations." The Navy never returned.

Situated east of the Oregon Inlet, *U-85* rests at a depth of 100 feet and is considered a war grave for the 19 missing Kriegsmarine sailors who were never recovered after the sinking. *U-85*'s bow points southeast with a sharp 35-degree list to starboard. The 88mm deck gun is aimed toward the surface. □

First-time WWII History contributor, Eric Petkovic lives in Huntingtown, Maryland.

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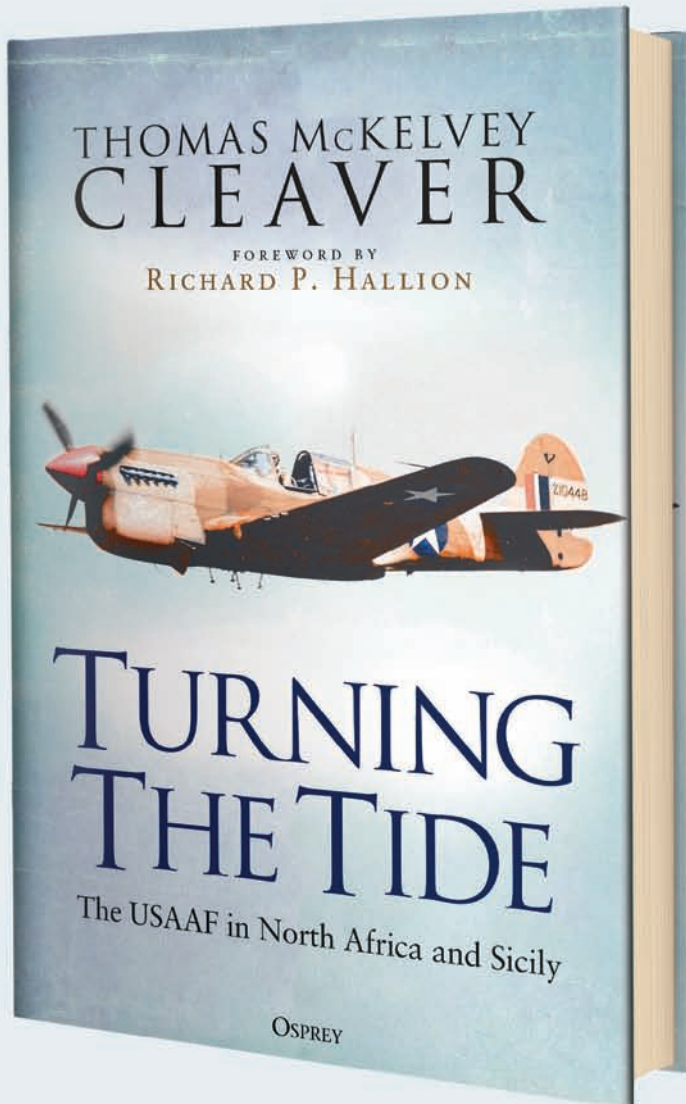
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