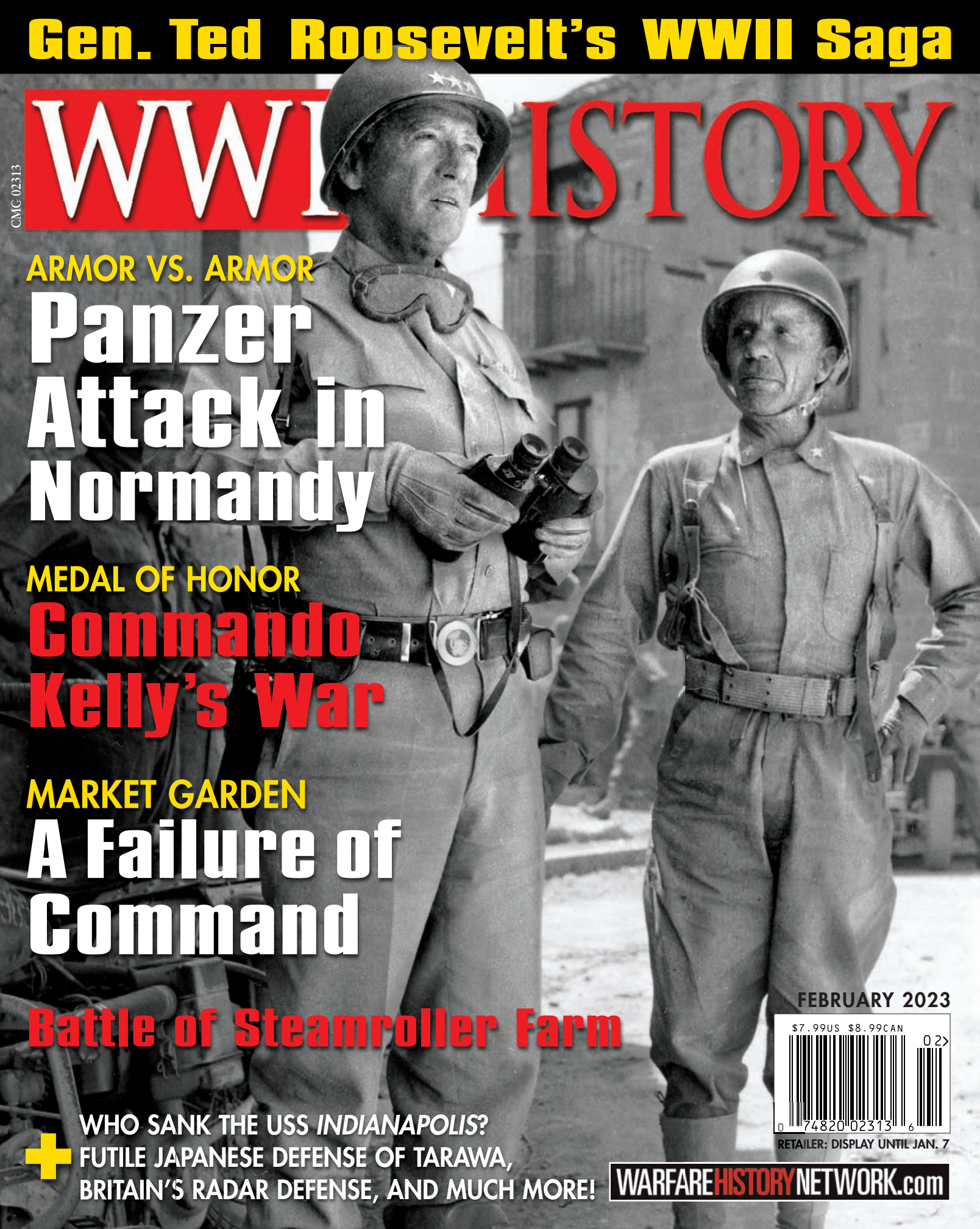
Gen. Ted Roosevelt's WWII Saga

WWII HISTORY

CMG 02313



ARMOR VS. ARMOR

Panzer Attack in Normandy

MEDAL OF HONOR

Commando Kelly's War

MARKET GARDEN

A Failure of Command

Battle of Steamroller Farm

+ WHO SANK THE USS *INDIANAPOLIS*?
FUTILE JAPANESE DEFENSE OF TARAWA,
BRITAIN'S RADAR DEFENSE, AND MUCH MORE!

FEBRUARY 2023

$7.99US $8.99CAN

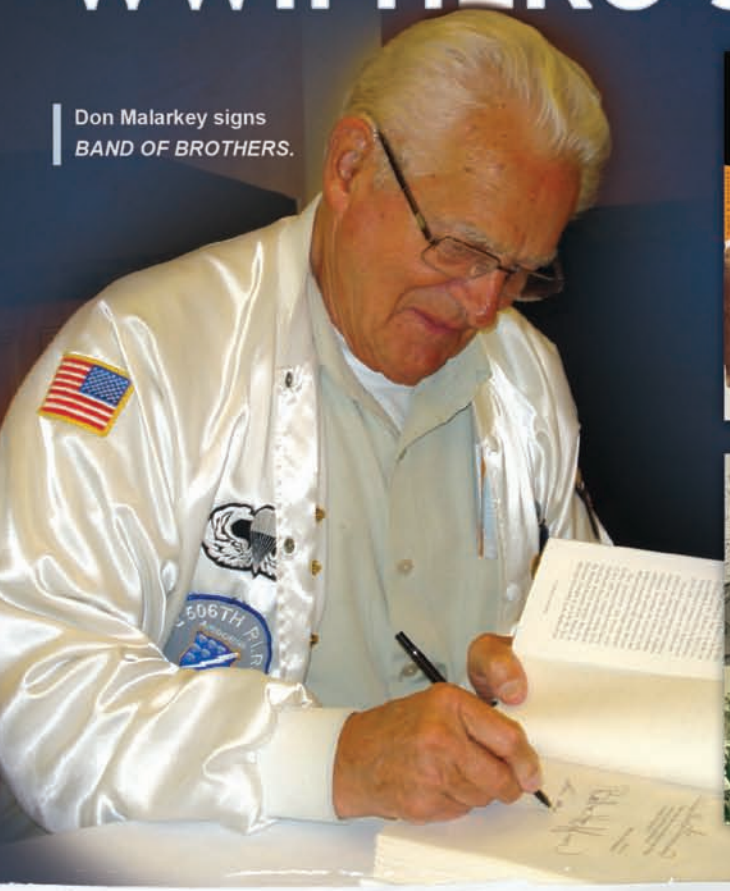
02

0 74820 02313 6

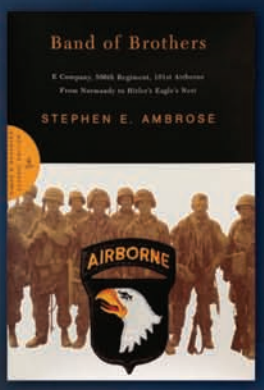
RETAILER: DISPLAY UNTIL JAN. 7

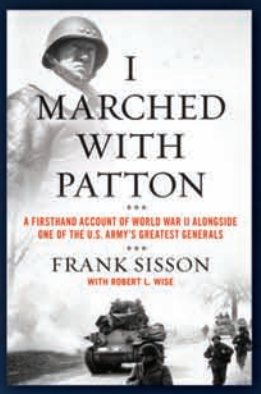
WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK.com

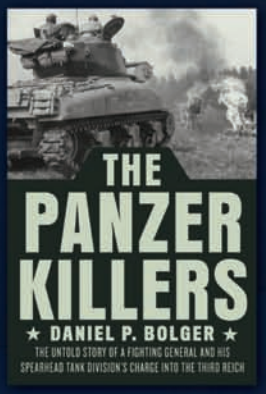
WWII HERO SIGNED BOOKS!

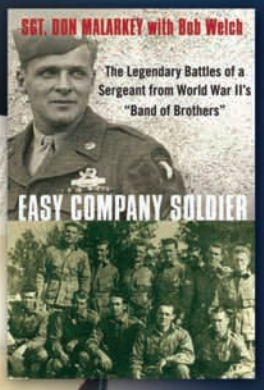


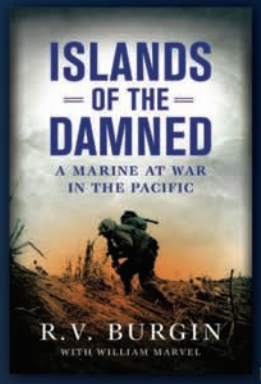
Don Malarkey signs *BAND OF BROTHERS.*

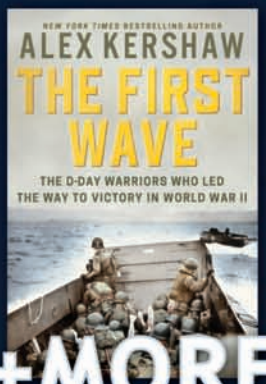












+MORE

Limited-editions, many in
LOW SUPPLY!

VALOR™ STUDIOS

ORDER AT:
www.ValorStudios.com

sold unframed

8th AF B-17 crews are in the fight of their lives in Gareth Hector's **BLACK THURSDAY,** signed by B-17 pilots! Prints start at $245.

sold unframed

The 29th ID and 743rd TB fight their way off Omaha Beach in Larry Selman's **EVER FORWARD,** signed by D-Day heroes! Prints start at $195.

AFTER THE BATTLE *BACK ISSUE HEADQUARTERS*

For almost 50 yrs. **After The Battle** magazine has been providing readers an in-depth study on the Second World War. One of the unique features of this publication is the **"Then and Now"** comparison photographs which add a new dimension to the historical study. Major battles and local actions are explored along with other features which include the recovery of aircraft and vehicles on land and sea, the making of war films, and also the preservation of military artifacts.

As of May 2022 ATB magazine has ceased publication with issue No. 195. We currently have in stock issues **1 thru 195**. Here is your chance to order missing issues before they sell out.

Browse all available issues online at RZM.com

European Theater of Operations 1944-45

ATB Issue No. 1 NORMANDY
ATB Issue No. 2 ARNHEM
ATB Issue No. 4 THE BATTLE OF THE BULGE
ATB Issue No. 13 THE BATTLES FOR CASSINO
ATB Issue No. 16 CROSSING THE RHINE
ATB Issue No. 13 THE BATTLES FOR CASSINO
ATB Issue No. 42 THE BATTLES FOR AACHEN
ATB Issue No. 71 THE BATTLE OF THE HÜRTGEN FOREST
ATB Issue No. 73 CLEARING THE RHINE
ATB Issue No. 88 EAST-WEST LINK-UP
ATB Issue No. 95 SALERNO

Pacific Theater of Operations 1941-45

ATB Issue No. 15 TARAWA AND OPERATION GALVANIC
ATB Issue No. 26 THE DEATH RAILWAY
ATB Issue No. 38 PEARL HARBOR
ATB Issue No. 43 THE BATTLE FOR OKINAWA
ATB Issue No. 46 THE BATTLE OF HONG KONG
ATB Issue No. 78 PELELIU
ATB Issue No. 82 IWO JIMA
ATB Issue No. 98 THE BATTLE FOR NEW GEORGIA
ATB Issue No. 108 GUADALCANAL
ATB Issue No. 133 THE AIR WAR FOR RABAUL
ATB Issue No. 137 THE KOKODA TRAIL

BACK IN PRINT!

The #1 best selling book on THE BULGE!

Nine days before Christmas 1944 Hitler played Germany's last card on which he staked everything to turn the tables in the West. This is the first time that an attempt has been made to cover the entire salient in order to present the battle in familiar **After The Battle** ***'Then and Now'*** format.

Large size with over 1,200 photos and 31 maps, this 544 page, hardcover book remains the single greatest volume ever published on the BATTLE OF THE BULGE!

Order your copy online at RZM.com

RZM IMPORTS

For over 30 yrs. **RZM Imports** has been dedicated to offering unique publications on WW2 you won't find anywhere else. Explore over 7,000 military history titles and more at **RZM.com**

Contents

WWII HISTORY

February 2023

Features

32 Tigers Triumphant at Villers-Bocage
In the fight for the French city of Caen, German tanks under the command of Lieutenant Michael Wittmann decimated a British Army unit at the small village.
By Michael E. Haskew

40 Teddy Roosevelt, Jr. Led At Utah Beach
The son of a legendary president was the assistant commander of the 4th Infantry Division on D-Day. **By Michael D. Hull**

48 Montgomery's Bridge Too Far
In Operation Market-Garden, Allied leaders ignored warnings, overlooked obstacles in a push to end the war in Europe quickly.
By Michael D. Hull

56 Captain Hollands' Rampage
British Captain Ernest D. Hollands took his tank on a daring attack against the German army at Steamroller Farm. **By Christopher Miskimon**

64 The Fateful War Patrols of I-58
The submarine that fired the torpedoes that sank the heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis* had only a single victim during World War II in the Pacific.
By Mark Carlson

Columns

06 Editorial
Poland makes war reparations claim against Germany.

08 Profile
Corporal Charles Kelly fought with incredible courage during the opening days of Allied operations in Italy.

14 Ordnance
The light cruisers of the USS *Cleveland*-class proved their mettle and performed yeoman service in World War II.

22 Top Secret
Chain Home radar provided the Royal Air Force with vital early warning during the Battle of Britain.

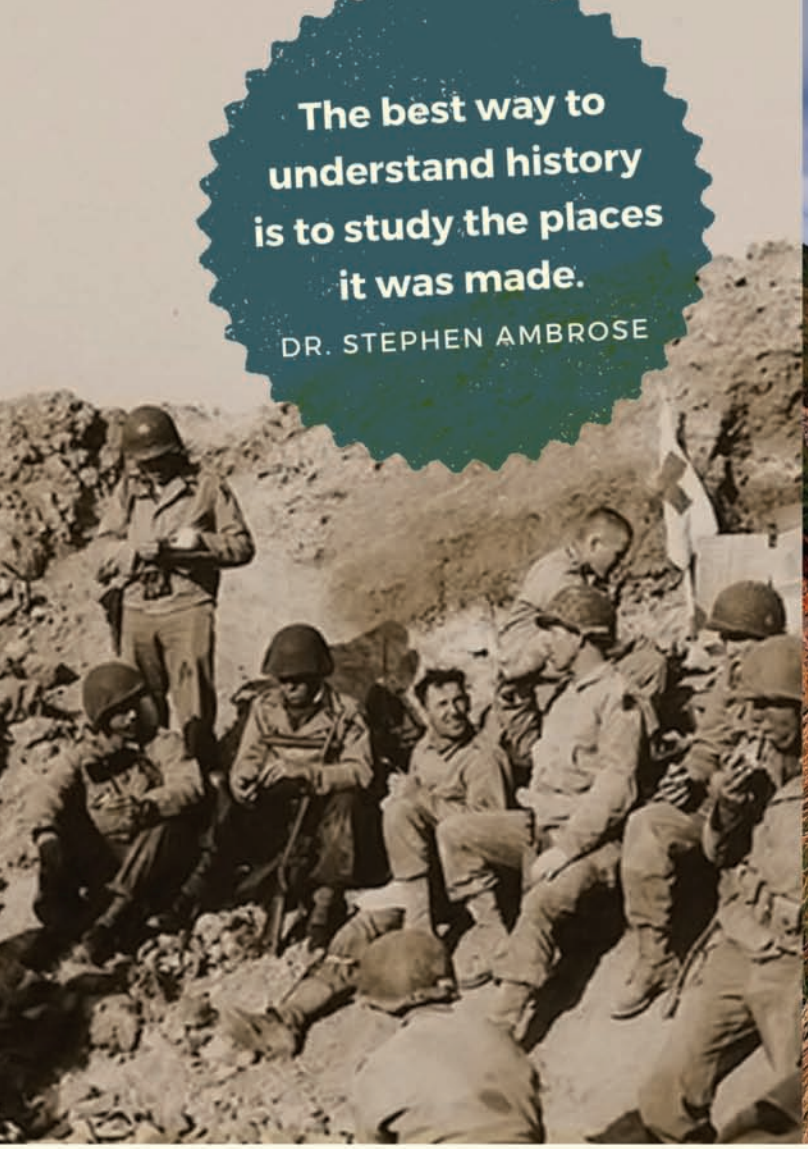
28 Insight
The defenders of the islet of Betio at Tarawa atoll were overwhelmed by the attacking U.S. Marines in November 1943.

70 Books
Allied "Cactus Airforce" waged a months-long campaign against the Japanese around Guadalcanal, inflicting irreplaceable losses.

76 Simulation Gaming
Venerable *Men of War* series is returning to its roots with World War II release in 2023.

Cover: General George S. Patton and General Ted Roosevelt, Jr. pose for a photgrapher during combat in Sicily. See story page 40. Photo: National Archives.

WWII History (ISSN 1539-5456) is published six times yearly in February, April, June, August, October, and December by Sovereign Media, 6731 Whittier Ave., Suite C-100, McLean, VA 22101. (703) 964-0361. Periodical postage paid at McLean, VA, and additional mailing offices. *WWII History*, Volume 22, Number 1 © 2023 by Sovereign Media Company, Inc., all rights reserved. Copyrights to stories and illustrations are the property of their creators. The contents of this publication may not be reproduced in whole or in part without consent of the copyright owner. ***Subscription services, back issues, and information:*** (800) 219-1187 *or* write to ***WWII History*** **Circulation, WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.** Single copies: $7.99, plus $3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: $29.95; Canada and Overseas: $43.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Email Michael Haskew, Editor, at mhaskew3734@comcast.net. Articles, proposals, and synopses should be sent as Word attachments; please include a brief description of your submission within the body of your email. Authors' guidelines are available upon request. *WWII History* assumes no responsibility for the loss or damage of unsolicited material. **POSTMASTER: Send address changes to WWII History, P.O. Box 1644, Williamsport, PA 17703.**



STEPHEN AMBROSE HISTORICAL TOURS PRESENTS

D-DAY TO THE RHINE: A TOUR YOU WON'T FORGET

Travel with us June 1-13, July 21-August 2, or September 1-13, 2023

AMERICAN OWNED * FAMILY OPERATED CO.

Follow along the path where America's best and brightest fought in WWII as you travel from England to Normandy to the Ardennes on our D-Day to the Rhine Tour. Pay homage to the fallen in Europe and the Pacific on our Operation Overlord, Original Band of Brothers, Iwo Jima, Battle of Britain, Battle of the Bulge, Ghost Army, In Patton's Footsteps, Italian Campaign, Manhattan Project, Normandy Campaign and Poland and Germany tours. ***Our WWII, Civil War and American History tours are unrivaled in their historical accuracy!***

STEPHEN AMBROSE
ESTD 1979
HISTORICAL TOURS

EXPLORE NOW AT **STEPHENAMBROSETOURS.COM** **1.888.903.3329**

Poland Makes War Reparations Claim Against Germany.

ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1939, ADOLF HITLER SET WORLD WAR II IN EUROPE IN MOTION when the spearheads of the Nazi Wehrmacht rolled across the German frontier into Poland. Three weeks later, after a gallant fight in some quarters, Poland was prostrate under the heel of the Nazi jackboot—and, lest we forget, the conquering Red Army of the Nazi accomplice Soviet Union.

For the Polish people, a long period of suffering was underway. At war's end in 1945, Poland was a shattered country. Estimates of the number of Poles who died in World War II run as high as six million, about 5.2 million blamed on the Germans and the balance on the Soviets. Its cities were heaps of rubble, its economy was shattered, and a half century of communist dictatorial rule lay ahead.

On September 1, 2022, a full 83 years to the day after the fateful Nazi invasion, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, leader of the Polish Law and Justice Party, announced that his government will seek reparations of $1.3 trillion from the government of Germany to compensate for the losses sustained during the Nazi conquest and more than four years of brutal occupation.

The German Foreign Ministry was quick to respond that Poland and other Eastern Bloc nations, then under communist rule, had agreed to compensation paid years ago and that no basis for further claims exists. According to the Associated Press, the ministry in an email statement said its position is unchanged and the issue of reparations is concluded. "Poland long ago, in 1953, waived further reparations and has repeatedly confirmed this waiver. This is a significant basis for today's European order. Germany stands by its responsibility for World War II politically and morally."

The Polish government asserts that it has rejected the 1953 declaration of acceptance issued by the country's government, which was communist at the time and dominated by the Soviet Union. Kaczynski says his government will not be dissuaded. "We not only prepared this report, but we have also taken the decision as to the further steps," he said to the AP. "We will turn to Germany to open negotiations on the reparations." He added that the conclusion will be a "long and not an easy path" but "one day will bring success. Germany has never really accounted for its crimes against Poland."

The Poles used the anniversary of the Nazi invasion to underscore their determination in the process and their firm belief that the German economy is capable of making the massive payment. Kaczynski stood with Polish Prime Minister Mateusz Morawiecki during a ceremony marking the release of a three-volume report at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, which was destroyed during the war and later rebuilt.

According to an AP report, a team of more than 30 economists, historians and other experts began working on the report in 2017, and it details losses sustained in farming, industry, infrastructure, culture, forced labor deportations to Germany, and a Nazi program to turn Polish children into Germans through coerced adoption into German families. The report team, however, did not place a specific value on the millions of Polish lives lost.

Polish President Andrzej Duda told a group gathered at the Westerplatte peninsula near Gdansk that World War II was "one of the most terrible tragedies in our history. Not only because it took our freedom, not only because it took our state from us, but also because this war meant millions of victims among Poland's citizens and irreparable losses to our homeland and our nation."

German officials acknowledged the tragedy, and Dietmar Nietan, government official for German-Polish Cooperation, commented that September 1 "…remains a day of guilt and shame for Germany that reminds us time and again not to forget the crimes carried out by Germany…[during the] darkest chapter in our history." He added that reconciliation is "the basis on which we can look toward the future together in a united Europe."

Opposition politicians in Poland have called the government claim a political game and offer that cooperation between Warsaw and Berlin is the better path. Still, nothing can erase the stain of horrific aggression perpetrated by the Nazis—not an apology, not a financial settlement, not even a monument.

Only a solemn pledge made and kept by the civilized nations of the world to never allow such a march of tyranny again might begin to heal the deep wounds that remain in the Polish national psyche and elsewhere generations after World War II.

—Michael E. Haskew

WWII HISTORY

Volume 22 ▪ Number 1

CARL A. GNAM, JR.
Editorial Director, Founder

MICHAEL E. HASKEW
Editor

KEVIN SEABROOKE
Managing Editor

SAMANTHA DETULLEO
Art Director

KEVIN M. HYMEL
Research Director

CONTRIBUTORS:
Mark Carlson, Joseph Frantiska Jr., Michael E. Haskew, Michael D. Hull, Joseph Luster, Peter McQuarrie, Christopher Miskimon, Nathan N. Prefer

ADVERTISING OFFICE:
BEN BOYLES
Advertising Manager
(570) 322-7848, ext. 110
bboyles@sovmedia.com

LINDA GALLIHER
Ad Coordinator
(570) 322-7848, ext. 160
lgalliher@sovmedia.com

MARK HINTZ
Chief Executive Officer

ROBIN LEE
Bookkeeper

STEPHFANIE RUPP
Subscription Customer Service
stephfanie.rupp@psaemail.com
(570) 322-7848, ext. 140

COMAG MARKETING GROUP
WORLDWIDE DISTRIBUTION

SOVEREIGN MEDIA COMPANY, INC.
6731 Whittier Avenue, Suite C-100
McLean, VA 22101-4554

SUBSCRIPTION CUSTOMER SERVICE
AND BUSINESS OFFICE:
2406 Reach Road
Williamsport, PA 17701

(800) 219-1187

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

WARFAREHISTORYNETWORK
www.WarfareHistoryNetwork.com

Because History Matters

51072 ..... **$7.50**
B-24 Liberator of the Mighty 8th
8.5x5.5" backdrop card

13040
U.S.M.C. Lewis "Chesty" Puller, 1941-50
$45.00

10076
U.S.A.A.F. Bombardier England, 1943-45
$45.00

10077
U.S.A.A.F. Navigator England, 1943-45
$45.00

10078
U.S.A.A.F. Bomber Captain, England, 1943-45
$45.00

10081
U.S. General Dwight D. Eisenhower, WWII
$45.00

10084
U.S. Lieutenant General Omar Bradley, WWII
$45.00

Each one of our 1:30 scale metal figures is painstakingly researched for historical accuracy and detail. The originals are hand sculpted by our talented artists before being cast in metal and hand painted – making each figure a gem of hand-crafted history. Please visit ***wbritain.com*** to see all these figures and more from many other historic eras.

10059
Rosie the Riveter, 1941-45
$45.00

13031
Shore Leave
U.S.N. Sailor on Liberty with Date, 1942-45
$78.00

13053
U.S. Sailor in Whites, 1941-45
$45.00

10067
George H. W. Bush U.S. Navy, 1944
$45.00

10082
U.K. Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1940-45
$45.00

10083
German Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel, 1944
$45.00

10080
British Field Marshall Bernard Montgomery, 1944-45
$45.00

10068
John F. Kennedy U.S. Navy, 1945
$45.00

13003
U.S. Marine in Green Winter Service Dress, WWII
$45.00

13030
U.S.M.C. Women's Reserve, 1941-45
$45.00

13035
U.S.N. Corpsman, 1944-45
$45.00

13018
U.S. Marine Rifleman, WWII, 1943-45
$45.00

13039
U.S.M.C. Pilot Major Gregory "Pappy" Boyington, 1943
$45.00

25025
I'll Be Seeing You
R.A.F. Pilot and Girl Kissing Goodbye
$72.00

Use code WWIIJUN to get a ***FREE*** Mini Backdrop with your first purchse!

CALL FOR A FREE CATLOG

See these and more W.Britain 1/30 scale historical metal figures at:

Tel: U.S. 740-702-1803 • wbritain.com • Tel: U.K. (0)800 086 9123

Follow us on Facebook: W-Britain-Toy-Soldier-Model-Figure-Company

YouTube Subscribe to us on YouTube W.Britain Model Figures

By Michael D. Hull

Keith Rocco / U.S. National Guard

The One-Man Army at Salerno

Corporal Charles Kelly fought with incredible courage during the opening days of Allied operations in Italy.

AFTER THE COLLAPSE OF MUSSOLINI'S FASCIST REGIME IN JULY 1943, THE allies launched a double attack against the western coast of the Italian mainland. One of these was the U.S. Fifth Army's amphibious assault—code named Operation Avalanche—against the historic port of Salerno, between Paestum and Maiori and 29 miles southeast of Naples. Major General Fred L. Walker's 36th (Texas National Guard) Infantry Division, which had trained in North Africa, was part of Avalanche. Its 141st, 142nd, and 143rd Infantry Regiments, landed in the Paestum area on September 9.

Corporal Charles E. Kelly, one of the non-commissioned officers in the division would emerge as a much-celebrated combat hero, with his extraordinary exploits at Salerno related in newspaper stories, magazine articles, and comic books.

Kelly, serving in the 143rd Regiment, was an Army maverick and former gang member in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, who would earn the Medal of Honor and the nicknames, "Commando" and "One-Man Army." A rebel against spit-and-polish who regularly volunteered for dangerous assignments, he seemed to many an unlikely candidate for the nation's highest decoration.

National Archives

ABOVE: Kelly had been something of a discipline problem in the army prior to Salerno.
TOP: Soldiers of the 36th "Texas" Infantry Division splash ashore at Salerno. Corporal Charles Kelly carried a Browning Automatic Rifle and gained fame during the Italian Campaign.

US WINGS®

TOP ★ GUN

Our Top Gun jackets are based on the jackets seen in the "Top Gun: Maverick" movie. We offer a variety of versions, including our US Wings Cape Buffalo Top Gun G-1 and our Cooper Original Top Gun Maverick CWU-45P (shown). Our Top Gun Collection also includes Top Gun jackets for kids, sunglasses, patches & patch sets, caps, t-shirts and more. Please visit our website to see our full selection.

www.uswings.com

US WINGS® 561 E. Hines Hill Road • Hudson, OH 44236 • 1-800-650-0659 • info@uswings.com

The 22-year-old Kelly's combat career began with an inauspicious splash at Salerno. Dogtrotting with a Browning automatic rifle from the fire-swept beach, he moved straight ahead. Passing a dead G.I. lying peacefully with his rifle beside him, Kelly averted his eyes and told himself, "Don't let that worry you." As German machine-gun bullets fell all around, Kelly jumped into a big drainage ditch for cover.

Weighed down by ammunition, he sank into water and slime up to his eyes. He dropped his BAR. Kelly spent several frantic minutes groping around for the weapon and then managed to pull himself out of the ditch by grabbing a branch on a nearby small tree. He then spent half an hour cleaning the trusty BAR as best he could and wiped off the photographs in his wallet. Enemy machine-gun bullets still bored into the ground around Kelly, and his staff sergeant fell with rounds in his head. Kelly hit the dirt, but kept trying to move forward. The next time he tried to check his position, he found himself alone.

The orders he had heard on the landing ship were gone from his mind, and all he could remember was someone having said, "When you get on the beach, keep moving forward." So, Kelly moved on again, hopping over a wall, taking cover in thorn bushes, and searching for his company. After a while, he got tired of being doubled up and stooped over, so he boldly stood up and started walking. He stopped at a farmhouse well to get a drink and grab some grapes and peaches and passed deserted farms and houses. After walking for what seemed like about eight hours, Kelly guessed that he must be about a dozen miles inland.

Spotting a highway, he walked along it in the direction from which he had come. Then he saw German Mark IV medium tanks approaching. Diving into a ditch, Kelly aimed his BAR and opened fire as the tanks came close. The rounds made no impression. Kelly aimed at the slit openings, but the crewmen inside the noisy tanks were oblivious to the one-man attack. The tanks clanked past. Kelly continued along the highway and found a little creek, where he bathed his feet and washed his socks.

After reaching a winery and the 1st Battalion of his regiment, Kelly dug a foxhole behind a bush and fell asleep. On awakening, he continued along the highway to locate his company. He moved cautiously because the Americans and Germans had infiltrated each others' lines. Machine-gun rounds still whizzed around him, but Kelly eventually found his outfit dug in, spread out in shallow holes. "I was sure they'd got you," said his surprised lieutenant. "Where the hell have you been?" asked his comrades. They were amused by his predicament because he was a company malcontent.

Charles Kelly was born on Thursday, September 23, 1920, and grew up in a shabby tenement area on the tough north side of Pittsburgh. His family lived in a dilapidated shack in an alley behind a rundown apartment building. They had no electricity, and kerosene lanterns provided light. There was no bathroom, and the 11 Kellys had to share a fetid outhouse with several other families.

After finishing grade school, Charles helped to support his family by working as a paperhanger's helper for $10 a week. The initial hard times became worse as the Great Depression gripped the country. Charles—a wiry, green-eyed youngster with a long face and a mop of wavy black hair—wanted to be a truck driver, but there were few jobs to be had. When idle, he roamed the streets with local gangs. He was arrested several times for being involved in brawls, but there were no convictions. Neighborhood patrolmen often administered their own brand of justice—a cuff around the head and a stern warning. They got to know Charles Kelly well.

In May 1942, the young man went off to enlist in the Army. He volunteered for the infantry. On the day before he left for basic training, Kelly confronted the policemen on the beat in his neighborhood and bragged, "I'll go fight this war while you 4-Fs guard the vegetable wagons!" Then he strode away.

Barracks discipline was not to Kelly's liking. His bunk was often rumpled at inspection time, his uniform was unkempt, and there was rarely a shine on his boots. He did, however, shoot expert on the rifle range. His unorthodox way of aiming—he sighted with his left eye instead of his right—did not endear Kelly to the drill instructors.

During training, the recruit from the wrong side of the tracks displayed an unnerving curiosity about explosives. He would unscrew the cap of a hand grenade and pour the powder out. And sometimes he would pull the fuse from a 60mm mortar shell and then shake it to see if anything rattled. "God, Kelly!" shouted a sergeant one day. "Do you want to blow us all up?"

After finishing basic training, Private Kelly decided to volunteer for the paratroopers. The tough training suited him, but a visit to a sick friend in the base hospital changed his mind. The sight of many airborne trainees with broken backs, arms, and legs was too much for him. He did not want to end up like that, but friends said that Kelly was obviously "not tough enough." Depressed, he then went absent

without leave.

Returning to Pittsburgh, Kelly told his family he had a furlough pass. But after three weeks, his relatives started questioning him, and rumors filtered through the neighborhood that he was a coward. When Kelly strolled disconsolately through an alley one night, two patrolmen cornered him. "You're AWOL," growled the older officer. "But now you're going back, aren't you?" The threat worked.

Dragged before a court-martial, Kelly pleaded guilty. He was given a 28-day restriction and was fined one month's pay. Then he was shipped out to the 36th Infantry Division, which was staging at Camp Edwards, Massachusetts, for overseas deployment. For the first time, the Pittsburgh outsider found himself at home in the Army. The boisterous Texans were as cocky and eager for a fight as he was, and the sergeants did not care which eye he used for aiming. They just wanted him to hit the target.

The Texas Division, which had been inducted at San Antonio in November 1940 and had trained in Texas, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Florida, shipped out from New York and arrived in North Africa in April 1943. It trained further at Arzew, Algeria, and Rabat, Morocco, before heading for the invasion of Italy.

After the bloody action in the Salerno bridgehead, the Texas Division and other reinforced Allied units began to push inland despite stiff German opposition. Kelly, a corporal in L Company of the 143rd Infantry Regiment, displayed skill and courage while volunteering for patrols to knock out enemy machine-gun positions. Then the company was ordered to head for the little town of Altavilla, perched on a vine-covered, terraced mountain about 10 miles from Salerno. Armed with 60mm mortars, the unit's objective was to neutralize several enemy machine guns in the area, where there had been heavy fighting.

Late on September 13, 1943, Kelly and his comrades cautiously entered the town, pausing to shake hands with some residents and try to gauge the dispositions of the enemy. The GIs soon found out. Mortar shells exploded in the streets, machine guns chattered from rooftops, and snipers were all around. The Americans took up positions in the mayor's house fronting the town square. It was a handsome three-story structure with thick stone walls. After checking every room to make sure there were no Germans inside, Kelly and his comrades hauled in their mortars, machine guns, cases of ammunition, and cans of water. The house was now an arsenal.

But German artillery on nearby hills zeroed in, and shells crashed into the stone walls, filling the house with smoke and dust. Soon,

Both: National Archives

ABOVE: Corporal Charles "Commando" Kelly photograph after receiving the Medal of Honor for heroism in Italy. OPPOSITE: Soldiers of the 36th Infantry Division fire an antitank gun on the Rapido River in February 1944 during the Italian Campaign. The attempt to cross the Rapido was costly to the American forces.

almost half of the original 100 G.I.s were casualties. Later on the evening of September 13, German infantry counterattacked Altavilla. American reinforcements tried without success to reach the town, and Kelly and the others were now surrounded.

The G.I.s fought back with rifles, mortars, machine guns, and hand grenades, and Kelly, the man who had washed out of airborne training, proved to be one of the toughest. His actions on that furious night would earn him the Medal of Honor and make him a national hero. He took an exposed position with his BAR in a third-floor window and rained fire on the attackers. Coolly and expressionless, Kelly enjoyed shooting the fanatical Waffen SS troopers who scrambled up to the house's windows, blasting away with machine pistols. The ground was soon littered with gray-clad bodies.

Kelly fired his BAR until the barrel got so hot and warped that the rounds would not go through it. Then he used a 30-caliber machine gun to good effect and grabbed a Thompson submachine gun to mow down a squad of Germans entering the house's courtyard. The fight continued through the night, but the besieged Americans were running out of ammunition. By the next day, September 14, there were no grenades left.

With the enemy threatening to overrun the position, Corporal Kelly resorted to desperate measures with some 60mm mortar shells which

Corporal Charles "Commando" Kelly poses with several different types of weapons during the Italian Campaign in this U.S. Army publicity photo.

had been found on the third floor. There was no mortar barrel handy, so he grabbed the shells, pulled the safety pins, rammed the projectiles on the windowsill, and lobbed them down on the Germans below. There were deafening blasts, and the other G.I.s thought they were under artillery fire again. Kelly threw about half a dozen shells and killed at least five Germans. The rest fled.

By nightfall, only 28 members of L Company remained unwounded. The company commander decided that it was time to pull out, with the men sneaking out in groups of six, leaving the seriously wounded behind. Despite his sergeant's injunctions, Kelly volunteered to stay and cover the withdrawal. There were still German troops in the area. As the G.I.s moved out, Kelly opened fire with a bazooka rocket launcher, but the back-blast knocked him off his feet. So, he grabbed a BAR and picked off Germans darting around in the dark. His unit withdrew successfully through an alley, and Kelly then left the house. Hiding in the shadows behind the building with the BAR at his hip, he waited for a group of enemy soldiers to emerge from the back door. When they appeared, he emptied his last two clips of ammunition and felled them all. Kelly then tossed his smoking weapon aside and made his way to the American lines. The Pittsburgh rebel who was "not tough enough" had dispatched more than 40 Germans in Altavilla.

An attempt by a battalion of the 142nd Infantry Regiment to capture Altavilla failed. Friendly artillery disintegrated the column, and the G.I.s fled in panic, shedding their weapons and equipment. Altavilla was lost, and General Walker had no choice but to redeploy his forces and shorten the Texas Division's line. But the Allies, meanwhile, managed to stabilize the Salerno bridgehead and unleash tremendous firepower on the advancing enemy. By September 16, Field Marshal Kesselring was pulling back his hard-fighting panzers, aware that the British Eighth Army was advancing from the south. The armies of Montgomery and Clark linked up on the 16th, the bridgehead was finally consolidated on September 18, and British troops marched into Naples on October 1.

In January 1944, Kelly took part in the bloody action at the Rapido River, where the Texas Division was mauled. He took 44 men across the river, and only eight returned. During the bitter fighting around Monte Cassino, his company suffered such heavy casualties that Kelly, by then a sergeant, was the highest-ranking man alive.

On February 18, after the battered 36th Division had been pulled out of the line to a rest camp near Naples, Commando Kelly was awarded the Medal of Honor by General Clark. The citation acknowledged Kelly's "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at risk of life above and beyond the call of duty." The first enlisted man to receive the decoration on the European continent had proved that he was indeed "tough enough." Four days later, with the medal stuffed in a pocket, Kelly went back into action. He was also awarded two Silver Stars for heroism in action, the Combat Infantryman Badge, two Bronze Stars, and British and French decorations.

A few weeks later, in April 1944, Kelly received the greatest award of all: he went home. Late that month, he was joyfully reunited in Pittsburgh with his mother and brothers George, Danny, Eddie, John, Jimmy, Eugene, and Frank, six of whom were also in uniform.

Soon returning to duty, Kelly toured the country with a group of other combat veterans as part of the Army Ground Forces' "Here's Your Infantry" program, demonstrating battle techniques and selling war bonds. When the tour ended, Kelly was assigned to the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia. He was discharged with the rank of technical sergeant in 1945.

Kelly tried to stay out of the limelight after the war, but his fame was too great. Like several other World War II heroes, including the famed Audie Murphy, Commando Kelly encountered daunting challenges in adjusting to civilian life.

Eventually, Kelly found work as a house painter and moved with his wife Betty and their six children to California and then Washington, D.C. But life grew even harder for Commando Kelly, plagued with continuing financial difficulties, problems with alcohol, and poor health. The former national hero spent the rest of his years in relative obscurity.

Just before Christmas 1984, he was admitted to the Veterans Administration Hospital in Pittsburgh, suffering from kidney and liver failure and an intestinal ailment. After undergoing surgery, he died on Friday, January 11, 1985, at the age of 64.

About 150 relatives and veterans paid their last respects to Commando Kelly at a north side funeral home on the following Monday. The mourners then followed Kelly's flag-draped coffin to the Highwood Cemetery on a snowy hillside a few miles away. There, white-helmeted riflemen fired an 18-gun salute, the colors were folded and presented to Sergeant Kelly's daughter, Virginia Ellen Shepherd, and a bugler sounded taps.

An old friend, Leonard Funk, of nearby Braddock Hills, Pennsylvania, who also received the Medal of Honor, recalled meeting Kelly in 1945. He said the two of them did not talk much about the war. "We know what it is," said Funk. "We'd discuss other things than combat, you know. Try to forget that stuff." ■

Meet the Watch That Shook Up Switzerland

A watch that revolutionized timekeeping at a price equally as radical.

Wear it today for only $29

In the history of timepieces, few moments are more important than the creation of the world's first Piezo timepiece. First released to the public in 1969, the watch turned the entire industry on its head, ushering in a new era of timekeeping. It's this legacy that we're honoring with the ***Timemaster Watch***, available only through Stauer at a price only we can offer.

Prior to Piezo watches, gravity-driven Swiss watches were the standard bearer of precision timekeeping. But all that changed when the first commercially available Piezo watch came onto the market.

The result of ten years of research and development by some of the world's top engineers, they discovered that when you squeeze a certain type of crystal, it generates a tiny electric current. And, if you pass electricity through the crystal, it vibrates at a precise frequency–exactly 32,768 times each second. When it came on the market, the Piezo watch was the most dependable timepiece available, accurate to 0.2 seconds per day. Today, it's still considered a spectacular advance in electrical engineering.

> *"[Piezo timepieces]...it would shake the Swiss watch industry to its very foundations."*
> —Foundation For Economic Education

With the ***Timemaster*** we've set one of the world's most important mechanical advances inside a decidedly masculine case. A handsome prodigy in rich leather and gold-finished stainless steel. The simplicity of the watch's case belies an ornately detailed dial, which reflects the prestige of this timepiece.

Call today to secure your own marvel of timekeeping history. Because we work directly with our own craftsman we're able to offer the ***Timemaster*** at a fraction of the price that many Piezo watches cost. But a watch like this doesn't come along every day. Call today before time runs out and they're gone.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Spend some time with this engineering masterpiece for one month. If you're not convinced you got excellence for less, simply send it back within 30 days for a refund of the item price. But we're betting this timekeeping pioneer is a keeper.

Timemaster Piezo Watch ~~$299*~~

Offer Code Price Only **$29** + S&P Save $270

1-800-333-2045

TAKE 90% OFF INSTANTLY! When you use your INSIDER OFFER CODE

Your Insider Offer Code: TPW341-04

You must use the insider offer code to get our special price.

Stauer® 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. TPW341-04
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 **www.stauer.com**

**Discount is only for customers who use the offer code versus the listed original Stauer.com price.*

ACCREDITED BUSINESS BBB **Rating of A+**

CONSUMER AFFAIRS ACCREDITED

Stauer... *Afford the Extraordinary.*®

- Precision Piezo electric movement
- Stainless steel caseback and crown • Cotswold® mineral crystal
- Crocodile embossed leather strap fits wrists 6 ½"–8 ½"
- Date window display • Water resistant to 3 ATM

By Nathan N. Prefer

Naval History and Heritage Command

Cleveland-class Workhorses

The light cruisers of the USS *Cleveland*-class proved their mettle and performed yeoman service in World War II.

DURING WORLD WAR II, THE U.S. "ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY" PRODUCED thousands of ships of all shapes and sizes for the war effort. There were aircraft carriers both large and small, battleships, destroyers, destroyer escorts, submarines, landing craft, salvage vessels, supply vessels, tankers, hospital ships and many others. One of the most prolific warships was the *Cleveland*-class of light cruisers, with 26 completed during the war.

The U.S. Navy became interested in light cruisers near the end of World War I, which it had begun with only three older cruisers in its fleet. Intended as scout ships for the fleet of battleships and heavy cruisers, the first light cruisers built for the postwar U.S. Navy were the *Omaha*-class of 10 warships. These were intended for commerce raiding, not unlike the earlier "privateers" and "commerce raiders," hence the name "cruiser," as well as scouts for the battle fleet.

But interest soon turned to heavy cruisers and no additional light cruisers were built before 1935. That year saw the building of the new *Brooklyn*-class that was so successful it became the basis for all future classes of light cruisers.

The next class of light cruisers launched by the U. S. Navy was the *Cleveland*-class. Named after the city of Cleveland, Ohio, the lead ship was ordered by the U. S. Navy on May 17, 1938, from the New York Shipbuilding Corporation of Camden, New Jersey. Her keel was laid down on July 1, 1940, and given hull number 423. She was launched November 1, 1941, and commissioned on June 15, 1942, as the USS *Cleveland* (CL-55).

The *Cleveland*-class light cruisers weighed 11,744 long tons and had a maximum weight of 14,131 long tons. The ship was an inch over 610 feet long, had a beam of 66 feet, four inches, and drew 26 feet, six inches of water. Powered by four steam boilers providing 100,000 horsepower, four geared turbines turned her four screws to achieve a maximum speed of 32.5 knots. Her range was given as 11,000 nautical miles at a speed of 15 knots. She carried aboard 1,255 officers and enlisted men.

Her armament included a dozen 6-inch (150mm) main guns arranged in four triple-gun turrets. These were aided by six dual-mounted 5-inch (130mm) guns used for antiaircraft protection. Additional antiaircraft protection was provided by four dual mounted 40mm (1.6-inch) Bofors antiaircraft guns and 13 single mounted 20mm (0.79-inch) Oerlikon antiaircraft cannons. She carried four float planes used for scouting and other reconnaissance duties that were launched from two stern-mounted catapults.

Cleveland was protected by a belt of armor ranging from three-and-a-half inches to five inches thick. The main deck armor was two inches thick while the turret and conning tower armor were somewhat thinner. As the war progressed, several modifications would be made to the *Cleveland*-class. Among these were the installation of a Combat Information Center (CIC), radar, and additional antiaircraft guns which added some 480 tons to her top weight, thus making her somewhat top heavy and decreasing her stability.

To address this issue, one of her catapults was later removed, as were some of the smaller antiaircraft guns. In addition, ballast was added, and the hull, redesigned to slope outward rather than inward, helped with the stability issue, which remained a constant problem.

The original order called for construction of 39

The quad mounted 40mm guns aboard the *Cleveland*-class light cruiser USS *Boise* fire during the warship's shakedown cruise of October 1943. The *Cleveland*-class light cruisers were workhorses of the U.S. Navy.

USMC Pride

Personalized Outdoor Sign

Customized FREE with your family name!

← **Over 1 Foot Wide!** →

Shown smaller than actual size of about 13¾" W x 9" H. Hanging device and yard stakes included for easy, secure display indoors or outdoors.

Proudly Saluting our United States Marines

The official emblem of the USMC and the glory of the Stars and Stripes greet one and all on this Outdoor Sign personalized with your family name as part of a proud, patriotic statement! Available only from The Bradford Exchange, it is masterfully crafted of sturdy metal and coated with a clear finish to make it weather-safe and durable. Your sign arrives ready to display indoors or out (hanging hardware and metal yard stakes included).

Order your customized Outdoor Sign today, payable in three installments of $39.99, for a total of $119.99*. Send no money now. Your purchase is backed by our 365-day money-back guarantee with no risk. Don't wait. Return the Reservation Application today!

Display on a wall OR in your yard!

ORDER AT BRADFORDEXCHANGE.COM/USMCHOME

Where Passion Becomes Art

RESERVATION APPLICATION **SEND NO MONEY NOW**

The Bradford Exchange
9345 Milwaukee Avenue, Niles, IL 60714-1393

❑ **YES.** Please reserve the *USMC Pride* Outdoor Sign for me, personalized as indicated below: (Please print. Maximum 18 characters)

Please Respond Promptly

Mrs. Mr. Ms. _____
Name (Please Print Clearly)

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Email (optional) _____

01-39673-001-E57401

*Plus a total of $17.99 shipping and service; see bradfordexchange.com. Please allow 4-6 weeks after initial payment for shipment. Subject to product availability and order acceptance.

Naval History and Heritage Command

ABOVE: The light cruiser USS *Cleveland,* shown underway in 1942, was the lead ship of her class mounting 6-inch main guns. BELOW: Another photo of the USS *Biloxi* underway during her 1943 shakedown cruise.

Cleveland-class light cruisers. But only 26 were actually being built. One additional hull was converted into a guided-missile class cruiser after the war. Nine of the hulls laid down as *Cleveland*-class cruisers were converted during construction into *Independence*-class light aircraft carriers; the last three hulls were cancelled when the war ended.

Thirteen additional ships of an improved *Cleveland*-class design were also ordered as innovations evolved from wartime experience, but of these only two of the *Fargo*-class were built. These ships had less top weight and a lower armament placement along with a lower superstructure to improve stability. The powerplant remained the same, but the boiler rooms had been arranged so that only a single smokestack was used on the *Fargo*-class.

Hull number 423 was launched November 1, 1941. Under the command of Captain Edmund W. Burrough, USS *Cleveland* (CL-55) left Chesapeake Bay on October 10, 1942. She joined a naval task force off the coast of Bermuda later that month and sailed with it to North Africa, where she supported the invasion of Fedhala, French Morocco, with her main guns. She remained off North Africa until November 12, when she returned to the port of Norfolk, Virginia.

The following month she was ordered to sail for the Pacific. On January 16, 1943, she arrived at Efate Island in the Vanuatu chain—north of New Caledonia and southeast of the Solomons—and was quickly put to work guarding troop convoys bound for Guadalcanal. During these voyages she participated in the Battle of Rennell Island, January 29-30, 1943.

As a part of Cruiser Division 12, along with the USS *Montpelier* (CL-57) and USS *Columbia* (CL-56) and three heavy cruisers, *Cleveland* set out to bombard a Japanese base. Japanese aircraft appeared as darkness fell, and soon the task force was under attack by enemy torpedo bombers. Successive waves of enemy planes pursued the task force. Close calls were common, but no hits were scored until the USS *Chicago* (CA-29) was set afire by a crashing Japanese aircraft. A torpedo hit on the damaged ship followed.

Cleveland, in the adjoining column of ships, observed the entire attack, firing at the enemy. She then took part in the rear-guard action that protected the stricken heavy cruiser. But despite strenuous efforts to save her, *Chicago* soon sank.

Cleveland, now under Captain Andrew G. Shepherd, was then assigned to Task Force 68 and steamed up "The Slot" in the Solomon Islands to Kolombangara, where TF 68 was to bombard Japanese airfields. Along with *Montpelier*, *Denver* (CL-58), and three destroyers, *Cleveland* sailed west on a calm, moonless night.

The task force commander, Rear Admiral A. S. Merrill, then received word that two Japanese cruisers were heading in his direction. Merrill was not worried, knowing that this was probably another run of the "Tokyo Express," bringing supplies to bypassed Japanese garrisons. In fact, however, these were the Japanese destroyers *Murasame* and *Minegumo*, not cruisers. Moments later, radar on the leading American ships picked up the enemy destroyers. Orders were sent to all ships to prepare to open fire.

The crash of the American cruisers' 6-inch guns came as a complete surprise to the unsuspecting enemy destroyers and, suddenly, heavy gun splashes appeared all around them. The *Murasame* was hit by a salvo, then torpedoes from the USS *Waller* (DD-466) struck her, blasting the Japanese ship out of existence.

The *Minegumo* turned and tried to run, but the cruisers' gunfire shifted to her and chased her as she ran. Within a mere three minutes, *Minegumo* was on fire and sinking. After this, the 16-minute bombardment of the Japanese airfield on Munda seemed anticlimactic.

Cleveland then sailed to Sydney, Australia, for routine maintenance and minor repairs. With these completed, she returned to the Solomon Islands and, while accompanied by *Montpelier*, *Columbia*, *Denver*, and a squadron of destroyers under Captain Arleigh

ORDER NOW TO SECURE YOUR SPACE ON OUR CAMPUS.

ROAD TO VICTORY

THE FINAL MILE

As we near completion of our expansion, exclusive new Victory pavers are now available. Honor your WWII hero's legacy, and that of other veterans in the heart of our campus!

BRICK & PAVER TEXT (Please Print Clearly)

BRICK & SMALL PAVER TEXT (3 Lines*)
8" x 4"
9" x 4.5"
*18 characters including spaces.

LARGE PAVER TEXT (6 Lines*)
12" x 12"
18" x 12"
*20 characters including spaces.

CLASSIC RED VICTORY BRICK

Honor your hero with a classic red Victory brick along the sidewalk of our campus.

Replica bricks, pavers & tiles make great gifts!

CHARCOAL VICTORY PAVERS

Select from four sizes.
8" x 4"
9" x 4.5"
12" x 12"
18" x 12"

Installation in prominent area of Founders Plaza.

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone (Day) _____

Email _____

Billing Information

Card No. _____ Exp. Date _____

○ MasterCard ○ Visa
○ Discover ○ AMEX Signature _____

Complete your purchase today!

ITEM	PRICE	QUANTITY
○ **NEW** 8" x 4" Charcoal Victory Paver	$500	
○ **NEW** 9" x 4.5" Charcoal Victory Paver	$550	
○ **NEW** 12" x 12" Victory Paver	$2,000	
○ **NEW** 18" x 12" Victory Paver	$3,000	
○ **NEW** 8"x8" Large Paver Replica Tile	$100	
○ **NEW** 8"x4" Small Paver Replica	$100	
○ Tribute Book	$75	
○ 8" x 4" Classic Red Brick	$250	
○ **NEW** 8"x4" Replica Red Brick	$100	

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM

Call 877-813-3329 x 493, visit ww2brick5.org, or mail to 945 Magazine Street, New Orleans, LA 70130

FORMS MUST BE RECEIVED ON OR BEFORE 5/31/23 TO BE INCLUDED IN OUR NEXT ORDER PERIOD. BRICKS AND PAVERS ARE ORDERED 3 TIMES A YEAR. INSTALLATION MAY TAKE UP TO TWELVE MONTHS. MAIL TO: THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM, ROAD TO VICTORY BRICK PROGRAM, 945 MAGAZINE STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA 70130. Your contribution to this 501(c) organization is tax deductible. Allow 5-6 weeks to receive your acknowledgement letter, commemorative certificate, and tribute items (if applicable). The National WWII Museum's Road to Victory brick and paver program honors the WWII generation, the American heroes who served during the war, U.S. veterans, veteran organizations, and individuals who exemplify the American spirit. The goal of our program is to celebrate the American spirit while forging a link between the present generation and the generations who fought to secure our nation's freedom during World War II and other wars and conflicts. Therefore, the Museum reserves the right to deny requests for inscriptions that might be considered offensive or inappropriate to those who sacrificed during the WWII era or other eras, or messages that do not align with the Museum's mission, which is to tell the story of the American experience in *the war that changed the world*—why it was fought, how it was won, and what it means today—so that all generations will understand the price of freedom and be inspired by what they learn.

THE NATIONAL WWII MUSEUM
NEW ORLEANS

Both: Naval History and Heritage Command

ABOVE: U.S. Navy warships of Admiral A.S. Merrill's Task Force 68 shell the airfield at Munda on the island of New Georgia in July 1943. *Cleveland*-class light cruisers often took part in shore bombardment operations. BELOW: The aft 6-inch guns of the light cruiser USS *Columbia* fire at Japanese positions in the Shortland Islands, supporting the American landings on the island of Bougainville, November 1, 1943. A censor has crudely painted over the cruiser's radar apparatus (circled).

A. Burke, bombarded Buka and Bonis airfields on November 1. Enemy planes struck at the task force but scored no hits. The task force then sailed to the Shortland Islands where another bombardment was executed.

The Americans' next target was the large island of Bougainville. The landings were planned for Empress Augusta Bay and executed on November 1. The landings were successful, and the Japanese reaction swift. As soon as they learned of the new beachhead, the Japanese dispatched two heavy cruisers, two light cruisers, and six destroyers to contest the seaborne invasion.

Against this, Rear Admiral A. Stanton Merrill, sailing in *Montpelier*, had four light cruisers and eight destroyers to oppose the counterattack. With *Cleveland*, *Columbia*, and *Denver* joining him, he placed his force between the oncoming Japanese and the beachhead. Two hours into November 2 the battle was joined.

The resulting fight was a confused night battle. Despite their advantage in guns and torpedoes, the Japanese force was overwhelmed. With the first salvos, one Japanese light cruiser was badly damaged and two enemy destroyers had collided while trying to avoid being hit. A third destroyer smashed into one of the cruisers while dodging American salvos. Another Japanese heavy cruiser took six successive hits from the American light cruisers.

Meanwhile, the Americans were leading a charmed life; not a single Japanese shell or torpedo had found its mark. But that could not last, and *Denver* took three 8-inch shells in the forward part of the ship; fortunately none exploded. She did take on considerable seawater but remained in the action, albeit somewhat slower.

As if that were not enough, Japanese planes suddenly appeared and began bombing the American ships as they maneuvered.

After more than an hour of battle, the Japanese withdrew, reporting that they had fought off seven heavy cruisers and a dozen destroyers. One American destroyer, USS *Foote* (DD-511), had been hit by a torpedo and stopped dead in the water, forcing *Cleveland* to turn full rudder, missing *Foote* by a mere 100 yards.

The American cruisers pursued the retreating Japanese for more than 20 miles but never caught up. The Battle of Empress Augusta Bay cost the Japanese one light cruiser and one destroyer sunk, two heavy cruisers damaged, and four destroyers seriously damaged while the Americans had one ship (USS *Foote*) damaged. During the withdrawal, Montpelier's starboard catapult was damaged by enemy air attacks, and *Cleveland* was rocked by several near misses.

After its busy days in the Solomons, with two bombardments and a major naval battle, all in 48 hours of intense action, *Cleveland* retired with the task force to Purvis Bay. For her action in the Battle of Empress Augusta Bay, *Cleveland* would be awarded the Navy Unit Commendation.

Following a brief rest, she performed another bombardment of Buka and then patrolled around the Green Islands and Papua, New Guinea, until mid-February 1944. In March she supported the invasion of Emirau Island before returning to Sydney, Australia, for maintenance and minor repairs.

By June 1944, the refitted *Cleveland* was back at war. She was now a part of the "Big Blue Fleet," fighting its way across the Central Pacific. Beginning on June 13, she participated in the pre-invasion bombardment of Saipan in the Mariana Islands. In this she was joined by eight battleships, six heavy cruisers, and four other light cruisers. This continued into the following day, and the shelling now included the nearby island of Tinian.

While joining the battleship USS *California* (BB-44) in bombarding the small island, *Cleveland* was fired upon by a shore battery that straddled the light cruiser and hit the battleship, killing three and wounding 15. *Cleveland* returned fire and claimed to have destroyed the enemy field artillery piece that did the damage to *California*.

The next three weeks were spent answering calls for fire support for the Marines and soldiers fighting on Saipan. By July 1 the enemy had been pushed back to the north end of Saipan, Marpi Point, and was fighting desperately. At the request of the 4th Marine Division, the cruisers *Cleveland*, *Montpelier*, and *Birmingham* (CL-62) bombarded these hold-out

Battleground Playset

This 160 plus piece playset is the perfect set to get any toy soldier collector started into the Earopean Theater of WWII. Included in the set are over 45 Germans and 50 Allied troops including GI's, French and British. You also get 5 German tanks, 1 German 88mm cannon, 2 Sherman tanks, 1 British Churchill tank, 1 US half track, and 1 US 105mm cannon. Additional accessories include barbed wire, heavy weapons, stone walls, trees, mortar pit, matching gun nest, and much more. This set is a tremendous value for the price.

CTS917A • CTS 160 piece **"Battleground Playset"** can be yours for **$219.95** plus **$40 S&H**. You save over $150.00! Orders going to CA, WA, OR, NM, AZ, ID, MT, and UT please add an additional $20.00 for the shipping charge.

The Battle of Kursk

In the spring of 1943 the Germans gambled all their reserves on a massive attack in Russia. If their plan succeeded, they would destroy more than 5 Russian armies. The ensuing Battle of Kursk became the largest tank battle in history and one of the decisive turning points of WWII.

You now can recreate this massive engagement with Classic Toy Soldiers 180 piece "BATTLE OF KURSK" playset.

The set includes 60 Axis troops with 3 Panzer tanks and 88mm cannon to battle over 75 Russian troops accompanied by 4 T-34 tanks and a 105mm cannon. Include is a large railroad embankment turned into a fortified position, plus stone walls, barbed wire, and lots more.

CTS949A • Order your 180 piece **"Battle of Kursk Set"** for **$349.95** plus **$55.00 S&H.** Orders going to CA, WA, OR, NM, AZ, ID, MT, and UT please add an additional $25.00 for the shipping charge.

Battle Of The Bulge

This was the last major German offensive of WWII and the single largest battle fought by Americans during WWII. You can recreate this Battle with our 240 piece set. Included in the set is our exclusive hand painted street front. The German army is led by 6 tanks consisting of Tigers, Panthers and Panzer IV tanks plus two hanomags and one 88mm cannon supported by over 85 German troops.

The American army fights to hold their position with a force of 75 men supported by 4 Sherman tanks, 2 half tracks and 3 105mm cannons. To round out the set you will receiver a bridge and guard tower, stone walls, concertina wire and much more.

CTS943B • Order Classic Toy Soldiers 240 piece **"Battle of the Bulge Playset"** for **$439.95** plus **$55.00 S&H** (requires two boxes to ship set) today. Orders going to CA, WA, OR, NM, AZ, ID, MT, and UT please add an additional $25.00 for the shipping charge.

CTS has over 50 additional playsets and over 2,500 different items for sale. To see these and all other products we have for sale, send $4.00 for our catalog or visit our website at: www.classictoysoldiers.com

Hours are 9:00 am to 7:00 pm Central Standard Time

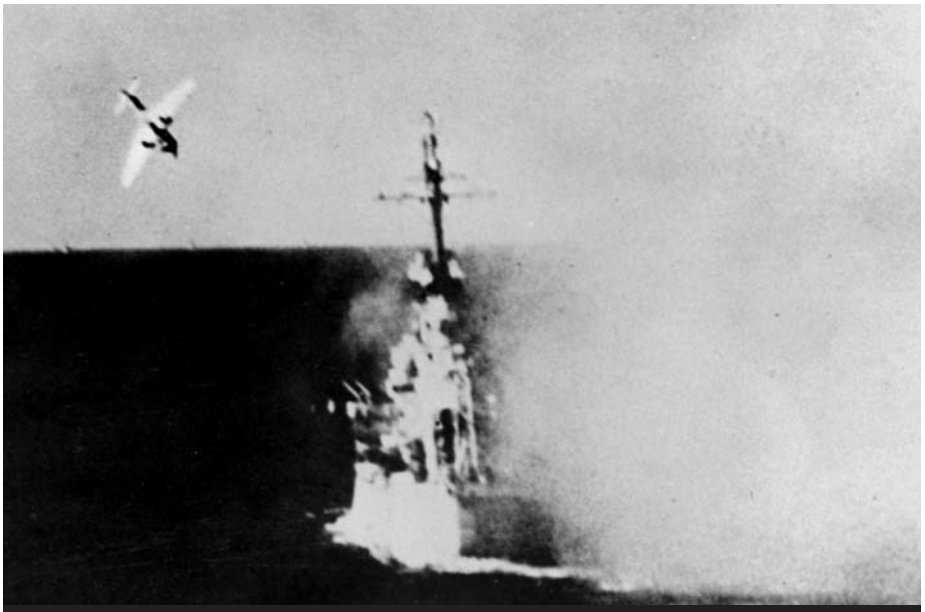
Classic Toy Soldiers, Inc.

15148 Mohawk Circle • Leawood, Kansas 66224

DAVID PAYNE, Call: 913-451-9458 • Fax: 913-451-2946 • www.classictoysoldiers.com

Contents and colors may vary from pictured but piece count will remain the same • Personal Checks will be held for 21 days to clear.

Naval History and Heritage Command



A Japanese kamikaze suicide plane dives on the light cruiser USS *Columbia* on January 6, 1945. The enemy plane crashed into the cruiser near the aft guns causing extensive damage and killing a number of crewmen during this action in Lingayen Gulf.

positions with their six-inch guns and used their 40mm guns to pepper enemy troops moving along the beaches.

The Japanese objected strenuously to the invasion of the Marianas and came out to do battle with their entire fleet. The resulting clash, the Battle of the Philippine Sea, was almost completely an air and submarine battle, with the surface ships never coming within sight of one another.

Cleveland and several of her sister ships provided antiaircraft protection for the American aircraft carriers that carried the main burden of this battle. During this fight, *Cleveland* was credited with one Japanese plane shot down and another "probable."

With the fall of Saipan, the Americans turned their attention to nearby Tinian. The assault began on July 24, 1944, and once again the U.S. Navy provided support with its heavy guns. During this bombardment the destroyer USS *Norman Scott* (DD-690) was hit six times by enemy field batteries, killing the captain and 18 sailors. *Cleveland* moved between the damaged destroyer and the shore battery to act as a shield and prevent any more hits on the destroyer, all the while firing back at the enemy gun.

Cleveland, the destroyer USS *Remey* (DD-608), and battleship *California* combined to silence the offending shore battery, but it would take an additional bombardment by battleships to finally knock out this gun.

The increasing tempo of American invasions next targeted the Palau islands, and once again *Cleveland* was offshore providing bombardment support upon call from the Marines and soldiers ashore. Relieved for a stateside repair segment, the *Cleveland* returned to the United States and spent three months undergoing repairs and having her radar and other systems upgraded. By February 1945, she was back in the Pacific, at Subic Bay in the Philippines, participating in the Americans' return to the Philippines.

As part of Cruiser Division 12, partnered with *Denver* and *Montpelier* and escorted by four destroyers, *Cleveland*'s guns bombarded Corregidor before the landings there, and then participated in several landings throughout the Philippines. The division bombarded Puerto Princesa in mid-February and, in April 1945, *Cleveland* supported the landings on Mindanao along with the destroyer USS *Sigourney* (DD-643).

By July 1945, *Cleveland* was supporting the Australian invasion of Balikpapan, Borneo, and serving as the command ship for General of the Army Douglas MacArthur. Together with USS *Phoenix* and USS *Nashville*, the light cruiser participated in a two-hour bombardment.

The Japanese returned fire, and several ships were straddled, but no damage or casualties resulted. Once the Aussies had established themselves ashore, General MacArthur and *Cleveland* returned to Manila Bay, in the Philippines. Cruisier Division 12 remained behind to continue supporting the Australian operation.

Cleveland next sailed to Okinawa, arriving there on July 16, 1945, and joined Task Force 95, which made a series of sweeping attacks along the Japanese coastline. These lasted until August 7 and ensured American control of the East China Sea.

By September 9, *Cleveland* was sailing to support the occupation of Japan and to cover the evacuation of Allied prisoners of war from Japan. She then served as a part of the occupation force until the Sixth U.S. Army landed on the Japanese island of Honshu.

Cleveland spent a few days in Tokyo Bay before sailing for Pearl Harbor, then San Diego, through the Panama Canal, and finally to Boston. She arrived there on December 5 for a much-needed overhaul before beginning training cruises and working as a part of the Naval Reserve, taking reservists for cruises to Bermuda, Quebec, Halifax, and Nova Scotia. But her days were numbered.

In 1947, with the war over, *Cleveland* was ordered to report to Philadelphia for inactivation, where she remained, rusting away, her glorious war record forgotten until sold for scrap in February 1960. In addition to her Navy Unit Commendation for the Battle of Empress Augusta Bay, *Cleveland* earned 13 battle stars for her World War II service. Along with *Montpelier* and *Santa Fe*, this was the most battle stars credited to any ship in the class.

The *Cleveland*-class light cruisers were a hurried design rushed to completion when it became apparent that the United States was unavoidably being drawn into a world war that would entail considerable naval conflict. The U.S. Navy even acknowledged that these relatively light ships could be sunk by one torpedo hit but pushed for them anyway. Yet, in battle, not one *Cleveland*-class cruiser was lost to enemy action. USS *Houston* took three torpedo hits and survived, while several others survived a single torpedo hit. Others survived strikes by kamikazes.

The *Cleveland*-class cruisers did provide excellent fire support—both for troops ashore and the battle fleet at sea. The rapid-firing 6-inch guns exceeded those of all other navies with their rate of fire and were responsible for many killing strikes on enemy ships and numerous aircraft.

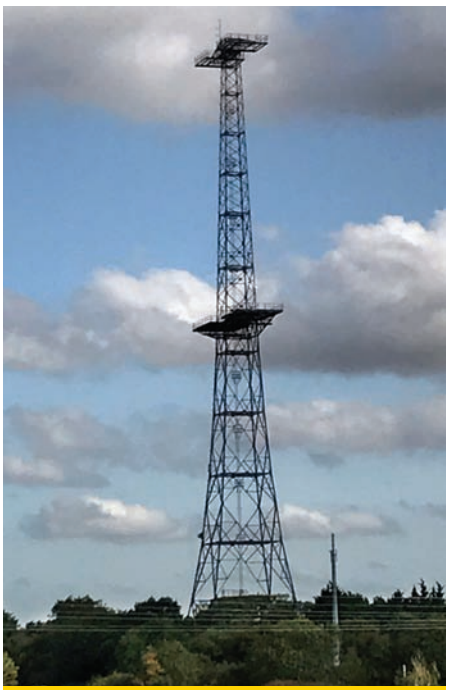
In the Battle of Empress Augusta Bay, these light cruisers beat off a superior Japanese force of heavy cruisers, sinking one and damaging several destroyers. They and their gallant crews deserve their honored place in history. ■

A frequent contributor to WWII History, *Florida-based Nathan Prefer is the author of many books about World War II, including* Leyte 1944: The Soldier's Battle; Vinegar Joe's War; Patton's Ghost Corps; *and* The Battle of Tinian.

By Joseph Frantiska, Jr.

Looking for the Luftwaffe

Chain Home radar provided the Royal Air Force with vital early warning during the Battle of Britain.



TOP: German bombers fly over France headed toward targets in England in March 1942. The Germans underestimated the value of radar. ABOVE: This World War II-era radar tower was initially part of the Chain Home network and located in Canewdon, England.

National Archives

CHAIN HOME, OR 'CH' WAS THE CODENAME GIVEN TO THE SYSTEM OF EARLY warning radar stations located along the Europe facing coasts of the United Kingdom (UK) before and during World War II to locate and follow aircraft. Never had radar been used to cover such a large area for air defense. Previously, human observers with binoculars were employed to visually track aircraft and relay their location to a central facility. Night, bad weather, and long distances made accurate observations all but impossible.

The first detection of an aircraft at a substantial distance occurred on June 17, 1935, when the system indicated an object at a range of 17 miles. It flew to the south and disappeared off their scope. Robert Watson, a pioneer in high frequency direction finding, phoned the Felixstowe seaplane station, which reported that a Supermarine Scapa flying boat had arrived. Thus, radar in the UK was born, and it set the stage for further development. Detection of ranges at 100 miles was realized and within two years, and so was a target's altitude. Albert Percival Rowe coined the acronym RDF as a cover for the classified work. It meant Range and Direction Finding, but to the casual eye it could be thought to stand for the existing Radio Direction Finding technology.

When Winston Churchill became prime minister, he appointed physicist Frederick Lindemann as the leading scientific adviser to the British government. Lindemann was unimpressed with the utility of RDF. Instead, he strongly advocated the use of infrared systems for target detection and tracking. Lindemann constantly interfered with the development of radar and disrupted the morale of the radar group. Their complaints fell on deaf ears as Churchill was his primary backer. Undeterred, they approached Secretary of State for Air, Lord Swinton who replaced Lindemann.

While Watson was working at Orford Ness, he took a drive and found what would be the development site—Bawdsey Manor. In early 1936, the personnel and equipment were moved there to establish the Air Ministry Experimental Station (AMES).

As the center of British commerce, government, and defense, London was to receive the initial segment of CH stations. Throughout the summer of 1936, tests were performed at RAF Biggin Hill which developed interception procedures with increased effectiveness. Their main problems were finding friendly aircraft locations and putting them at the right altitude.

In 1937, a test to examine the effect that radar would have on an air engagement was conducted using the Bawdsey station. Friendly aircraft acting as enemy bombers would approach the area to provide the fighters with targets to intercept. As Air Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding

57th Annual COLORADO GUN COLLECTORS ASSOCIATION GUN SHOW

MAY 20 & 21, 2023
Island Grove Event Center
421 N. 15th Ave.
Greeley, CO 80631

Thousands of Historical, Western, WWI & WWII Firearms and Artifacts on display and for sale.

8 Foot Tables ••• Display Tables - $130^{00} ••• Trade Tables - $150^{00}

Early-In Passes Can Be Purchased at the Front Door Friday Morning at 9am May 19TH for $75. Valid for All Three Days

Purchase Tickets at the Door
$15 for both days
$5 Active Military Discount
Free after 1pm Sunday

HISTORICAL FUN FOR EVERYONE!

OVER 800 TABLES

Check our Website
CGCA.com
for Updates and Show Info

CGCA Special Rate Hotels Greeley 2023 Show

Special rate links to each Hotels is on our website (be sure to ask for CGCA Gun Show rates).

Doubletree, 919 7th St Greeley, CO 80631, Ph: 970-304-0000 • Candlewood Suites Greeley, 3530 29th St, Greeley, CO 80634, Ph: 970-473-7343
Fairfield Inn & Suites Greeley, 2401 W 29th St, Greeley, CO 80631, Ph: 970-339-5030
Homewood Suites by Hilton, 2510 46th Ave, Greeley, CO 80634, Ph: (970) 330-1706

For additional information contact:
David Weddle, Show Chairman • PO Box C, Fort Collins, CO 80522
Phone **720-482-0167** • Email CGCAShow@cgca.com • **www.cgca.com**

observed the Bawdsey controllers struggle to direct the fighters, he could hear the "bombers" as they passed overhead. Pilots were being sent many, sometimes conflicting reports.

An integrated approach was needed to deal with the overwhelming amount of information. The hardware of Chain Home was viewed and engineered as a system of sites, so was the information that they produced. While the information was important to the station that scrambled its fighters, the high-level command needed to see the "whole" picture.

Reports of approaching aircraft by coastwatchers and the CH system often conflicted. Each system had drawbacks: humans could not observe aircraft in bad weather; the CH system could not distinguish friendly from enemy aircraft. The solution was known as Identification, Friend or Foe (IFF), and it was in its infancy and would not mature until after World War II. Fortunately, the man at the top of the organization had this systems mindset—Dowding. It might seem as though this view was prevalent throughout the military structure. Dowding conflicted with Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, who had a decidedly bleaker perspective as he wrote back in 1932: "I think it is well also for the man in the street to realise that there is no power on earth that can protect him from being bombed. Whatever people may tell him, the bomber will always get through, The only defence is in offence, which means that you have to kill more women and children more quickly than the enemy if you want to save yourselves...If the conscience of the young men should ever come to feel, with regard to this one instrument [bombing] that it is evil and should go, the thing will be done; but if they do not feel like that—well, as I say, the future is in their hands."

What became the "Dowding System" had four parts: radar, human observers, raid tracking, and radio control of aircraft. The world's first integrated ground-controlled interception network collected and merged information into a single view of the airspace long before the term "data fusion" came into vogue.

Information about incoming aircraft by radar and human observers complemented each other. Radar gave a more precise range to the target aircraft. Humans gave a better estimate of altitude and whether the aircraft were friend or foe once they were closer. Continual reports from both sources allowed for the tracking of incoming enemy aircraft to alert the perceived target area of inbound bombers and their routes for scrambling interceptors.

With the outbreak of World War II, the development of Chain Home needed to accelerate. Existing commercially available technology would be used to save time. Watson's "cult of the imperfect," as he stated it was, "Always strive to give the military the third best because the best is impossible and second best is always too late."

Contractors were selected, and a production network established. However, funding lagged behind. The Treasury approved deployment and initial production contracts for 20 complete radar sets at a cost of £380,000 ($28 million in today's money). Fifteen sets were installed in 1937 and 1938. In August 1938, five stations were operational. Tense times unfolded as the stations entered service during the Munich crisis when Hitler demanded that the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia be ceded to Germany. The stations began round-the-clock operation in September; the chain of defense was forming.

In September 1939, 21 CH stations covered most of the eastern and southern UK coasts. By 1940, the network covered the west UK coast from Orkney in the north to Weymouth in the south along with Northern Ireland. Radar coverage extended from the Europe-facing side of the UK to the French interior. They were connected by a ground network along with thou-

sands of miles of telephone lines. This gave RAF commanders enough time to alert their forces to meet oncoming Luftwaffe bombing raids at altitude. It was no longer inevitable that "the bomber will always get through."

The Chain Home system eventually grew to over 100 stations by the war's end. The UK was not able to provide many specially trained personnel. In 1940, a formal request was made by the Canadian government for people trained in radio technology. Within a year, 1,292 qualified workers had enlisted, and most were sent to serve as radar technicians.

The Achille's heel of the system was that CH was not able to detect aircraft at low altitude. While most bomber raids were conducted at an altitude of 15,000 feet or more, attacking aircraft at lower altitudes could get through undetected.

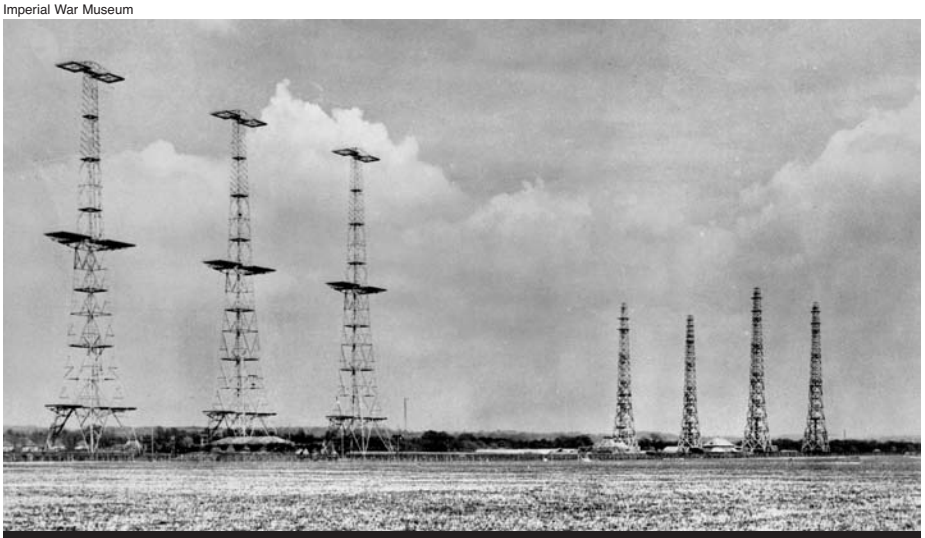
What was needed was a radar that could fill this gap. Chain Home Low or CHL could trace its origin to experimentation in 1936 with airborne interception radar systems. Developed by a team at Bawdsey led by Edward Bowen, the new radar had to operate at much smaller wavelengths so that the antenna could fit in an airplane. Detecting other aircraft was difficult due to the target's small size and very strong returns from the ground. This was a problem for an airborne radar set, but such a strong ground return could be the solution to filling the low altitude gap in the CH system. During the airborne radar experiments, the aircraft containing the radar set was flown around Bawdsey on the Channel coast. Strong constant ground returns were found to be cranes at the Harwich Docks on the coast and boats in the Channel.

Prior to development for the CH system, Bowen's 1.5 meter radar set became the Coast Defense (CD) radar, which allowed the British Army's coastal artillery to develop a round-the-clock schedule even at night or during times of low day visibility.

Imperial War Museum

Female workers plot the positions of incoming German aircraft after receiving information from the Chain Home network and transmit orders to RAF fighter bases.

Imperial War Museum



These radar masts located at RAF Poling, Bawdsey Manor, Suffolk, along the coastline of Great Britain, could detect the presence of German bomber formations assembling for raids some 200 miles away.

Understanding its usage to fill the coverage gap, in July 1939, Watson ordered 24 CD sets. One set would be placed at each CH station to allow coverage to altitudes as low as 500 feet and a range of up to 25 miles. Early 1940 saw researchers at Birmingham University develop the Boot Strap Cavity Magnetron. It produced microwave energy with 10 times greater power than previous microwave devices. In early 1942 a radar using this magnetron successfully tracked aircraft flying at 50 to 200 feet at a range from 30 to 45 miles. This was used in the Chain Home Extra Low system, which further closed the gap in detecting aircraft across at a wide range of altitudes down to 50 feet. At this time Watson's contributions to science and the UK were formally recognized as he received a knighthood from King George VI. As an homage to his ancestor James Watt, who had invented the practical steam engine, it was at this time that he changed his last name to Watson-Watt.

The Luftwaffe's air defense radar was called Freya, a ground-based radar with a range of about 100 miles, and over 1,000 systems were built. They formed the backbone of a new air-defense system which linked Belgium, the Netherlands, and France.

During the Battle of Britain on August 12, 1940, the first attempt to punch holes in the Chain Home system began. Bombers attacked four stations with three being briefly taken off the air. Hitler had declared August 13 to be Eagle Day, the first day of the all-out Luftwaffe effort to wipe out the Royal Air Force. The CH radar at Rye was put out of action briefly. The strike on the Dunkirk site destroyed two huts and damaged a transmitter, but the radar was untouched. Some Dover site towers were damaged with huts being destroyed. At Pevensey, the main power cable was destroyed and the station went off the air temporarily. The Ventnor site on the Isle of Wight was attacked by a formation of Junkers Ju-88 bombers and later by a formation of Ju-87 Stuka dive bombers. The damage put it out of action for 11 days.

On August 13, the Germans believed that all British stations were operational. The destruction of the Ventnor station was concealed by transmitting an identical signal from another station.

The robust construction of the system allowed the RAF fighters to keep the Luftwaffe at bay. A few days later Reichsmarshall Herman Göring, the head of the Luftwaffe stated: "It is doubtful whether there is any point in continuing the attacks on radar sites, in view of the fact that not one of those attacked has so far been put out of action."

Tracking aircraft was one thing, but tracking rockets was another. This became more than an academic exercise with the firing of V-2 rockets, one of Hitler's vengeance weapons, that began in September 1944. The world's first ballistic missile, the V-2 had a range of about 200 miles with a maximum altitude of 60 miles and a speed three times that of sound. This extreme performance made it all but impossible to detect prior to impact, so civilians could not be warned.

Dubbed "Big Ben," several CH stations were organized to report the V-2s during launch just as they were able to see aircraft formations over France. Due to the slow reaction of the goniometer, it was not possible to find the location of the launch. Instead, all stations were set to the maximum range settings. They were also set to the altitude measuring mode.

Radar sets emanate energy in lobes, which are elongated tear drop shaped areas. The primary directed energy is the main lobe, but side lobes also occur. In the altitude measuring mode, the radar had several lobes that were stacked on top of each other. As the rocket climbed from its launch site, it would pass through these lobes. A series of blips appeared as each lobe enveloped the rocket. The range of each blip was measured and sent to a central plotting station. The ranges were plotted on a chart as circular arcs. The launch location would be at the intersection of the arcs. Of course, the rocket did not only climb vertically as it had to pitch over to reach its target many miles away. This made successive arcs progressively closer to the target. The rocket's trajectory could be approximately calculated and warnings sent to the probable target area.

Chain Home served its homeland well, but by 1942, numerous CH tasks were turned over to the more-advanced AMES Type 7 Ground Control Interception (GCI) radar systems.

CH radar antennas were fixed and could scan an area of about 100 degrees wide, and numerous steps were required to track and plot targets. The Type 7 antenna rotated through 360 degrees and could scan all points about the station. Fighters and bombers could be distinguished using IFF signals. The IFF signals were incorporated with the target's radar return signal due to specialized equipment called transponders on the aircraft. These would designate the target as friendly.

As the war ended, many CH stations were closed or placed on "care and maintenance" to maintain a level of readiness. This readiness was tested as the post-war era saw increasing tensions between the Soviet Union and the West. As a stopgap measure, a network would be made up of 28 Chain Home, Chain Home Low, Chain Home Extra Low, and GCI radar sites rebuilt to more modern standards. Codenamed ROTOR, this would be the first radar defensive network in the Cold War era for the United Kingdom.

The last original version Chain Home systems were withdrawn from service in 1955 with most of the transmitting and all of the receiving towers being torn down. One of the remaining transmitter towers can be seen at the BAE Systems facility at Great Baddow, Essex.

While primitive compared to today's standards, Chain Home undoubtably saved countless lives and property. ■

Author Joseph Frantiska, Jr. is a first-time contributor to WWII History. *He resides in Chelmsford, Massachusetts.*

I 'Bearly' Made It Out Alive

A 12-inch stainless steel knife for only $79

Stauer® Impossible Price ONLY $79

What Stauer Clients Are Saying About Our Knives

★★★★★

"The feel of this knife is unbelievable... this is an incredibly fine instrument." — H., Arvada, CO

★★★★★

"This knife is beautiful!" — J., La Crescent, MN

It was a perfect late autumn day in the northern Rockies. Not a cloud in the sky, and just enough cool in the air to stir up nostalgic memories of my trip into the backwoods. This year, though, was different. I was going it solo. My two buddies, pleading work responsibilities, backed out at the last minute. So, armed with my trusty knife, I set out for adventure.

Well, what I found was a whole lot of trouble. As in 8 feet and 800-pounds of trouble in the form of a grizzly bear. Seems this grumpy fella was out looking for some adventure too. Mr. Grizzly saw me, stood up to his entire 8 feet of ferocity and let out a roar that made my blood turn to ice and my hair stand up. Unsnapping my leather sheath, I felt for my hefty, trusty knife and felt emboldened. I then showed the massive grizzly over 6 inches of 420 surgical grade stainless steel, raised my hands and yelled, "Whoa bear! Whoa bear!" I must have made my point, as he gave me an almost admiring grunt before turning tail and heading back into the woods.

JOIN MORE THAN 322,000 SHARP PEOPLE WHO COLLECT STAUER KNIVES

I was pretty shaken, but otherwise fine. Once the adrenaline high subsided, I decided I had some work to do back home too. That was more than enough adventure for one day.

Our Grizzly Hunting Knife pays tribute to the call of the wild. Featuring stick-tang construction, you can feel confident in the strength and durability of this knife. And the hand carved, natural bone handle ensures you won't lose your grip even in the most dire of circumstances. I also made certain to give it a great price. After all, you should be able to get your point across without getting stuck with a high price.

But we don't stop there. While supplies last, we'll include a pair of $99 8x21 power compact binoculars FREE when you purchase the Grizzly Hunting Knife.

Make sure to act quickly. The Grizzly Hunting Knife has been such a hit that we're having trouble keeping it in stock. Our first release of more than 1,200 SOLD OUT in TWO DAYS! After months of waiting on our artisans, we've finally gotten some knives back in stock. Only 1,337 are available at this price, and half of them have already sold!

EXCLUSIVE FREE
Stauer 8x21 Compact Binoculars -a $99 value-
with your purchase of the Grizzly Hunting Knife

Knife Specifications:

- Stick tang 420 surgical stainless steel blade; 7 ¼" blade; 12" overall
- Hand carved natural brown and yellow bone handle
- Brass hand guard, spacers and end cap
- FREE genuine tooled leather sheath included (a $49 value!)

The Grizzly Hunting Knife ~~$249~~ $79* + S&P

Save $170

California residents please call 1-800-333-2045 regarding Proposition 65 regulations before purchasing this product.

**Special price only for customers using the offer code.*

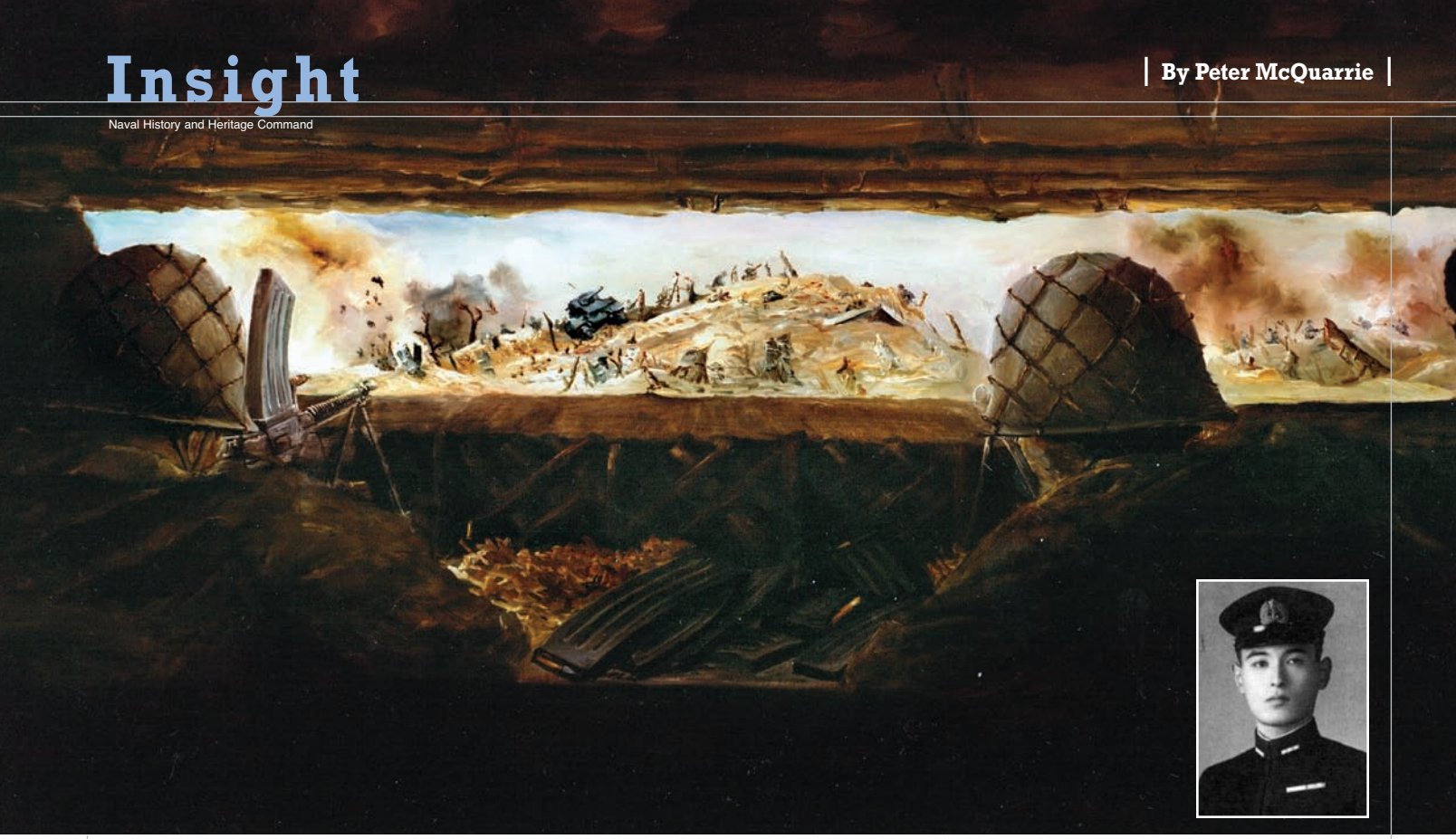
1-800-333-2045

Your Insider Offer Code: GHK187-02

Stauer, 14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. GHK187-02, Burnsville, MN 55337 **www.stauer.com**

Stauer® | AFFORD THE EXTRAORDINARY®

By Peter McQuarrie



Tarawa Through Japanese Eyes

The defenders of the islet of Betio at Tarawa atoll were overwhelmed by the attacking U.S. Marines in November 1943.

THE BATTLE OF TARAWA, A COMPONENT OF OPERATION GALVANIC, WAS THE U.S. Marines' first bold amphibious assault against a Japanese stronghold in World War II. Many lives were lost and many lessons learned, on both sides.

There have been many accounts of the battle, the strategic and tactical considerations and the logistics of staging a major battle on a coral atoll in the center of the Pacific. But all of the accounts have been written in English from the American perspective. This article tells the story of the Battle of Tarawa from the Japanese perspective.

Few of the Japanese who took part in the battle survived to tell their stories, and our information comes largely from one person, Taniura Hideo. A lieutenant in the 6th Defense Force at Kwajalein, Marshall Islands, he led a Special Naval Landing Party (SNLP) to occupy Tarawa in August 1942. He then returned to Tarawa in March 1943 as commander of the Sasebo 7th SNLP, which had been formed in February, and was involved in the base development work on the islet of Betio at Tarawa atoll.

Three months before the Battle of Tarawa, Taniura returned to Japan. After the war, he had a career in the Japanese Self Defense Force and retired in 1969 with the rank of rear admiral. During his years in the Self Defense Force, he interviewed his Navy colleagues who had been with him on Tarawa, those who had left the island when he did, and others who stayed longer. A few had remained on Tarawa and survived the battle. Taniura recorded information from their stories in his memoir, published in Tokyo in the year 2000. This provided much of the information for our story.

On November 8, 1943, a heightened state of alert was issued to Japanese bases in the Central Pacific. The concern was due to the greater degree of American activity in the area. The Japanese on Tarawa had noticed that there had been an increase in the U.S. Army Air Forces (USAAF) bombing raids by Consolidated B-24 Liberator bombers against the Gilbert Islands, Nauru, and islands to the north, in Micronesia. The atoll of Maloelap, 530 miles north of Tarawa in the Marshall Islands, had been targeted by B-24s, and was so again on November 14, 17, and 18.

The recently built U.S. airbase at Nanumea, the northernmost island in the Ellice group, had become operational for B-24s on November 12, and this more northerly base increased the bombing range of aircraft staging through Canton Island, Funafuti, and now also Nanumea. It brought some Marshall Islands targets into range. The Marshall Islands of Mili, 330 miles from Tarawa, and Jaluit, a similar distance away, had also been attacked.

ABOVE: A view of two Japanese defenders inside their bunker on Tarawa as U.S. Marines storm the island, November 19, 1943. Inset: Lt. Taniura Hideo.

At the time, the Japanese on

Over 2 carats of Verdant Peridot in precious .925 sterling silver

ONLY $39

Save $260!

"Known as 'the Evening Emerald' because its sparkling green hue looks brilliant any time of day."
— The American Gem Society (AGS)

OOH AND AHH WITHOUT THE OUCH

Spoil her (and your wallet) with sparkling Verdant Peridot for just $39

Going over the top on jewelry doesn't have to mean going overboard on the cost. We're in the business of oohs and ahhs without the ouch, which is why we can bring you an effervescent verdant peridot ring for a price that simply can't be beat.

Its vivid and unique color makes verdant peridot unlike any other green gemstone. If you are looking to mark a milestone or make any occasion special, the ***Verdant Peridot Ring*** is all you need.

This elegant ring features 2 1/3 carats of captivating verdant peridot in three perfectly-faceted cushion cut gemstones. And, the .925 sterling silver setting is finished in tarnish-resistant rhodium for added durability and superior shine.

"Found in lava, meteorites, and deep in the earth's mantle, yellow-green peridot is the extreme gem"
— Gemological Institute of America's Gem Encyclopedia

You could easily spend $400 on a sterling silver ring set with peridot stones.

PRAISE FOR STAUER PERIDOT JEWELRY
"...absolutely beautiful. The picture does not do it justice. It is a real stunner." **– S. C., Berkeley, CA**

But, with Stauer in your corner, the sky's the limit for affording the extraordinary. Priced at **just $39**, you can treat her to the ***Verdant Peridot Ring*** set in .925 sterling silver and save your money and your love life all at the same time.

Satisfaction guaranteed or your money back. Indulge in the ***Verdant Peridot Ring*** for 30 days. If you aren't perfectly happy, send it back for a full refund of the item price.

Limited Reserves. Don't let this gorgeous ring slip through your fingers. Call today!

Verdant Peridot Ring (2 ½ ctw) ~~$299~~† **$39** +S&P ***Save $260***

You must use the insider offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

Your Insider Offer Code: TPR248-02

Please use this code when you order to receive your discount.

† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

Stauer®

14101 Southcross Drive W., Ste 155, Dept. TPR248-02,
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337 **www.stauer.com**

ACCREDITED BUSINESS
Rating of A+

• 2 ⅓ ctw Verdant Peridot • White zircon accents • Rhodium-finished .925 sterling silver setting • Whole sizes 5-10

Stauer... *Afford the Extraordinary.®*

National Archives

The Japanese command bunker on Tarawa was built of reinforced steel and concrete. Commander Keiji Shibazaki, and most of his staff were killed by a navy shell as they were exiting the bunker on the first day of the invasion.

Tarawa thought that their Gilbert Islands bases might be bypassed in any invasion. They believed it was likely that they would be neutralized by regular USAAF bombings and that an invasion would first be made in the Marshalls, perhaps at Maloelap. Finally, however, from the early morning of November 19, carrier-based aircraft and USAAF heavy bombers attacked Tarawa and Nauru and it was realized that Tarawa or Nauru, perhaps both, would be invaded. Nauru had poor landing areas for an invasion from the sea, so the U.S. Marines made no attempt to land there. Nauru would instead come under siege, and the Japanese there would be starved into submission.

When the air bases at Jaluit and Maloelap sent out surveillance planes to search for enemy shipping near Tarawa, they reported a group of aircraft carriers south of Nauru and another fleet of ships southwest of Tarawa. There was also a group of transport vessels east of Abemama Island. All these ships were heading in the direction of Tarawa and it was now clear that the target of the invasion would be Betio Islet, Tarawa. The commander of the Tarawa garrison, Admiral Keiji Shibasaki, sent out an urgent message advising that three cruisers and five destroyers had been spotted heading for the island.

It is clear that Shibasaki did not expect to receive any assistance from the Imperial Japanese Navy in defending Tarawa against any U.S. attack. In May, before Shibasaki arrived at Tarawa, Taniura and other senior officers from Tarawa had attended the Inner South Pacific Strategy and Defense Conference, held at Truk in the Caroline Islands. The conference attendees had been told that the Japanese situation had turned from one of offense to that of defense. The Tarawa defenders' mission was now to delay as long as possible the Allied advance toward Japan, using all means available to them. When Shibasaki had been posted to Tarawa in July, he well knew that it was a suicide mission and that he would receive little support from the navy.

About an hour after Shibasaki had sent out his message, a bombardment by USAAF B-24s began. Tarawa and Nauru came under attack, and at Tarawa the USAAF attack was followed soon after by another with planes from the aircraft carriers. Nauru and Tarawa both suffered considerable damage from these attacks on November 19, but this was just the beginning of much more that was to follow the next day.

Most of the wooden buildings were destroyed outright or burned down during the attacks on the 19th. Deaths and injuries on Tarawa resulted from explosions of ammunition or fuel dumps, or from direct bomb blasts, and there was considerable loss of life. The Japanese were, however, well satisfied with the performance of their coconut log and sand bunkers and steel pillboxes, in that they withstood the bombings. Kiyoshiso Ota, who survived the battle, was in the Transport Division of the Sasebo 7th Special Naval Landing Force, the force which had been led to Tarawa by Taniura. He reported that where he was stationed, in a pillbox close to the base of the main wharf, up to 50 percent of the personnel died. In other areas on Betio the estimate was 20 percent.

An attacking squadron of a few Japanese planes from Jaluit fought back, but only two of these planes discovered the American ships. One plane was shot down, and the other scored a bomb hit on one of the carriers, apparently not causing serious damage. Bomber aircraft were parked at Betio airfield after a raid on Funafuti the night before, and most of these had received slight damage during the Funafuti raid. More damage resulted from the USAAF attack, and the surviving aircraft were repaired on the night of the 19th.

Before dawn on November 20, 1943 (D-day at Tarawa), some planes and aircrew were evacuated to bases in the Marshall Islands. Seven bombers remained to defend Tarawa. Of these seven planes, only two returned to Tarawa after setting out to attack the American fleet on the morning of November 20.

At dawn on the 20th, a fleet of US ships could be seen from Betio, approaching from the northwest. A battleship commenced firing at Betio and the southwest 20 Santi gun (the 200mm, or 8-inch Vickers gun), replied. A short time later, two minesweepers entered the lagoon, and the Japanese then knew for certain that a landing would be made from the north, on the lagoon beaches of Betio, the beaches now known to history as Red Beaches 1, 2, and 3. The guns along the south coast, 7 and 14 Santi guns (70mm infantry guns, Model 92 and 140mm coastal defense guns), were turned away from protecting the ocean beaches in the south to point toward the U.S. fleet in the north. At least one of the southern guns was removed and dragged manually across the airfield to the Seven Specials Headquarters, on the north coast, where it was remounted.

The Japanese record states that they also had a small-caliber Russian gun installed in a turret housing on the south coast and that this installation was also moved to the north coast. However, there does not appear to be any mention of Russian guns in any of the U.S. after-action accounts of Tarawa, and this gun may have been completely destroyed in the battle.

Marines began invading the lagoon beaches in their boats and "scorpion vehicles" (amtracks or LVT landing craft), and the Japanese had success in shooting some of these vehicles, destroying many of them and killing many

Marines before they made the beaches. But even under heavy fire, the Marines kept coming, wading through the shallows, stepping over the bodies of their fallen comrades.

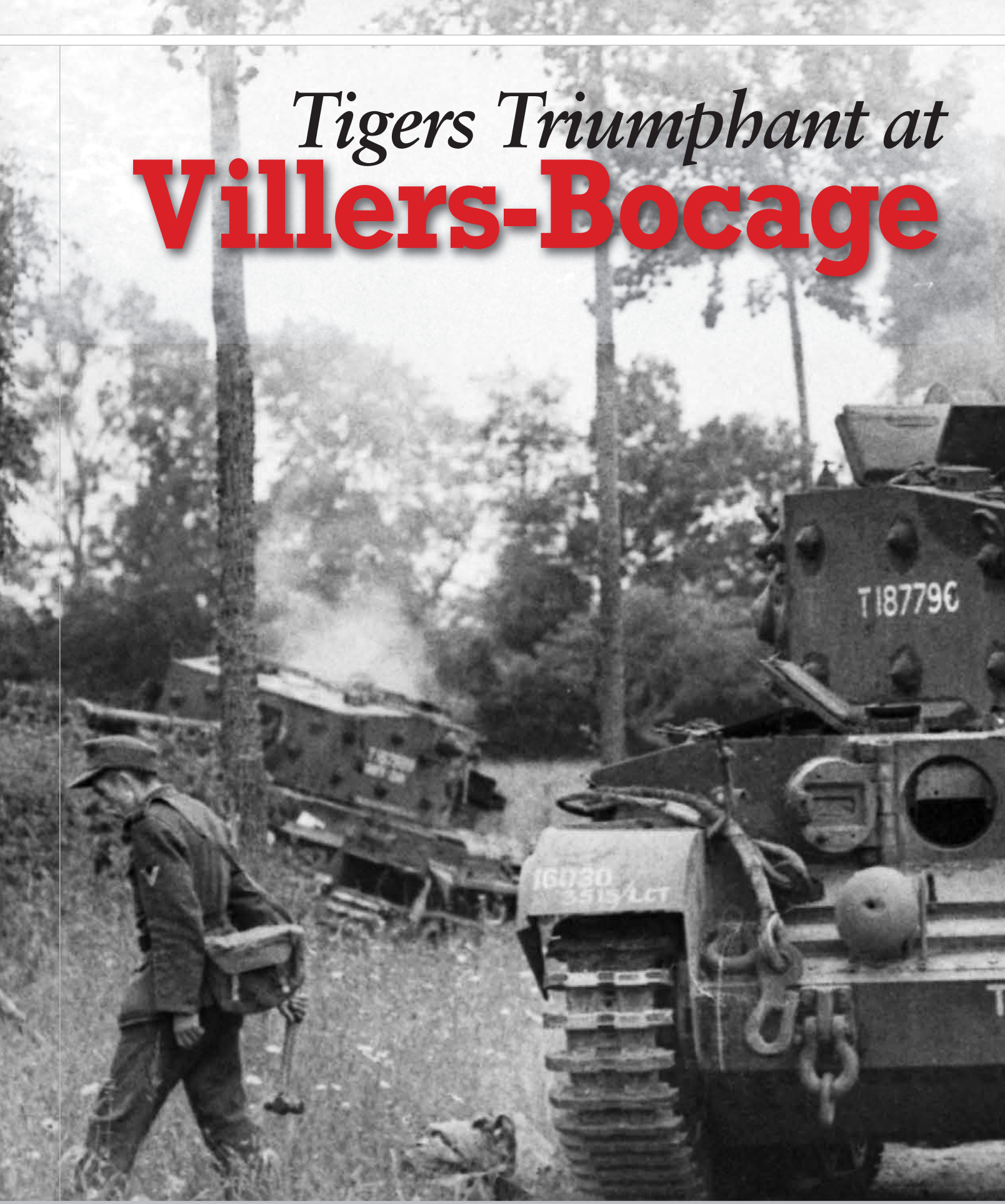
The Japanese were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers. Their bunkers and pillboxes that had protected them from bombs and the 16-inch shells fired by the battleship USS *Maryland* could not save them from the flamethrowers and grenades. These entered their fortresses through small apertures, observation ports, and ventilation shafts and caused carnage inside. The Japanese had their own grenades and flamethrowers, but these were far less powerful than the American ones and fewer in number. Flamethrowers and grenades were formidable weapons for the Marines' assault but not useful for the Japanese in defense. The Japanese had few flamethrowers at Tarawa and as far as is known, they were never used in the battle.

In regard to the actual battle, the strategy and tactics involved and how they played out, the Japanese accounts have little to say. The survivors were individuals with limited personal experiences of the fighting; they were not involved in planning. Basically, Taniura does not disagree with much that has been written by U.S. historians about the battle. He makes reference to Sherrod's, *The Story of a Battle*, and mentions *Tarawa's Terrible Battle Record*, by Robert Charlotte, which was translated into Japanese in 1950 by Goro Nakano. Also referenced by Taniura are Samuel Eliot Morison's *History of United States Naval Operations in WWII*, and the U.S. Marine Corps account, *Battle of Tarawa*, by James Stockman.

One matter which Taniura comments on is the number of Japanese defenders at Betio. He affirms that the U.S. method of estimating the number of men based on the number of reef latrines seen in aerial photographs did give an accurate figure of approximately 4,500. But he feels that often it is assumed that all these people were elite Naval Land Forces. In fact, approximately 2,000 of these men were unarmed workers, Japanese or Korean civilians with the 111th Encampment Corps and the 4th Construction Department. It is believed that there were approximately 100 Koreans on Betio at the time of the attack, only 25 of whom were captured alive. For the concurrent American seizure of Makin we have an accurate figure for the number of Koreans, obtained from Korean sources. There were 414 Korean civilian workers at Makin, and 104 of them survived the battle. So, of the total of 4,500 men on Betio there were 2,500 who were trained

Continued on page 78

Tigers Triumphant at Villers-Bocage



During the fight for the French city of Caen, German tanks under the command of SS Lieutenant Michael Wittmann decimated a British Army unit at the small village.

BY MICHAEL E. HASKEW

ON D-day, June 6, 1944, the British 3rd Infantry Division was the first to land on Sword Beach. Its objective by the end of the day was the capture of the French city of Caen.

As the day wore on, however, that objective was to prove elusive.

One of the largest cities in Normandy, Caen was a communications hub and the center of a major road network. Located on the River Orne, the city was connected to the English Channel by the Caen Canal. Its seizure would anchor the Allied left flank and deny river and canal access to the defending Germans. As long as Caen remained in German hands, these barriers might present major obstacles to inland expansion of the D-Day beachhead.

General Bernard Law Montgomery, commander of Allied ground forces in Normandy, envisioned the capture of Caen within hours of British ground forces storming ashore at Sword, the easternmost of the five D-Day landing beaches. However, stiff German resistance from the veteran 21st Panzer Division, the 12th SS Panzer Division Hitlerjugend, and the 716th Infantry Division had slowed progress toward Caen to a crawl and proved that Montgomery's insistence that the city could be captured on D-Day had been wildly optimistic.

A week after the Normandy landings, Caen remained firmly under enemy control despite numerous efforts by British forces to take the city in a direct assault. However, while Allied troops continued slugging their way inland against fierce German opposition, an opportunity developed for Montgomery as the U.S. 1st Infantry Division pushed southward from Omaha Beach, forcing the Germans to pull back and opening a gap west of Caen between the 352nd Infantry Division and Panzer Lehr, a crack German armored division.

The Cromwell tank of Captain Roy Dunlop and another just to the rear with smoke billowing from it are shown near Point 213 after being immobilized by Tiger tanks east of Villers-Bocage. Both British tanks belonged to A Squadron, County of London Yeomanry.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-738-0269-07; Photo: Arthur Grimm

Bundesarchiv Bild Bild 101I-299-1804-07; Photo: Scheck

BELOW: SS Lieutenant Michael Wittman was already a Tiger ace with at least 100 kills on the Eastern Front before Villers-Bocage. This photo was taken a week after the fighting at Villers-Bocage. LEFT: SS Lieutenant Michale Wittman's Tiger tank, No. 205 , 2nd Company, 101st SS Heavy Tank Battalion, is shown advancing along a road in Normandy in early June, 1944. Wittman gained fame in the fighting at Villers-Bocage. OPPOSITE: During the British advance of July 13, 1944, near Tilly-sur-Seules, a British Cromwell tank stirs up a cloud of dust.

National Archives

Montgomery's staff then modified its plan for the early ground phase of the Normandy Campaign, dubbed Operation Perch, hoping to take advantage of this recent development. A strong pincer movement might outflank Panzer Lehr and envelop Caen, forcing its stubborn German defenders to abandon the city or potentially be surrounded. While the 51st (Highland) Infantry Division attacked in the east, the 7th Armored Division, the famed "Desert Rats," which had found glory with Montgomery's Eighth Army in North Africa, would swing southeastward and capture the town of Villers-Bocage, just over 27 kilometers southwest of Caen, along with nearby high ground identified on maps as Point 213.

On June 10, the reimagined Operation Perch got underway with the advance of the 7th Armored Division, while the 51st (Highland) Division stepped off the next day. Some early gains were made east of Caen, but a powerful counterattack from the 21st Panzer stopped that British thrust cold, pushing the Highlanders back to the banks of the Orne. However, the prospects for the western pincer's success remained good.

As the 7th Armoured Division advanced, Major General Fritz Beyerlein, the capable commander of Panzer Lehr, recognized the predicament his division faced and ordered a heavy counterattack that bogged the western drive down near the town of Tilly-sur-Seulles. On the morning of June 12, Lieutenant General Miles Dempsey, commander of the British Second Army, traveled to 7th Armoured headquarters to meet with Major General Bobby Erskine, the division commander. Erskine suggested that Panzer Lehr might still be outflanked if 7th Armoured disengaged from the battle at Tilly-sur-Seulles and swiftly advanced toward Villers-Bocage from further west.

Hours later, the 22nd Armoured Brigade, the vanguard of the Desert Rats, was on the move toward Villers-Bocage with the tanks and armored cars of the 8th and 11th Hussars covering its flanks. As darkness fell, Brigadier Robert "Looney" Hinde, leading the brigade, called a halt to the advance after reaching the Caumont-Villers-Bocage Road, just five miles from his objective. Early on June 13, tanks of the 4th County of London Yeomanry and soldiers of Company A, 1st Battalion, The Rifle Brigade rolled into Villers-Bocage, scattering the few German troops they encountered as large numbers of French civilians emerged from hiding to welcome them.

Brigadier Hinde was aware that a German counterattack was likely. Control of the road network emanating from Villers-Bocage was tactically significant for the enemy as well, so he ordered the tanks of A Squadron, County of London Yeomanry and Company A, The Rifle Brigade to occupy Point 213. About 1.6 kilometers northwest of Villers-Bocage, the high ground commanded the approaches to the town and National Highway 175 toward Caen.

Although his tankers were exhilarated by the rapid run to Villers-Bocage, Lieutenant Colonel Viscount Arthur Cranley, commanding the 4th County of London Yeomanry, was worried. German reconnaissance vehicles had been spotted, and enemy soldiers were seen making a hasty getaway in a staff car. Soon enough, the enemy would be coming back. Occupying the exposed position at Point 213 would invite a counterattack.

Cranley left four tanks of his regimental headquarters in Villers-Bocage before heading out to inspect A Squadron's new posting. B Squadron took up positions west of Villers-Bocage and guarded the intersection along the road to the village of Caumont.

The leading elements of the 4th County of London Yeomanry and the accompanying infantry reached Point 213 just after 9 a.m. Most of the British armor and infantry halted along the road, waiting for orders to deploy and consolidate their hold on the high ground. More than two dozen tanks and halftracks lined the road along with numerous troop carriers. Sentries were posted, but their field of vision was limited due to the terrain and thick woods in the area.

Relatively few German armored formations were alerted on D-Day or in its immediate aftermath. But one of these, the 1st SS Panzer Corps, had headed toward the fighting early on June 7. Allied fighter bombers shot up the columns several times along the route, and the corps lost a significant number of armored vehicles. By the morning of June 13, SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101, its last uncommitted reserve advancing from Beauvais, had been reduced from an original strength of 45 tanks to fewer than 20.

Most of the German armored battalion's vehicles, however, were the 56-ton Tiger I heavy tank, mounting a high-velocity 88mm cannon that was superior to the 75mm and 17-pounder (76mm) guns of the new British Cromwell and Sherman Firefly tanks in the field. Plagued by mechanical difficulties, the Tiger was nevertheless a daunting foe in combat. Hits from Allied shells were often deflected harmlessly away by its thick armor plating, and the range of the formidable 88mm weapon allowed the Germans to engage targets at standoff distances.

On the morning of June 13, two companies of Tigers from SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101 had reached the vicinity of Villers-Bocage, the 1st Company, under SS Hauptsturmführer (Captain) Rolf Möbius, and the 2nd Company, led by Obersturmführer (First Lieutenant) Michael Wittmann, who was already a leading panzer ace and holder of the Knights Cross with Oak Leaves. Wittmann had amassed well over 100 tank and armored vehicle kills on the Eastern Front.

While accounts vary as to the actual strength of the two panzer companies and the details of the engagement that followed, the ensuing battle contributed to the growing legend that was Wittmann—possibly even exaggerating his role in the one-sided brawl at Villers-Bocage.

Wittmann's Tiger company took positions along a ridge south of Point 213 in support of either Panzer Lehr or the 12th SS Panzer Division, and the young Tiger ace was astonished when British armored vehicles appeared in Villers-Bocage. He later remembered, "I had no time to assemble my company; instead I had to act quickly, as I had to assume that the enemy had already spotted me and would destroy me where I stood. I set off with one tank and passed the order to the others not to retreat a single step but to hold their ground."

At the moment the British tankers and infantrymen on the road to Point 213 were ordered to resume their advance to the high ground, three Tiger tanks, those of Wittmann and SS Oberscharführer (Company Sergeant Major) Jürgen Brandt and SS Untersturmführer (2nd Lieutenant) Georg Hantusch, were spotted moving perilously parallel to the British column, partially concealed along a path adjacent to the highway but screened by a tall hedgerow. Apparently unable to resist a potential fight, the two other German tankers had ignored Wittmann's order and moved forward with him.

The other two Tigers attacked the British armor at Point 213, and Wittmann emerged from a wooded area onto National Highway 175, where he destroyed a Cromwell at close range and then blasted a Sherman Firefly, its blazing hulk blocking the British column. He turned and worked his way down the line of armored vehicles strung out along the road like ducks in a shooting gallery. In rapid succession the Tiger's 88mm gun and its two 7.92mm MG34 machine guns destroyed eight halftracks and four troop carriers.

Leaving a trail of destruction on the highway, Wittmann then rolled down the Rue Georges Clémenceau toward the eastern edge of Villers-Bocage. Three M5 Stuart light tanks of the 4th County of London Yeomanry Reconnaissance Troop, their 37mm guns no match for the thick armour protection of the Tiger, were stationed at the intersection with the road to Tilly-sur-Seulles.

No doubt, the reconnaissance squadron leader, Lieutenant Rex Ingram, knew that his situation was perilous. Nevertheless, he ordered the driver of his 15-ton Stuart into the road—

Imperial War Museum

Imperial War Museum

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-494-3376-18A; Photo: Zwiner

ABOVE: The destroyed Cromwell tank of Captain Pat Dyas lies abandoned in Villers-Bocage. Dyas could not engage Wittman's Tiger initially because his driver was out of the Cromwell. However, when the driver returned the Cromwell fired two rounds that failed to penetrate the Tiger's armor. Wittman's Tiger destroyed the Cromwell with a direct hit that blew Dyas out of the tank and killed the gunner and driver. TOP: This photograph, taken several days after the battle at Villers-Bocage, shows Lieutenant Bill Crofton, left, wearing a German flight jacket with Iron Cross, chatting with his crewmen of the 4th County of London Yeomanry, 7th Armoured Division. Crofton was awarded the British Military Cross for his actions during the fighting around Villers-Bocage.

directly in the path of Wittmann's oncoming Tiger—in an attempt to delay the German tank's advance into the town. A single 88mm round caused the British tank to erupt in flames. The Tiger shunted the blazing wreck aside and blasted at least one more of the light tanks.

A few yards beyond the road junction the four Cromwells of the regimental headquarters came into view as Wittmann directed his lumbering Tiger down the main avenue in Villers-Bocage. Several Cromwell crewmen were actually thought to have been outside their vehicles when the Wittmann attack occurred. The first Cromwell, commanded by the regimental executive officer, Major Arthur Carr, took a damaging hit and attempted to back out of the line of fire. Two more British tanks, commanded Lieutenant John L. Cloudsley-Thompson and Regimental Sergeant Major Gerald Holloway, were brewed up.

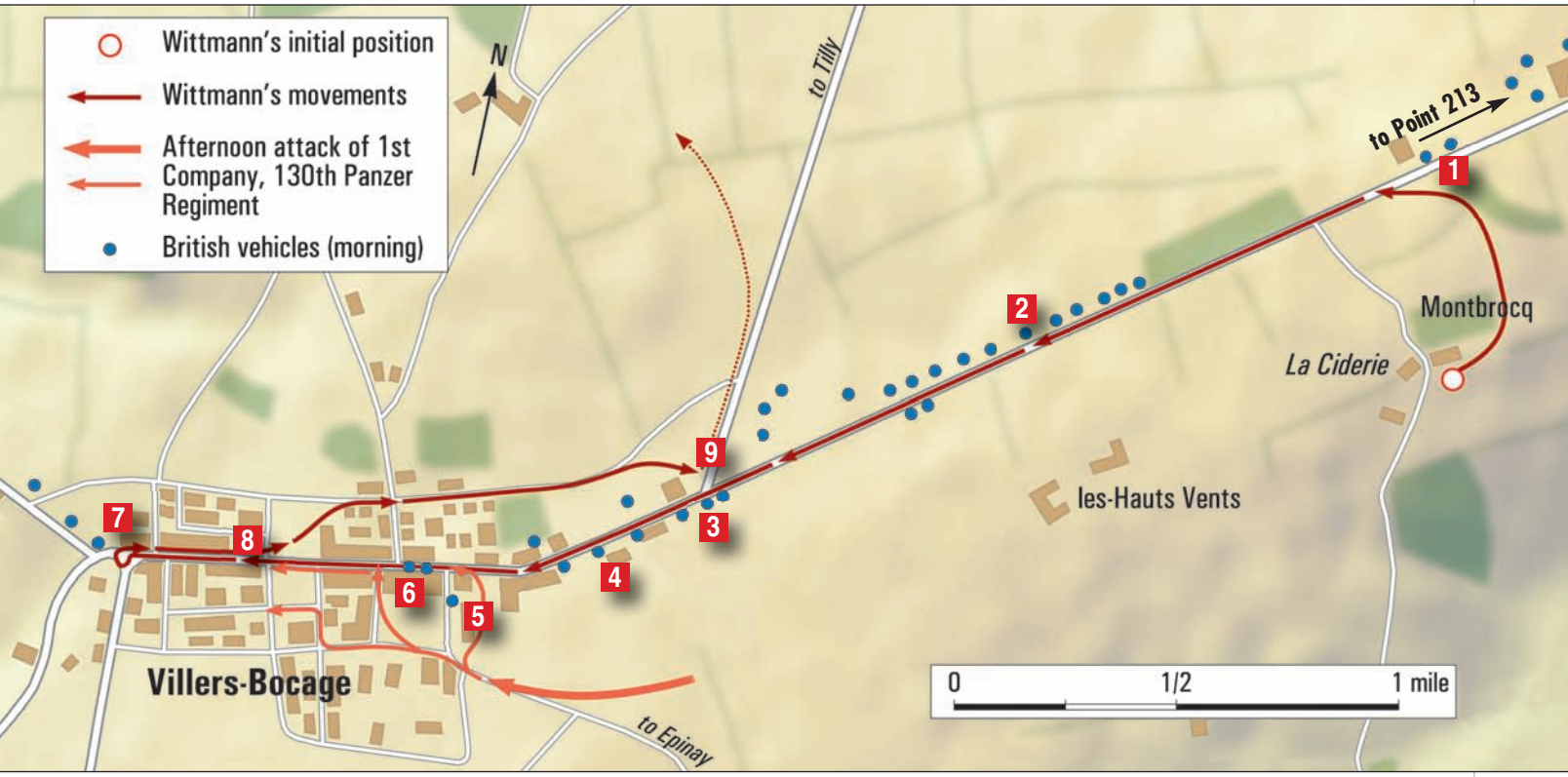
While Cloudsley-Thompson's crew tried to exit its burning Cromwell, Captain Pat Dyas, the regimental adjutant, reversed his tank and backed into a garden out of Wittmann's line of sight. The action had developed so rapidly that Dyas's gunner, away on a nature call, had no time to return to the tank. Dyas was in position to deliver a kill shot against the Tiger, but he sat motionless and unable to act as the Nazi behemoth rumbled past.

Continuing down the Rue Georges Clémenceau, Wittmann spotted two observation post tanks of the 5th Royal Horse Artillery as they backed around a corner into the Rue Pasteur. The Sherman observation tank commanded by Major Dennis Wells was quite defenseless. It mounted only a wooden decoy gun rather than a real main weapon. The accompanying Cromwell was probably unarmed as well. Captain Paddy Victory continued backing his Cromwell into a side street behind the Sherman at the rear entrance to the Hotel du Bras d'Or. Just seconds later, Wells' defenseless tank was blasted by an 88mm shell from Wittmann's Tiger.

As he tried to avoid a similar fate, Captain Victory's transmission gears locked up. Wittmann's Tiger rumbled past, and for a fleeting moment the crew of the Cromwell hoped that they had remained unseen. It proved a forlorn hope as the Tiger stopped, reversed just a few feet, and then pumped an 88mm round into the British tank just below its turret. After the crew bailed out, Captain Victory returned to the disabled Cromwell and destroyed its interior to the best of his ability before slipping away.

While Wittmann was busy shooting up these hapless British tanks and heading steadily westward toward the center of Villers-Bocage, Lieu-

The Tiger's turret swung around, its cannon belched flame, and the resulting hit killed the Cromwell gunner and driver.



SS Lieutenant Michael Wittmann spots the British armored vehicles and begins his attack by destroying two tanks (1) before turning left towards Villers-Bocage. Next, he and his crew destroy a long line of armored vehicles (2), including half-tracks and anti-tank guns. Wittmann's crew next destroys Stuart tanks (3), a halftrack, and Cromwell tanks, including that of Major Arthur Carr (4). Wittmann fails to see the Cromwell of Capt. Dyas (5) before destroying the unarmed Sherman of Major Wells, and the Cromwell of Capt. Victory (6). The Sherman of Sgt. Lockwood shoots and damages Wittmann's Tiger (7), then Wittmann turns back and destroys Dyas' Cromwell (8). When Wittmann reaches the Tilly Junction his Tiger is disabled by Sgt. Bray's 6-pounder gun (9). Wittmann exits his tank and leaves the battle on foot.

tenant Charles Pearce jumped into a scout car and drove like mad to alert B Squadron to the presence of the marauding Tiger and the unfolding debacle on the other side of the town.

Captain Dyas, meanwhile, began looking for Wittmann through the streets of Villers-Bocage. He spotted the Tiger just as Wittmann crossed paths with a Sherman Firefly of B Squadron commanded by Sergeant Stan Lockwood, the first British tanker to hear Lieutenant Pearce's alarm. Lockwood turned his Firefly from the Place Jeanne d'Arc onto the Rue Georges Clémenceau. With Wittman in his sights, the Firefly let loose a 17-pounder shell that slightly damaged the big Tiger. Startled by the concussion, Wittmann's driver swerved into a brick wall, causing its collapse on top of Lockwood's Sherman.

Dyas immediately sensed an opportunity and roared forward in his Cromwell, firing two 75mm rounds that hit the Tiger but failed to penetrate its armor. In seconds Wittmann turned the tables. The Tiger's turret swung around, its cannon belched flame, and the resulting hit killed the Cromwell gunner and driver. Dyas was blown clear, stunned but remarkably uninjured.

Wittmann was now aware that more tanks of B Squadron would be closing in quickly. He reversed direction down the Rue Georges Clémenceau until a crashing shell brought the Tiger to lurching stop in front of the Huet-Godefroy clothing store. A single well-placed round from a 6-pounder antitank gun had accomplished what numerous British tanks had failed to do. Fired from an alley between the Rue Jeanne Bacon and Boulevard Joffre, the antitank round disabled a drive sprocket. Wittmann and his crew abandoned their Tiger, expecting that it might be recovered later. They made their way seven kilometers on foot to Panzer Lehr headquarters at Chateau d'Orbois, where Wittmann described the situation around Villers-Bocage to the officers present.

While Wittmann was devastating the British armour in Villers-Bocage, Brandt and Hantusch drove on to Point 213 and unleashed more devastation. Less than an hour later, a third Tiger commanded by Unterscharführer Kurt Sowa joined in the attack. By 10 a.m., reconnaissance troops and more armored vehicles of the 4th Panzer Company, SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101, reached the scene. Within half an hour, the Germans were rounding up scores of dazed British prisoners and consolidating their hold on National Highway 175 between Villers-Bocage and Point 213.

The tally of destruction on the dreadful morning was appalling. Twenty Cromwells, four Sher-

National Archives

National Archives

ABOVE: This A Squadron, County of London Yeomanry, Sherman Firefly tank was the subject of several German photographs after the fighting at Villers-Bocage, possibly because the Germans had not encountered a Firefly with its 17-pounder gun. TOP: After the battle at Villers-Bocage, British soldiers lie dead in a ditch near their destroyed vehicles. OPPOSITE: The crew of a German Tiger tank; pulls a damaged Tiger away from the scene of the fighting at Villers-Bocage. German armored units were usually forbidden from executing recovery operations like this due to Allied air superiority, and the crewmen on top of the tank may be watching for Allied fighter bombers.

man Fireflies, and three Stuart tanks had been destroyed along with numerous troop carriers and other vehicles. The Fireflies of B Squadron, 4th County of London Yeomanry prepared for a renewal of the fighting, while the 1/7th Battalion, Queen's Royal Regiment also took up defensive positions in Villers-Bocage. Anti-tank guns studded the British cordon.

Although they had sustained substantial losses, the British still menaced the flank of Panzer Lehr, and there was hope at the headquarters of the 7th Armoured Division and its parent XXX Corps that the 50th Infantry Division might break through at Tilly-sur-Seulles, supporting the drive through Villers-Bocage and perhaps even to Caen. However, the vigor of the morning Tiger assault had shattered the spearhead of the British offensive and the nerves of many men who survived the onslaught. Now, the initiative was squarely with the Germans, and they looked at the potential for a solid local victory.

A short time after Wittmann's arrival at Chateau d'Orbois, Captain Helmut Ritgen was moving to block British routes of advance north of Villers-Bocage with 15 PzKpfw. IV tanks of the 2nd Battalion, Regiment 130, Panzer Lehr. Ritgen ran into intense fire from concealed antitank guns, lost one PzKpfw. IV, and was ordered to regroup near Villers-Bocage. Subsequently, he sent four tanks roaring in from the south while 10 more renewed their advance along Rue Georges Clémenceau. The British claimed a pair of PzKpfw. IVs from each group. Around 1 p.m., Panzer Lehr's armor tried to take the town again, losing two more PzKpfw. IVs in the process.

The 1/7th Battalion, Queen's Royal Regiment held the railway station and other key positions in and around Villers-Bocage and offered stiff resistance. British and German infantrymen fought street to street and house to house before the defenders pulled back along the edge of town. A British roadblock in the center of Villers-Bocage concealed several 6-pounder antitank guns, at least one Sherman Firefly, and several Cromwells waiting for any German tanks to roll toward the town square.

While the initial Panzer Lehr forays into Villers-Bocage were rebuffed, Wittmann sped back toward Point 213 and conferred with Möbius prior to a renewed effort against the town by the Tigers of 1st Company, SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101. Möbius moved his Tigers into Villers-Bocage on the Rue d'Evrecy and linked up with the active elements of Panzer Lehr near the town marketplace.

The Germans decided to send their tanks in from several directions, but by the time they got organized the British were waiting in ambush. As the lead Tiger trundled down National Highway 175 into the town, a Firefly unleashed a 17-pounder shell that missed. Quickly, a 6-pounder gun found the mark and knocked out the big tank.

Three more Tigers came immediately into view, and they veered away, attempting to outflank the British. The fight developed into a bushwhacking melee reminiscent of something from the American Wild West. One of these Tigers fell victim to an anti-tank gun while an infantryman destroyed another with a PIAT (Projector, Infantry, Anti-Tank) spring-loaded, shoulder-fired weapon. A second shot from a PIAT disabled the last of these three Tigers.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-738-0275-10A; Photo: Arthur Grimm

Still, another Tiger came on, its commander well aware of the action to his front. He stopped short of the British trap in the town square. An opportunistic Firefly crew took a shot at the Tiger through the windows of a corner building, and the round glanced off the German tank's gun mantlet. The Tiger began churning down the street, but a Cromwell slid into firing position from behind and blasted the Nazi tank with a shot to its vulnerable rear. At the same time, the Firefly that had spooked the Tiger took out another PzKpfw. IV.

Outside the city limits of Villers-Bocage, other units of the 7th Armored Division beat back German attacks along a north-south line in the vicinity of Amaye-sur-Seulles and Tracy-Bocage.

While some historians have doubted the presence of elements of the 2nd Panzer Division at Villers-Bocage, others say that as many as two panzergrenadier battalions fought in the town on June 13, pressing the infantry of the 1/7th Battalion, Queen's Royal Regiment until the tanks of B Squadron cut down the German infantrymen in heaps with their machine guns.

By 6 p.m., the Germans had nearly reached the 1/7th Battalion headquarters, and the British reluctantly began to withdraw from the town. A barrage from the 5th Royal Horse Artillery and the heavy guns of the U.S. V Corps, covered the British pullback. The Germans harassed their movement until well after dark.

In the darkness, Hinde reinforced a defensive box on high ground at Point 174 a mile west of Villers-Bocage, and Panzer Lehr along with the few remaining Tigers of SS Heavy Tank Battalion 101 hit the strongpoint the next day. Artillery of the U.S. 1st Infantry Division helped to beat back the initial German thrusts, but simultaneous attacks in the afternoon succeeded in breaching the defensive box, rendering artillery support useless since British and German troops were intermingled. Just as the German assault threatened the 22nd Armoured Brigade headquarters, it was finally beaten back.

Hinde remained confident that the 22nd Armoured Brigade could hold its salient at Villers-Bocage, but the 50th Division remained tangled with Panzer Lehr, unable to provide any support. Thus, the 22nd Armoured Brigade pulled back and joined with the Allied line north and west, ending the British bid for control of Villers-Bocage.

After the battle, the capabilities of the British field commanders, including Brigadier Hinde, Major General Erskine, and Lieutenant General G.C. Bucknall commanding XXX Corps, were discussed at higher command level. The tactical deployment of the 22nd Armoured Brigade was questioned, and the troops of the 50th Division were not the only potential reinforcements available to send to Villers-Bocage. None of these commanders made a formal request for support from the 50th Division or any other units that might have intervened.

Dempsey and Montgomery must also bear some responsibility for the shellacking. Both senior commanders seemed uncharacteristically detached, failing to assert strong leadership and decision making during the fight. Within weeks of the failed offensive, Hinde, Erskine, and Bucknall were relieved of command. Dempsey later admitted, "The whole handling of the battle was a disgrace."

Casualties were heavy on both sides with 217 British dead and the loss of more than 40 tanks and armoured vehicles. A Squadron, County of London Yeomanry lost all 15 of its Cromwells, Fireflies, and Stuarts. As many as 15 German tanks, including six irreplaceable Tigers, were destroyed, and though dozens of Germans were killed, the exact number is unknown. British forces hammered away at Caen for two months before capturing the city, and Villers-Bocage remained in German hands until the first week of August.

Lieutenant Wittmann was decorated for his rampage at the French village but died in combat on August 8, 1944. He was 30 years old. ■

Michael E. Haskew is the editor of WWII History Magazine. *He has been researching and writing on military history for more than 40 years and has written numerous books and articles on a variety of topics. He resides in Chattanooga, Tennessee.*

General George S. Patton Jr., and Brigadier General Ted Roosevelt stand in a street in a small town in Sicily in August 1943. Patton was in command of the U.S. Seventh Army at the time, and soon after this photo was taken, he recommended the relief of Roosevelt and General Terry Allen from command of the 1st Infantry Division.

Teddy Roosevelt, Jr. Led At Utah Beach

THE SON OF A LEGENDARY PRESIDENT WAS THE ASSISTANT COMMANDER OF THE 4TH INFANTRY DIVISION ON D-DAY.

BY MICHAEL D. HULL

Famed war correspondent Ernie Pyle reported in August 1944, that one of his favorite U.S. Army officers was a regimental colonel who shared Lt. Gen. George S. Patton Jr.'s philosophy for World War II—simply to kill Germans.

This Regular Army colonel, said Pyle, wore a "new type field jacket that fits him like a sack," carried a cane, and, like Patton, constantly prodded his commanders to "push hard, not to let up, to keep driving and driving." Pyle said the officer "is impatient with commanders who lose the main point of the war by getting involved in details."

In one of his many frontline dispatches, the homespun Hoosier journalist wrote, "Once I was at a battalion command post when we got word that 60 Germans were coming down the road in a counterattack. Everybody got excited. They called the colonel on the field phone, gave him the details, and asked him what to do. He had the solution in a nutshell. He just said, 'Shoot the sonsabitches,' and hung up…."

The colonel, Pyle said, "is rather unusual-looking. There is something almost Mongolian about his face. When cleaned up, he could be a Cossack. When tired and dirty, he could be a movie gangster. But, either way, his eyes always twinkle."

Pyle was referring to Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., the oldest son of the 26th American president Theodore Roosevelt (TR), and who had held the rank of colonel when the reporter first met him in Tunisia. A combat veteran of World War I and action in North Africa, Sicily, and Italy, General Roosevelt became one of the heroes of the Normandy invasion and a Medal of Honor recipient. Like his dynamic father, he was virtually fearless, and, like Pyle, he was loved by the soldiers with whom he served.

Despite poor health, "Ted" served as the assistant commander of two hard-fighting divisions and was one of America's outstanding combat commanders in World War II.

Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., was born November 13, 1887, at the family estate in Oyster Bay Cove, New York, when his father was starting his political career. He had three brothers Archibald (Archie), Quentin and Kermit; a sister, Ethel; and half-sister, Alice. Like all of the Roosevelt children, the bespectacled, studious-looking Ted was greatly influenced by his father and strove for his approval.

When TR went to Washington, D.C., as civil service commissioner, Ted often accompanied him to his office. The walks were history lessons. "On the way down," recalled Ted, "he would talk history to me—not the dry history of dates and charters, but the history where you yourself in your imagination could assume the role of the principal actors…. Long before the European war had broken over the world, Father would discuss with us military training and the necessity for every man being able to take his part."

Demonstrating a flair for business, young Ted had a brief fling in the steel and carpet fields before venturing into Wall Street, where he amassed a $7 million fortune. Ted married Eleanor Butler Alexander in June 1910, and they had four children—Grace, Theodore III, Cornelius, and Quentin II.

While the American Expeditionary Force was organizing for deployment to France, TR, who had left the White House in 1909 but was still a national figure, wired its commander, General John J. Pershing, asking if his sons could go along as privates. Archie was given a commission with the rank of second lieutenant, while Theodore Jr. was offered the rank of major. Quentin had been accepted into the fledgling Air Service of the Army Signal Corps, and Kermit volunteered to serve with the British Army in Mesopotamia.

Ted was called up shortly after President Woodrow Wilson declared war and volunteered to be one of the first soldiers to go to France. Small, wiry, and with a bent nose, he sailed in June 1917 with the ragtag, hastily assembled 1st Infantry (Big Red One) Division, then commanded by Major General William L. Sibert. The division disembarked at Bordeaux, and Ted and Archie rode a train to Paris to report to General Pershing, who assigned Archie to the 16th Infantry Regiment. Major Ted joined the 26th Infantry Regiment, billeted in the town of Demange-aux-Eaux, and was given command of a battalion. He soon proved himself a staunch warrior in his father's mold. He led his battalion across fields in front of the town of Cantigny in May 1918 to plug a gap in the American lines, and took part in the major Meuse-Argonne offensive in August-November 1918.

Theodore Jr. never shied away from danger, telling a fellow officer, "We're officers aren't, we? I always thought an officer's job was to lead his men, not follow them." Believing that a good officer takes care of his men, Ted purchased combat boots for the entire battalion with his own money.

National Archives

Ted was gassed and wounded twice at Soissons in the summer of 1918. He went absent without leave from a hospital to rejoin his unit. Meanwhile, his brother, Quentin, had been killed in action that July, an event that devastated TR. Ted eventually was promoted to lieutenant colonel, was given command of the division's 26th Regiment, and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, a Silver Star with oakleaf cluster, the Croix de Guerre, the Legion of Honor, and a Purple Heart.

Library of Congress

During World War I, Ted Roosevelt, seen here in the trenches in France in 1918, served as commander of the 26th Infantry Regiment, 1st Infantry Division.

A few days before TR's death on January 6, 1919, his daughter-in-law confided to him that her husband was worried about being worthy of his father. "Worthy of me?" answered the former president. "Darling, I'm so very proud of him. He has won high honor, not only for his children, but, like the Chinese, he has ennobled his ancestors. I walk with my head higher because of him."

Before the doughboys returned home at the end of World War I, a number of AEF officers were asked for ideas on how to improve troop morale. Colonel Roosevelt proposed an organization of veterans which led, at a caucus of of about 1,000 officers and enlisted men, to the founding of the American Legion in Paris in March 1919. Congress granted it a national charter that September. When the Legion met in New York City, Roosevelt was nominated as its first national commander. But he refused because he feared that his acceptance would be viewed as a political move.

Ted left the service and for a political career. Elected to the New York State Assembly in 1919, he had the dash and style of his father in Albany. Grinning, waving a crumpled hat, and shouting "Bully," he participated in every national campaign except when he served later as governor-general of the Philippines. When Ohio publisher Warren G. Harding was elected president in 1921, Ted was appointed assistant secretary of the Navy, a post that had also been held by his father and his cousin, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Meanwhile, Ted resumed Army reserve service. He attended summer camps, infantry officers' courses at the Command and General Staff College, and promoted defense readiness.

In September 1929, President Herbert Hoover appointed Ted as governor of Puerto Rico where he worked hard to ease the widespread poverty and became a popular figure. Hoover was so impressed that he named Ted governor-general of the Philippines in 1932.

His colonial career ended when his cousin successfully challenged Hoover for the presidency in 1932. Ted regarded Franklin Roosevelt as "such poor stuff," and thought it improbable that he would be elected. When this happened, Ted wryly described himself as "fifth cousin about to be removed."

As war in Europe loomed late in the 1930s, Ted Roosevelt saw a second and probably final chance for challenge and glory on the battlefield. He was now in his 50s, with a fibrillating heart and troublesome arthritis linked to his World War I wounds that forced him to use a cane.

After completing a military refresher course in 1940, Ted petitioned General George C. Marshall, the Army chief of staff, to take him out of the Reserve and return him to active duty. In April 1941, with the rank of colonel, he was given command of his old unit, the 26th Regiment of the 1st Infantry Division. After a short time, he was promoted to brigadier general.

After taking part in the Carolina maneuvers of late 1941, the Big Red One trained in North Carolina, Massachusetts, Florida, Georgia, and Pennsylvania, and left New York for the European Theater of Operations on August 1, 1942. Crammed into the converted liner *Queen Mary*, the division arrived in Scotland on August 7. It was then sent by rail to England, where it underwent advanced training. Major General Terry de la Mesa Allen, a veteran of the 1916 Mexico punitive expedition and the 1918 St.-Mihiel offensive, had taken command of the division in June 1942. Ted Roosevelt was his assistant commander.

Less than three months after its arrival in Britain, the 1st Infantry Division was bound for the western Mediterranean Sea to take part in the first great Allied invasion of the war, the three-pronged Operation Torch. Three convoys —the Western Task Force under Lieutenant General George S. Patton Jr., the Central Task Force under Major General Lloyd R. Fredendall, and the Eastern Task Force under Major General Charles W. Ryder—were to converge,

National Archives

ABOVE: After taking the town of Enna, Sicily, on July 20, 1943, American soldiers of Company I, 1st Infantry Division ride through the town in a captured German vehicle that has been emblazoned with the U.S. star insignia. BELOW: Major General Terry Allen, commander of the U.S. 1st Infantry Division, stands at left and confers with Brigadier General Ted Roosevelt, far right, along with war correspondents as the tactical situation in Sicily develops in August 1943.

National Archives

land in Morocco and Algeria on November 8, overcome Vichy French opposition, and eventually link up with General Bernard L. Montgomery's Eighth Army advancing across North Africa from the east. The Big Red One was the spearhead of the Central Task Force, and its objective was the Algerian port of Oran.

Ted Roosevelt was in high spirits as the Central Task Force steamed toward North Africa late in October 1942. Aboard the converted liner *Monarch of Bermuda*, he entertained staff officers by reciting from memory long passages of his favorite poet, Rudyard Kipling, after they had challenged him with a succession of first lines. On October 26, he wrote to his wife, "Cleared for strange ports—that's what we are. Here I am off again on the great adventure." Using his father's language, he told her that he had done his best and that his fate was now "at the knees of the gods."

Early on November 8, the 1st Infantry Division lay in darkened transports off Algeria in the Gulf of Arzew. Tensely, the soldiers—most of them untried—oiled their weapons, adjusted equipment, and hoped that they could live up to the reputation established by the division's old-timers. Men of the 16th and 18th Regiments went ashore east of Oran, and Roosevelt led the 26th Regiment across the beach at Les Andalouses. Fredendall's task force did well in its initial combat operations against sporadic Vichy French and German resistance, swiftly taking the cities of Oran, Arzew, and St.-Cloud.

After the heights above Oran had been captured, the city still held out, and shelling seemed to be the only recourse. Instead, General Roosevelt told his regiment to hold its fire while he and an aide mounted a half-track. "If I'm not back in two hours," Ted told his men, "give it all you've got." Flying a dirty undershirt as a flag of truce, the half-track roared off into the city. Eventually, the enemy gunners capitulated and considerable destruction was avoided.

The cheered widly as Roosevelt's regiment entered Oran on November 10 and they wen ton to clear the Ouseltia Valley in January 1943, and on to positions at Kasserine Pass the following month. The 26th Regiment saw plenty of action against Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's vaunted Afrika Korps. Ted's men helped to check two strong German counterattacks in March 1943, cleared Hill 575, and reached Djebel el Anz against strong resistance that April. The Big Red One was actively engaged in Tunisia until May 9, 1943.

Ted's reputation grew as a hard-fighting frontline general. His leadership early in 1943 was cited by General Alphonse Juin, gallant leader of the Free French forces in North Africa: "As commander of a Franco-American detachment on the Ouseltia plain in the region of Pichon, in the face of a very aggressive enemy, he showed the finest qualities of decision and determination in the defense of his sector. Showing complete contempt for personal danger, he never ceased during the period of Jan. 28-Feb. 21, visiting troops in the front lines, making vital decisions on the spot, winning the esteem and admiration of the units under his command, and developing throughout his detachment the finest fraternity of arms."

Ted Roosevelt and his immediate superior, the hard-drinking "Terrible Terry" Allen, led the Big Red One in an unorthodox manner. Devoted to their men, they strove from the foxhole level to build the division into a first-rate fighting organization. Allen fretted over short-

ages of dry socks at the front, and Roosevelt pestered mess sergeants to make sure they had enough baking powder. A soldier, Pfc. Louis Newman, recalled standing near the general one day as weary, sweating GIs were returning to camp after a long march. Their officers were riding in jeeps, but Ted ordered them out of the vehicles. Gesturing toward the enlisted men, he said, "They walk, you walk."

The two generals, neither of them disciplinarians, felt comfortable among the lowest ranks, placed little value on spit-and-polish, and were seldom seen in regulation uniforms. Ted usually wore a knit cap because he hated the heavy Army helmets. Ted's aide, Lieutenant Marcus O. Stevenson, reported later, "He was the most disreputable-looking general I have ever met…He looked like the most beat-up GI you ever saw."

Ted told an aide on March 1, 1943, that he had just changed clothes for the first time since January 14. Driving a jeep named "Rough Rider" in honor of his father around the division's foxholes, mortar pits, and artillery batteries, he shuffled among the tents to encourage and joke with the GIs. "Once we've licked the Boche," he would say in his bullfrog voice, "we'll go back to Oran and beat up every MP in town." When the men lined up for delousing after scrubbing their filthy uniforms with gasoline, he helped to pass out decorations for gallantry before speeding off to another bivouac.

"I've always thought that it was nonsense to say Americans don't like medals," he wrote to his wife, Eleanor, then serving with the American Red Cross in Salisbury, Wiltshire. "I knew I liked them. I wanted to get them, put them on, and walk up and down in front of you and say, 'Look what a hell of a fellow you've married.'" He was usually light-hearted, but he was well aware that the Allies were in a fight to the death for the duration. "I think this is a five-year war," he wrote prophetically to his wife. "It won't be over until another winter has passed, until we are firmly on the continent, and until Germany is faced with still another winter...Now we know too much…We know there'll be troubles of every sort."

National Archives

ABOVE: General Roosevelt talks with a young American officer during a lull in the fighting around the town of Monte Cassino. During the Italian Campaign Roosevelt was attached to the French Expeditionary Corps as a liaison officer. OPPOSITE: Brigadier General Ted Roosevelt reads mail while serving in Italy in January 1944. The son of President Theodore Roosevelt, he named his Jeep "Rough Rider" in honor of his late father and his exploits during the Spanish-American War.

Few World War II generals were as close to their men as were Terry Allen and Ted Roosevelt of the Big Red One. Lt. Gen. Omar N. Bradley, who took over command of the U.S. II Corps from Patton in April 1943, reported standing with Roosevelt one night in Tunisia while a blacked-out convoy of the 1st Division moved slowly along a road. Ted turned to Bradley in the darkness and said, "Brad, I'll bet that I've talked to every man in this division. They'd know my voice whether they could see me or not. Listen!" Ted shouted hoarsely to a passing truck, "Hey, what outfit is that?" A hearty voice replied, "Company C of the 18th Infantry, General Roosevelt."

After more than five months of bitter battles and some disastrous setbacks, the British and American forces boxed their depleted, starving German and Italian foes into a corner in Tunisia in late April 1943. The enemy surrendered on May 1, and the struggle for North Africa was over. Having suffered heavy casualties, the 1st Division was pulled off the line and trucked back to an area near Oran for rest and reinforcements. But the weary Big Red One had a chip on its shoulder and was about to tarnish its reputation. Still wearing woolen uniforms as the weather turned hot and denied entry to Services of Supply clubs and installations, the division's soldiers decided to "liberate" Oran a second time. While other Allied units paraded majestically to the accompaniment of British bagpipe bands in Tunis, General Allen's soldiers ran amok, brawling, looting wine stores, and outraging public officials.

Patton, the spit-and-polish taskmaster who had striven to shore up flagging American discipline and fighting spirit early in the North African campaign, was not amused, and retribution was imminent for the Big Red One. Meanwhile, the division next took part in Operation Husky, the Allied invasion of Sicily. Allen's men landed at Gela on July 10, 1943, repelled a German armored attack the next day, pushed inland, captured three towns, seized the Salso River crossings, and blunted a German counterattack. They fought a series of sharp engagements in rugged terrain and reached the town of Troina in central Sicily on August 1.

The Big Red One launched an all-out attack on the town on August 4, but it failed. The town was not taken until the night of August 5-6, when the German defenders began slipping out of Troina and the surrounding mountains. Allen's men marched into the shattered town on the morning of August 6 to find the enemy gone. It had been a costly struggle, with some of the division's rifle companies whittled from 193 to 65 men. The action at Troina also claimed two

National Archives

more casualties—Generals Allen and Roosevelt.

While the battle was still raging, a high command message was sent to Allen that was not supposed to reach him until afterward: he and his assistant commander were to be relieved. Patton, regarding both officers as unsoldierly though gallant, had sent derogatory reports to Lt. Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Mediterranean theater commander, who had viewed Allen as exhausted in May 1943. He approved the request for their relief, and Bradley assumed full responsibility for the action. Bradley considered Allen too much of an individualist, Ted too close to his men, and the division too full of pride and self-pity and unable to function willingly as part of a larger group. Said Bradley, "Roosevelt had to go with Allen for he, too, had sinned by loving the division too much."

As the Big Red One left Sicily in October 1943 and landed in England to train in Dorset and Devon for the upcoming Allied invasion of northern France, Allen was given command of the 104th Infantry Division, which would later distinguish itself in Normandy and the Rhineland. Roosevelt, meanwhile, was appointed in December 1943 as the chief U.S. liaison officer between General Mark W. Clark's Fifth Army and the French Expeditionary Corps under General Juin.

Ted distinguished himself when detached on a special mission to Sardinia, where an Italian parachute division was holding out and refusing to surrender to the Allies. Unarmed, Ted went from unit to unit convincing the "good, plug-ugly roughneck" Italians to help drive the Germans out of their homeland. Lt. Col. Serge Obolensky of the Office of Strategic Services said of General Roosevelt, "By the sheer force and charm of his personality, and an exhibition of the coolest gallantry, he won the wavering troops to a wild personal ovation." Six of the Italian paratroops had been assigned to kill Ted and Obolensky. Shortly before Christmas 1943, Ted accompanied French troops into the line during the bitter Monte Cassino campaign in Italy. He was at the front every day with General Juin, whom he described as a "front-fighting general." Juin later wrote to Ted, "There is no one in the (French) Corps from the lowliest private to the most bestarred general who does not know and love you."

After Cassino, Ted badgered Eisenhower for a combat command. He fidgeted among the brass in the Mediterranean theater, yearning to get back into the shooting war. When he could stand it no longer, he wrote to General Bradley, then commander of the U.S. First Army, begging for a role in the planned invasion of northern France, Operation Overlord. "If you ask me, I'll swim in with a 105 (howitzer) strapped to my back," said Ted. "Anything at all. Just help me get out of this rats' nest down here."

The game little warrior got his way. He was ordered to England in February 1944 and assigned as assistant commander of the untried 4th Infantry Division under Major General Raymond O. "Tubby" Barton. Activated in June 1940 and trained in the South, the division had arrived in England only in January 1944. "Because the 4th Division was green to fire, it was difficult to anticipate how it might act on the assault," Bradley reported later. "If Roosevelt could go in with the leading wave, he could steady it as no other man could…Ted was immune to fear." Bradley warned him in a letter, "You'll probably get killed on the job."

Ted never replied to him. He broke out of a hospital in Italy where he had been undergoing

National Archives

ABOVE: Soldiers of the U.S. 4th Infantry Division stream ashore at Utah Beach in Normandy on June 6, 1944. The 4th Division landed in the wrong place, but Roosevelt and Colonel James Van Fleet, commander of the 8th Infantry Regiment, famously resolved to start the war where they were. Roosevelt was the only Allied general officer to go ashore during the first wave on D-Day. LEFT: Roosevelt, and his son, Captain Quentin Roosevelt, photographed in a slit trench. General Roosevelt received the Medal of Honor for his command presence on D-Day.

treatment for pneumonia and reported to Bradley in London a few days later with a raging fever. He was eager to fight again, but Ted had more convincing to do. General Barton voiced serious misgivings about an ailing, 57-year-old general joining the assault wave at Normandy. Barton denied several verbal requests from Ted, but the Big Red One veteran of two wars persisted.

He dashed off an eloquent written petition to the 4th Division commander: "The force and skill with which the first elements hit the beach and proceed may determine the ultimate success of the operation …With troops engaged for the first time, the behavior pattern of all is apt to be set by those first engagements…I believe I can contribute materially on all of the above by going in with the assault companies. Furthermore, I personally know both officers and men of these advance units and believe that it will steady them to know that I am with them…. They'll figure that if a general is going in, it can't be that rough. I would love to do this." Barton reluctantly agreed, but, like Bradley, did not expect Ted to survive.

At a staff conference a few days before the invasion, General Bradley told those present that they would have ringside seats at the greatest fight in history. Ted turned to the officer beside him and whispered, "Ringside, hell! We'll be in the arena!" He was paraphrasing one of his father's favorite expressions.

The gray, blustery morning of Tuesday, June 6, 1944, came, and 5,000 assorted Allied ships stood off the Normandy coast for the greatest invasion in history and the long-awaited liberation of German-occupied Northwest Europe. Landing craft bucked through the choppy English Channel carrying British, American, and Canadian infantry divisions to five assigned beaches code named Utah, Omaha, Sword, Gold, and Juno. Carrying his cane and a .45-caliber Colt automatic pistol, Brigadier General Roosevelt was to land with E Company of the 2nd Battalion, 8th Infantry Regiment, and elements of the 70th Tank Battalion. He was in high spirits—the only general and the oldest man to land at Normandy in the first wave.

While waiting for the launch of the first wave, Ted jotted a sober letter to his beloved Eleanor: "We are starting on the great venture of the war, and by the time you get this, for better or for worse, it will be history…We've had a grand life and I hope there'll be more…We've known joy and sorrow, triumph and disaster, all that goes to fill the pattern of human existence. Our children are grown and our grandchildren are here. We have been very happy. I pray we may be together again."

E Company was the first unit to hit Utah Beach, and Ted was the first soldier off his Higgins boat. As he and the other men scrambled through the surf for cover under German beach obstacles, Ted was told that the landing craft had drifted more than a mile south of the objective, and the 4th Division's first wave was a mile off course. This was fortunate for E Company because the only opposition was small-arms fire from enemy trenches in a sand dune behind a four-foot concrete seawall.

Wary of snipers, Ted scouted for causeways behind the beach for the division's push inland. He then consulted with battalion leaders and the commanding officer of the 8th Regiment, Colonel James Van Fleet. "Van," Ted exclaimed, "we're not where we're supposed to be." Roosevelt then became a D-Day legend for saying, "We'll start the war from right

here!" Van Fleet, who would command the U.S. Eighth Army in the Korean War, disputed this later in an unpublished memoir. "I made the decision," he wrote. "Go straight inland."

Throughout that "longest day," Ted was an inspiration to all, prowling around Utah Beach with his cane and infectious grin, calmly ignoring enemy fire. While grimacing from the pain in his leg, he rallied the men of the 4th Division to go forward and not "turn into targets." Ted recited poetry and told stories of his father to steady the nerves of scared, wet young soldiers who had never been in action, directed regiments to their changed objectives, and helped to untangle traffic jams of armor and trucks all struggling to move inland. He led a group of men in a charge over a seawall, established them inland, and then returned to the beach to orchestrate more incoming men and materiel. He was a beacon on Utah Beach for several hours.

When General Barton came ashore, he met Ted near the beach. "I loved Ted," he said later. "When I finally agreed to his landing with the first wave, I felt sure he would be killed. When I had bade him goodbye, I never expected to see him alive. You can imagine then the emotion with which I greeted him when he came out to meet me. He was bursting with information."

D-Day was a success for the 4th Division. In 15 hours that day, it landed more than 20,000 men and 1,700 vehicles and rolled swiftly inland. On the second day, Utah Beach received 10,735 men, 1,469 vehicles, and just over 800 tons of supplies. Ted Roosevelt's inspiring leadership had played a major role in that success.

A few days later, Ted was delighted to see his son, Quentin Roosevelt II, 24, in the camp. He had been worried about Quentin, a lieutenant in the 1st Infantry Division, which had been pinned down and mauled on D-Day. Quentin had been wounded at Kasserine Pass and been awarded a Silver Star and the Croix de Guerre at Ouseltia. They were the only father-and-son team to participate in the Normandy invasion.

Late that June, the 4th Division assaulted the strategic port of Cherbourg, where Ted served briefly as military governor. He set up his headquarters in a cellar lit by a single oil lamp, helped to restore order to the ravaged city, and then pushed on with his troops. But Ted's health was catching up with him. His heart condition was serious, and he knew it. He kept it secret from his wife and avoided doctors at all costs. On July 11, 1944, Ted spent a day at the front lines with his men and then went back to his "little home," a captured German truck, to rest. Late that evening, after a happy two and a half hours with Quentin, he died of a heart attack.

General Bradley had been in the process of promoting Ted to major general with command of the 90th Infantry Division. On July 12, Quentin wrote his mother, "The Lion is dead…To me, he was much more than simply a father, he was an amazing combination of father, brother, friend, and comrade in battle."

The funeral service was conducted in the official cemetery at Ste. Mere-Eglise, a few miles west of Utah Beach, on Bastille Day, July 14, 1944. An Army band played "The Son of God Goes Forth to War" as artillery rumbled in the distance. The honorary pallbearers were Generals Bradley, Patton, J. Lawton Collins, Clarence Huebner, Barton, and Courtney H. Hodges. Riflemen fired three volleys, and two buglers sounded taps, echo fashion. Quentin reported to his mother that it was "a warrior's funeral." A year after Ted's death, his brother, Quentin, who died in World War I, was reburied next to him in the sprawling Normandy American Cemetery at Colleville-sur-Mer, overlooking Omaha Beach.

General Barton recommended that Ted be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his actions on Utah Beach, but this was upgraded at higher headquarters, and the Medal of Honor was posthumously awarded in September 1944. When President Roosevelt handed the blue ribbon to Ted's widow, he said, "His father would have been proudest."

Ted was the second son of a president to earn the nation's highest honor, after Rutherford B. Hayes's son, Webb C. Hayes, who earned it in the Philippine Insurrection in 1899. Only two father-and-son duos have been awarded the medal—Arthur and Douglas A. MacArthur, and President Theodore Roosevelt and Ted. TR's medal was awarded posthumously by President Bill Clinton in January 2001.

General Patton wrote in his diary that Ted Roosevelt was the bravest soldier he ever knew, and General Bradley agreed, "I have never known a braver man nor a more devoted soldier." Asked several years later to cite the single most heroic action he had seen in combat, Bradley replied, "Ted Roosevelt on Utah Beach." Ted's leadership at Utah Beach was recorded in Cornelius Ryan's best-selling 1959 book, *The Longest Day*, and he was portrayed by Henry Fonda in Darryl F. Zanuck's 1962 film epic of the same name. ■

National Archives

General Ted Roosevelt died of a heart attack during the Normandy Campaign. He was buried with full military honors in Normandy, and in this photo of his funeral soldiers stand at attention beside his flag draped coffin.

Their hands on their heads, British paratroopers of the 1st Airborne Division taken prisoner at Arnhem are marched into captivity. The failed attempt to seize the bridge across the Lower Rhine at the Dutch town sealed the fate of Operation Market-Garden.

Alamy

MONTGOMERY'S Bridge Too Far

In Operation Market-Garden, Allied leaders ignored warnings, overlooked obstacles in push to end the war in Europe quickly. | BY MICHAEL D. HULL

Operation Market-Garden, British Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's imaginative and daring plan—reluctantly endorsed by his superior, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe—was complex and fraught with possible catastrophes; a hurriedly conceived blueprint flawed by over-confidence, poor logistics, and the Allied commanders' failure to cooperate fully with the diligent and efficient Dutch resistance network. Vital intelligence from the code analysts at Bletchley Park was overlooked or shelved as the planning machinery rolled forward. For the operation to succeed, every aspect had to go according to plan. As one Allied officer observed later, "Too many things could go wrong, and most of them did."

Market-Garden was the jump-off of the greatest armada of troop-carrying aircraft ever assembled for a single military operation. In the 263rd week of World War II, this bold Allied offensive called for one British and two American airborne divisions to seize five strategic River Rhine and canal bridges—at Son and Vegel north of Eindhoven, Grave, Nijmegen, and Arnhem—and to push armored and infantry columns northward up a narrow corridor through Holland, across the Rhine River, and into Nazi Germany.

The intention was to pave the way for a massive armored advance into the northern German plain—and the Ruhr Valley, the industrial heart of the Third Reich—before the onset of winter.

After the hard-fought Anglo-American breakouts in Normandy during the bright summer of 1944, a spirit of euphoria and optimism pervaded the Allied conference rooms and staff offices. Montgomery, the wiry, irascible hero of Dunkirk, victor of El Alamein, and invasion ground commander, bristled with confidence. "One bold thrust will take us to Berlin, and the war can be finished by Christmas," he briskly told his staff at Laaken, near Brussels.

Market-Garden, Montgomery reasoned, was the "thunderclap" stroke required to topple Adolf Hitler's evil empire and effect the end of World War II in 1944. A single thrust, Monty believed, would free the vital English Channel ports, outflank the fortified Siegfried Line, and open the road to Berlin. His planners and some other senior Allied commanders believed that the German armies in the West had been so decisively weakened by the actions since D-Day that they would collapse if momentum was sustained by the massed British, American, and Canadian armies.

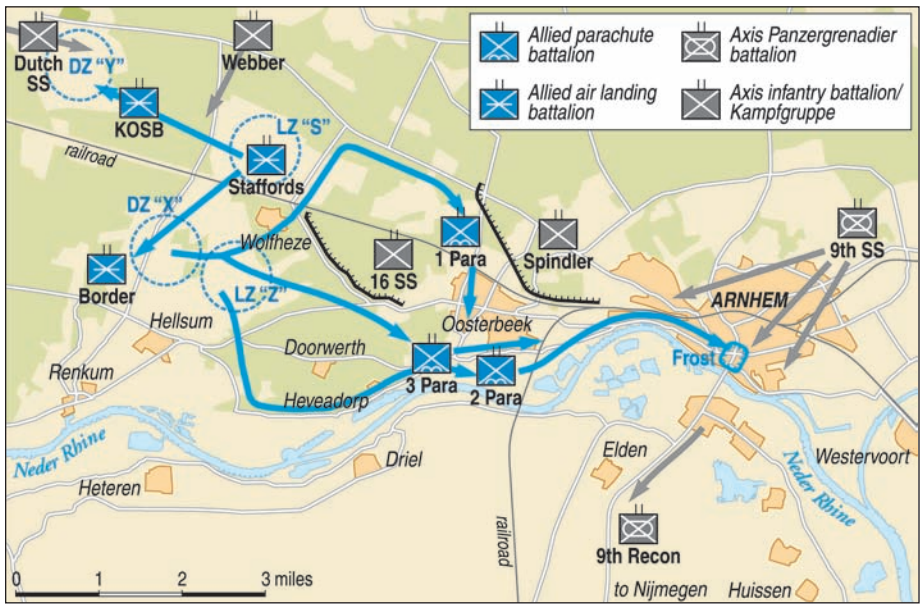
The main obstacle was that the terrain between the Belgian border and Arnhem—the farthest objective, where a massive concrete-and-steel bridge over the Lower Rhine was to be captured by the British 1st Airborne "Red Devil" Division—was swampy and crisscrossed by numerous canals. Only one narrow road was available, and the rest of the countryside was unsuitable for an advance by heavy armored vehicles. Some Allied leaders were decidedly uneasy about the operation. Major General Stanislaw Sosabowski, the prickly commander of the Polish 1st Parachute Brigade assigned to support the Red Devils at Arnhem, angrily voiced fears that his men would be "massacred."

It was the Arnhem bridge, 64 miles behind the German lines, that also worried Lt. Gen. Frederick "Boy" Browning, the tall, immaculate deputy commander of Major General Lewis H. Brereton's 1st Allied Airborne Army. Pointing to the objective on a wall map during a briefing, Browning asked Montgomery, "How long will it take for the armor to reach us?" Monty replied, "Two days." Browning answered, "We can hold it for four. But, sir, I think we might be going a bridge too far."

Browning soon submerged his doubts and allowed himself to get caught up in the momentum and promise of Operation Market-Garden, downplaying intelligence reports of German strength in the Arnhem area. When Major General James M. Gavin, the handsome, youthful commander of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, expressed shock on learning that his and

National Archives

ABOVE: In this aerial view of the bridge at Arnhem, destroyed German armored cars and vehicles litter the span after the fighting on the second day of Operation Market-Garden. British paratroopers under Lieutenant Colonel John Frost repulsed the German attack that afternoon. BELOW: Isolated from the main body of the 1st Airborne Division, the British paras holding the south end of the bridge at Arnhem were seriously low on ammunition and other supplies within hours of reaching the town.



Map © 2022 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN

the other two airborne divisions would have only seven days in which to get ready for the invasion, Browning responded, "Why not? We've got them on the run."

In the run-up to Market-Garden, there were continuing concerns regarding the disposition of German forces that might oppose both the airborne and ground phases of the offensive. True enough, the Dutch resistance had provided information on such prospects, and by the autumn of 1944, it appeared that the underground network of resistance fighters in the south of the Netherlands, where Market-Garden would concentrate, was well organized and ready to provide logistics, communications, and intelligence support.

The Allied invasion of Normandy had encouraged the Dutch in greater numbers to join the resistance effort, and indeed there were those who provided information that might have altered the planning of Market-Garden, postponed it, or scrapped it altogether. But Dutch reports of heavy German armor in the area were dismissed by Montgomery and Browning, as well as other high-ranking members of the Allied command.

Regardless, reconnaissance flights by RAF Spitfires had brought back disturbing photographs that seemed to back up the Dutch resistance reports. It appeared that German tanks had laagered in the vicinity of Arnhem. There had been no previous reports of any enemy armor in the area, and it was immediately believed that these were broken down or damaged vehicles moved to Arnhem for repairs.

Actually, the tanks belonged to the 9th and 10th SS Panzer Divisions, both depleted but battle hardened during the fighting in Normandy. The divisions, including their tanks and tough panzergrenadier armored infantrymen, were right in the path of the 1st Airborne assault intended to capture the bridge at Arnhem, and the lightly armed airborne troops had only their PIAT hand-held antitank weapons.

Montgomery was aware of the presence of the German armored divisions at Arnhem but chose to discount the evidence. His miscalculation would cost the lives of many Allied soldiers and shatter the 1st Airborne Division.

Still, in contrast to some historical accounts of Market-Garden that place blame for a lack of cooperation with the Dutch resistance squarely on the ineptitude or lack of awareness among senior British commanders, there is the possibility that the hesitation on the part of Montgomery emanated from suspicions that Nazi agents had penetrated the Dutch resistance and might actually manipulate information derived from it. In conversation with Dutch Crown Prince Bernhard prior to Market Garden, Montgomery actually asserted, "I don't think your resistance forces can be of any help to us."

Some of the British suspicion involved Crown Prince Bernhard himself. The prince was born into the German aristocracy and married into the Dutch royal family. According to some reports, he had joined the Nazi Party and then the SS while a college student. Some theorists believe that Bernhard may have leaked the information about Market-Garden more than a week prior to the commencement of the operation while serving as a liaison officer between the British armed forces and Dutch resistance.

Sunday, September 17, 1944, was a fine, sunny day as almost 5,000 British and U.S. bombers, fighters, and C-47 transports, along with more than 2,500 Waco and Horsa gliders, streamed across southeastern England on their way to Holland. The steady thunder of their engines interrupted morning church services in mellow English towns and villages, and farmers paused in Kent and Sussex pastures to watch and wave at the armada.

At 1:30 that afternoon, an airborne army complete with light field guns, vehicles, and assorted equipment began dropping behind the German lines in Holland. It was an unprecedented daylight assault—the Market phase of the great operation. In Dutch towns, stunned German Army officers watched the sudden display of Allied might. The air drops were marred by the loss of gliders from broken tow cables, structural failures, sporadic antiaircraft fire, and landing crackups.

Meanwhile, the Garden forces—armored and infantry columns of the British Second Army's powerful 30th Corps led by General Brian G. "Jorrocks" Horrocks—were poised along the Meuse-Escaut Canal on the Belgian-Dutch border. At 2:35 p.m., preceded by artillery barrages and supported by swarms of deadly rocket-firing Hawker Typhoon fighter-bombers of the Royal Air Force, the engines of Sherman tanks, Morris Quad trucks hauling 25-pounder guns, halftracks, armored cars, and Bren gun carriers rumbled into life. The high-spirited, charismatic Horrocks rode a jeep past his columns, shouting encouragement, and the 30th Corps rolled forward, starting its 64-mile dash up the backbone of Holland along a strategic route the American paratroopers were already fighting to seize and hold open. Horrocks ordered his corps—spearheaded by Lt. Col. J.O.E. "Joe" Vandeleur's crack Guards Armored Division—to "drive like hell" and link up with each airborne division in turn.

The U.S. 101st Airborne "Screaming Eagle" Division led by Major General Maxwell D. Taylor was dropped to capture the nearest bridges over canals north of Eindhoven at Vegel and Son, and the objectives were taken on the first day. The division had distinguished itself in the Normandy invasion and would later gain enduring fame with its epic defense of the Belgian town of Bastogne in December 1944. General Gavin's U.S. 82nd Airborne "All-American" Division, which had fought in Sicily, Italy, and Normandy, was dropped around Grave, south of Nijmegen, with the task of capturing bridges over the River Maas at Grave and the River Waal at Nijmegen. The first of these spans was taken on the first day.

The farthest bridge, at Arnhem over the Lower Rhine, was the objective of the "Red Devils" led by Major General Robert E. Urquhart, a burly, athletic, Scots-born veteran of the Western Desert, Sicily, and Italy campaigns who lacked airborne experience and was prone to air sickness. He had taken command of the division in January 1944. The red-bereted British paratroopers, who had never fought as a single unit, had been handed the most challenging job in Operation Market-Garden.

The American operations were successful, with much dash and fighting spirit displayed by Gavin's and Taylor's soldiers. But things began to go wrong with the Red Devils as soon as they shed their parachutes or scrambled out

Wikimedia

ABOVE: Dutch resistance fighters rally to oppose the Germans in this photo; however, concerns that the network of Dutch opposition had been compromised contributed to the British decision not to fully act on intelligence or use the capabilities of the resistance extensively during Operation Market-Garden. BELOW: On September 18, 1944, British airborne soldiers of C Troop, 1st Airlanding Reconnaissance Squadron, aim a PIAT antitank weapon toward the Germans as they cover a road near the Dutch town of Wolfheze.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-738-0269-07; Photo: Arthur Grimm

of their Horsa gliders. Only half of the division landed on the first day because of a lack of transport planes. Much of their vital equipment, including jeeps mounted with Vickers machine guns, was destroyed on landing; their radio sets malfunctioned, and the paratroopers were dropped between six and eight miles from Arnhem. Urquhart had requested flat, defensible terrain on which to land his men, but the few areas deemed suitable all had disadvantages. The Red Devils were armed only with light weapons—chiefly Lee Enfield rifles, Bren guns, and their PIATs.

Positioned just north of Arnhem, the recently arrived elements of the 9th and 10th SS Panzer Divisions of the German 2nd SS Panzer Corps were under the command of General Wilhelm Bittrich, a much-decorated veteran of World War I and the 1940-44 Poland, Russia, and Normandy campaigns. Still recovering from a mauling in Normandy, his command was nevertheless a formidable opponent. Despite the numerous warnings from the Dutch resistance network and reconnaissance sorties made by RAF Spitfires, photographic evidence of the panzers' presence had been brushed off by General Browning as well.

Along with Montgomery, Browning had suggested to an anxious intelligence officer that the camouflaged Tiger tanks, halftracks, and assault guns observed in the woods around Arnhem were probably unserviceable and manned by "young boys and old men, not first-line troops." General Walther Model, commander of the Wehrmacht's Army Group B in Holland and Belgium, had recently set up his headquarters in Oosterbeek, a western suburb of Arnhem. The Germans responded swiftly when the Allied transport planes appeared over Holland.

General Urquhart and his men trudged toward Arnhem, delayed by both swarms of welcoming Dutch citizens and increasing German mortar and machine-gun fire. The lack of working radio sets made communications almost impossible for the British paratroopers, and consequently there was scant coordination among battalions and companies. Ground command and control were lost for many crucial hours during the early fighting when Urquhart and his subordinate officers became separated. The usually amiable division commander grew increasingly frustrated.

When it was discovered that radio communications were not functioning, the 1st Airborne struggled to coordinate movements in enemy-held territory, contributing to the confusion of the early hours of Market-Garden. Once on the ground,1st Airborne might have availed itself of the communications capabilities of the Dutch resistance, but there was no effort to do so, perhaps for fear that resistance communications were actually controlled or at least infiltrated by German operatives.

While this theory is open to interpretation and conjecture, it is nevertheless worthy of mention. At least one former officer of the Dutch Army, Lieutenant Colonel Oreste Pinto, a liaison with SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force) and counterintelligence officer working in cooperation with MI-5, British domestic security, asserted that the Dutch resistance had in fact been compromised in the spring of 1944. If accurate, this circumstance would explain the hesitation of the high-ranking British military officers to rely on intelligence received from the Dutch resistance and to minimize contact with resistance fighters once the 1st Airborne Division had been inserted.

Ultimately, only one British battalion man-

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: American airborne soldiers receive a last-minute briefing before embarking in the early hours of Operation Market-Garden. The U.S. 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions participated in the airborne phase, linking up with the British 30th Corps once they were on the ground. BELOW: Dutch civilians, identified by some sources as members of the resistance, talk with troopers of the American 101st Airborne Division as they look over a map of the area.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-738-0269-07; Photo: Arthur Grimm

In this photo taken on September 17, 1944, Sherman tanks of the Irish Guards advance warily past other vehicles disabled during fighting with the Germans earlier in the day. The advance of 30th Corps was slowed considerably by German resistance and the single usable road.

aged to reach Arnhem. It was led by Lt. Col. John Frost, a stalwart veteran of the famous 1942 Bruneval raid and the North African campaign who blew on a hunting horn to round up his companies when they became dispersed. The men of his 2nd Battalion sprinted into the town, commandeered some houses, and set up mortar and machine-gun nests and secured the northern end of the big 2,000-foot bridge over the Lower Rhine. But the battalion could not get across the span before SS panzergrenadiers seized the other end.

Colonel Frost sent a patrol across the bridge, but it was beaten back by heavy fire. The Red Devils waited for a German thrust that they knew would come. When Waffen SS tanks and halftracks rolled across the bridge toward them, Frost's men opened fire and stopped them with Bren guns and well-aimed PIAT salvos. The Germans called on Frost to surrender, but he snapped to an aide, "Tell them to go to hell!"

The 9th and 10th SS Panzer Divisions moved in through Arnhem from the north to besiege Frost's battalion, and the Tommies were soon battling for their lives. They were cut off from the rest of the division, which was also fighting for survival against heavy odds. Casualties mounted, and ammunition began to run low. General Urquhart, meanwhile, set off with aides to try and assess the situation and reach Arnhem, but he was cut off by German armor and patrols and forced to hide in the attic of a Dutch house behind enemy lines for a critical 39 hours.

To the south, Sherman tank crews of General Horrocks's 30th Corps linked up with the 101st Airborne Division at Eindhoven and Vegel on Monday, September 18. The British columns pushed on up the exposed highway, but enemy shellfire increased and the weather worsened. The road—dubbed "Hell's Highway"—was surrounded by marshy ground, and there was no room to maneuver. Progress was slowed critically when the tanks and infantrymen had to wait while crippled vehicles were bulldozed off the road. The vital relief element of Operation Market-Garden fell behind schedule, and Horrocks's initial dash was now a crawl. To the north, the 82nd Airborne Division and Urquhart's Red Devils fought fiercely to hold their positions.

The Germans had responded swiftly to the 30th Corps ground offensive and placed infantry, machine guns and anti-tank weapons in the wooded areas along the single road toward Arnhem. The road itself was elevated, and the silhouettes of the British-manned Sherman tanks were high and distinctive. They made easy targets against the sun, and then enemy gunners picked many of them off from concealed positions. When resistance was encountered, the British columns were required to deploy infantry to clear the way, further impeding their progress.

Tuesday, September 19, was a critical day. The troops of 30th Corps managed to link up with the 82nd Airborne Division at Grave, and the British and American formations moved together toward Nijmegen. At Arnhem, where German units now blocked every entrance to the town, four battalions of Urquhart's division fought hard but were unable to reach Frost's battalion holding onto the northern end of the Rhine bridge. However, some units were able to push far enough and free Urquhart from his hiding place.

To the south, now 36 hours behind schedule, Colonel Vandeleur's Shermans began clanking across a Bailey bridge hastily assembled by a Royal Engineers company. Two hours later, the Guards armored column linked up with General Gavin's paratroopers at Grave. By noon, the tanks were on the outskirts of Nijmegen, but the road and railroad bridges were still in German hands. The American paratroopers and British tankers pushed toward the road bridge near the center of the city, but were blocked by enemy fire. The battle raged until after dark, when the Allied force dug in to wait for daylight.

Back in England that day, General Sosabowski's Polish paratroopers waited by their C-47s at the Grantham airfield in Lincolnshire. Their commander worried that his drop zones were too far from the Arnhem bridge and that no one at the Allied 1st Airborne Army head-

German soldiers sit atop a Sturmgeschutz III self-propelled assault gun in a Dutch town while other troops sweep the area. These armored vehicles were among those that British commanders did not believe constituted a threat to Operation Market-Garden.

quarters knew what was happening to Urquhart's Red Devils because of the lack of radio contact. Fog shrouding the English Midlands refused to clear, and Sosabowski fumed over the postponements.

Early on Wednesday, September 20, companies of the 82nd Airborne Division under the command of Major Julian Cook distinguished themselves with a daring crossing of the River Waal to seize both ends of the vital bridge there before the Germans could blow it up. While Vandeleur's tanks laid down a smokescreen and lobbed shells at the enemy on the far bank, the American paratroopers paddled under heavy fire across the 400-yard-wide river in small British canvas assault boats. Many of the soldiers had to row with their M-1 rifles and carbines. Boats were swamped or blown apart by enemy shells, and losses were heavy.

The survivors scrambled onto the riverbank, hastily regrouped, and dashed for both ends of the bridge. While some of the paratroopers battled with German snipers perched in the girders, others clambered among the bridge supports, ripping out explosive charges and tossing them into the water. Then they cheered as the British tanks rumbled across the span.

Meanwhile, after a desperate fight, Colonel Frost's men were driven away from the northern end of the Arnhem bridge. Tanks and halftracks of the 10th SS Panzer Division ground across the bridge and pushed southward to block the Allied linkup effort. General Bittrich gave the order to "flatten" Arnhem, and 60-ton Tiger tanks lumbered through the rubbled streets, blasting buildings into piles of brick, stone, and timber, and chasing the British defenders from one collapsing structure to the next. Isolated knots of Red Devils fired back with Brens and PIATs until their ammunition ran out, and many were killed, wounded, or captured. Frost's force was shrinking rapidly. The 9th SS Panzer Division and other enemy units encircled some of the British paratroopers in a bridgehead west of Oosterbeek.

The 30th Corps continued to attack northward from Nijmegen on Thursday, September 21, but progress was still painfully slow. Meanwhile, the Red Devils, driven out of Arnhem, now held a tenuous perimeter west of the town but still north of the Rhine. Surrounded and battered by panzer, artillery, and mortar fire, they hung on by their fingernails. As Colonel Frost's radio operator tried frantically to reach Urquhart and the 30th Corps, the besieged battalion's ammunition, rations, and medical supplies ran perilously low. A few RAF Dakota (C-47) transports had attempted air drops to sustain the battalion, but most of the bundles fell into German hands. The drop zones were now in enemy-held territory. Out of 390 tons of supplies intended for Urquhart's division, only 21 tons reached British hands.

On September 21, after being delayed for two crucial days by fog in England, General Sosabowski's 2,000-man Polish Brigade was dropped two miles south of Arnhem, on the opposite side of the Rhine. It swiftly set up a perimeter around Driel. But, when the Poles attempted that night to cross the wide river in boats, they were subjected to merciless German fire and driven back with heavy losses. They tried again the next day, Friday, September 22. The British 2nd Household Cavalry Regiment made a circuitous envelopment to link up with the Polish paratroopers, and they were joined by elements of the British 43rd Infantry Division. But time was running out.

Horrocks was still struggling to push his corps northward, and Elst, five miles north of Nijmegen, was taken that day. But the German resistance was unyielding.

The fighting in Arnhem raged on with no real change in fortune for either side on Saturday, September 23, but things were looking grim for Colonel Frost's men. There was no sign of relief or supplies. Instead of the planned two days,

the weary Red Devils had now been holding out for seven days. Their ammunition and food were scant on Sunday, September 24, and the situation was critical. General Urquhart sent out an urgent, poignant message to General Browning: "Must warn you unless physical contact is made with us early 25 September consider it unlikely we can hold out long enough. All ranks now exhausted. Lack of rations, water, ammunition, and weapons with high officer casualty rate…Any movement at present in face of enemy is not possible. Have attempted our best and will do so as long as possible."

That day, the 30th Corps reached the southern bank of the Rhine west of Arnhem. Other corps elements, meanwhile, crossed the German border southwest of Nijmegen.

By the following day, Monday, September 25, the British paratroopers' situation in Arnhem was clearly hopeless. So, in order to prevent the annihilation of his valiant division, General Urquhart ordered a breakout. There was to be no surrender, and as many of the surviving Red Devils as possible would be evacuated across the Rhine in small boats. A few radio operators, medical officers, and the seriously wounded were to be left behind. During the rainy night of September 25-26, about 2,400 disheartened Arnhem survivors, including General Urquhart, shouldered their packs and weapons, and started their breakout. Filthy, hungry, and tattered, they filed stealthily through woods, dodging German patrols, to the Lower Rhine. They were then ferried in assault boats manned by British and Canadian engineers to safety in an area consolidated by the 30th Corps.

Of the 10,000 Red Devils who had landed in Holland a week before, about 1,200 had been killed and 6,400—most of them wounded—taken prisoner. A few more were sheltered by Dutch families. Urquhart's division had been almost destroyed. The total losses for the nine-day Operation Market-Garden were more than 17,000. British casualties, including 30th Corps men and glider pilots, totaled 13,226. The U.S. 82nd Airborne Division lost 1,432 men, and the 101st Airborne Division lost 2,118.

As for the Dutch resistance, the entire story of its security or compromise and the failure to fully leverage its potential contribution to Market-Garden will remain a subject for historical discussion.

Nevertheless, whether the Nazis had penetrated the organization or not seems to have had little bearing on the reprisals that the Nazis took against those identified as working for the Allies. Estimates of the number of Dutch resistance fighters killed by the Germans run as high as 2,000. Most of these losses were probably sustained between 1944 and 1945, when the resistance movement became more militarily active. One cemetery near the town of Bloemendall is the final resting place of nearly 400 members of the Dutch resistance who lost their lives during World War II.

Arnhem was a historic feat of arms. The British paratroopers fought without armored or artillery support against a force about four times as large. One press dispatch called it "the most tragic and glorious battle of the war." But it was also a defeat that sealed the fate of Operation Market-Garden and proved a costly lesson on the perils of hasty strategic planning.

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-497-3531A-34; Photo: Jacobsen

A captured British paratrooper gestures toward a German photographer after being captured in the closing hours of Operation Market-Garden. The British paras of the 1st Airborne Division fought bravely at Arnhem but were exhausted after 30th Corps failed to reach them in a timely manner.

With less than a quarter of the 1st Airborne Division left intact after the battle, it saw no more action for the rest of the war.

Even after the failure of the 30th Corps to reach Arnhem and "the bridge too far," the severe mauling of Urquhart's Red Devils, and the overall heavy losses, Field Marshal Montgomery staunchly defended the campaign. "In my—prejudiced—view," he declared, "if the operation had been properly backed from its inception, and given the aircraft, ground forces, and administrative resources necessary for the job, it would have succeeded in spite of my mistakes, or the adverse weather, or the presence of the 2nd Panzer Corps in the Arnhem area. I remain Market-Garden's unrepentant advocate."

Interestingly, Prince Bernhard commented, "My country can never again afford the luxury of another Montgomery success."

Reflecting on Operation Market-Garden, General Eisenhower wrote in 1948, "The attack began well, and unquestionably would have been successful except for the intervention of bad weather. This prevented the adequate reinforcement of the northern (Arnhem) spearhead and resulted finally in the decimation of the British airborne division and only a partial success in the entire operation. We did not get our bridgehead (across the Rhine), but our lines had been carried well out to defend the Antwerp base…The British 1st Airborne Division, in the van, fought one of the most gallant actions of the war, and its sturdiness materially assisted the two American divisions behind it, and the supporting ground forces of the (British) 21st Army Group, to take and hold important areas."

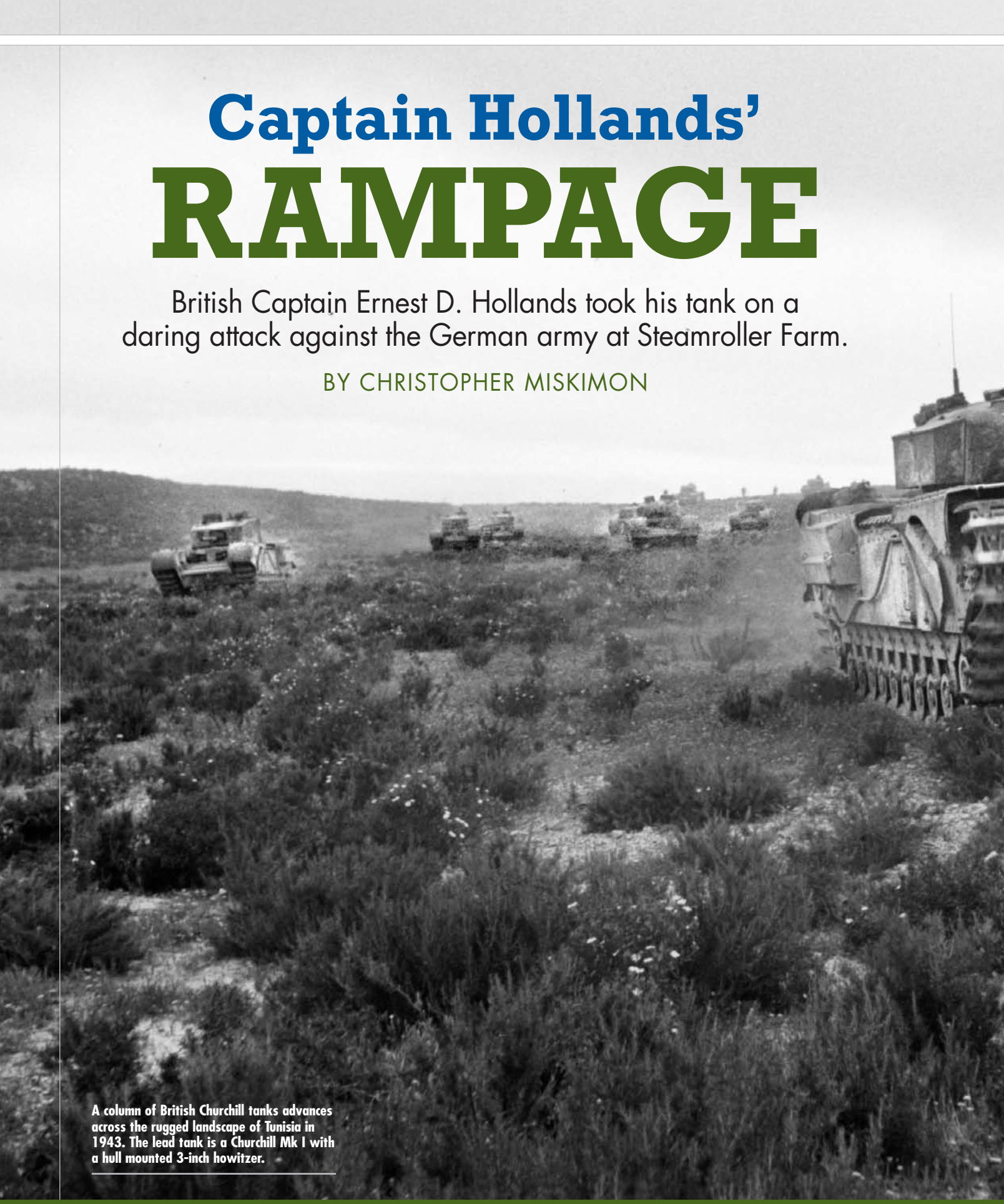
The irrepressible Montgomery summarized the controversial operation in 1958. He said, "We did not, as everyone knows, capture that final bridgehead north of Arnhem. As a result, we could not position the Second Army north

Continued on page 78

Captain Hollands' RAMPAGE

British Captain Ernest D. Hollands took his tank on a daring attack against the German army at Steamroller Farm.

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON



A column of British Churchill tanks advances across the rugged landscape of Tunisia in 1943. The lead tank is a Churchill Mk I with a hull mounted 3-inch howitzer.

Imperial War Museum

Columns of smoke rose above the skyline around a Tunisian farming complex on February 28, 1943, wafting past the late afternoon sun through atmosphere punctuated by the crack of bullets, booming explosions and the screams of wounded men.

Some of that smoke poured from the burning hulks of Churchill tanks belonging to A Squadron, 51 Royal Tank Regiment of the British First Army. Major E. W. H. Hadfield commanded that squadron, a unit decimated by a line of German anti-tank guns hidden on the other side of a wadi his tanks could not cross. The only way over was a fire-swept causeway fully under German observation. Worse still, Hadfield had orders to send his force to take the high ground beyond that causeway.

It seemed like a suicide mission, so Hadfield made a decision. He ordered only his most advanced tank troop ahead. There was just one problem. That troop, normally equivalent to an American platoon of five tanks, consisted of but a single tank and its crew, commanded by a Captain Ernest Hollands. He thought he might be sending Hollands and his men to their possible deaths. Instead, Hollands would set off on a rampage through enemy lines.

World War II in North Africa was gradually winding down to its dreadful conclusion by February 1943, but it was hard to tell by watching the German Army. Inexorably pushed back into an ever-smaller piece of northeastern Tunisia, the remnants of the once proud Africa Korps conducted stiff defensive actions punctuated with counterattacks to prevent the advancing Allied armies from overrunning them. A combined Anglo-American force attacked from the west while the British Eighth Army came from the south after pushing the Germans out of Egypt and then Libya over the preceding months.

Fast counterattacks while on the defensive were a hallmark of German tactics. Operation Ochsenkopf (Ox head), an offensive to wrest control of key terrain in northwestern Tunisia, began on February 26, 1943, as the British First Army advanced through this area. The Germans initiated a series of eight attacks in an overconfident attempt to reverse Axis fortunes in a campaign which was nearly over. Still, the battle-hardened Germans were dangerous opponents who refused to concede their losing position.

The German plan called for Korpsgruppe Weber, consisting of the 334th Infantry Division and elements of the 10th Panzer and Hermann Goring Divisions, to advance in three columns on several objectives, force the Allies back, and disrupt their offensive operations. If successful, it might buy time and deal the British a hard blow, much as the attack at Kasserine Pass had done to the still-inexperienced U.S. Army a week earlier.

On February 27, one of these attacks cut the road between the towns of El Aroussa and Medjez el Bab, less than 40 miles southwest of Tunis. The area is mountainous, but generally open with few trees, allowing observation from high ground. A road network winds through various passes between the mountains, connecting the scattered towns and villages throughout the region. Farms and orchards are commonplace around and between the towns.

Both: Imperial War Museum

TOP: The area nicknamed Steamroller Farm by British soldiers is seen in a still frame from a film shot by the British Army sometime after the fighting in the vicinity. ABOVE: German soldiers aboard half-tracks, including a captured American vehicle, pause in the Tunisian desert. These troops are from the 10th Panzer Division, veterans of the war in the desert.

A composite British force, designated Y Division, held this area. This unit was a mix of infantry, tank, and artillery detachments which only existed for perhaps a month in February-March 1943. A few different units were alternately attached to and detached from it during its brief history. Little is known about Y Division as few records survived. It was apparently a scratch force, but several sources state it was commanded at this point by Brigadier Nelson Russell, an Irish Officer who also commanded 38 Infantry Brigade in North Africa.

Early that morning a German column including a tank platoon and infantry mounted in trucks moved down the road. They met a small British unit which fought a delaying action before being forced back. As the British formation fell back to El Aroussa, it ran into the North Irish Horse, an advance unit of 25 Tank Brigade. Brigadier Russell took control of one of its squadrons, equipped with Churchill tanks, and deployed them just north of the town, directly in the path of the oncoming Germans. When the Axis column appeared around a bend in the road, the Churchills opened fire, quickly destroying two tanks and a pair of trucks. The rest of the Germans hastily retreated several miles to the first defensible position they could find.

This position bore the moniker of Steamroller Farm, a large agricultural complex north of El Aroussa. British troops nicknamed it for the large steamroller which sat prominently near the farm buildings. Beyond the farm sat the summit of a pass leading toward Medjez al Bab. The Germans dug in there, and soon reinforcements arrived. The British stopped some four and a half miles south of the farm. Brigadier Russell needed to know how many Germans defended the farm and the pass beyond. Fearing the Germans might already be there in strength, he ordered a reconnaissance in force for the next morning.

The reconnaissance force included a company of infantry from the 2nd Coldstream Guards, A Squadron of 51 Royal Tank Regiment (51 RTR), and a troop of field artillery with 25-pounder guns. The 51 RTR, also known as the Leeds Rifles, was an armored regiment of the territorial army, the reserve component of the British Army and roughly analogous to the U.S. National Guard. Originally raised as an infantry unit, it was converted to an armored regiment in 1938-39 as Great Britain prepared for the coming war. The War Office subsequently assigned them to 25 Tank Brigade. When the British Expeditionary Force went to France in 1939-40, this brigade converted to armored cars and went with them. When the regiment later reformed it received a proper tank, the Churchill.

British tank design settled on three main types: light tanks for scouting, cruiser tanks as fast, mobile fighting vehicles, and infantry tanks, designed as slower, heavily armored vehicles intended to support infantry formations with heavy firepower. The Churchill was an infantry tank, 24 feet, five inches long, 10 feet, eight inches wide, and eight feet high. It carried four inches of frontal hull armor and three inches on the hull side, comparable to the German Tiger. All this armor made the tank heavy at over 39 tons. The Churchill's 350-horsepower, 12-cylinder engine could push the tank to only 15.5 miles per hour on roads; cross country, top speed dropped to eight miles per hour. The Churchill was large, slow, and ponderous, but well-armored and tough. Stories abound of Churchills taking numerous hits from anti-tank guns and continuing to function.

When 51 RTR sailed for North Africa on January 20, 1943, 52 of its 60 Churchills were Mark IIIs and IVs, a model which carried the 6-pounder cannon. This gun, a version of the 57mm anti-tank gun used by the U.S. Army, proved markedly better than the obsolete 2-pounder (40mm) it replaced. The big Churchill carried 84 rounds of ammunition for its main gun. The 6-pounder could penetrate up to 81mm (3.19 inches) of 30-degree sloped armor at 500 yards. The tank also toted a pair of

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: British soldiers in a universal carrier and a Churchill tank are seen moving forward in Tunisia in 1943. These soldiers are with the 51st Royal Tank Regiment. INSET: Captain Ernest Hollands fought a memorable engagement with the Germans while commanding a Churchill tank in Tunisia.

7.92mm Besa machine guns, one coaxial to the main gun and a second in the front hull. At this point only armor-piercing ammunition was available for 51 RTR's 6-pounders; they lacked high-explosive rounds, more useful against soft targets like anti-tank guns and infantry. Engaging such targets required bursts of machine-gun fire or very accurate shooting with the cannon. A crew of five operated the tank: commander, gunner, loader/radio operator, driver, and a co-driver who also fired the hull machine gun.

The regiment landed at Bône on February 2 after losing one of their transports, which carried 19 of their tanks. They undertook defensive missions until A Squadron went forward on the 28th for the reconnaissance of Steamroller Farm, where the regiment would fight its first real action—proving in equal measures costly and brilliant.

At 10:30 p.m. on February 27, Major Hadfield received orders to report to the commander of the 2nd Battalion Coldstream Guards for the reconnaissance mission. He was told only that division command was "concerned about the valley north of El Aroussa as a result of previous action and wished a recce [reconnaissance] in force from El Aroussa up to the farm…to find what German tanks were in the valley and to clear up any enemy infantry in the gullies."

Upon arriving at El Aroussa, Hadfield learned no information was available on the terrain or enemy positions. No infantry patrols went out earlier that day or would go out that night. Some men from other tank units in El Aroussa filled him in on what little they saw of the ground before sunset. Hadfield also learned he would command the scouting force. He had four troops (platoons in U.S. parlance) in his squadron, each with two or three operational Churchills, for a total of 13 tanks. In A Squadron, each tank had a name beginning with the letter "A." The infantry company would ride on the tanks; both the infantry and armor used the same radio nets, to facilitate communication. Another company of infantry remained behind in reserve. A small detachment of Royal Engineers went along to clear mines. Hadfield also had the services of a forward observer to control the fires of the 25-pounder artillery. The observer rode in an armored car to stay close to the commander.

When he issued the written order for the mission, Hadfield gave his men what little he knew of the Germans: "Enemy positions not known in detail but infantry and few tanks with two or three a/tk [anti-tank] guns believed to be on ridge beyond Farm."

Hadfield could not know the Steamroller Farm position was actually defended by two battalions of the Hermann Goring Division, supported by elements of a panzergrenadier regiment equipped with numerous anti-tank guns. Parts of the Hermann Goering appeared late in the North African campaign to shore up the failing Axis defense, leading to units being committed piecemeal as they arrived. However, the German Army frequently formed ad hoc battlegroups, known as kampfgruppen, for specific missions and had experience doing so.

The British reconnaissance force got under way at 11 a.m. on February 28. Unsure of the enemy dispositions and lacking even knowledge of the terrain beyond what his maps showed, Hadfield proceeded slowly and methodically. The Germans were masters of the ambush, so he set up tanks in overwatch positions to cover the ones moving forward. Five hours later they reached the farm without encountering the enemy. The road bottlenecked near the farm with rough ground around it. Hadfield knew the site was a likely defensive position and deployed his force accordingly.

He sent 2 and 3 Troops (five tanks) to his left flank, avoiding the bad ground. The other two Troops, 1 and 4, moved below the farm and took up hull down positions (only their turrets exposed) so they could provide supporting fire to the infantry when they approached the farm. Shortly after, Hadfield called on 1 Troop (two tanks) to move up the road toward the farm, as

this was the only route tanks could use, and to be ready to fire on any enemy infantry or anti-tank guns they found. At the same time, he moved 4 Troop to the right, though not forward, so it could support 1 Troop.

Captain Darrel Ernest Hollands commanded 1 Troop. Known to the men of 51 RTR by the nickname "Gin," Hollands had a reputation for being physically brave. Born in India in 1912, he enlisted in the Royal Sussex Regiment at Karachi in January 1931. When the regiment went back to England, he went with them. After his enlistment expired, he joined the Bath City Police in 1937. When the war started in 1939, he was called back to service, again with the Royal Sussex.

Hollands went to France with the British Expeditionary Force. While at Dunkirk in 1940, he rescued a downed German pilot from his crashed plane, earning a Distinguished Conduct Medal for his actions. After returning to England, he received a commission into the Royal Tank Regiment, where he was assigned to A Squadron, 51 RTR. Now he led a pair of Churchill tanks up a road toward Steamroller Farm, seeking out an enemy he knew had to be there. His own tank bore the name "Adventurer."

As 1 Troop's tanks rolled slowly uphill, they spotted several anti-tank guns hidden in the gullies around them. Both tanks opened fire, shooting up the guns and their crews, forcing them to take cover away from their weapons. Soon after, the infantry company caught up with the tanks and stood by as all the tanks in the squadron fired on the farm buildings to suppress any enemy soldiers there. Afterward, the infantry advanced to the farm buildings and reported them clear. Hadfield had his doubts about that, so he ordered 2 and 3 Troops to advance through the farm and, if possible, to the ridge beyond.

The clank of the Churchills' tracks mixed with the roar of their Bedford engines as they advanced toward Steamroller Farm. As they neared the buildings, the Germans struck. A squadron of Junkers Ju-87 Stuka dive bombers commenced dive-bombing the British tanks. As they did, multiple anti-tank guns opened fire from hidden positions; at least one of them a dreaded 88mm with the firepower to penetrated even a Churchill's thick armor. The anti-tank guns sheltered behind a deep wadi, separating them from their prey. The air around Steamroller Farm was thick with the crack of projectiles flying at supersonic speeds, the flash of tracer bullets from machine guns searching out human flesh, and the howling whine of the Stukas as they dove on the hapless British at steep angles, pointing their aircraft to aim their bombs.

Tank drivers maneuvered their vehicles to make the enemy gunners' jobs more difficult, but the Churchills were big, slow targets. A bomb exploded next to a tank named "Asp," blowing off one of its tracks and disabling it. Another Stuka pilot dropped a bomb which hit the tank directly on the side engine door. This hit blasted the heavy steel door off its hinges and tore it into four pieces. The explosion smashed the rear of the engine, ruining any hope getting it back into action quickly.

A second tank, "Amazon," also fell prey to the diving Stukas. A near hit blew a track off, leaving it static, easy prey for the German gunners on the ground. The crew of a 75mm gun focused on Amazon; the gunner put a 75mm round through the rear hull. The projectile went through the gearbox and fan and into the gearbox bulkhead, causing it to ricochet through the rear carburetors and lodge in another carburetor, starting a fire. Anti-tank gunfire disabled two other Churchills as well, including Captain Hollands' second vehicle, leaving Adventurer as the only operational tank in 1 Troop. The tankers did not sit idly awaiting destruction—their accurate fire silenced several of the German anti-tank guns and blasted several mortar positions. For the moment, the action stalemated, the smoky field covered by a fragile silence.

Hadfield contacted Y Division headquarters and advised them of the situation. A field commander in his position might hope for support—an air strike, reinforcing artillery or more troops and tanks. This time, Hadfield received

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-420-2039-10; Photo: Hug

only an order. He was to advance through the farm and take the high ground beyond "at all costs." Possession of that ridgeline would allow the British to dominate the area. Also, the British 56 Reconnaissance Regiment maneuvered to the north, working its way south toward Hadfield's area; if he held the high ground the two units could link up and perhaps force the Germans to withdraw from a now untenable position.

Hadfield felt he had to obey the order; it was not unreasonable given Y Division's view of the situation. Still, after the short battle, fully one-third of his tanks were already out of action. Only nine Churchills remained to make the attempt against a German anti-tank screen of unknown strength. He believed if he committed his entire remaining force, he might very well lose them all. He settled on a compromise; send 1 Troop forward to try for the high ground and preserve the rest of his squadron for whatever came next. The decision was not fair to Hollands, but it would spare the rest of Hadfield's tank crews the risk of death. In the brutal logic of war, it made sense. Hadfield gave the order for 1 Troop's advance, but in the chaos of battle he forgot Hollands' other tank was knocked out in the recent fight. Hollands and his crew were going in alone.

In the commander's hatch of Adventurer, Captain Hollands received the order to advance. Though it might seem incredible, he followed Hadfield's instruction without complaint, ready to do as much damage as his single tank could. He ordered his driver, Trooper John Mitton, to move forward. After a short distance, Hollands discovered his way blocked by the wadi. The only way across was to get to the road on their right, which had a causeway going over it. Hollands told Mitton to reverse, guiding him as the driver backed the tank to a spot where it could turn and head for the road. The crew tried to keep the thick front armor of Adventurer between them and the armor-piercing shells which soared past them, filling the air with a cracking snap as the supersonic projectiles went by.

Finally, the Churchill reached a point where it could be turned to move to the road. The engine revved as Mitton put it into forward gear and got moving again. The thinner side armor was now exposed to the Germans, but luck was with the British crew. Bushes and more scrub brush blocked the German gunners' view of the tank. They continued to fire, but their shots went wide; none of them found their mark in the tank's side plates. Hollands ordered a left turn when they reached the road, putting the frontal armor toward the enemy and pointing straight at the ridge beyond the farm. The tank crawled forward, the crew alert.

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: Captain Ernest Hollands and his crew displayed great courage as their lone Churchill advanced on German positions during their foray at Steamroller Farm. OPPOSITE: German soldiers camouflage an 88mm gun in the desert. The 88 was originally a flak gun but proved deadly against Allied armor in North Africa where Ernest Hollands and his Churchill tank narrowly avoided destruction from two of them in a matter of minutes.

The road curved ahead at a point where the concealing vegetation ended. Adventurer reached the bend and kept going—straight at an 88mm gun set up near the entry road for the farm. The cannon sat barely 30 yards away, point-blank range; even the Churchill's thick armor would not protect it from the penetrating power of an 88mm so close by. Mitton brought the tank to a fast stop to allow his gunner the best chance of hitting the German gun.

It worked; 6-pounder shot and machine-gun fire wrecked the German gun before its crew could fire. Luck seemed to be with Hollands and his crew that afternoon. Most of the enemy seemed to be around Steamroller Farm, now almost immediately to Hollands' left. He ordered the turret traversed in that direction as Adventurer drove forward again, the road angling upward to the high ground as they fired at targets of opportunity.

The tank continued until Mitton came upon a barrier across the road made of branches and vegetation, blocking his view. Suddenly, the crew realized the barrier was actually concealing camouflage for another 88mm gun. With the turret turned to the left, the gunner couldn't fire on it. By chance the hull machine gunner, Trooper Hank Howsen, was reloading his Besa machine gun. The crew of the 88 lacked any such impairment, and their gunner fired. The muzzle flash of the powerful German cannon obscured its gaping muzzle, and the report sounded like a thunderbolt as the armor-piercing round crossed the short distance in a fraction of a second. It struck high on the tank's turret, gouging a deep furrow along it. The small casing housing the extractor fan, which pulled the cannon fumes out of the tank after it fired, was ripped off and the top of the turret's rear stowage bin was smashed in by the impact. But the crew's luck held—they were unharmed and the tank was still operational.

Howsen toiled with a fresh belt of ammunition for his machine gun as the gunner tried to slew the turret to the right to line up on the 88 for a killing shot, but the turret refused to move. During the fighting a 6-pounder round had come loose from the ammunition rack and now blocked the turret's traversing gear, jamming it completely. The gunner worked to free the obstruction as Hollands reached for his Thompson submachine gun and some hand grenades. The German gun crew meanwhile reloaded and fired again, the blast and flash

Bundesarchiv Bild 101I-788-0017-34; Photo: Dullin

from the cannon's muzzle bellowing out what would surely be the death knell for the Adventurer. But this 88mm round missed completely.

Finally, Howsen was able to seat the new ammo belt into the feed tray of the Besa machine gun and close the cover. He took careful aim, pointing his weapon at the camouflage directly in front of the enemy gun, and let loose a burst. The crew of the 88 decided to end their point-blank engagement with the massive Churchill and fled as Mitton put the tank back into gear and rumbled forward. In the commander's hatch, Hollands hurled several hand grenades at his now-fleeing enemy, followed up by bursts from the Thompson.

With the immediate threat gone, the crew cleared the jammed round from the turret traverse gear. At this point Hollands could have headed back. In the space of a few minutes his crew engaged and knocked out two 88mm guns, a weapon Allied tank crews particularly feared. Unknown enemy forces lay ahead; infantry and anti-tank guns for certain, and the chance for more enemy air attacks or even panzers could not be ruled out. The way ahead lay full of possibilities, almost all of them bad for a lone tank crew and their damaged vehicle.

Captain Hollands did not choose the easy option. He had his orders and would carry them out as best he and his men could, despite the odds. Even if their tank was knocked out, the crew killed, wounded, or captured, even a single tank could do extensive damage. Behind them, the rest of A Squadron was no doubt engaged in recovering their damaged and disabled Churchills and tending to their casualties. The infantrymen of the Coldstream Guards were working their way around to the left, trying to flank the Germans around Steamroller Farm. Every German soldier Hollands and his men could engage would be one less able to trouble their comrades. The only way was forward. The crew of Adventurer chose to face the odds, no matter how high. Besides, in the words of British historian Bryan Perrett, "Having twice survived sudden death by a whisker, Hollands was fighting mad."

Adventurer rolled on, moving up the slope of the road toward the high ground. A short distance past the knocked out 88mm gun, Hollands spotted a piece of high ground near some pine trees to the left and decided to put his tank there. The tank left the road and headed straight for it. German slit trenches dotted the ground ahead of them, and Mitton drove the Churchill straight over them, crushing each under the treads of the 39-ton vehicle. Despite the tank's slow cross-country speed, it soon crossed the few hundred yards to the high spot and ponderously climbed it, the Bedford engine revving loudly. Nearing the summit, Hollands saw an opportunity laid out before him.

On the opposite side of the road sat a large enemy vehicle laager. The slope and a spur in the terrain had prevented him from seeing it until they reached the high ground. Spread out before Hollands lay dozens of trucks, staff cars, radio cars, and even another 88mm gun with its towing tractor and ammunition. Perhaps three companies' worth of infantry dotted the area, many in slit trenches like the ones Adventurer had just crushed under its treads. The young captain did not hesitate; he ordered his gunners to open fire.

Smoke and flame poured from Adventurer's cannon as the gunner sent round after round of 6-pounder shot tearing into the unarmored vehicles and 88mm gun below. Howsen's Besa machine gun chattered out long bursts, adding hundreds of 7.92mm rounds to the cacophony of sound and fury being unleashed on the surprised Germans. Vehicles burst into flame as their fuel or ammunition ignited. Troops scrambled for cover as deadly machine-gun fire swept back and forth across the battlefield. Within minutes 25 vehicles lay wrecked within the laager, many burning. New columns of smoke rose into the air from the flames.

Hollands now took stock of his situation. His crew had struck a hard blow against the German defenses, stripping them of a significant portion of their firepower and destroying both their transport and much of their ammunition and supplies, but the battle-hardened enemy was not out of the fight yet. Adventurer sat in the middle of a large number of German troops, still dug in and giving no sign of impending surrender or withdrawal. Hollands called Major Hadfield over the radio and asked

to be reinforced quickly before the Germans could reorganize and strike back.

Hadfield had other problems, however. His task force of tanks and infantry were still engaged in the battle behind Hollands' advanced position. All of 2 Troops' tanks were knocked out, as well as the Churchill belonging to the squadron's second in command. While Hollands focused on destroying the laager, German planes appeared overhead and dropped not only fresh supplies, but also paratroopers. It was clear the Germans intended to keep fighting for Steamroller Farm and its environs. Hadfield had little to spare from his beleaguered command. Still, he could not abandon Hollands entirely and ordered the only tank he could do without to rush to Hollands' assistance. This was the Churchill of Lieutenant J. G. Renton, the squadron's reconnaissance officer. Renton wasted no time and set out along Hollands' route, taking the road past the knocked out 88s.

As the young reconnaissance officer hurried toward them, the crew of Adventurer fought a very determined German soldier. The German occupied a slit trench with a camouflage net perched above it. Over and over, he popped up from his covered position, fired a rifle grenade at the British tank, and then duck back down to reload. In response, the crew fired both their cannon and machine guns at the slit trench. Three 6-pounder armor-piercing rounds and two full belts of machine-gun ammunition—450 rounds—failed to stop the enemy soldier, who kept launching his rifle grenades one after another. Finally, the gunner took careful aim and fired another cannon shell into the ground just in front of the slit trench. An explosion roared from it; the camouflage net broke free of its tiedowns and sailed through the air as dust and smoke obscured the entire position.

As the haze slowly cleared, the German crawled out of his hole. He seemed stunned; for a moment he just stood there looking at the tank. Slowly, he turned around, dropped his rifle, and stumbled off, seemingly oblivious that he was now fully exposed to the weapons of the tank crew he had just tried so very hard to kill. Despite this, the British held their fire and let him go.

Lieutenant Renton reached the high ground, directing his tank to a spot near Hollands' own. His arrival was timely as a pair of Panzer III tanks appeared in the distance, several hundred yards past the now-burning laager. The standard Panzer III carried a 50mm gun in either a long or short-barreled version. Neither could penetrate the frontal armor of a Churchill, though they could cause damage or knock out a track. Fortunately for the British, the Panzer III's armor was very vulnerable to their 6-pounders.

The high ground proved a disadvantage for Adventurer now, as the gunner could not depress his cannon far enough to engage the two German tanks. Fortunately, Renton's tank suffered no such problem, and his gunner, Trooper Nicholson, took careful aim with his own 6-pounder. Taking no chances, he fired six rounds, hitting each vehicle three times. The German crews abandoned their stricken tanks and retreated to cover. The two British tanks also fired on a few mortar positions, destroying several of them.

Meanwhile, Hadfield realized his force was insufficient to take Steamroller Farm. The numerous wadis restricted the movement of most of his tanks, and the infantry was getting spread out and beyond his ability to control effectively. He communicated this to Y Division and received an order to withdraw. Hadfield decided to pull his tanks back under cover from his infantry on the left. He also called Hollands via radio at 6 p.m. and ordered him to return. A Squadron had done all it could for the day.

Hollands received the withdrawal order and started back with Renton. Just as they got underway, radio and internal intercom on "Adventure" stopped working entirely. Hollands did not hesitate to get out of his tank and sit on the front hull, giving Mitton driving directions using hand signals the driver could see through his visor. Moving back to the road, they stopped to fire a few armor-piercing rounds at the camouflaged 88mm gun to prevent its later recovery and repair. As they did so, the engine stopped and would not start again. German mortar and machine-gun fire fell around the two British tanks as Renton directed his vehicle around Hollands' stricken tank. As the crew quickly attached a tow cable, the air filled with mortar shrapnel and machine-gun bullets. The cable in place, Renton climbed aboard his own tank but took a hit as he did so. Despite the wound, he made it back inside his tank and ordered his driver to begin the tow. When Renton's tank began pulling Adventurer, its engine started and both tanks got underway.

As the two British tanks crawled back to friendly lines, disabled and burning Churchills dotted the landscape. They passed near one of them, flames rising from its hulk. The crew hid nearby. Hollands and Renton took them aboard and kept going. The recently landed enemy paratroopers worked their way through the wadis and attacked the British tankers as they tried to recover the disabled vehicles, so with darkness approaching there was no more which could be done that day. Both tanks were soon back with the rest of A Squadron.

The attack on Steamroller Farm proved costly. A Squadron lost five tanks, three of them total losses and two more abandoned on the

Continued on page 77

Imperial War Museum

ABOVE: Two British Churchill tanks move along the desert floor the day of the fight at Steamroller Farm. When Hollands and Lieutenant J.G. Renton managed to return to friendly lines, their fellow soldiers did not believe the amount of destruction they caused the Germans. When the battlefield was inspected days later, the damage was even greater than the two officers reported. OPPOSITE: A German PzKpfw. III tank accompanied by infantry advances across difficult terrain in Tunisia. Hollands, joined by a second Churchill, knocked out two PzKpfw. III tanks during the fight.

The Fateful War Pat

The night of July 29, 1945, was dark and clear over the Philippine Sea. A gibbous moon hung almost directly overhead, just a few days past full, casting its pale gray light over the dark waves. Thirty feet under the surface the black hull of a Japanese submarine moved slowly northward, its presence betrayed only by the shaft of a periscope cutting across the water. Just visible on the northern horizon, a huge darkened ship raced closer, unaware of the deadly predator in its path.

At 0003 hours the silent night air was rent by two roaring explosions and towering columns of white water erupting from the side of the doomed ship. Two 1,200-pound warheads had turned heavy armored steel into twisted rents and shredded bulkheads. Great spires of yellow and orange flame burst out of the ship, illuminating the sea for 1,000 yards. Entire compartments were shredded, killing and wounding hundreds of sailors who had taken their mattresses on deck to escape the humid spaces below.

The heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis* leaned far to starboard as hundreds of tons of seawater entered the torn hull.

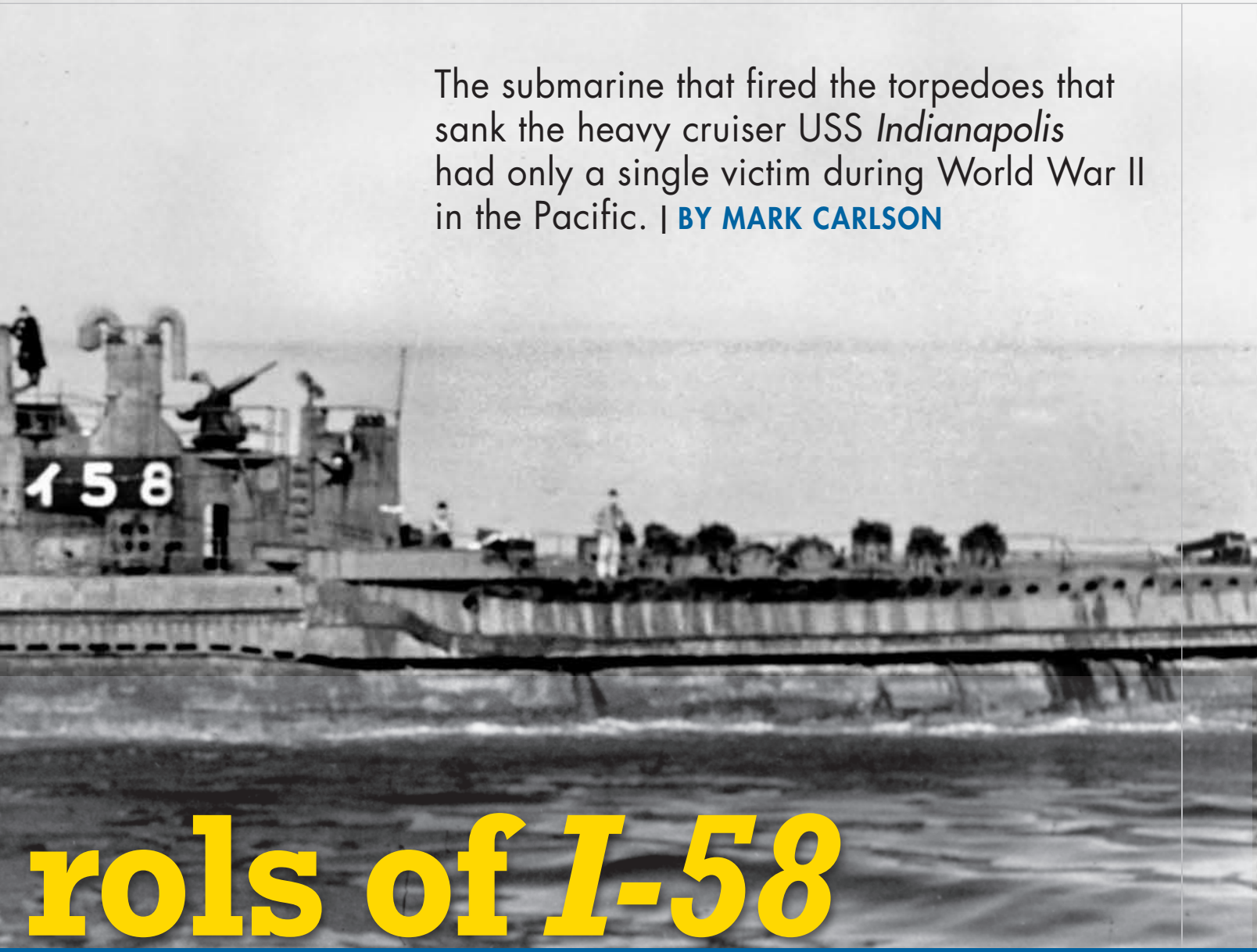
With his eye to the submarine's periscope, Lieutenant Commander Mochitsura Hashimoto watched as the big American cruiser began to sink even as her powerful engines drove the hull forward past the boiling cauldron of roiled water caused by the torpedo hit.

He had known he would have only one chance. Watching the cruiser coming closer in the reflected glare of moonlight, he had ordered all six tubes ready. Midnight turned the date to July 30 as his crew awaited the order to fire.

Two minutes later, six Type 95 wakeless torpedoes shot out of the submarine's bow tubes at three-second intervals. The torpedoes were angled to fan out and cover the greatest area. With their contra-rotating propellors churning the black waters 12 feet under the surface, the torpedoes reached their maximum speed of nearly 46 knots. Hashimoto, never taking his eye off the night periscope, counted off the 50 seconds it took for his fish to reach the ship. When the sounds of two detonations resounded through the hull, the crew of *I-58* cheered. Hashimoto smiled as he watched the huge ship sink, leaving a wide swath of roiled water, burning oil and swimming sailors in its wake.

His Imperial Japanese Majesty's submarine *I-58* had just made its first and most important kill of the entire Pacific War. The attack had lasted only 27 minutes, but it had taken the better part of four years for the *I-58* to write its name in naval history.

The submarine that fired the torpedoes that sank the heavy cruiser USS *Indianapolis* had only a single victim during World War II in the Pacific. | **BY MARK CARLSON**



rols of *I-58*

Naval History and Heritage Command

Mochitsura Hashimoto was born in Kyoto in 1909 to a Shinto priest and his wife. From the start he had his eyes on a naval career over his father's wishes. Short, stocky and bandy-legged, Hashimoto had the right build for the navy. He had intelligent, wide eyes and radiated confidence. He joined the navy in 1927 and attended the Imperial Naval Academy at Eta Jima at the entrance to Hiroshima Bay. He received his commission in 1931. His first three years were spent on destroyers and submarine chasers. In a way this gave Hashimoto an advantage. He learned how submarines were hunted, using the early sonar and ASW tactics of the 1930s. He was promoted to lieutenant on December 1, 1937, while serving aboard a gunboat off the Chinese coast.

He realized his dream of being a submariner in May 1939, when he began a six-month torpedo training course at Yokosuka Naval District. He began submarine training, graduating and being assigned as torpedo officer aboard the *I-155* in October 1940.

Tensions between the United States and Japan had been increasing and war seemed nearly inevitable. The Imperial Navy began an intensive training and building program.

Hashimoto, whose calm and efficient work brought him to the attention of officers in the navy, was assigned to the new submarine *I-24*, becoming torpedo officer on October 31, 1941. The war clouds were looming ever closer. The *I-24*'s captain was Lieutenant Commander Hiroshi Hanabusa. His and four other I-class boats were each going to be modified to carry a single midget submarine. No target was named, but it was obvious to the sub's officers that the target was likely to be the United States Navy.

Moored at the huge naval base at Kure on the Inland Sea, *I-24* and her four consorts trained with the midget submarines.

On November 18, they left Kure and entered the Bungo Strait between Kyushu and Shikoku. Heading east, the officers and crew were told they would be launching their midget sub to attack the American navy base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii.

On the night of December 6, the *I-24* was 10 miles off the southern coast of Oahu, within sight of the lights of Waikiki. Between 1215 and 0333 hours the five submarines surfaced and launched their Ko-hyoteki "Scaly Dragon"

This photo of the Japanese submarine I-*58* was taken in 1946, some months after the surrender of Japan ended World War II. I-*58* sank the heavy cruiser *Indianapolis* in July 1945.

Type A midget submarines. At 78 feet long they carried two type 93 torpedoes and a crew of two. The *I-24*'s midget, Number 19, was piloted by Ensign Kazuo Sakamaki and Petty Officer Kiyoshi Inagaki. All hands waited out the long morning as the air attack bombed Pearl Harbor. But nothing was heard of the midget sub. None of the five subs managed to inflict any damage. Due to a faulty gyrocompass, Sakamaki's sub became hopelessly lost and grounded on the eastern shore of the island. He became the first Japanese POW of the war. Inagaki drowned.

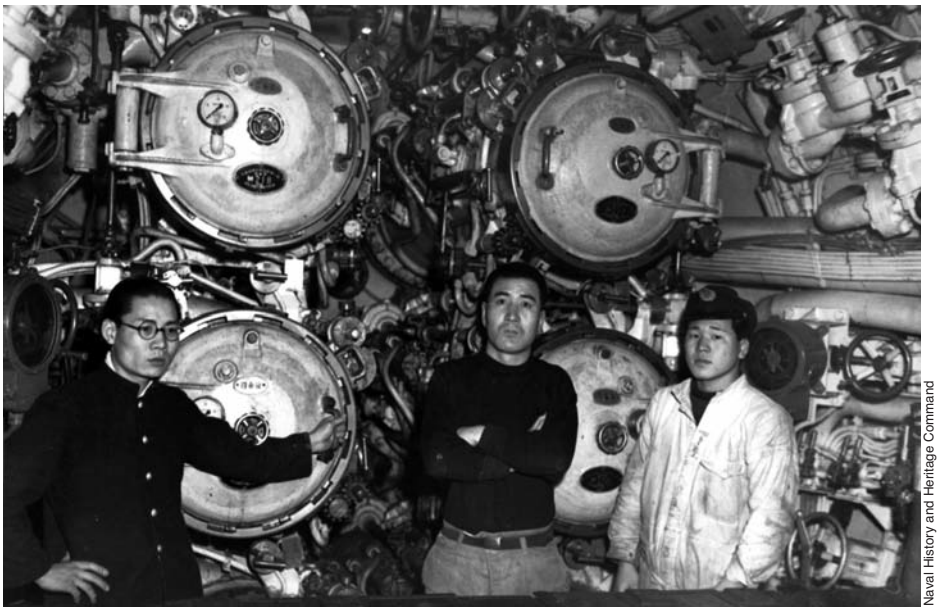
Returning to Kure a few days later, the sub waited for new orders. In February 1942, Hashimoto was reassigned to the advance submarine course and graduated in June, just after the defeat at Midway. But instead of being given his own boat, Hashimoto spent the next 27 months commanding Submarine Squadron 31 to train new crews in submarine doctrine, tactics and testing new equipment.

Japan had started the war with about 60 submarines ranging from older, slower and smaller prewar designs to the fast new ocean-cruising I-class that would dominate the navy. Despite possessing some of the most advanced subs in the world, the navy had yet to learn how to best use their big underwater predators. The Naval General Staff considered the submarines as secondary to the battle fleet. The surface force, with its big guns, was still considered the most important element of naval warfare. Even after aircraft carriers eclipsed the battleships, the long-held belief that big ships and big guns would decide the fate of battles and wars persisted. Submarines were to patrol ahead of the surface fleet, scouting for enemy ships. They would prowl among the combatants like dogs at a picnic, attacking enemy ships and picking off stragglers. There was little thought given to using subs as the German Navy had done in the First World War, and were still doing in the Atlantic. The sinking of the American carriers *Yorktown* and *Wasp*, and the damaging of the battleship *North Carolina* was all the proof the high command needed that they were right.

The war turned against Japan in the summer of 1943. Even then the Naval General Staff refused to consider sending subs to the ever more crowded sea lanes between America and the Pacific. Thousands of Liberty Ships carried vital war supplies, planes, troops, tanks, fuel, food and ammunition to the war zone. Except for escorts, these ships were vulnerable and exposed. Still the ancient code of Bushido dominated. They ordered that all submarines seek out only enemy warships, the bigger the better. Sub commanders were ordered to ignore, even in cases of extreme advantage, any unarmed transports. But with transports outnumbering combatants by 20 to one, it was folly to waste the limited number of subs and crews for such a thin probability of success.

By early 1944, Hashimoto could justifiably be considered one of the best and most skilled submarine officers in the Imperial Navy. His specialty, other than torpedoes, was the development of underwater sound technology. Early in 1944, he had managed to send a sound transmission more than 300 miles, a feat that was as yet impossible even for the United States. Hashimoto had learned all the tricks of the trade, especially at attack and staying alive in enemy waters. Cautious and clever, he possessed the one skill most needed: patience. He constantly drilled his crews in the art of being silent in the deep, listening with all their senses as the water pressure stressed the hull and sweat beaded on every face and surface. Those were the times submariners realized their vulnerability, when the thrumming noise of a patrol boat passed overhead, when the air grew foul and hot. Yet Hashimoto taught his men how to hunt and live by depending on each other and the submarine.

While he did not yet know it, his future command, the new *I-58* had been built and launched at the Yokosuka Naval Arsenal in June 1943. Five months later Hashimoto was promoted to lieutenant commander. In May



Naval History and Heritage Command

National Archives

ABOVE: This view of the forward torpedo room of the Japanese submarine I-*58* shows three crewmen with a 21-inch torpedo tube. The photo was taken in Sasebo, Japan, in 1946. BELOW: This photo is believed to depict crewmen in action aboard the I-*58* in 1945 shortly before the fateful encounter with *Indianapolis*.

This artist's impression of the sinking of *Indianapolis* shows the warship engulfed in flames in the distance with Japanese submarine I-*58* on the surface in the foreground. The cruiser sank within minutes of being struck by a torpedo.

1944, having had more than his fill of training duty, Hashimoto received orders to proceed to Yokosuka to take over the new submarine. His first view of the new boat was both awesome and intimidating. Sleek and jet-black, the boat rested at its slip like a huge shark.

The Type B3 submarine displaced 2,200 tons, half again as much as the new Balao-class American subs. At 350 feet long and with two Kampon diesel engines producing 4,700 horsepower, *I-58* could cruise 21,000 miles at 17 knots on the surface and 12 submerged, a very respectable speed for such a large boat. Hashimoto commanded a crew of 107 officers and enlisted men, many of whom he chose from other subs he had commanded.

One of the most revealing characteristics of Japanese submarines was the arrangement of torpedo tubes. Unlike German, American, and British subs, which had bow and stern torpedo tubes, the I-class vessels had six tubes in the bow and none at the stern. Japan's submarines were expected to be on the attack, never in retreat. In western navies, the logical addition of stern tubes made it possible to make an approach and attack with the bow tubes, and while they were being reloaded, make another attack with the stern tubes.

The I-class boats carried 19 Type 95 torpedoes, the fastest in use by any navy in World War II. The Type 95 was second only to the famous Type 93 Long Lance used by surface ships. The Type 95 could run for 12,000 yards at nearly 56 knots. The warhead weighed 1,200 pounds, giving it considerably more punch than the American Mark 14 and Mark 16 torpedoes.

Even before being launched, *I-58* was configured for a role that gave her new captain mixed feelings. In addition to a cylindrical hangar and catapult to launch a floatplane, shackles for four Type 1 Kaiten human torpedoes were welded to the sub's deck aft of the conning tower. The Kaitens had first been proposed in 1943, and later given top priority as a means of turning the war in Japan's favor. Kaiten translated as "Turn the Heavens," an indicator of how confident the high command was in the concept. Using a modified Type 93 Long Lance torpedo, Kaitens were fitted with a pilot's compartment that permitted him to use the motors and control surfaces to leave the mother sub and steer to an enemy warship. The pilot literally sat inside the 36-inch diameter torpedo body. The pilots were well aware they were intended to die in the attack. The Kaitens had an astonishing range of nearly 40 miles at more than 20 knots, but this was impractical. The oxygen was only good for about half an hour. It was intended for the mother sub to move in as close as possible to an enemy anchorage at night to release the Kaitens. Poor visibility and rudimentary instruments made it very difficult for a Kaiten to be used against a moving ship.

Hashimoto, by training and experience, preferred conventional torpedoes. But his new sub was going to carry the Kaitens to enter enemy fleet anchorages and sink the ships. The first use of the Kaiten was in November 1944, at Ulithi in the Carolines. The *I-47*, loaded with four of the new weapons, moved close to the entrance to the lagoon. *I-47*'s captain looked through the periscope and saw a large cruiser, some battleships, and beyond them, carriers. He ordered the sub surfaced in the dark. The Kaiten pilots climbed into their torpedoes and moved off. When explosions were heard, the crew cheered. The approach of destroyers forced *I-47* to leave the area. Radio Tokyo reported a great victory, with several American warships sunk at Ulithi. A tanker filled with aviation fuel was sunk, but that was all.

Hashimoto was frustrated with how the Naval General Staff was using its dwindling fleet of subs. Even those who rode bicycles to save gas refused to see how sinking American tankers and transports would cripple the enemy war effort. They still insisted on the grand gesture of sinking capital warships. They believed wholeheartedly in the Kaiten.

In December, the new *I-58* and her crew were assigned to Submarine Division 15 and its special unit, the Kongo Diamond Group, with five other I-class boats.

The next Kaiten strike was to use six groups of subs to simultaneously hit five American anchorages. After a week of training in the Inland Sea, *I-58* refueled and provisioned for its first patrol on the last day of 1944. Hashimoto's target was Apra Harbor in Guam. Accompanied by *I-36*, *I-58* was carrying four Kaitens and their eager pilots. After two days of careful maneuvering, during which several unarmed transports passed by unmolested, *I-58* slipped past the outer reef.

In the predawn of January 12, Hashimoto sur-

faced and the four Kaitens headed to the harbor mouth. Three went on their way, but the fourth human torpedo exploded just after being launched. After diving, *I-58*'s crew waited while the hydrophone officer listened. A distant underwater explosion was heard, and Hashimoto risked raising the periscope to look. He saw two columns of smoke rising on the dawn horizon. Apparently at least two of the Kaiten pilots had been successful in sinking enemy ships.

With no more Kaitens aboard Hashimoto ordered *I-58* back to Kure, where he reported success. He and his crew were credited with sinking an escort carrier and a large tanker. This seemed to confirm the Naval General Staff's delusion of the triumph of the Kaiten program. In fact, *I-58*'s Kaitens had sunk not a single American ship.

Kaitens had been credited with at least 60 sinkings. The problem, as Hashimoto could have explained had the high command been willing to listen to a lowly lieutenant commander, was that there was no way for a mother submarine to watch and assess the true results of a mission. The actual statistics were far different than what the navy believed. Only three U.S. ships were sunk for a loss of 106 Kaiten pilots and their craft. The U. S. Navy was aware of the new menace and was on the alert around its bases and fleets. Several of the Kaiten mother subs were sunk without being able to attack.

On March 1, *I-58* accompanied *I-36* to attack the fleet at Iwo Jima, but the operation was cancelled on March 7. Ordered to head for Ulithi, the sub had to jettison two Kaitens for greater speed. But instead of participating in the Kaiten attack, she was to act as a radio link for 24 twin-engine Francis kamikaze planes. After being savaged by American fighters, only six reached Ulithi. One managed to cause serious flight deck damage to the carrier USS *Randolph*. None of the Kaitens were able to enter the anchorage.

The *I-58* had a role in Operation Heaven One, the suicide dash of the super battleship *Yamato* and nine escorts to attack the Allied invasion force at Okinawa. Leaving Kure on April 4, 1945, *I-58* headed south, constantly hounded by American patrol planes. Even surfacing at night with the primitive Type 22 air search radar was dangerous. At most they could get 10 minutes of the four hours needed to recharge the batteries before Hashimoto's lookouts spotted approaching planes. Frustration mounted.

On April 6, Hashimoto was unable to fix his position to less than 50 miles north of Okinawa. There was virtually no chance of getting close to the U.S. Fifth Fleet under those conditions. Hashimoto finally broke off and headed west toward the Chinese coast, where he surfaced and made his report. *Yamato* and most of her consorts were sunk less than 70 miles from Kyushu, the ultimate kamikazes. Ordered to return to Japan, *I-58* had to evade over 50 air attacks during the three weeks it took to reach base.

While *I-58* had been at Okinawa, the heavy cruiser *Indianapolis* was attacked and bombed by a Nakajima Oscar kamikaze. The armor-piercing bomb tore down into the crew spaces and through the fuel tanks and hull, finally exploding in the water under the ship.

After hasty patching, the ship was sent to Mare Island in California for major repairs. Captains Charles McVay and Hashimoto passed within 100 miles of one another. But their destinies lay more than three months in the future.

Back in Kure by April 30, *I-58*'s never-used aircraft catapult and cylindrical hangar were removed and two more Kaiten shackles fitted. Still the high command only saw Kaiten stars in their eyes. During this time a B-29 bombing raid hit Kure. Hashimoto's sub was not hit, but it only reinforced his opinion that the end for Japan was near. By July 1945, the Imperial Navy was down to fewer than a dozen submarines capable of patrolling the Pacific.

Submarine *I-58* had not managed to sink a single ship. Frustrated but still hungry to serve his emperor, Hashimoto, now 36, read over his orders for the next patrol. He was to take his boat through the extensive minefields around Kyushu on July 18 and head south for the Philippine Sea. Located between the Marianas and Leyte, and between Palau and Okinawa, it was called the Crossroads of the Pacific. The rear area had many transports and warships transiting north and south, east and west. It was an excellent hunting ground, even if the weapon was the useless Kaiten. But *I-58* still carried 19 Type 95 torpedoes.

The first targets he encountered were a tanker and destroyer on the afternoon of July 28. Seeing the eager Kaiten pilots, Hashimoto chose to let them try. At 1431 and 1443 hours, two Kaitens sped off with their exultant pilots. Nothing happened until almost 1530 hours when two explosions were heard. But rain squalls made seeing anything impossible. They had attacked the tanker SS *Wild Hunter* and escorting destroyer USS *Arthur Harris*. Unsure of what happened, Hashimoto went in search of more targets. *Wild Hunter* had seen the Kaiten's periscopes and opened fire with its 4-inch gun. The *Harris* moved in and dropped depth charges. Neither ship was hit. The explosions were probably from the Kaiten pilots fulfilling their orders to self-destruct.

At 2330 hours on July 29, *I-58* was cruising submerged west at two knots while the crew tried to get some rest. The boat was hot and humid as Hashimoto visited the Shinto Shrine and took his watch. He raised the big night periscope and took a careful look around the moonlit sea. At 2332 hours *I-58* surfaced. On the dripping bridge Hashimoto and his assistant navigation officer, Lieutenant Tanaka, scanned the horizon. Suddenly Tanaka said, "Enemy ship, bearing red, 90 degrees!" Hashimoto turned left and raised his big binoculars. There it was, a large ship, probably a warship, coming at them from the north, about five miles away. The ship was silhouetted by the moon.

"Dive, dive!" Hashimoto ordered as he went down the hatch behind Tanaka. "Ship in sight," he said to the conning tower crew. "All tubes ready, Kaitens stand by."

But Hashimoto already knew he was not about to risk losing this target to the fickle Kaitens. He would use his trusted Type 95 torpedoes. His target was the recently repaired USS *Indianapolis*, which had just completed a top-secret speed run from San Francisco to deliver the explosive elements of the atomic bomb to the island of Tinian in the Marianas. She was on her way to Leyte for reassignment. And no one knew she was there. Except Hashimoto.

It was 2340 hours on July 29, 1945. "Up periscope," he said. Peering through the eyepiece, Hashimoto watched as the big black ship drew closer. It was not zig-zagging, but that would not have mattered. He was in a perfect attack position off the target's starboard bow. He watched, and nodded to his torpedo officer. "Ready tubes, three second intervals."

The big ship was moving at about 12 knots. Hashimoto would send his fish out when the range was 1,600 yards. He tensed. "Fire!"

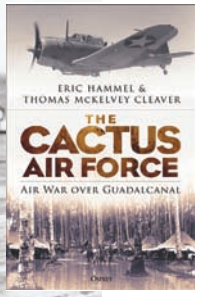
The sub shuddered six times as the diving officer opened the bow buoyancy tanks to compensate for the loss of eight tons. It was done. "We've got her," Hashimoto said under his breath. It was two minutes after midnight on July 30, 1945.

Ironically, *I-58*'s one major victory was accomplished not with the vaunted Kaiten, the overriding obsession of the Naval General Staff, but with conventional torpedoes, just as Hashimoto had been advocating from the start. Returning to Japan he heard of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, not knowing how close he had come to missing *Indianapolis* before she delivered her deadly cargo at Tinian. But history is replete with such missed opportunities. ■

Mark Carlson has written on numerous topics related to World War II *and the history of aviation. He resides in San Diego, California.*


AMERICAN
BATTLEFIELD
TRUST
PRESERVE. EDUCATE. INSPIRE.
Learn more about our current efforts
THIS IS HALLOWED GROUND.
When you visit battlefields of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Civil War, you are standing where history happened.
With the help of our supporters and partners, the American Battlefield Trust has saved more than 55,000 acres at 150 sites in 24 states, creating outdoor classrooms where the past can come alive.
Chancellorsville Battlefield, Virginia. THERESA RASMUSSEN
Join us and protect America's past by saving these endangered battlefields. www.battlefields.org

By Christopher Miskimon



Saga of the Cactus Air Force

Allied aviators waged a months-long campaign against the Japanese around Guadalcanal, inflicting irreplaceable losses.

THE MESSENGER ARRIVED AS U.S. NAVY LT. JAMES "PUG" SOUTHERLAND TORE into a sandwich and coffee in the wardroom of the carrier USS *Saratoga*. His division was ordered to take off and search for a flight of Japanese bombers reported as headed their way. He quickly strapped on his .45 automatic and went to his plane, a Grumman F4F Wildcat. They launched at 12:15 and by 1 p.m. flew at 12,000 feet over the transport ships offshore of Guadalcanal. It was August 7, 1942. Soon the air controller gave assignments; Southerland was sent on a heading of 310 degrees. Just after getting an update to turn left 10 degrees, he spotted the enemy bombers to his left, slightly above him about a quarter mile away. He made a quick contact report and ordered his division to switch on their machine guns and sight lamps. He said, "Let's go get 'em, boys."

The American fighter pilots attacked the 27 Japanese G4M "Betty" bombers just as they prepared to attack the transports below, their bomb bay doors already opened. Southerland picked a plane, made a low side run and fired, his four .50-caliber machine guns chattering. His burst caught the bomber, flown by Petty Officer First Class Shisuo Yamada, in its starboard engine, causing it to burst into flame. Fire and smoke trailing behind it, the doomed bomber turned nose down and crashed into the waters of the Sealark Sound below. Southerland banked left and down; as he did so Japanese bullets cracked his bulletproof windscreen and an incendiary round ignited a fire behind the cockpit. He thought another bomber's tail gunner had scored the hits.

Despite the damage, the young lieutenant came around for another pass. "Thinking I might have to jump and not wanting to waste any ammunition, I returned to the attack," he later said. Southerland made another low side pass on the right side of the enemy's formation. He fired his remaining ammunition into another G4M, hitting its starboard engine and wing. That aircraft, flown by Petty Officer First Class Yoshiyuki Sakimoto, fell out of the formation, smoke flowing from its wing. The F4F was now smoking from its tail as well, but Southerland had just downed the first two Japanese planes of the Solomons Campaign.

The escorting Japanese Zero fighters now flew into the fight and its was Southerland's turn under the guns of his opponents. Pairs of Zeroes took turns attacking him, and he soon developed a tactic to stay alive. The Japanese pilots would fly up on each rear quarter; as soon as he realized which one was going to fire, Southerland would turn sharply toward that plane, giving them a more difficult full deflection shot. Bullets peppered his rear fuselage but caused little damage. The Wildcat could absorb punishment, often surprising Japanese pilots. The armor behind his seat also took multiple hits, but none got through. Southerland could not know it, but Saburo Sakai, one of Japan's top aces, was on his tail. Sakai later said he respected the courage of this Americna pilot more than any other during the war but made one last pass. His rounds struck and he saw the F4F burst into flame as he turned away. Southerland bailed out over Guadalcanal itself, down onto a part of the island held by the Japanese.

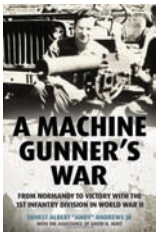
The air battles over Guadalcanal proved unrelenting for the pilots and aircrew. The island's American code name, "Cactus," gave its name to the group of aviators who fought from the island for months, doing their part to gradually attrit the Japanese forces in the Solomons, inflicting losses their enemy could not replace. Their story is told in ***The Cactus Air Force: Air War over Guadalcanal*** (Eric Hammel and John McKelvey Cleaver, Osprey Books, Oxford UK, 2022, 336

An F4F Wildcat takes off from a carrier in the Pacific. Lt. "Pug" Southerland, along with other Navy and Marine aviators of the Cactus Air Force, took on the Japanese over Guadalcanal.


US WINGS
COOPER
Our US Wings Cooper Original jackets are based on classic original Cooper Sportswear jacket patterns. Original Cooper Sportswear jackets were known worldwide for their quality and were considered highly collectible by flight jacket enthusiasts, but they have not been available for decades, so we're proud to reintroduce these classic garments (as well as a number of new classics) to a new generation of flight jacket enthusiasts!
www.uswings.com
US WINGS
561 E. Hines Hill Road • Hudson, OH 44236 • 1-800-650-0659 • info@uswings.co

pp., maps, photographs, glossary index, $30.00, hardcover).

Both authors are known authorities on the Pacific War and this new book combines their writing skills and years of research into a single engaging volume. They cover not only the stories of the aviators who fought above the Solomons but also the leaders and planners who put them there, alongside the logisticians and others who kept them in the fight. The maps are clear and the images well-chosen. The narrative also does an excellent job relating air operations to the naval and ground actions of the overall campaign. Eric Hammel passed away in 2020, but his experienced hand in this work is clear and goes well with the equally skilled wiring of Mr. Cleaver.

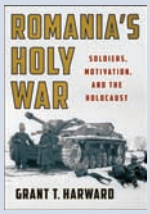


A Machine Gunner's War: From Normandy to Victory with the 1st Infantry Division in World War II (Ernest Albert "Andy" Andrews Jr., Casemate Books, Havertown, PA, 2022, 351 pp., maps, photographs, $34.95, hardcover)

"Andy" Andrews served as a machine gunner in Company H, 16th Infantry Regiment of the 1st Infantry Division. His landing craft experienced a problem on D-Day, so he did not get ashore until the evening of June 6, a happenstance which may have saved his life. The crew of his landing craft were reluctant to take the craft all the way to the beach, but when an officer drew his pistol on them, they changed their minds. Still the GIs walked off the ramp into five feet of water, which Andy recalled helped wash off all the vomit coating his uniform from the trip to shore. Reaching the beach, he found engineers already clearing it, despite the incoming artillery fire. German bunkers were now American command posts. As they made their way up the trail leading inland, shots rang out. Despite his heavy load, Andy broke into a run, heading toward the gunfire.

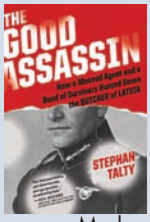
Andrews was wounded twice, but always returned to his unit to keep fighting until war's end. His war took him from Normandy through Belgium, Aachen, the Ardennes, the Remagen bridgehead, and finally Czechoslovakia. His narrative is clear and engaging and his descriptions detailed and interesting. The work presents an unobstructed view of the war from an infantryman's point of view.

New and Noteworthy

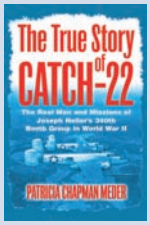


Romania's Holy War: Soldiers, Motivation, and the Holocaust (Grant T. Harward, Cornell University Press, 2021, $44.95, hardcover). The author argues Romania was a willing participant in the Third Reich's atrocities. The work details the many ways Romania took part in the Holocaust.

Radio Hitler: Nazi Airwaves in the Second World War (Nathan Morley, Amberley Books, 2022, $32.95, hardcover). *Deutschlandsender* was Nazi Germany's equivalent of the BBC Radio 4. It broadcast propaganda around the world and within the Third Reich.

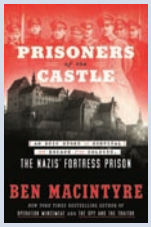


The Good Assassin: Mossad's Hunt for the Butcher of Latvia (Stephan Talty, Amberley Books, 2022, $28.00, hardcover). Latvian Herbert Cukurs joined the SS and participated in the murder of 30,000 Latvian Jews. Mossad agent Yaakov Meidad hunted him down in the 1960s.



The True Story of Catch-22: The Real Men and Missions of Joseph Heller's 340th Bomb Group in World War II (Patricia Chapman Meder, Casemate Books, 2022, $24.95, softcover). The daughter of the 340th's commander wrote this interesting and entertaining look at the unit Joseph Heller served in and based his satirical work upon.

Allied Air Operations 1939 - 1940: The War Over France and the Low Countries (Jerry Murland, Pen and Sword, 2022, $34.95, hardcover). The Allied air forces were badly outmatched by the Luftwaffe at this stage of the war, but their pilots fought gallantly to even the odds. This book covers their under-appreciated efforts.



Prisoners of the Castle: An Epic Story of Survival and Escape from Colditz, the Nazis' Fortress Prison (Ben MacIntyre, Crown Publishing, 2022, $28.99, hardcover). The author details the stories of various people held prisoner in this infamous Nazi prison. The book is full of interesting details and has a smooth narrative style.

Operation Jericho: Freeing the French Resistance from Gestapo Jail, Amiens 1944 (Robert Lyman, Osprey Books, 2022, $22.00, softcover). This low-level bombing raid against a German prison in France sought to free hundreds of imprisoned resistance fighters, The book covers the planning, personalities and planes involved in this secret mission.

Britain's Secret Defences: Civilian Saboteurs, Spies and Assassins During the Second World War (Andrew Chatterton, Casemate Books, 2022, $37.95, hardcover). With Britain under threat of invasion in 1940, a secret network of special operatives was created. Their story is told in detail in this new book.

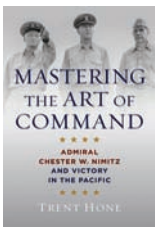
Great Naval Battles of the Pacific War, The Official Admiralty Accounts: Midway, Coral Sea, Java Sea, Guadalcanal and Leyte Gulf (Compiled by John Grehan, Fonthill Books, South Yorkshire UK, 2022, 339 pp., maps, photographs, index, $42.95, hardcover)

Modern readers benefit from decades of research, interviews, and information on the various battles of the Pacific War. However, this also means the reader gets a point of view which is well versed in the known outcomes and common assumptions. One way to learn why the combatants acted as they did and made the decisions they carried out is by reading the battle reports made at the time, based on incomplete data and extensive guesswork. This new work compiles accounts of major Pacific battles made for the British Admiralty either during or shortly after the war. They were created for internal use by naval officers at the time, relating each engagement in a chronological, step by step fashion. The reports are designed to be clear and easy to understand. This book provides naval warfare students an unvarnished look at how contemporary leaders saw these battles and their lessons.

Narvik 1940: The Battle for Northern Norway (David Greentree, Osprey Books, Oxford UK, 2022, 96 pp., maps, photographs, notes bibliography, index, $24.00, softcover)

The fighting for Narvik in 1940 was a combined naval and air campaign involving soldiers and sailors from Great Britain, France, Norway, Poland and Germany. The port was important; it was ice free and a pickup point for iron ore the Germans desperately needed to feed their growing war machine. The fighting on land became confused as British Guardsmen, French Foreign Legionnaires and German Airborne troops struggled in the cold, harsh terrain around the far northern town. By spring, Allied forces withdrew, largely unimpeded by their foe. The waters near Narvik saw destroyer battles and a sortie by the German capital ships Scharnhorst and Gneisenau. They missed the evacuation convoys but found and sank the British aircraft carrier HMS Glorious. The difficult fight for Narvik ended in a hard fought, expensive German victory.

Osprey's Campaign series combine brief but detailed text, good maps, illustrations and original artwork. This new volume continues that model, bringing the reader a very complete picture of the campaign, which normally receives brief mention in most works. The narrative is smooth and includes details of fighting even down to the company level.

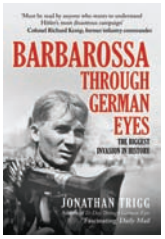


Mastering the Art of Command: Admiral Chester W. Nimitz and Victory in the Pacific (Trent Hone, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis MD, 2022, 430 pp., maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index, $39.95, hardcover)

Before World War II, the U.S. Navy developed a culture that purposely created leadership opportunities. An emphasis on decentralized authority gave direction to junior leaders while encouraging them to use their own initiative to achieve results. This environment proved fortuitous for Chester Nimitz, teaching him the skills he used to lead the Pacific Fleet to victory during the war. He stressed excellence in performance, inspiration of fellow officers, education and leadership as a collective activity. He also understood the need to organize groups to make them more responsive to fast-changing situations. Once in command after Pearl Harbor, he used these traits to win important victories

against the Japanese before assuming the initiative. Afterward, Japanese forces were never able to regain their balance.

This new history of the Pacific War has a new narrative, arguing Allied victory was not inevitable and examining Nimitz's decisions and planning. The author also looks at the admiral's leadership style through the prism of modern theories of management, showing how he set the conditions for his subordinates' success. The book is both a history and a treatise on effective leadership. The text also looks at how effective strategies are formulated and executed, including the way leaders adapt to quickly changing combat situations, both art and science. This work can be appreciated by both students of military history and leaders in civil or private organizations.



Barbarossa Through German Eyes: The Biggest Invasion in History (Jonathan Trigg, Amberley Books, Gloucestershire UK, 2022, 320 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $32.95, hardcover)

Hans Roth, Frankfurt native and army reservist in his 30s, looked across the fields in front of his position the night before Operation Barbarossa was to begin. At the time he felt himself lucky to be part of the first wave. A veteran of France, he tried to imagine the future, thinking "For the moment there is a quiet, wonderful, twilight peacefulness over the countryside. The huts in this village will be on fire in a few hours, the air will be filled with the howling and screeching of shells, and the impacts will tear apart the fields and roads… what will the following weeks bring?" The opening bombardment shocked him. "…Armageddon had arrived. It is impossible to comprehend one's world in such an inferno." Two days later he fought grimly through the village of Lokacze, writing, "House after house has to be cleared out with hand grenades. They fire at us until the roofs collapse on their heads and they are buried under the rubble. Other escape at the last minute as human torches. They either fall dead in the street or we beat them to death."

Three years later Roth and his division were destroyed in the Soviet summer offensive of 1944, his body never recovered. Before he died, he left his descriptions and impressions of the invasion of the Soviet Union, as did many others who fought there. Most memoirs of the Eastern Front are singular in authorship; this one combines the stories of many soldiers, giving a wide view of the fighting. The book is well-written and organized, with clear writing and well-reasoned arguments about various facets of the war.

Wings of War: The World War II Fighter Plane that Saved the Allies and the Believers Who Made It Fly (David Fairbank White and Margaret Stanback White, Dutton Caliber, New York, NY, 2022, 323 pp., photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $29.00, hardcover)

When the North American P-51B Mustang arrived in Europe in 1943, it was the U.S. Army Air Force's fastest and most maneuverable fighter. It could attain a speed of over 400 miles per hour, climb 2,300 feet per minute, and fly over 2,000 miles with drop tanks. Its six .50-caliber machine guns could devastate any opposing aircraft, and the bombs and rockets it could carry would do the same to targets on the ground. It excelled as a bomber escort due to its long range, giving the bomber crews a measure of security they sorely lacked earlier in the war. The Mustang quickly decimated the Luftwaffe, greatly reducing Germany's ability to defend itself against air attack. The P-51 is widely regarded as one of the greatest piston engine fighters in history, but it almost did not make it into service, subject to bureaucracy and outdated thinking.

Most histories of the P-51 are combat histories, focusing on the plane and its pilots in action. The author delivers that but also delves deeply into the fighter's rocky origins and the struggle to bring the plane to production. The story of Edgar Schmued, the man who designed the P-51 and the later F-86, is fascinating and enriches the understanding of his creation. The tales of many others who brought Schmued's dream to fruition are also revealed in detail.

At First Light: A True World War II Story of a Hero, his Bravery, and an Amazing Horse (Walt Larimore and Mike Yorkey, Knox Press, New York, NY, 2022, 446 pp., maps, photographs, appendices, notes, bibliography, index, $35.00, hardcover)

Phil Larimore grew up in Memphis, Tennessee. A Boy Scout, he learned a lot of outdoor skills, including horsemanship. His parents sent him to military school, and he entered the army soon after Pearl Harbor, becoming the youngest person to ever graduate Officer Can-

didate School, three weeks before his 18th birthday. Phil entered the war at Anzio in February 1944, leading an Ammunition and Pioneer Platoon in the 3rd Infantry Division. Over time he fought with the division through Italy, France, and into Germany, earning decorations for valor along the way. Near the end of the war, he was assigned a last, covert mission to find the famed Lipizzaner horses before they were lost. After the war, he came home and resumed his life, refusing to consider himself a hero. The heroes were the ones who did not come home.

The story of Phil Larimore is well told in this new book. The authors highlight their subject's courage and ability to endure the hardships of war. Phil's love of horses and interactions with them in North Africa and Europe add to the narrative, making this a story of equestrian as well as military action.

To Meet in Hell: Bergen-Belsen, the British Officer who Liberated it, and the Jewish Girl He Saved (Bernice Lerner, Amberley Books, Gloucestershire UK, 2022, 277 pp., maps, photographs, notes, bibliography, index, $13,79, softcover)

When Brigadier H. L. Glyn Hughes entered the Bergen Belsen concentration camp on April 15, 1945, 60,000 starving, abused prisoners greeted him; 10,000 more lay dead and decaying, unburied. Almost a year earlier, Rachel Genuth arrived at the same camp. She had already endured Auschwitz and the Christianstadt labor camp before embarking on a forced march through the Sudetenland. At the camp she and her fellow prisoners were treated worse than animals, with no hope of survival. Hughes, a doctor, testified against Bergen-Belsen's commandant along with 44 of the camp's guards and lesser functionaries, stating he had never seen anything as horrible as the camp. While there he strove to save as many of the camp's survivors as possible. Though the two never met, Rachel survived due to Hughes' tireless efforts.

This book pairs the stories of a camp inmate and one of her liberators, tracing their very different paths to Bergen-Belsen and chronicling their hardships and endurance under different but trying circumstances. The author is Rachel Genuth's daughter; her insights into her mother suffering and post-war life are poignant and captivating. The prose is good, and the depth of research is obvious in the level of detail present in the narrative. ■

1.Publication Title: WWII History Magazine. 2. Publication Number 1539-5456. 3. Filing Date 9/21/22. 4. Issue Frequency- Bi-Monthly. 5. Number of Issues Published Annually 6. 6. Annual subscription Price $24.95. 7. Complete Mailing address of Known office of publication- 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Fairfax County, Virginia 22101-4554. Contact Person- Mark Hintz. Telephone (including area code) 703-507-4976. 8. Complete Mailing Address of Headquarters or General Business Office Of Publisher- 6731 Whittier Avenue, Suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. 9. Publisher (Name and complete mailing address)- Mark Hintz 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. Editor- Michael Haskew, 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554.Managing Editor- Carl Gnam 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. 10. Owner- Full Name- Sovereign Media Company, 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. Mark Hintz- 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. Carl Gnam- 6731 Whittier Avenue, suite C-100, Mclean, Virginia 22101-4554. 11. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and Other Security Holders Owning or Holding 1 Percent or More of Total Amount of Bonds, Mortgages or Other Securities. None. 12. Tax Status- N/A 13. Publication Title- WWII History Magazine. 14. Issue Date for Circulation Data Below October 2022 issue. 15. Extent and nature of Circulation. Average No copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months a. total Number of Copies (Net Press Run). (1) mailed Outside County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 29262. (2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541- 0. (3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails including Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution outside USPS 5229 (4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS- 0. C. Total Paid Distribution – 34491. D. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (By Mail and Outside the Mail) 0 (1) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County copies included on PS Form 3541- 0. (2) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541 (2) 0. (3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS (eg. First Class mail) 0. (4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the mail (Carriers or other means) 0. E. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution 0. F. Total Distribution 34491. G. Copies Not distributed 11573. H. Total 46064. I Percent Paid 100%. Number Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date a. Total Number of Copies (Net Press Run). (1) mailed Outside County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541 28850. (2) Mailed In-County Paid Subscriptions Stated on PS Form 3541- 0. (3) Paid Distribution Outside the Mails including Sales through Dealers and Carriers, Street Vendors, Counter Sales, and Other Paid Distribution outside USPS 5968. (4) Paid Distribution by Other Classes of Mail Through the USPS- 0. C. Total Paid Distribution – 34818 D. Free or Nominal Rate Distribution (By Mail and Outside the Mail) (1) Free or Nominal Rate Outside-County copies included on PS Form 3541- 0. (2) Free or Nominal Rate In-County Copies Included on PS Form 3541 (2) 0. (3) Free or Nominal Rate Copies mailed at Other Classes Through the USPS (eg. First Class mail) 0. (4) Free or Nominal Rate Distribution Outside the mail (Carriers or other means) 0. E. Total Free or Nominal Rate Distribution 0. F. Total Distribution 34818. G. Copies Not distributed 10087. H. Total 44905. Percent Paid 100%. 16. Electronic Copy Circulation. Average No Copies Each issue during Preceding 12 Months. A. Paid Electronic Copies 233. B. Total Paid Print copies + paid Electronic Copies 34724. C. Total Print Distribution + Paid Electronic Copies 34724 6. D. Percent Paid (Both Print & Electronic Copies) 100%. No Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date. A. Paid Electronic Copies 224. B. Total Paid Print copies + Paid Electronic Copies 35042. C. Total Print Distribution + Paid electronic Copies 35042. D. Percent paid (both Print & Electronic Copies) 100% 17. Publication of Statement of Ownership If the publication is a general publication, publication of this statement is required. Will be printed in the February 2023 (11/9/2023) issue of this publication. 17. Signature and Title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner Mark Hintz. Date 9/21/2022

Simulation Gaming

BY JOSEPH LUSTER

VENERABLE *MEN OF WAR* SERIES IS RETURNING TO ITS ROOTS WITH WORLD WAR II RELEASE SET FOR 2023

MEN OF WAR II

PUBLISHER FULQRUM PUBLISHING • **GENRE** STRATEGY • **SYSTEM** PC

Players interested in the upcoming *Men of War II* have likely kept their ears close to the ground in the period of time leading up to its eventual 2023 release, and we recently got more information thanks to a new series of developer diaries that shed some light on the progress. The series—which first kicked off with *Soldiers: Heroes of World War II* in 2004 and has gone by a few other names since—is looking to return to its roots, back to where it all started in the setting of World War II.

No matter what names it went by in earlier iterations, the *Men of War* series has always focused on defeating an enemy that greatly outnumbers your own forces while commanding a limited number of troops. *Men of War II* aims to include a unique combination of historically accurate campaigns on the Eastern and Western fronts, with two large dynamic campaigns in place to make the player feel like they're more than a simple field commander. Those who take on the challenge will be leading their own division as part of a detailed war operation, improving and upgrading your army along the way with more enhanced capabilities.

For those who don't want to take on the battlefield alone, every mission in *Men of War II* can be tackled with the help of friends via cooperative play that supports up to five players. Each player can call for their own reinforcements during battle, and will have their own personal divisions, from those who command infantry to those who specialize in artillery so they can keep up a constant bombardment to help the squad advance forward. There's also the option of another player providing tank support, for instance, and missions scale depending on how many friends you end up bringing along for the ride.

Men of War II is planning to have three main factions available to play as at release, including the Allies, the Soviet Union and the Third Reich. The devs at Best Way have been working hard to strike a balance between upholding high standards of historical accuracy while also providing players with enough variety to keep things interesting for long periods of time. To support the latter endeavor, there are over 300 types of vehicles available, from trucks to heavy tanks, fighter planes, bombers and beyond. Future post-launch updates hope to increase that impressive number even further, but for now let's just see how things go when *Men of War II* touches down next year. ■

RESURRECTED CLASSIC

WOLFENSTEIN: ENEMY TERRITORY

PUBLISHER BETHESDA SOFTWORKS • **GENRE** SHOOTER • **SYSTEM** PC

It's been almost two decades since *Wolfenstein: Enemy Territory* first brought the free and open-source multiplayer take on the series to our screens as a standalone game, and now it's been resurrected in all of its visual time capsule glory. If you fancy yourself a fan of the simpler days of online shooters, it will cost you absolutely nothing to fire this one up, whether it be for a dose of nostalgia or just a dash of curiosity and a peek at where this long-running series was back in 2003.

Available now on Steam, *Wolfenstein: Enemy Territory* supports multiplayer action for up to 32 players, with the ability to choose between Axis or Allied forces. Six maps based on real-world locations are at the heart of the battle, and within each force you can choose from classes such as Engineer, Medic, Soldier, Field Ops and Covert Ops, depending on your own unique play style. For our money (or lack thereof, in this case), this one really hinges on the nostalgia factor, but it runs well and has a refreshing air of simplicity to it. Those who are familiar with *Enemy Territory* will likely find they can still have a great time with it nearly 20 years later, and newcomers may be surprised at just how sharp a hook remains on the edge of this tried and true shooter.

If you feel like shelling out some light cash for this one, it's also available in a Wolf Pack bundle that includes 2001's *Return to Castle Wolfenstein*—for which *Enemy Territory* was originally planned as an expansion—and the classic *Wolfenstein 3D*. ■

Captain Holland

Continued from page 63

field, though they were later recovered after the German withdrawal. Worse, the squadron suffered three dead and 11 wounded.

Hollands and Renton reported on their actions and observations. At first their squadron mates did not believe them, refusing to accept their claims; surely a single tank could not have wrought that much carnage among the enemy, even with the late reinforcement of Renton. Then, a few days later, British infantry took Steamroller Farm after the Germans retreated. They reported even more damage than the two British tank officers claimed.

The area was strewn with German dead and signs of casualties, between 150-200 of them. A total of eight anti-tank guns sat destroyed on the field, including two 88s. The laager area held the remains of 25 wheeled vehicles, and a pair of wrecked mortars lay in their firing pits along with another pair of 20mm antiaircraft guns ruined nearby. At the head of the pass beyond the farm lay the destroyed hulks of two Panzer III tanks. British signalers also intercepted a radio transmission from the local German commander justifying his retreat. The German officer claimed the British sent a "mad tank battalion which scaled impossible heights." Their attack proved so ferocious it forced his withdrawal.

For his bravery and leadership at Steamroller Farm, Captain Ernest Darrell Hollands received the Distinguished Service Order, at that point awarded only to officers in wartime. The Military Cross went to Lieutenant Renton, and Adventurer driver, Trooper John Mitton, received the Military Medal. Hollands' war continued until May 22, 1944, when he was wounded in action while his squadron supported the 1st Canadian Division during an assault on the Hitler Line in Italy. He lost his leg as a result but was able to rejoin the Bath Police after his discharge. Upon relinquishing his commission in 1951, he received the honorary rank of major. Hollands retired from the Bath Police service as Inspector of the Traffic Department in 1977.

While the British attack failed to take Steamroller Farm, the stiff fight they gave the Germans prevented any further advance and helped compel their ultimate withdrawal and the failure of Operation Ochsenkopf, a delayed victory of sorts. Repulsing this German attack prevented a delay in the final Allied offensive, which defeated the Germans in North Africa, causing their surrender only two months later. ■

Insight

Continued from page 31

and armed fighters.

Taniura sheds light on the roles of the Japanese who died in the northern area of Tarawa. In the mopping up operations after the battle on Betio, American forces moved along the atoll to the east and then made their way north toward the extreme northern tip of the atoll at Naa. As they approached Naa, they encountered a group of 164 Japanese armed with mortars, machine guns, and rifles. Fighting began and continued until all the Japanese were killed, with the exception of one Japanese and one Korean, who were captured. U.S. casualties were 34 Marines dead and 56 wounded. It has previously been thought that the majority of the Japanese encountered at Naa were fighters from South Tarawa who had fled north during the battle. Taniura informs us that two coastwatching stations had been set up on Tarawa by the Japanese, one in Buota in the east and the other at Buariki in the north. They were sited at these locations to allow them to quickly detect and report any enemy aircraft or ship approaching Tarawa from the east or north. Each station had approximately 60 staff, a communications team with light, mobile radios, a transportation team with one truck and a machine-gun car, paramedics, and administration staff. The majority of Japanese killed at Naa were members of these two coastwatch stations.

Taniura stresses that the Japanese were hugely outnumbered by a force with a massive number of superior arms, equipment, and machinery. According to Taniura, the Japanese war was fought on a shoestring budget using 1930s technology. The support of Japanese Navy, extremely afraid of using up all of its ammunition, was poor.

The Navy Land Force on Tarawa had little in the way of practical training. Each man was not allowed to consume more than five rounds of rifle ammunition per year, so there was very little practice with live ammunition. At Tarawa the Japanese were largely a force of snipers, each man hiding himself from the enemy, with a rifle and limited supply of bullets, trying to make every shot count. Their large cannon soon ran out of ammunition, and their machine guns too." ■

Peter McQuarrie writes about World War II in the Pacific Islands. He has previously written for WWII History, Naval History, The Journal of Pacific History, Pacific Affairs, *and* Pacific Islands Monthly. *His books include* Strategic Atolls, Tuvalu and the Second World War *(1994) and* Gilbert Islands in WWII *(2012).*

Market Garden

Continued from page 55

of the Neder Rijn at Arnhem, and thus place it in a suitable position to be able to develop operations against the north face of the Ruhr. But the possession of the crossings over the Meuse at Grave and over the Lower Rhine (or Waal, as it is called in Holland) at Nijmegen, were to prove of immense value later on; we had liberated a large part of Holland; we had the stepping-stone we needed for the successful battles of the Rhineland that were to follow. Without these successes we would not have been able to cross the Rhine in strength in March 1945—but we did not get our final bridgehead, and that must be admitted."

Monty gave four reasons why he thought that Operation Market-Garden "did not gain complete success."

First, the operation was not regarded at supreme headquarters as the spearhead of a major Allied movement on the northern flank to isolate and finally occupy the Ruhr—the one objective in the West which the Germans could not afford to lose. Ike ordered that this be done, said Montgomery. He thought it was being done, but it was not.

Second, because of the lack of satisfactory drop zones, the Red Devils were airlifted too far from the vital objective, the Arnhem bridge, and it was several hours before they reached it. Any element of surprise was lost. "I take the blame for this mistake," said Monty. The third strike against the operation, he said, was the weather. "This turned against us after the first day, and we could not carry out much of the later airborne program," he recalled. "But weather is always an uncertain factor, in war and in peace."

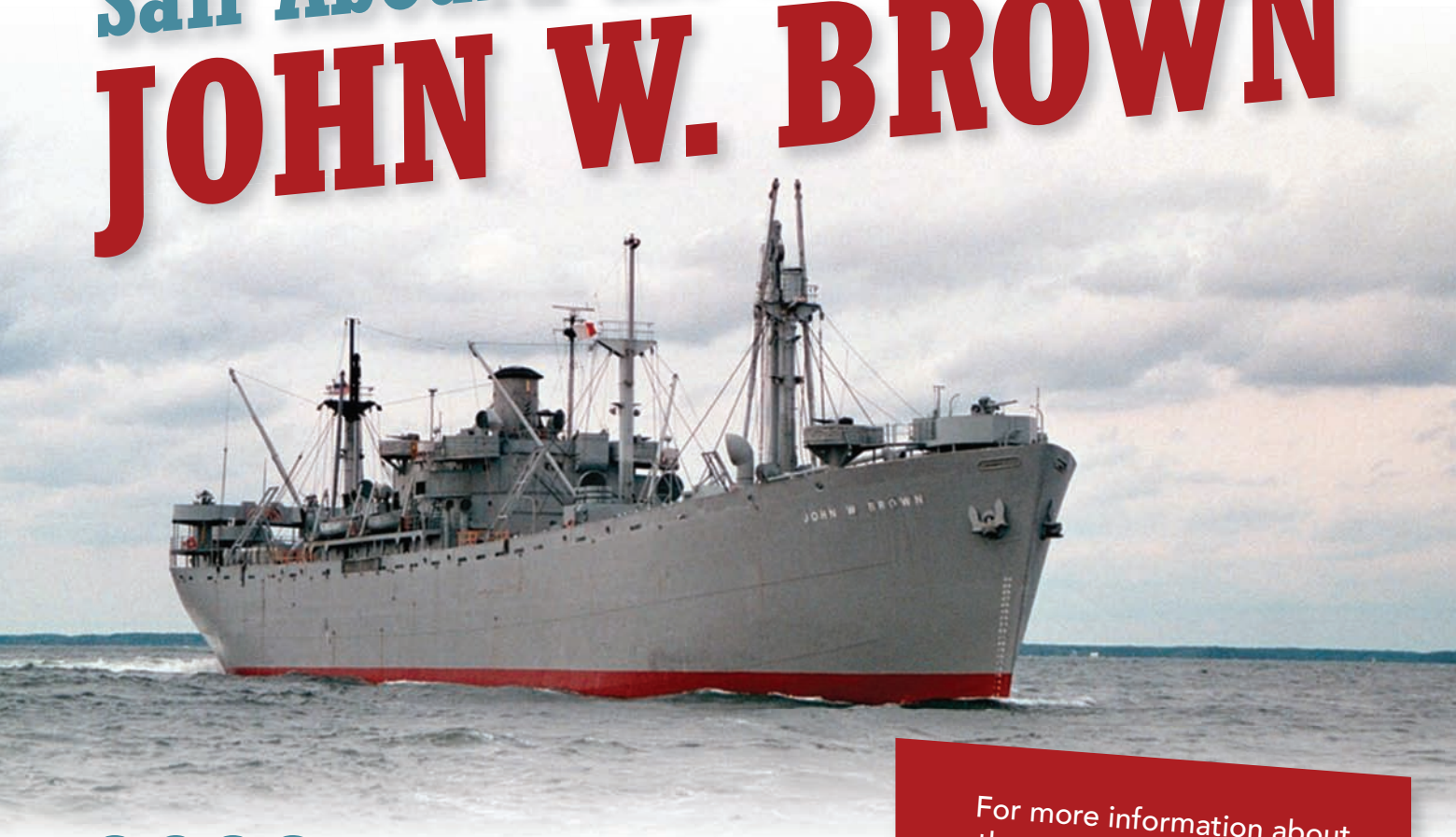
The fourth element jeopardizing Market-Garden was the presence of the 2nd SS Panzer Corps in the Arnhem area. "We knew it was there," said Monty, "but we were wrong in supposing that it could not fight effectively; its battle state was far beyond our expectation. It was quickly brought into action against the 1st Airborne Division."

Montgomery apparently made little or no mention of a more active role that might have been played by the Dutch resistance.

And so, in the wake of the defeat, the controversy of Operation Market Garden remains the subject of debate among historians and military planners to this day. ■

The late Michael D. Hull wrote extensively for WWII History *on a variety of topics. He resided in Enfield, Connecticut.*

Sail Aboard the Liberty Ship JOHN W. BROWN



2023 CRUISES ON THE CHESAPEAKE BAY:

★ CHECK OUR WEBSITE FOR 2023 CRUISES ★

On a cruise you can tour museum spaces, crew quarters, bridge & much more. Visit the engine room to view the **140-ton triple-expansion steam engine** as it powers the ship though the water. For more information, check our website.

Project Liberty Ship is a Baltimore based, all volunteer, nonprofit organization. SS JOHN W BROWN is maintained in her WWII configuration, visitors must be able to climb steps to board.

For more information about the cruises we are planning for 2023, check our website:

www.ssjohnwbrown.org

★ ★ ★

Or call the reservation service:

410-558-0164

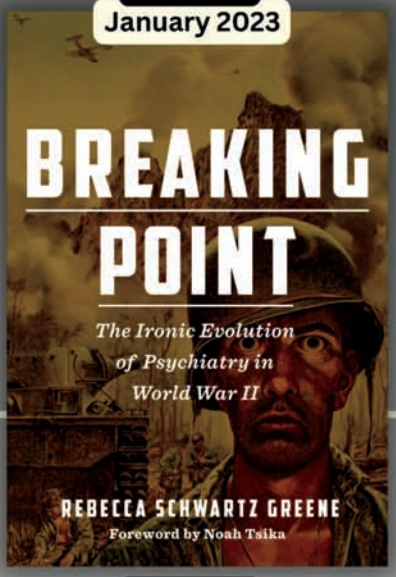
World War II:

The Global, Human, and Ethical Dimension

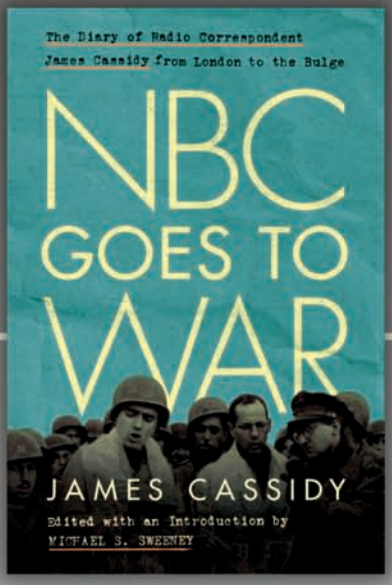
Edited by G. Kurt Piehler, Florida State University

Our longstanding World War II series continues to grow in scholarship that explores the war's political, military, diplomatic, and economic dimensions as well as works that analyze social, intellectual and cultural elements and impact. A central focus for us is publishing books that delve into the human dimension—from the perspective of not only the combatants but also civilians from all regions and nations impacted by the war.

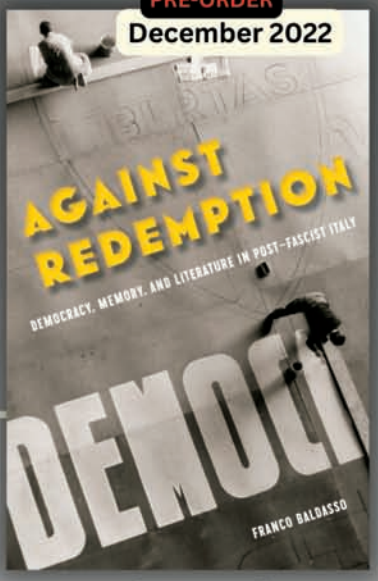
PRE-ORDER
January 2023



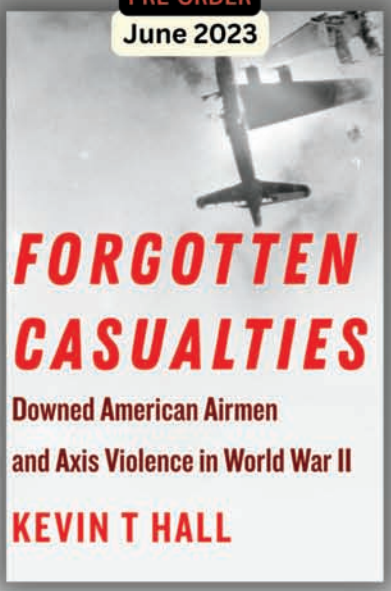
Order Now



PRE-ORDER
December 2022



PRE-ORDER
June 2023

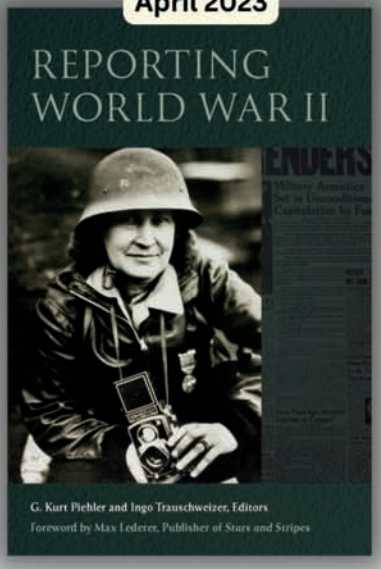


FREE SHIPPING
SCAN ME
Use Promo Code WWII-FI

*Coupon code is WWII-FI
Expires 6/30/23.

FREE DELIVERY

PRE-ORDER
April 2023



www.fordhampress.com