

CMG 02313

# WWII HISTORY

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## Hitler's Soviet Blunder

## B-24 Airman's Tale of Survival

## U.S. Failure at the Bulge

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U.S. DESTROYER IN JAPANESE SERVICE

OCTOBER 2021

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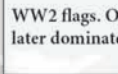
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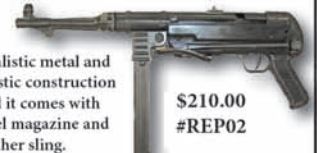
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October 2021

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Cover: American airborne trooper T/4 Joseph Gorenc enters a C-47 headed to Normandy on the night of June 5-6, 1944. 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 20, Number 5 © 2021 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: \$6.99, plus \$3 for postage. Yearly subscription in U.S.A.: \$24.95; Canada and Overseas: \$38.95 (U.S.). Editorial Office: Communication with the editorial staff is conducted electronically. 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.

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## Capturing *U-505* was a staggering blow against the ravaging Wolfpacks.

**BY JUNE 1943, WHEN A U.S. NAVY TASK GROUP UNDER THE COMMAND OF** Captain Daniel Gallery captured the Nazi submarine *U-505* on the high seas—the first such seizure of the an enemy warship by the American navy since the War of 1812—Allied forces were obviously wresting the initiative in the Battle of the Atlantic from the rampaging Wolfpacks of the Kriegsmarine directed by Admiral Karl Dönitz.

This reversal of fortune occurred rapidly following the events of a grim October 80 years ago. During the month of October 1941, even before the United States had formally entered World War II, an undeclared war was raging between the U.S. Navy, escorting convoys of merchantmen carrying precious supplies to Great Britain, and the Nazi submarine crews bent on interdicting the trans-Atlantic lifeline that kept the British, standing alone, in the fight against Nazi Germany.

In mid-October 1941, the *Gleaves-class* destroyer USS *Kearney* was docked at Reykjavik, Iceland, when word was received that a convoy was under attack by U-boats that had essentially overwhelmed the convoy's escort of Canadian warships. *Kearney* and three other U.S. destroyers went to the aid of the convoy, dropping depth charges in the vicinity of an attacking U-boat and continuing a vigorous defensive patrol through the night.

At midwatch on 17 October, the submarine *U-568* fired a torpedo at the *Kearney*. Striking the starboard hull of the *Kearney*, the torpedo exploded, causing flooding in the forward fire room, where the damage was contained. *Kearney* limped back to Iceland at 10 knots and underwent temporary repairs, finally setting sail for Boston on Christmas Day (after the U.S. was already at war with Japan and Germany) for permanent repairs. Eleven sailors of the *Kearney's* crew were killed and 22 wounded.

In truth, German submarines had already sunk a number of American-owned merchant ships, and the U.S. Navy, under the doctrine of freedom of the seas and the protection of the citizenry, was compelled to defend the Atlantic sealanes. After the *Kearney* incident, Roosevelt took to the airwaves with a stirring speech on October 27, 1941.

“We have wished to avoid shooting,” the president told his radio audience. “But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot. America has been attacked. The USS *Kearney* is not just a navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in this nation.”

Then Roosevelt went on to illustrate the magnitude of the loss and the affront to American sovereignty that had just occurred in the Atlantic. “Hitler’s torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our sea coasts or in the innermost part of the nation, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.”

Roosevelt’s purpose was to steel American resolve for what was to come, to silence the strong Isolationist sentiment that had opposed his efforts to bolster the British in their fight against the Nazis—now two years since its outbreak—and to position his country to join in an alliance to oppose Hitler while knowing that war was inevitable.

Only four days after the president’s radio address, on October 31, 1941, another U.S. Navy destroyer, the *Clemson-class* USS *Reuben James*, was torpedoed and sunk by the German submarine *U-552* off the coast of Iceland. The German torpedo blew the bow off the destroyer, and it sank immediately. The remainder of the stricken warship followed within five minutes. Although reports later asserted that the torpedo was intended for a merchant ship carrying ammunition, the damage was done. One hundred Americans died.

In response, Roosevelt reiterated his “shoot on sight” order, which had been issued a month earlier following an encounter between a German submarine and the destroyer USS *Greer*. It was necessary, he told the American people in a fireside chat, to destroy any Axis vessel operating in American waters “for the protection of which is necessary for American defense.”

The events in the Atlantic in the autumn of 1941 became moot in early December with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. All pretense was dropped on December 11, when Hitler made one of his greatest blunders of World War II and declared war on the United States.

—Michael E. Haskew

Volume 20 ■ Number 5

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SUBSCRIPTION CUSTOMER SERVICE  
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Photos: National Archives



at West Point and wrangled a transfer to the Army's Enlisted Reserve Corps. He was sent to Staunton Military Academy in Virginia to finish high school. After graduating in June 1923, he was off to West Point. In his second year there he fell in love with Ruth Adelaide Harloe, a surgeon's daughter from Brooklyn. They married a few hours after his graduation in June 1928. In his time at West Point, he had been the editor of the yearbook, was on the fencing team, earned rifle sharpshooter and pistol expert medals, and had been promoted to cadet company commander. He was commissioned into the Coast Artillery Corps upon graduation.

After the usual postings around the country, Frederick headed to another posting in the Panama Canal Zone. When the Army took over the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) during the Depression, 2nd Lieutenant Frederick was given command of one of the camps in California. In 1934 he received promotion to 1st lieutenant.

His skills having been recognized by several of his superiors, Lieutenant Frederick attended



**ABOVE: General Robert T. Frederick led the 1st Special Service Force in the Aleutians and in Italy prior to taking command of the 45th Infantry Division. TOP LEFT: A soldier of the 1st Special Service Force fires his weapon at Germans holed up in a farmhouse near the Anzio beachhead in April 1944. Under General Robert T. Frederick, the 1st Special Service Force, composed of American and Canadian soldiers, became a legendary fighting outfit in Italy.**

## The Devil's General

General Frederick led the 1st Special Service Force and the 45th Infantry Division during World War II.

### HE WAS AN UNKNOWN JUNIOR LIEUTENANT COLONEL WHEN JAPAN ATTACKED

Pearl Harbor, yet by the end of that war he was the youngest major general commanding one of the most famous divisions in the European Theater.

He had fought on two continents, created and led into battle one of the most famous military units in American history, and had been wounded no less than eight times. He also had earned two Distinguished Service Crosses, two Distinguished Service Medals, a Silver Star, and two Bronze Stars. His name was Robert Tyron Frederick.

Frederick was born March 14, 1907, in San Francisco and grew up next to that city's famous military installation, the Presidio. As a child he played often among the streets and buildings of that base. In school, he opted for the Junior ROTC rather than wearing the baggy gym uniform. He found himself on the rifle team, firing at the range at the Presidio weekly.

Determined to get out from under his strict parents' supervision, he lied about his age and at 14 reported himself as 18, he tried joining the National Guard. Next, again lying about his age, he joined the Maritime Union and with this, his father threw up his hands and announced that he had given up hope for his only son.

Returning to his parents, Robert decided that he wanted to attend the U. S. Military Academy

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Coast Artillerymen's school, followed the prestigious Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth.

He was promoted to major on February 4, 1941, while on duty in Hawaii and was assigned to the War Department in Washington. At a desk in the War Plans Division, working for the new chief of the division, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, he had barely settled in when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor.

At the age of 34, Frederick was promoted to lieutenant colonel but feared that his staff duties might keep him chained to a desk for the duration. But overseas things were developing that would change his career. British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill had pushed an idea on the U. S. Army Chief of Staff, General George C Marshall. This idea involved a small number of highly trained troops conducting sabotage raids behind enemy lines on motorized snow sleds in Norway or other Northern areas of operation. Colonel Frederick was ordered by General Eisenhower to evaluate the project.

The resulting 14-page analysis submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Frederick argued that while the mission had some value, it would likely be suicide as there was no way to retrieve the troops once they had completed their mission. However, while General Eisenhower was in England, he agreed to the plan, and assigned Frederick to follow through on the project he had called "suicidal."

The British, impressed with Lieutenant Colonel Frederick's knowledge of the project and its needs, suggested him as the commander. Frederick quickly got over his surprise and began to build his new unit. Ordered to include Canadian troops as well, he had to create, train, and make them combat-ready in six months. Originally designed as a unit of saboteurs, the outfit would have three small combat regiments and a separate service battalion. About 2,400 officers and men would form the new unit.

A derelict military base, Fort William Henry Harrison outside Helena, Montana, was chosen as the training base. Arctic experts were consulted on clothing, climbing gear and other necessities for arctic survival. To gain entry behind enemy lines, the unit would also have to be parachute-qualified. Lieutenant Colonel Frederick made his first of only two parachute jumps during this early training phase. Skiing was also required. Throughout 1942 the project slowly took shape, and the unit was now the First Special Service Force (FSSF).

By the middle of September 1942, the FSSF was nearing readiness for battle. The question now was where and when. Prime Minister Churchill still supported the project, although



**Training for members of the 1st Special Service Force was rigorous, and in this photo soldiers prepare for airborne operations at Fort William Henry Harrison, Montana. During the U.S.-Canadian force's airborne training phase, Frederick, the unit's commander, made his first parachute jump.**

no longer believing it should be used in Norway or other northern areas of operation. General Eisenhower, now in command of U. S. forces in North Africa, wanted the FSSF for the invasion of Sicily, but as an amphibious force rather than a sabotage or airborne raiding force.

In the end the FSSF was ordered to the last place anyone had originally imagined, the Aleutian Islands. The Army was about to invade Kiska, the last of two islands seized by the Japanese in 1942. Here Colonel Frederick earned the respect of his troops when he rejected the landing force commander's plans for the FSSF to land ahead of the main force. Seeking to minimize the risk to his men, Colonel Frederick developed his own plan and was in the first wave landing by rubber boats on Kiska. Fortunately for all concerned, the Japanese had evacuated Kiska a few days before, and no opposition was encountered.

Frederick's FSSF stay in the Aleutians was brief. Within days orders arrived directing it to report to San Francisco and then to the Mediterranean. After a brief layover—and more training—in the United States, the FSSF arrived in Italy and reported to Major General Geoffrey Keyes' II U. S. Corps, Fifth Army.

The FSSF was assigned to seize Monte la Difensa and Monte le Remetanea, previously invincible and blocking the way to the Liri Valley, the gateway to Rome. Colonel Frederick immediately flew over the targets in intense rain

and wind in a small piper cub and then personally reconnoitered the best routes to approach the targets. He decided to attack at night, climbing the sheer cliff face of Monte la Difensa. Fifth Army staff thought such an attack would take three days to succeed, if it did. They also believed that the FSSF would be decimated during the attack. Nevertheless, Colonel Frederick went ahead with his plans.

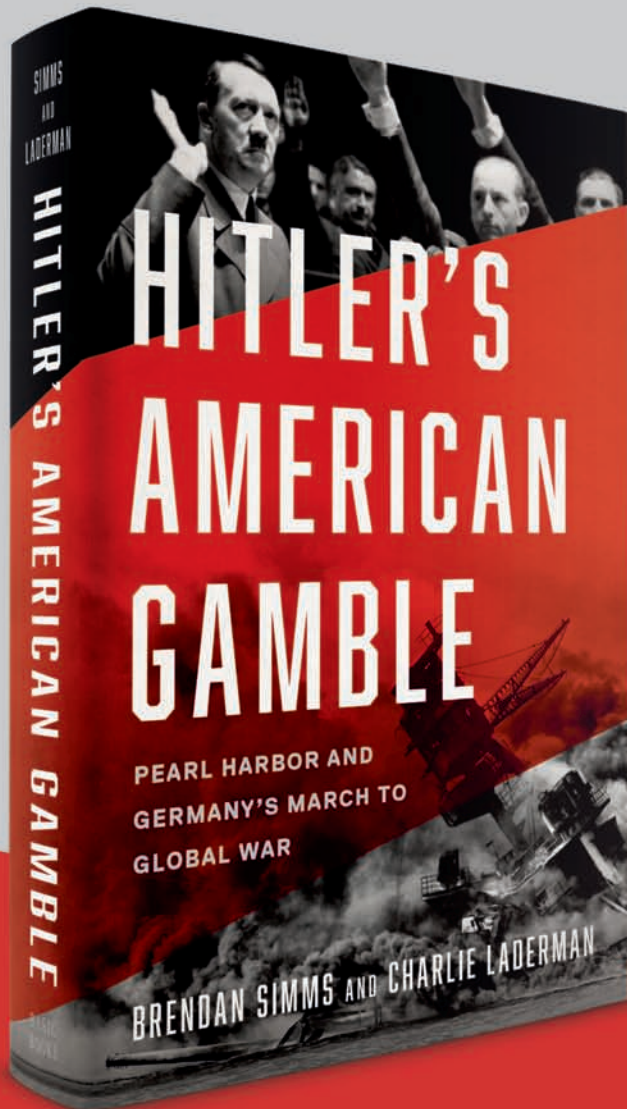
Led personally by Colonel Frederick, the FSSF marched 10 miles on December 1, 1943, and then climbed halfway up the mountain in the dark. Resting in hidden locales during the next day, the FSSF emerged on the night of December 2. Led again by Colonel Frederick, the force stealthily climbed to the top, and, using only knives and bayonets, eliminated German sentries.

Colonel Frederick established his command post on a ledge wide enough for one man to sit and waited for the moment to strike. The attack was to begin at 06:00 AM hours, but a falling rock alerted a sentry, and the battle was on. After just two hours of vicious combat, Colonel Frederick was on the radio atop Monte la Difensa telling Fifth Army headquarters, "La Difensa is ours."

It was here that Frederick earned his reputation as a fearless leader. One of his officers later reported, "With bullets raking the air, Frederick moved from unit to unit, sending out patrols and placing men in outposts, to gradu-

# DAYS OF INFAMY

A riveting account of the five most crucial days in twentieth-century diplomatic history: from Pearl Harbor to Hitler's declaration of war on the United States



*Hitler's American Gamble* recounts the five days that upended everything: December 7 to 11, 1941. Historians Brendan Simms and Charlie Laderman show how Hitler's intervention was not the foolhardy decision of a man so bloodthirsty that he forgot all strategy, but a calculated risk that can only be understood in a truly global context.



**The 1st Special Service Force scaled the heights of Monte La Difensa and subdued the German defenders in a difficult operation in early December 1943. In this photo taken a few weeks later, soldiers of the Force occupy a mountaintop position near the embattled town of Cassino, Italy.**



**Troopers of Frederick's First Airborne Task Force check their gear and stand by to board air transports that will take them over drop zones in southern France. When General Frederick went in with his airborne soldiers, he was making only his second jump.**

ally widen the piece of territory we held. His casual indifference to enemy fire is hard to explain, for there were times when barrages of mortar sent us all scurrying for cover, only to come back and find him sitting in the same position and place we had vacated in a hurry.”

Another officer recalled, “I will never forget him walking by my position and telling me to keep my head down, while he was in full view of the enemy. I then saw him sit down and, dirty and grimy, his water bottle split in two by a bullet, he took it like the rest of us.”

Despite severe winter conditions, Colonel Frederick held onto his conquest against increasing German artillery and infantry fire. Then, leaving one regiment behind to hold Monte la Difensa, he led the remaining FSSF troops, with himself as lead scout, toward the second objective. As he did so, an enemy mortar round exploded nearby and sent a rock slamming into his spine. Despite severe pain and damage to his shoulder blade, he covered with his own body another wounded soldier until stretcher bearers could remove him. That same night he led the attack on Monte la Remetanea, catching the Germans amid a retreat and chasing them completely off the mountain.

After a week's rest, some hot food, and showers, the FSSF was sent against Monte Sammucro, with Colonel Frederick again in the lead. After another fierce but brief battle, this objective was also secured. Reports on progress in

Italy were received by Prime Minister Churchill, and on learning that Colonel Frederick and his FSSF were leading the way to Rome, the Prime Minister replied, “If we had a dozen men like him we would have smashed Hitler in nineteen forty-two (sic).” Meanwhile, in Italy Colonel Frederick was on his way back to his command post when enemy shelling wounded him in the right eye. Undeterred, he had his eye bandaged and resumed command of the FSSF.

The FSSF would continue fighting for hill after hill in southern Italy until January 1944, when they were included in the invasion forces destined for the port town of Anzio. Here the FSSF would earn their fiercest reputation, including the label of “Devil's Brigade” when they took over a section of the perimeter and so harassed and cowed the opposing Germans that they never made any serious attempt to overwhelm the vastly outnumbered FSSF, and in fact pulled their lines back a half a mile from the nearest FSSF lines.

The success of the FSSF at Anzio earned Frederick a brigadier general's star in January 1944. But the fighting continued until the breakout from the Anzio beachhead and the advance on Rome. Once again, General Frederick and his FSSF were among the first troops to enter the enemy capital. Reinforced with U. S. Army Rangers from destroyed battalions to replace increasing losses, the FSSF was still below authorized strength but nevertheless given an infantry division's role in the capture of Rome.

During this advance, General Frederick was nearly captured. Once again leading his troops forward, he was coming over a hill when in front of his small party appeared 30 German soldiers. One of his companions was killed, and General Frederick and the others “ran like the devil” into a nearby wheat field where they remained concealed until the leading unit of the FSSF came up and chased off the enemy. During the battle for Rome, Frederick received two additional wounds on June 3 and 4, one of which required 256 stitches in his thigh. He snuck out of the hospital to rejoin his FSSF. Rome was to be his last battle with “his” FSSF.

Shortly after the fall of Rome, General Frederick was given a new assignment as part of the invasion of southern France. Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers, the top commander of that operation, told him he was to command the airborne forces of the invasion. When General Frederick asked where his airborne troops were located, General Devers replied, “So far, you are the only one.”

Promoted to major general, Frederick, who still had that sole parachute jump to his credit, was once again ordered to form a new unit from scratch. Given a free hand, Frederick picked his staff from officers he trusted and named his new command the First Airborne Task Force (FABTF). Gathering 16 separate units from Italy and the Mediterranean Theater, barely one month was available to organize, train, and prepare for the assault.

The FABTF was under the command of the Seventh Army, led by Major General Alexander M. Patch, who had been one of General Frederick's instructors at the Staunton Military Academy. In a repeat of forming the FSSE, Frederick once again had to scrounge up equipment, vehicles, and a myriad of supplies to prepare his new command for battle. And as before, he made himself accessible to his men, moving among them with the usual questions about their hometown, checking their equipment, and wishing them well.

General Frederick's second parachute jump occurred in darkness and fog over the Argens Valley of southern France. From the lead aircraft he jumped into a thick fog bank, which kept the pilots from identifying the landmarks of the planned landing zones. As a result, the FABTF was scattered over a wide area of southern France. Frederick landed on a rock, which opened his thigh wound. Ignoring the blood running down his pants leg, he immediately set about reorganizing his forces. Cutting a cord off his parachute as a tourniquet, he set off to find his planned command post.

Not unlike the Normandy airborne landing of two months earlier, General Frederick's well trained and motivated soldiers set about cutting telephone cables, blowing up enemy supply dumps, and setting up roadblocks to disrupt the German defenders. French underground fighters joined in and directed many mis-dropped parachutists to Frederick's headquarters, where he was constantly adjusting plans to meet reality on the ground. He directed his airborne, gliderborne, and British paratroopers to their objectives or sent them against new ones. By the next evening, when his forces contacted the seaborne invasion troops, his men had cleared La Motte, Le Mitran, Castron, and Les Serres and controlled all coastal roads.

At the end of D+1, the FABTF had cleared far more area than originally planned, captured 1,350 prisoners, and eliminated enemy defenses inland from the beach. The American corps commander, Lieutenant General Lucian K. Truscott, remarked about this accomplishment, "Frederick's feat in organizing and training this composite force and perfecting the operation in a period of less than five weeks is the most remarkable exploit of the war."

General Frederick's next assignment was to use his FABTF, now joined by the FSSE, to protect the right flank of the entire Seventh Army as it raced toward Germany. So began what some call "The Champagne Campaign," where the FABTF stood along the border waiting for a German attack from Italy that never came. To command such a wide area, Frederick used

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**A 45th Division soldier scurries for cover on the outskirts of Aschaffenburg, Germany, in this image taken on March 28, 1945. Six days later, General Frederick, the division commander, demanded the surrender of Aschaffenburg, and the city was occupied after a bitter fight.**

planes, jeeps, and radio to keep in contact with his widely separated units.

General Frederick flew home for a brief visit when his father-in-law died, but within five days he was back in France. On November 22, 1944, the FABTF was disbanded and once again General Frederick bid a sad farewell to the FSSF. Frederick and his immediate staff received orders to assume command of the 45th Infantry Division.

As the youngest ground forces division commander in the U.S. Army, General Frederick took command of the veteran 45th Infantry "Thunderbirds" Division after its previous commander was wounded by a German mine. It took these veterans a few weeks to accept the newcomer, but in the end, General Frederick proved himself to his command and was highly regarded.

Frederick continued his habit of being up front during attacks and was often seen encouraging the leading infantry companies preparing to make an attack. The division entered Germany on December 15, in the vanguard of Seventh Army. But the German attack on the First Army to the north halted operations for several weeks, during which the "Thunderbirds" had to cover a wide front with insufficient forces. Then, on New Year's Day, another German counterattack hit the Seventh Army.

For the next two months, Frederick maintained an aggressive posture against the attack-

ing Germans, then counterattacked whenever the opportunity arose. Fighting conditions were miserable, similar to those at Monte la Difensa a year before. Winter cold, snow, damp conditions, and a fiercely defending enemy cost the Thunderbirds many casualties as they slowly fought their way into Germany.

On March 25, 1945, the 45th Infantry Division crossed the Rhine and entered Germany's heartland. Crossing the Main River, the 45th Division was stopped at Aschaffenburg, with thousands of German troops and civilians opposing the Thunderbirds' entry into the city.

General Frederick flanked the opposition and poured all his artillery, tank, and mortar fire into it. Soon the German commander suggested that General Frederick come to his headquarters to negotiate terms of surrender, but Frederick replied, "There is absolutely nothing to be negotiated. You can keep defending to the last man, or it will be a total surrender."

The destroyed city surrendered two days later, on April 3. In the previous two weeks, Frederick's men had crashed through the vaunted West Wall Defenses, made three river crossings, and captured more than 10,000 prisoners. But they were only beginning. Soon Nuremberg and Munich fell to the rampaging Thunderbirds. At the latter location the Americans liberated the infamous concentration camp at Dachau.

General Frederick was ordered to garrison

Munich, feeding and housing over 124,000 enemy prisoners and former concentration camp inmates. He was dealing successfully with this problem when the war ended. When there was time to review what had been accomplished, it was found that Frederick had spent 551 days in combat, with the FSSF, the FABTF, and the 45th Infantry Division. He had been awarded 28 American medals for valor and another six foreign medals. He had graduated just 17 years earlier from West Point and was now a major general commanding a veteran infantry division, occupying enemy territory. He had just passed his 38th birthday.

Over the next six years he served as the commander of the Coast Artillery School at Fort Monroe, Virginia. When the Coast Artillery School was disbanded in 1947, General Frederick was assigned to the new Air University at Maxwell Field, Alabama, to assist in its organization. This assignment was followed with command of American occupation forces in Vienna, Austria.

Next, General Frederick took command of the 4th Infantry Division at Fort Ord, California, where, irony of ironies, he was headquartered at the Presidio. Here he developed and put into practice what he called the "Division Faculty Training" system, whereby realistic infantry and armored training was introduced to the troops. This system would later be adopted by the entire Army. Although he had hoped for a division command in Korea, he instead was appointed Chief of the Joint U. S. Military Aid Group to Greece.

Returning to the U. S., Frederick spent a month at Walter Reed Army Hospital undergoing a battery of tests. It was finally determined that the carbon monoxide poisoning he had experienced at Anzio was seriously affecting his health. His heart was enlarged. He was deaf in his left ear, and there was damage to his right ear. His right leg had never fully recovered from the repeated injuries suffered in Italy and France.

As a result of these findings and his own desire to leave the military at age 44, Frederick was granted a disability retirement. He eventually retired to his family's farm in Palo Alto, California, and died at the age of 63 on November 29, 1970. □

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*Nathan Prefer is the author of several books and articles on World War II. His latest book is titled *Leyte 1944, The Soldier's Battle*. He received his Ph.D. in Military History from the City University of New York and is a former Marine Corps Reservist. Dr. Prefer is now retired and resides in Fort Myers, Florida.*

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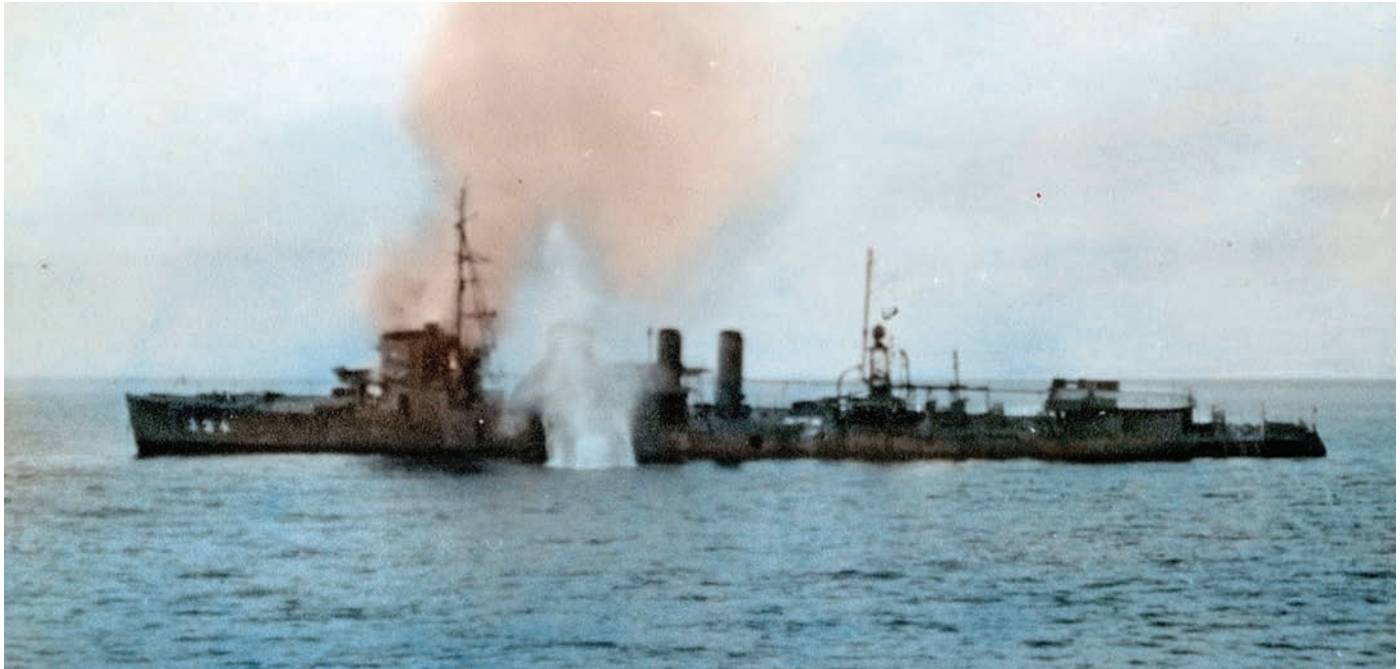
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## The Strange Odyssey of USS *Stewart*

The American destroyer was captured in dry dock and placed into service with the Imperial Japanese Navy.

**THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR SAW THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TORPEDO AS WE** know it today. It was not the static mine of the Civil War but a propeller driven, waterborne explosive device. Small, fast torpedo boats were designed to carry and launch torpedoes against capital ships. The centuries old dominance of big guns on big ships was threatened.

As a defensive response to this new offensive threat, the world's navies came up with a class of small ships that were originally named Torpedo Boat Destroyers. They were big enough to sail with the blue water fleet and fast enough to foil the torpedo boats. Very soon these little ships took on multiple roles and their name was shortened to Destroyer. Ironically, for many years they themselves also carried torpedoes.

In the United States, several small batches of three to six destroyers were built, each incorporating improvements in armament, speed, and size. With the outbreak of World War I, two classes of these new ships were built in quantity. There were 110 of the *Wickes* Class built, followed by 156 of the *Clemson* Class.

These two classes of ships were distinguished by their flush decks, which meant the entire deck was at the same level, eliminating the forecastle. They were also known as four-stackers, meaning they each had four distinctive exhaust funnels. One of these *Clemson*-class ships was the USS *Stewart* (DD-224). For *Stewart*, the experience of the next war would be different than that of any other oceangoing American warship.

*Stewart* started life at the William Cramp & Sons construction yards in Philadelphia and was launched in March 1920. She displaced 1,100 tons and was 314 feet long with a top speed of 35 knots. Her armament consisted of four of the standard

4-inch (102mm) guns, one 3-inch (76mm) gun and dozen 21-inch (533mm) torpedo tubes.

After the Great War, there wasn't much for all those destroyers to do. Many were mothballed only to be brought out of retirement when World War II started. Fifty of them were loaned to Great Britain through the Lend-Lease program. But *Stewart* stayed in service throughout the interwar years, assigned to the Asiatic Fleet in 1922. In this role she visited Chinese ports such as Tsingtao (Qingdao) in the summer and returned to the warmer climate of Manila in winter.

By 1932, the Japanese became increasingly interested in China and the Americans found themselves in the middle of a new war. *Stewart* had to protect American interests and citizens from pressure coming from both sides. As the decade progressed, the American (and Western) presence in China was increasingly threatened by aggressive Japanese expansion.

In September 1939, with war breaking out in Europe, *Stewart* was ordered out of China to

Manila, where she took up patrol duties and stood out to sea as a guard for seaplanes flying to and from Guam and the Philippines. She made one more trip to China in the fall of 1940, but it was her last before the war. On November 27, 1941, in an atmosphere thick with rumors of war, *Stewart* and other naval assets were

During World War II the USS *Stewart* was captured and pressed into service with the Imperial Japanese Navy. Recovered after the war, the *Stewart* served as a target ship (above) and, on May 12, 1946, was sunk during training.

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**ABOVE:** The U.S. Navy's Asiatic Fleet off the harbor of Hankow, China, in 1923. USS *Stewart* is recognizable as the larger ship in the middle distance of this photograph. **BELOW:** A torpedo flies toward the water from a starboard tube aboard the destroyer USS *Stewart* during training in 1930. The destroyer was captured with the fall of the port of Surabaya on the island of Java in 1942 and refitted as a patrol boat with the Imperial Japanese Navy.

ordered from Manila to the Dutch East Indies for their own safety.

However, the East Indies would not be safe for long. On December 8 (in their time zone), the American and Allied vessels moored at the Dutch Port of Tarakan, an important oil facility in Borneo, received a rude awakening. A terse message read, "Japan started hostilities; govern yourselves accordingly." It was, of course, news of the attack on Pearl Harbor. For the rest of December the destroyer, now on a wartime footing, was charged with escorting naval auxiliary vessels from the doomed Philippines to Darwin, Australia.

In the second week of January 1942, *Stewart* with four other destroyers and the light cruisers *Boise* and *Marblehead* departed Darwin to escort the Dutch transport ship M.S. *Bloemfontein* and American transports *Chaumont* and *Holbrook* in the waters of the Torres Strait, the narrowest passage between Australia and New Guinea. These ships had arrived in Brisbane on December 22 with the Pensacola Convoy, which was diverted from its original destination, the Philippines, when war broke out. Now *Bloemfontein's* cargo of 48 (75mm) field artillery pieces and their artillerymen, unable to reach Manila, were slated for Java to assist the Dutch in defending the island against the onrushing Japanese.

At the end of January, *Stewart* joined the cruiser *Marblehead* and ships from Australia and Holland in patrolling the Makassar Strait between Borneo and the island of Sulawesi (Celebes). This was the last open link for ships



fleeing the nearly surrounded Philippines and for Allied ships to strike at Japanese transports.

The Allied flotilla was spotted by Japanese scout planes, and bombers were dispatched against them. In the ensuing action, *Marblehead* was damaged and *Stewart* escorted her slow retreat to the Dutch port of Tjilatjap (Cilacap) in southern Java. The aging cruiser had taken on too much water to glide over the shallow sandbar into port and had to steam, cautiously in her derelict condition, all the way to New York to undergo repairs.

*Stewart* was then assigned to the coalition of Allied naval assets known as the American-British-Dutch-Australian (ABDA) Command under Dutch Admiral Karel Doorman. The ships of the four nations had issues of commonality in communication, language, tradi-

tions, fleet maneuvers, and assumptions about each other and no time to sort things out.

The Allied ships, mainly aging cruisers and destroyers, were not yet assembled when the Japanese invaded Bali on February 19, 1942. In response, Doorman sent his ships piecemeal to the attack. In the ensuing Battle of Badung Strait, the Allies sought to destroy the Japanese landing transports and their escorts. The combined Allied fleet was superior in numbers and firepower to the Japanese force, but since they did not combine before they attacked, the Japanese were able to defeat each of the two separate columns in turn. *Stewart* led the second attack, three hours after the first one had failed.

In the confused night action, at which the Japanese excelled at this time of the war, *Stewart* was hit several times, mangling her torpedo tubes and splintering her boats. Worse, she was hit below the waterline aft, and the sea poured into her steering engine room. Even though that room was flooded with two feet of water, she still answered her helm and maintained station until the battle was over.

The next morning, she limped into the port at Surabaya in eastern Java for repair. On February 22, she was hurriedly moved into the port's 15,000-ton floating dry dock. Local dock workers placed supporting blocks underneath her keel, but their work proved inadequate.

Even while in dry dock many of *Stewart's* crew were aboard in their bunks while the captain, Lieutenant Commander Harold Smith, and his staff were meeting in the wardroom. When the dry dock was lifted and the ship began to rise out of the water, the supports gave way, dropping *Stewart* at a 37-degree angle on her port side in the 12 feet of water that remained in the dry dock. One propeller shaft was severely bent, and the hull was further compromised. As she rolled, her officers were thrown across the wardroom and the crew below were hurled from their bunks. Everyone scrambled to get out, and fortunately no one was hurt.

After a quick assessment it was estimated that repairs would take at least three weeks, time they did not have. To add insult to injury, a Japanese bomber hit *Stewart* amidships causing more damage. There was no time to get her upright, pump out the water and spilled oil, bang and weld her leaky hull, and get her underway on one propeller to Australia. *Stewart* was abandoned and struck from the Navy list of active ships. Her crew was broken up and sent to join the crews of the remaining American destroyers on the Java station, *Parrott*, *Pillsbury*, and *Edwards*.

Port authorities set off demolition charges within the ship, and the dry dock itself was scut-



Sporting her original four stacks, the destroyer USS *Stewart* lies moored in harbor in this pre-World War II photograph.

tled before the Dutch abandoned Surabaya on March 2. The Japanese moved in the next week. They found *Stewart* still on her side with much of the ship under water. There she sat while the occupiers tended to the more important work of getting oil out of the ground and into tankers bound for home.

Finally, almost a year later in February 1943, the Japanese raised the submerged dry dock along with the unfortunate destroyer. The newly refurbished dry dock became known as No. 102 Naval Construction Department. A navy contractor named Lieutenant Fukui Shizuo began work on the great number of repairs needed to restore *Stewart* and make her seaworthy. Shizuo switched out her guns, with two captured Dutch Army 75mm anti-aircraft guns, two 12.7mm anti-aircraft guns, and two Japanese 3rd Year Type 6.5mm machine guns. He also mounted a Type 94 depth charge thrower and Type 2 Mk depth charge rails along with 72 depth charges. Type 93 sonar was added. In addition, *Stewart*'s two forward funnels were combined into one as in other Japanese ships.

On September 20, *Stewart* was commissioned into the Japanese Navy and renamed IJN *Patrol Boat 102* (PB-102). Japanese destroyers of the time were much larger and more heavily armed than their Western counterparts, so *Stewart* was demoted to a patrol boat.

In early September, she was thoroughly cleaned and fumigated before a crew was assembled. She then underwent sea and weapons trials. In mid-October, she weighed anchor in Surabaya bound for Balikpapan, Borneo, while escorting the oil tankers *Kenyo Maru* and *Nichiei Maru*. On her first voyage, lookouts

spotted a periscope, and PB-102 dropped depth charges in response. For the rest of the year, she escorted tanker convoys and performed anti-submarine sweeps between Borneo and the heavily fortified island of Truk (now Chuuk).

On March 9, 1944, the crew had a scare from a submarine attack. One torpedo missed the ship by 65 feet astern, and another struck her port side with a great thud but did not explode. An inspection revealed no damage. On March 22, PB-102 evaded two more submarine launched torpedoes.

On May 6, while she was escorting a troop convoy from Manila through the North Celebes Sea, the American submarine USS *Gurnard* (SS-254) sank three of the transports, *Tajima Maru*, *Aden Maru*, and *Amatsusan Maru*, which was initially set ablaze but remained afloat. *Gurnard* was forced under and withstood a depth charge attack numbering nearly 100 charges, some of them from PB-102, but survived to find *Amatsusan Maru* making little headway. She was sunk with another torpedo. Altogether there was great loss of life. For the rest of May, PB-102 was beset with persistent boiler problems and retired to Cavite in Manila Bay for repair. In June, she continued convoy duty. However, boiler problems persisted throughout the war. She was no longer able to reach her designated speed.

By this time, long-range American reconnaissance planes had observed a flush deck Japanese warship. Though the ship had three funnels instead of four, and no other Japanese warship had a flush deck and other distinctly American features. It was a puzzle for a time.

In the moonlight of the predawn hours of

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August 24, American submarines *Harder* (SS-257) and *Hake* (SS-256) moved into Dasol Bay, north of Manila, where their periscopes were spotted. Lieutenant Commander Frank E. Haylor, the captain of *Hake*, misidentified the two vessels that were steaming toward them. One of them was *PB-102*, which he mistook for a Siamese destroyer with three stacks, the *Phra Ruang*. The other ship, also misidentified, was the anti-submarine escort ship *CD-22*, which was thought to be a minelayer.

While *PB-102* turned back into the harbor to protect shipping there, *CD-22* attacked and sank *Harder* with all hands. *Hake* escaped. *Harder* had been one of the most successful American submarines scoring 20 ½ victories on her six patrols. Her daring captain, Commander Samuel Dealey, would be the posthumous recipient of the Medal of Honor.

On August 30 and September 1, *PB-102* brought in a convoy to Takao, Taiwan, as the harbor twice came under American bombing attacks. All of *PB-102*'s guns blazed away at the attackers, but no success was claimed.

In mid-September, *PB-102* was dry docked at Muko Jima, near Kure, for repair and refit. Her funnels were lowered, and more ballast was added to give her a lower profile in the water, even though it further slowed her speed. Her



Bearing the markings of a Japanese warship, the *Stewart* lies in the harbor of Hiro Wan, Japan, on October 29, 1945. This photograph was taken after the destroyer was returned to the U.S. Navy; however, the Japanese flag and her designation as patrol boat P102 are visible amidships.

aging Dutch guns were traded for Japanese made 80mm (3.1-inch) antiaircraft guns fore and aft. Twelve Type 96 25mm antiaircraft guns were also added along with 72 new depth charges, updated radar, and sonar.

One of the aging and leaking boilers was reworked. Three of the four boilers were now working, bringing her best speed to 26 knots. On October 18, she took up her duties again as an escort, this time protecting a large convoy to Foochow (Fuzhou), China. She then plied the waters between Taiwan and the Philippines,

escorting convoys and damaged ships which lagged behind.

On November 25, 1944, in the Luzon Strait, the submarine USS *Atule* (SS-403) fired a spread of six bow torpedoes and two from her stern tubes. Two of the ships in *PB-102*'s convoy were hit. One, *Patrol Boat 38*, exploded and sank instantly while *Manju Maru* slowed to a dead stop and sank by the stern. Estimates were that 700 of the 1300 military passengers on board (including survivors of the sunken battleship *Musashi*) were killed either in the initial explo-



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sion or by drowning. *PB-102* could do little.

Things got worse. On December 3, while *PB-102* escorted a convoy from Taiwan to Singapore, torpedoes from USS *Pampanito* (SS-383) damaged *Seishin Maru*. Later that same day, USS *Pipefish* (SS-388) sank another ship. The convoy scattered, and the surviving ships individually headed for the nearby island of Hainan.

*PB-102* continued her endless round of escort duties and occasional patchwork repair into 1945. Then on April 27 at 2234 hours, her sonar operator picked up an incoming aerial contact. *PB-102* changed course, placing herself between the aerial intruder and the convoy. She was set upon by two Consolidated PBV Catalina flying boats attacking at low level. *PB-102*'s gunners shot down one of them making an overconfident approach. The other PBV dropped its bombs, which missed, and then strafed her decks before departing.

*PB-102*'s hull was riddled by bomb fragments from a near miss and machine-gun fire, opening nearly 100 small holes in her thin hull. Her surface-search radar antenna was damaged, and a rudder cable snapped temporarily putting steering out of action. At 2300, she was attacked by another PBV, followed by yet another attack at 2307. Only the late hour and darkness saved her. The next day, with her steering under control, *PB-102* fended off more air attacks against her convoy and finally arrived in port at Moji in Japan.

In late August 1945 the patrol boat was docked at Hiro Bay east of Kure with a reduced crew. That is where *PB-102* was discovered and inspected by three U.S. naval officers. The hard-used ship was found to be rat infested and in poor condition. The Japanese crew and dock workers were ordered to thoroughly clean, fumigate, and paint the ship. The Americans hoisted their flag, once again, aboard their lost destroyer.

On October 29, she was boarded by an American prize crew, and the next day she was recommissioned in the U.S. Navy simply as *DD-224*, since another destroyer was given the name *Stewart* (DE-238) when *DD-224* was presumed lost on Java. *Stewart* (DD-238), survives today on display in the port of Galveston, Texas.

*DD-224* soon left for home, but her engines, constantly busy since 1920, failed and she had to be towed. She entered San Francisco Bay on March 26, 1946. There she was removed from the Navy list and decommissioned.

Finally on May 24, 1946, ex-*Stewart* (DD-224) was towed out to sea and used as a target ship by rocket firing Vought F4U Corsair and Grumman F6F Hellcat fighter planes, which sank her, ending one of the most unique chapters in American and Japanese naval history. □

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## The Allies' Near-Catastrophic Intelligence Failure

**A colossal Allied intelligence failure preceded the launch of the Ardennes Offensive in December 1944, and the result was nearly catastrophic.**

### **AFTER THE TUMULTUOUS LIBERATION OF PARIS AND THE GERMAN ARMY'S**

eastward flight from France, Allied hopes rose high in the late summer and autumn of 1944. Nevertheless, The Wehrmacht was fighting stubbornly, inflicting heavy losses before the pursuing British, American, and Canadian armies. But the Germans were definitely on the run, and the possibility of an Allied victory by the year's end bred delusions and a false euphoria in the Allied headquarters. The Germans were finally cracking; it was believed, and were no longer capable of a major offensive effort.

However, a lull set in as the Allied push toward the gates of the Third Reich lost steam. Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery's bold Operation Market-Garden failed to capture the Rhine crossings at Arnhem, and Lt. Gen. George S. Patton Jr.'s drive into Lorraine stalled. With a concerted offensive strategy lacking, the Allied armies outran their supply lines and lost momentum.

By September 1944, after the Allies' sweep across France, Belgium, and Luxembourg, the supposedly defeated German Army had stopped the Allies cold. American units tried again and again to batter their way through the concrete-

and-steel Siegfried Line (West Wall), a seven-week struggle to reduce German defenses around Aachen that proved costly, and several U.S. divisions were being chewed up needlessly in the bitter Hurtgen Forest campaign.

Nevertheless, on October 8, 1944, General Omar N. Bradley, commander of the U.S. 12th Army Group, told Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, chief of staff to General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Allied supreme commander, "If the other fellow would only hit us now! I'd welcome a counterattack. We could kill many more Germans with a good deal less effort if they would only climb out of their holes and come after us for a change."

Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler was actually using the lull on the Western Front to reequip and reinforce his garrisons along the West Wall, and Bradley would not have to wait long for a counterattack.

The Allied setbacks in September 1944 gave Hitler time to consider a major effort to regain the initiative. He plotted his "revenge" while recuperating from injuries suffered in the July 20 assassination attempt at his Rastenburg headquarters in East Prussia. The Fuehrer ruled out a strike against

**German soldiers enter a French village during the opening hours of the Ardennes Offensive of December 1944. Intelligence reports of a German buildup of men and materiel were virtually ignored by senior American commanders in the days leading up to the offensive.**

# Harvard Doctor's Discovery Restores Men's Sex Lives

Clinical trials confirm arteries open by 41% with just ONE dose, and men who took the active ingredient were 6 times more likely to achieve a harder erection!

Men across the country are switching to a new pill that gives them more blood flow for better stamina and sexual performance.

It's based off a breakthrough made by famed Harvard doctor Joseph Loscalzo. After studying blood flow for 45 years, he's discovered a simple way to open arteries by an astonishing 41%.

All it took was a single, daily dose of a no-drug, no side effect, 100% safe natural compound.

This discovery was a major breakthrough for men because better blood flow also dramatically improves a man's ability to get and keep an erection.

## Why So Much Excitement?

The astonishing research also solves a decades-long medical mystery about nitric oxide.

Nitric oxide is the best-selling sexual performance enhancer in history. It won a Nobel Prize in 1998. And millions of men today turn to traditional nitric oxide therapies. In fact, even the "little blue pill" works in-part by enhancing the effects of nitric oxide.

But here's the problem - not all men get improved sexual performance from these therapies.

Dr. Loscalzo's research reveals why. He discovered that oxidative stress (i.e. free-radicals) can limit production of nitric oxide. In other words, free radicals can make supplementing with nitric oxide ineffective.

Fortunately, his research also showed that the right antioxidant can solve this problem by eliminating free radicals that prevent the body from producing nitric oxide. The result is better blood flow and better erections.

## Sexual Performance Breakthrough Almost Lost

While this discovery could help millions of men struggling with erection issues, Dr. Loscalzo

is a cardiologist and does not focus on this area of medicine.

However, the scientists at the Applied Scientific Research Labs didn't want the discovery to go to waste. The Colorado-based company has been an industry leader in men's health and performance products for nearly a decade. They built upon Dr. Loscalzo's breakthrough to develop an amazing new erection-boosting formula called Viacor.

Of course, it contains proven nitric oxide boosters. But unlike ineffective products, Viacor also contains the key antioxidant needed to ensure free radicals don't keep the nitric oxide from working. The result is arteries open, blood-flow increases, and erections improve.

According to the company's president, Steve Young, Viacor is going to be a major game-changer for men. "We know guys are frustrated by the fact that so many products just don't work. Dr. Loscalzo's research showed us why. This is a major breakthrough that should help thousands of men improve their sex lives."

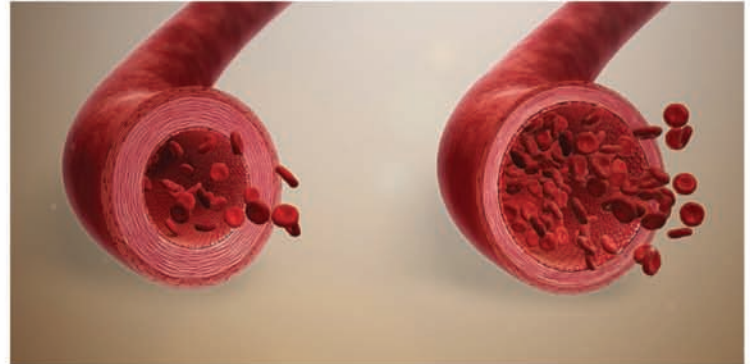
## How It Works

Erection strength and staying power depend on healthy blood flow.

Nitric oxide is the molecule that triggers the blood vessels to open up and allow more blood to flow through them. It is produced in the endothelium, which is part of the inner wall of the blood vessel.

When men are young, their arteries are flexible and they have this molecule in abundance. As a result, sexual performance is not a problem.

However, blood vessels stiffen and get thicker as you age, and less nitric oxide is produced. As Dr. Loscalzo's research showed, this is made worse by the effect of oxidative stress and free radicals.



A discovery by a Harvard doctor opens arteries by 41% resulting in better blood flow and sexual performance.

Viacor is the world's first pill to address oxidative stress and nitric oxide deficiency.

Unlike the many ineffective products on the market, it delivers powerful nitric oxide boosting ingredients in clinically tested doses. Viacor also contains the exact antioxidant researchers used to open arteries 41%!

## Impressive Clinical Results Show Harder Erections, More Sex, And "Very Satisfied"

Boosting nitric oxide and limiting oxidative stress offers massive sexual benefits to men.

Clinical testing on the ingredients found in Viacor confirms this.

One such placebo-controlled study was published in the prestigious journal *Urology*. In it, men who took an ingredient in Viacor were 6 times more likely to achieve a harder erection than those taking a placebo.

And with increased performance came more sex. On average, those men taking the ingredient in Viacor experienced 68% more sexual episodes per month. Furthermore, many of the men taking it reported being "very satisfied."

## 110% Money-Back Guarantee

Feedback from men across the country using Viacor has been

so positive, the company is now offering an unprecedented guarantee.

Men who purchase in the next 48 hours are eligible for a 110% money-back guarantee. The company's president, Steve Young, says, "There are dozens and dozens of pills out there that don't work. We wouldn't offer a guarantee like this if we weren't certain our product was different."

Simply take the pill as directed. You must enjoy fast and impressive results. Otherwise, return the product as directed and you'll receive 100% of your money back plus an extra 10%.

## How to Get Viacor

Viacor is not yet available in retail stores. But the company has set up a toll-free number so men can reclaim their virility right now. It's **1-888-597-0898**. Men should call now to get this hot new pill at a discount for the next 48 hours.

The hotline will be open for the next 48 hours. Only a limited discount supply of Viacor is available. When supplies run out, the phone number will be shut down to allow time to restock. Call **1-888-597-0898** to secure your supply. You don't need a prescription. Use Promo Code: **VC21** to receive the special discount. If lines are busy keep trying, all calls will be answered.



**ABOVE:** Hitler greets SS Oberst Gruppenführer Sepp Dietrich in a photo taken shortly after the July 20, 1944, attempt on Hitler's life. Dietrich was a key figure in the execution of the Ardennes Offensive, leading the Sixth Panzer Army into battle. **BELOW:** Allied Intelligence officers learned that Hitler had disclosed to Hiroshi Oshima (left), Japanese ambassador to Nazi Germany, that a major offensive on the Western Front was being planned in late 1944.



**Hitler and several of his generals pore over a military map in this photo taken in 1940. Four years later, Hitler had become dissatisfied with many of his top commanders. When his subordinates expressed concerns for the success of the desperate gamble in the West, the Fuhrer was undeterred and ordered the Ardennes Offensive to proceed.**

the Soviets because he perceived no operational objective that would undermine Marshal Josef Stalin's political will.

Hitler viewed the Anglo-American threat with less respect. Perhaps a major attack could split their armies or even drive the British—virtually exhausted after five years—from the war. Able General Heinz Guderian, new chief of the General Staff, urged Hitler to give priority to the Eastern Front, but the Fuehrer, minimizing Soviet strength as he had done in the +9past, discounted the advice and set his sights westward. He was soon tempted to repeat his spectacular “blitzkrieg” success of May 1940 with a push through the Ardennes Forest.

Concentrating all available forces for such a major strike, he believed he could achieve two objectives: divide and defeat the British-Canadian and U.S. Armies in France and recapture the strategic port of Antwerp, Belgium, 125 miles distant. A long-deluded strategist who

had lost touch with reality, the Nazi dictator believed that he could still win the war.

The Allied high commanders had been on the offensive for so long that they could not imagine the enemy taking the offensive and were sure that the German Army—while still fighting with characteristic tenacity—was on its last legs. Eisenhower and his generals counted on caution and orthodoxy on the enemy's side in view of the fact that Hitler had reappointed 70-year-old Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt as his western commander-in-chief. The Allied commanders were to be proved wrong in all these respects.

When the Fuehrer laid out his demands for the operation on September 16, a number of generals immediately raised doubts. Guderian voiced grave misgivings and said that the Soviet Army was about to attack in overwhelming strength, while Jodl warned of Allied aerial supremacy and the likelihood of paratroop landings. Rundstedt was “staggered.” He said later, “It was obvious to me that the available forces were far too small for such an extremely ambitious plan.” Field Marshal Walther Model, Hitler's personal choice to command the offensive, was dismayed. “This damned thing hasn't got a leg to stand on,” he fumed.

After the July assassination attempt, Hitler was a sick man. His face was pale and puffy, his skin was yellowing, he was weary, and he

wanted no food. He was stooped, his left arm twitched violently, and he dragged one leg behind him. But his spirits were as fiery as ever, and the prospect of a new offensive lifted him. He was like a man revived, observed Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels.

Operational plans were devised by the Wehrmacht high command in September, finalized, and presented to Hitler on October 9. Jodl outlined them for senior western commanders on November 3.

Hitler signed an order on November 10 to prepare for the offensive, and, in a miracle of railroading, the Reichsbahn delivered 200,000 men, 600 tanks, and 2,000 field guns to wooded areas between the northeastern Luxembourg town of Echternach and the German town of Prum, south of Aachen on the Belgian border.

The German preparations were cloaked under some of the tightest security measures in military history. Only a handful of high-ranking officers were briefed on the operation until the last moment, and each of them took several oaths to guard secrecy. They faced the death penalty if found guilty of any breach. Civilians of questionable heritage were evacuated from the front-line areas, and troops of Alsatian or other doubtful lineage were weeded from forward combat units. Armies and corps changed their headquarters codenames, troop movements into assembly areas were made at

night to muffle noise, and motor traffic was prohibited within five kilometers of the Ardennes front. By mid-November, the concentration of units was well underway.

There was considerable activity in the scenic 40-mile-by-20-mile Eifel region separating western Germany and eastern Luxembourg. With each dawn, it seemed to the villagers, batches of fresh-faced young men in German field-gray were appearing in their midst as if by magic. There were soldiers and equipment in sheds and barns, shell cases were stacked in gardens, and Tiger and Panther tanks, personnel carriers, flak guns, and horse-drawn wagons were hidden everywhere. Down on the River Prum, infantry companies practiced crossings in rubber boats. By the end of the month, the whole area between the Siegfried Line and the Rhine and Moselle rivers was crammed with German troops.

The launching of the offensive was set for December 12, 1944, but it was moved to the 16th because the desired period of bad weather was not predicted. On December 11-12, army, corps, and division commanders assembled in a large underground room. The top-ranking officers expected to be briefed on the overall picture of the offensive, but Hitler lectured them for more than an hour on Frederick the Great, the history of Germany, and National Socialism. He rambled, ranted, and harangued, and left his listeners with the sense of a final, desperate, Wagnerian effort. None believed that the offensive could succeed, but all were determined to carry out their orders to the best of their ability.

That mid-December, few Allied commanders seriously feared that the Germans were capable of mounting any major attack. The exceptions were General Patton, commander of the Third Army, and Lt. Gen. William H. Simpson, commander of the U.S. Ninth Army. Patton had said on November 24, "The First Army is making a terrible mistake in leaving the Eighth Corps static, as it is highly probable that the Germans are building up east of them." Simpson saw an attack on the corps front as "a capability."

In an estimate of the overall military situation, the usually astute Montgomery confidently told his troops on December 15, "The enemy is at present fighting a defensive campaign on all fronts; his situation is such that he cannot stage major offensive operations." General Bradley voiced the same opinion, and the optimism was shared by most Allied intelligence experts.

Late in November, Brigadier General Edwin L. Sibert, Bradley's short, stolid intelligence chief, had called Bradley's attention to the pos-



**As the German attack in the opening hours of the Battle of the Bulge made good progress in most areas, thousands of American soldiers were taken prisoner.**

sibility of an attack in the Ardennes. On December 12, Sibert told Bradley, "The breaking point may develop suddenly and without warning." Then later he said, "However, I want to emphasize that I only noted the German capability of an attack through the lightly-held Ardennes, and at no time did I specifically state that this capability would be—to use our own peculiar intelligence language—'implemented.'" Sibert and other intelligence officers later had doubts about the enemy's perceived weakness but hesitated to voice forceful warnings for fear of being labeled defeatists.

The great German buildup just a few miles east of the Allied lines was a master stroke of secrecy and deception, yet there were continued rumors of an offensive designed to recapture Antwerp. Information reached Allied intelligence that something special was afoot, and a captured document revealed that Hitler himself had ordered "the formation of a special unit for employment on reconnaissance and special tasks on the Western Front. The personnel, it said, would be volunteers "fully trained in single combat" and should have "knowledge of the English language and also the American dialect." Commenting on the document, the U.S. First Army intelligence section said that "it obviously presages special operations for sabotage, attacks on command posts and other vital installations by infiltrated and parachuted specialists."

By December 10, American intelligence was aware that five German divisions had left Hol-

land for destinations unknown; that the German 15th Army headquarters had been moved from Holland to the Roer sector, where it was reported to have relieved the Fifth Panzer Army; that there were three refitted panzer divisions between Coblenz and the Luxembourg border, and that several new grenadier divisions had arrived in the Eifel, the German end of the Ardennes.

Further, American cryptologists had broken the Japanese diplomatic code and learned that Hitler had informed Tokyo's ambassador to Berlin, Baron Hiroshi Oshima, that he was organizing a new army and planning a "large-scale offensive in the West." Detailed secret reports were circulated to fewer than 20 Allied government and military leaders, but by the time that December rolled around, Eisenhower and his aides had apparently forgotten or discounted them. The Allied intelligence setup was hampered by clashing personalities and a lack of coordinated staff work on the part of Hodges' U.S. First Army and Bradley's 12th Army Group.

Meanwhile, as the Allied high command turned a blind eye, intelligence reports continued to hint at an alarming German buildup. Tank formations and newly-formed infantry divisions were spotted moving toward the Ardennes, two "blitz" panzer divisions arrived in the "quiet" sector, and bridging equipment was observed being hauled to the River Our, which covered the southern half of the American front. Allied intelligence was aware of the



**American soldiers inspect a German tank that has been knocked out during the Battle of the Bulge. Despite initial successes, the German advance was stymied as pockets of defenders made heroic stands against the enemy, disrupting the precise German timetable. The initial Intelligence failure, however, cost the Americans dearly in terms of casualties and equipment lost.**

existence of the new Sixth Panzer Army but did not know of its whereabouts. A German soldier captured on December 4 revealed that a big attack was being readied in the area, and his account was confirmed by other prisoners. All said that the attack was scheduled the week before Christmas.

Photo reconnaissance missions by U.S. and Royal Air Force fighters reported considerable enemy activity behind General Middleton's corps front, including gun emplacements, troop concentrations, road and rail movements, and increased numbers of aircraft. Trucks bearing Allied white stars were also spotted by the reconnaissance pilots. Around December 11, a teletype message from the headquarters of the U.S. Ninth Air Force to the Ninth Tactical Air Force and lower units warned that the Luftwaffe had built up enough strength opposite the U.S. First Army front to make penetrations of about 60 miles above the Allied lines and that the penetrations would probably be attempted during the next two weeks.

While the Germans marshaled their forces in front of the unsuspecting Eighth Corps front, G.I.s and their officers caroused at Friday night parties in garrison towns and grew lax about sending out patrols. But not all of the men on the line felt as secure as their rear headquarters

staffs, and some were distinctly uneasy about the ominous quiet a few miles away where the enemy was known to be.

One such was Captain Frederick Feiker, whose K Company, 110th Infantry Regiment, 28th Infantry Division was facing "Skyline Drive," the main road connecting St.-Vith and Luxembourg. He sent out patrols by day because he had a gnawing feeling that something was not quite right. The patrols were withdrawn when darkness fell. All was too quiet, and something was going on, Feiker sensed. But what? On the VIII Corps front there had been some mysterious disappearances of lone Americans, and a jeep carrying three Army doctors had been ambushed. Their bodies were found, but their uniforms and the jeep were gone. Meanwhile, shivering and apprehensive, Captain Feiker and his comrades strung out along the line peered through the dark woods and listened. They would not have long to wait.

The night of Friday, December 15, 1944, was dark, frosty, and quiet, and a thick mist hung over the rugged, snow-carpeted Ardennes Forest as German troops moved up to their assault positions on an 80-mile front between Monschau, south of Aachen, and Echternach, northwest of the German city of Trier. Three armies comprising 250,000 men, tanks, halftracks, flak

guns, armored cars, and support vehicles had been moved secretly to the line of departure.

By midnight, the black-clad panzer crews and grenadiers were at their assigned assault posts. Shivering but enthusiastic, they stood silently as officers read a message from Field Marshal Rundstedt. "We gamble everything," it said. "You carry with you the holy obligation to give all to achieve superhuman objectives for our fatherland and our Fuehrer!"

At 5:30 AM, the next morning, Saturday, December 16, 1944, "all hell broke loose" along the 80-mile Ghost Front as German 88mm flak guns and artillery pieces blasted, mortars thumped, and rockets hissed from their launching platforms. The ground shook, and hundreds of panzers clanked forward. Hitler's great counteroffensive, his final gamble, was underway.

For five days, Hitler's luck with the weather held. Catching the Americans by surprise, his armies scored several breakthroughs and carved a 60-mile bulge in the Allied lines. But the counter-offensive slowed down as American resistance stiffened and a critical fuel shortage hobbled the German columns. Several of Patton's divisions moved up from the south, British armored units hastened to defend the River Meuse and shield Antwerp, and the enemy lost the race to seize the key Belgian road center of Bastogne.

The weather cleared two days before Christmas, enabling British and American planes to lend support, and Hitler's big gamble fizzled. With massive attacks on the salient, the Allies assumed the offensive on January 3, 1945. By the end of that month, the bulge was wiped out. The campaign delayed the Allied advance into Germany by six weeks.

Besides the strengths and weaknesses of the U.S. Army, the Battle of the Bulge portrayed in bold relief serious flaws in the Allied intelligence network and a near-fatal disregard of the essential military dictum, "Know your enemy, or die." General Eisenhower stated, "A shocking deficiency that impeded all constructive planning existed in the field of intelligence. The stepchild position of G-2 in our General Staff system was emphasized in many ways."

Historian Robert E. Merriam, author of *Dark December*, wrote, "We were completely, utterly fooled," while Ike's British intelligence chief, Brigadier Kenneth Strong, said simply, "If Intelligence was not to blame, who was?" □

*Author Michael D. Hull passed away some months ago. He was a frequent contributor to WWII History and wrote on a variety of topics from his home in Enfield, Connecticut.*

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Both the Army and Navy trained enlisted men as pilots as early as 1912. The Army alone awarded pilot wings to 2,693 enlisted men between 1912 and 1943, when enlisted pilot training was suspended. Of that number, 2,472 served during 1939-1945. Another 1,100 or so were trained as limited-duty liaison pilots, while an undetermined number served as glider pilots before they were commissioned. The Navy trained a little over 1,000 enlisted pilots during the war, including Marines. It had been training sailors and Marines as pilots in limited numbers since 1916. Although the ranks of pre-war enlisted pilots were comparatively small, they made a substantial contribution.

Sergeants John H. Williamson, Ray Clifton, and William C. McDonald flew with Captain Claire Chennault and Lieutenant Haywood “Possum” Hansell as part of an Air Corps aerial demonstration team in the 1930s. They were the only pilots who could stay on Chennault’s wing. Seven prewar enlisted pilots became general officers.

In 1940, as America geared up for war, the Air Corps expanded. Requirements for aviation cadet training included completion of two years of college, but there was a shortage of qualified applicants. To meet its need, in December the Army lowered the educational



**ABOVE:** Country-and-Western singer Gene Autry was a private pilot before World War II, and after the conflict broke out, he became an Army Service pilot. **TOP LEFT:** With their BT-13 basic trainer aircraft in the background, a pair of flight students in the enlisted pilot training program confer following a flight.

## Sergeants, Service Pilots and Civilians

Pilots performed specific tasks during World War II. Many of them were civilian, non-commissioned and warrant officers, and women.

**MOST HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS OF WORLD WAR II AVIATION RELATE THE** experiences of commissioned officers, men who obtained their wings through completion of a military pilot training program. Yet, throughout World War II large numbers of pilots served in the military who either weren’t commissioned or had received their aeronautical rating as a military pilot without having completed a military undergraduate pilot training course. Others, including several thousand women, were employed or contracted by the military as civilians.

There were several categories of pilots who served in some form with the military who were either not commissioned as officers upon completion of their training or did not complete an undergraduate military pilot training course. Sergeant pilots completed the same training as aviation cadets and were issued the same wings but were awarded non-commissioned officer status at the completion of their training rather than commissions as officers. Service pilots were officers and NCOs who were brought into the military and awarded aeronautical status as military pilots based on previous civilian flying experience, but whose duties were restricted to non-combat flying.

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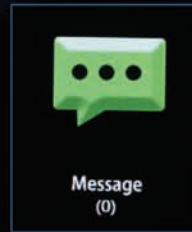
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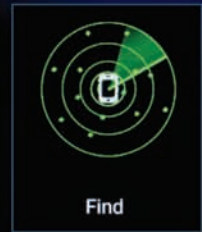


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**ABOVE: Sergeant pilots of the 25th Liaison Squadron gather around an L-5 Sentinel aircraft. They performed rescue missions in New Guinea, extracting downed pilots, and scouted enemy positions, which were often concealed beneath the jungle canopy. When Japanese positions were located, they regularly led fighters to these targets for strafing runs. RIGHT: A Flight Officer glider pilot stands in front of one of the wood-and-canvas Waco aircraft that he was trained to fly.**

requirements and began accepting enlisted men for pilot training, with the first classes scheduled to graduate in early 1942. Initially, they trained in the same classes with cadets and officer trainees but retained their enlisted rank. Once the enlisted pilot training program got underway, classes were segregated by rank.

At the completion of training the enlisted pilots were promoted—in some cases demoted—to the non-commissioned officer grade of staff sergeant. Assignments to advanced training for enlisted pilots were the same as for cadets; they were based on overall flying proficiency, class standing, and military needs. Many enlisted pilots trained on fighters and went overseas with fighter squadrons as NCO pilots. The Lockheed P-38 equipped 82nd Fighter Group included a number of NCO pilots when it went overseas in the fall of 1942 with Twelfth Air Force.

The first enlisted pilots to move overseas were members of the 6th Troop Carrier Squadron, which departed from Williams Field, Wisconsin, for a classified destination in the summer of 1942, which turned out to be the Southwest Pacific. Fifteen of the squadron's 26 pilots were NCOs, including two first pilots, Staff Sergeants Ernest C. Ford and Wibbur H. Weeden. All of the copilots were NCOs; Ford and Weeden commanded all-NCO crews.

Ford described his experiences in his book

*My New Guinea Diary*. After completing advanced training in P-40s, he was assigned to the 6th TCS at Williams Field in late July. He completed an airline training course in Pittsburgh to learn to fly the DC-3, then was assigned as a first pilot and given a crew consisting of another NCO as copilot, a crew chief, and radio operator.

The squadron was initially alerted to move to Europe with Eighth Air Force, but the movement was canceled and the men soon found themselves headed to Australia. They arrived in Brisbane on October 9, then flew north to Jackson Field at Port Moresby, New Guinea, four days later and began combat operations the following day.

NCO pilots flew all types of aircraft in combat, including fighters, transports, and bombers, particularly the Martin B-26 Marauder. As enlisted men, the NCO pilots were not subject to additional duties as officers were and were supposed to be exempt from details such as KP and policing the grounds that other enlisted men were required to pull. But due to their small numbers, they often ran into problems because it did not seem to be common knowledge in the Army that NCOs had been rated as pilots, much less that they had been granted certain privileges.

In late 1942, a new rank called Flight Officer was established, basically as a warrant offi-

cer position. Warrant officers are given a “warrant” rather than a commission and are considered as an in-between rank between the enlisted noncommissioned officer and commissioned officer ranks. With the change in regulations, most NCO pilots were awarded either commissions or warrants.

The sergeant pilots gave a good account of themselves. Eighteen became aces, and four reached star rank, including Charles E. “Chuck” Yeager, who later famously broke the sound barrier. Noted air show pilot Robert “Bob” Hoover was a sergeant pilot.

The use of gliders to transport squads of men and their equipment, vehicles, and artillery into landing zones on the battlefield demanded pilots, and most were drawn from the enlisted ranks. Upon completion of training, they were awarded wings with a “G” on the shield. Initially, glider pilots were given NCO rank upon completion of glider pilot training, but most were elevated to flight officer rank and some



were commissioned before they went overseas. Liaison pilots or L-pilots, however, were in a class by themselves.

Liaison pilot training commenced in September 1942, as a separate program to train pilots for low-powered airplanes to serve as artillery spotters. The initial group of 50 was sent to the artillery school at Ft. Sill, Oklahoma. Some of the first liaison pilots had been trained to fly gliders, while others were washouts from other pilot training programs. The light aircraft they would fly were equivalent to primary

trainers and thus required less skill and experience than higher-performance aircraft. Soldiers with limited flying experience—minimum requirements called for 60 hours of flight time—were selected for the program and sent to training schools, where they were given 40 hours of additional training in light aircraft before they were rated as pilots and sent to operational assignments.

Although the program was initially established to train pilots for artillery spotter duty, it was soon expanded to include other duties, including battlefield transportation for senior officers and evacuation of casualties. Upon graduation from the training program, graduates were awarded wings with an “L” on the shield in the center designating their status as liaison pilots. Except for a few officers in leadership positions, all L-pilots were NCOs.

Although liaison pilots were trained for “non-combat” duties, the pilots of the tiny “L-birds” often found themselves in hazardous situations. During the battle for the Philippines in 1945, pilots from the 25th Liaison Squadron performed what is perhaps their most famous feat. Elements of the 11th Airborne Division were surrounded and cut off on Leyte. Due to a shortage of troop carrier aircraft on Leyte at the time, the 25th Liaison Squadron was called on to fly supplies into the mountains. Liaison pilots, often associated with the artillery-spotting role, soon proved effective in evacuating casualties.

When Lieutenant Colonels Philip Cochran and John Allison were putting together the 5318th Provisional Air Unit to support British General Orde Wingate’s Chindits on an expedition into Burma, they included liaison aircraft and pilots on their list of must-haves. Liaison squadrons made up a substantial portion of the strength of the air commando groups which followed.

In March 1942 the Army authorized a new category of pilot designated as a “service pilot.” Service pilots were men who were offered positions as limited-duty pilots with the Army on the basis of their civilian flying experience after evaluation of their flying skills and, usually, a period of duty as a civilian contract pilot. Unlike civilian contract pilots and the famous WASP (Women’s Air Service Pilots), who were not military pilots, they had full military status. Some, such as future Senator Barry Goldwater, were commissioned while others were given warrants as flight officers. Still others were initially given NCO rank.

No doubt the most famous of the service pilots was western singer/actor Gene Autry, who enlisted in the Army on July 26, 1942, as

a technical sergeant. In a promotional move requested by the War Department to encourage volunteers, Autry, a private pilot, took the oath of enlistment during a broadcast of his popular radio show, “Melody Ranch.” He had obtained a multi-engine rating on his own prior to enlistment. After training to fly military aircraft, T/Sgt. Autry was assigned to the 91st Ferrying Squadron at Love Field in Dallas. After

two years as a sergeant pilot, Autry was given a warrant as a flight officer in July 1944.

By far, the largest user of service pilots was the Air Transport Command. Established in June 1942, from the headquarters of the former Ferry Command, the ATC’s initial role was to serve as a clearinghouse for the award of military contracts to the nation’s airlines and other

*Continued on page 82*



**ABOVE: Aviation pioneer Jacqueline Cochran inspects female cadets enlisted in the WASP (Women Airforce Service Pilots) Program. WASP pilots became famous for their contribution to the war effort, but few were ever trained to fly high-performance aircraft. BELOW: An Air Transport Command Douglas DC-3 flies above the Pyramids in Egypt. Established in June 1942, Air Transport Command was the largest user of service pilots during World War II, and many former ATC pilots later signed contracts to fly for civilian airlines.**



# TWO BATTLES AT SINGAPORE'S BUKIT TIMAH




**T**oday, Bukit Timah, meaning “Tin Hill” in Malay, is a residential and business neighborhood in the center of the island of Singapore approximately seven and one-half miles northwest of Singapore City.

On Upper Bukit Timah Road, directly opposite Bukit Timah Hill to the east, stands a commemorative World War II museum on the site of the old Ford Motor Factory. With the factory’s remnant façade still present, the museum is replete with relics, photographs, personal testimonies, and exhibits that historically recount the gruesome fighting and atrocious occupation of this island nation by the Japanese.

In 1942, the 600-foot Bukit Timah Hill, the highest elevation on the island, commanded the surrounding vicinity, which included large depots of Allied fuel, foodstuffs, and ammunition in addition to being proximate to the Peirce and MacRitchie Reservoirs that provided the one million citizens of Singapore City with their water supply.

A theme that there were actually two battles at this locale is carried throughout the museum. The first battle, on February 10-11, 1942, was in the general Bukit Timah area as the 5th and 18th Divisions of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) seized both Bukit Timah Hill and Village and repelled a fairly large-scale Allied counterattack late on February 11. The second was a noncombatant verbal “battle of wits and bluff”





BY FORCE OF ARMS AND BLUSTER,  
GENERAL TOMOYUKI YAMASHITA  
ACHIEVED A GREAT VICTORY FOR  
JAPAN AT SINGAPORE IN EARLY 1942.

BY JON DIAMOND

Flush with victory, Japanese troops march through the streets of Singapore in February 1942. General Yamashita inflicted a humiliating defeat on the British Army and captured the great colonial bastion by force of arms and sheer bluff. INSET: General Tomoyuki Yamashita sits across the table from British General Arthur E. Percival as the terms for the surrender of Singapore are hammered out. The wily Yamashita demanded the surrender of the larger British garrison, and his audacity paid a huge dividend with the British capitulation.



**ABOVE: Arriving at Singapore in August 1941 to shore up the defenses of the Malay Peninsula, these Australian troops went on to fight the Japanese bravely before their ignominious surrender in early 1942. BELOW: Soldiers of the Indian III Corps stand in ranks. The Indian formations were the primary ground force that opposed the Japanese during the lightning campaign to wrest the Malay Peninsula and the fortress of Singapore from their British and Commonwealth defenders.**



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between Lieutenant General Tomoyuki Yamashita, commander of the Japanese 25th Army, and British Lieutenant General Arthur E. Percival, General Officer Commanding (GOC), Singapore, which was centered at the Ford Motor Company's conference table during the surrender negotiations on February 15. In both "battles" at Bukit Timah, the invading Japanese overwhelmed the Allied defenders.

After the lightning Japanese conquest of the Malay Peninsula from December 8, 1941, to January 31, 1942, Yamashita's main invasion of Singapore Island occurred in strength on February 8, when the IJA 5th and 18th Divisions began crossing the Straits of Johore onto the northwest side of the island, where the British high command had not expected them to land. The late-evening amphibious assault in small

boats and landing craft was preceded by massive Japanese artillery and airstrikes against the Australian 22nd Brigade in the Western Area zone. After suffering heavy casualties in the initial landing waves, the Japanese were able to consolidate their beachhead, since the frontage that the solitary Australian brigade had to cover was too extensive.

The next Allied defeat at the so-called Jurong Line served as a prelude to the combat at Bukit Timah. The Jurong Line was a gap that ran along a minor ridge between the sources of the Kranji and Jurong Rivers. The 22nd Brigade began to fall back onto the Jurong Line after Percival ordered the destruction of the oil tanks near the demolished causeway that spanned the Straits on the night of February 9. The Jurong Line's positions were not fortified, but they provided the Allied troops reasonable fields of fire for machine and anti-tank guns. Additionally, the line was relatively short at roughly three miles and strongly manned by the retreating Australian 22nd along with the Indian 12th, 15th, and 44th Brigades.

Four Allied brigades seemed sufficient on paper to defend this improvised position. However, the Allies defending both Malaya and Singapore lacked tanks, constituting a monumental tactical-planning error. There were large dumps of food and fuel between the Jurong Line and Bukit Timah village, which Percival had to ensure did not fall into Japanese hands. Furthermore, the MacRitchie and Peirce Reservoirs, which were vital for Singapore City's water supply, were just to the northeast of Bukit Timah.

Field Marshal Archibald P. Wavell, head of the several-week-old, Java-based American-British-Dutch-Australian Command (ABDA-COM), which was responsible for Singapore's defense, visited the island for the last time on the afternoon of February 10. The situation was so tenuous on Singapore that the headquarters building of the Western Area Command, in which Wavell, Percival, and Australian Lieutenant General H.G. Bennett, met was shelled. There, the Allied triumvirate learned that the entire Jurong Line had been abandoned, not entirely due to casualties suffered by combat against the advancing IJA 5th and 25th Divisions, but mostly because of a succession of confused and anxious subordinate brigade commanders withdrawing on their own volition. The only defensive position before Bukit Timah was now open to the enemy.

Wavell ordered Bennett to mount a counterattack with the remaining elements of the four Allied brigades to recover the Jurong Line positions at the earliest opportunity. However, no counterattack was launched against the Japan-

ese due to Allied casualties and exhaustion. Instead, Percival made the strategic error of withdrawing further inland toward Singapore City. After less than two days of fighting, nearly one-third of Singapore Island was under Japanese control. Also, major components of Yamashita's 5th and 25th Divisions were nearing Bukit Timah Village.

Yamashita surmised that Bukit Timah Hill would be the next Allied defensive position and wanted an immediate attack before the Allies could reorganize after their recent setbacks of February 8-10. On the evening of February 10, the 5th Division had regrouped with some tanks around Tengah Airfield, west of Bukit Timah. At the same time, the 18th Division was on the Jurong Road, about three miles west of Bukit Timah. Both formations were ready to advance onto Bukit Timah Hill. From there, Japanese heavy artillery could eventually shell Singapore City, and infantry could move onto the reservoir catchment area. Japanese seizure of the Bukit Timah area would also compel the Allied garrison to abandon a large part of Singapore Island's fuel, food, and munitions depots.

As Japanese artillery ammunition was dwindling and with the heavier ordnance still on the other side of the straits, Yamashita ordered a nighttime bayonet attack for February 10-11 on Bukit Timah Hill with the 5th Division advancing east along the Choa Chu Kang Road and the 18th Division simultaneously moving down the Jurong Road. The Japanese commander anticipated a desperate struggle for this strategic location; however, confusion among the Allied troops and an absence of fixed defensive fortifications led to the rapid loss of the heights to the enemy.

The battleworthy Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders fought valiantly to maintain control of Bukit Timah Hill and the adjacent supply depots but could not resist the column of 50 Japanese 5th Division tanks advancing south from Bukit Panjang. The hastily constructed British defensive works were quickly swept away. Elements of the 12th Indian Brigade came under infantry and tank assaults as well as an accompanying mortar attack after dusk on February 10. A few Japanese tanks were disabled as the Indians withdrew to high ground about 200 yards east of Bukit Panjang near the Woodlands Road. The Australians similarly withdrew later that night. The Japanese infantry and armored column continued to move south down the Woodlands Road, entering Bukit Timah Village and halting there at 1:00 AM on February 11.

Australian troops trying to regain lost ground came under heavy Japanese machine-gun fire and infiltration as they took up positions near

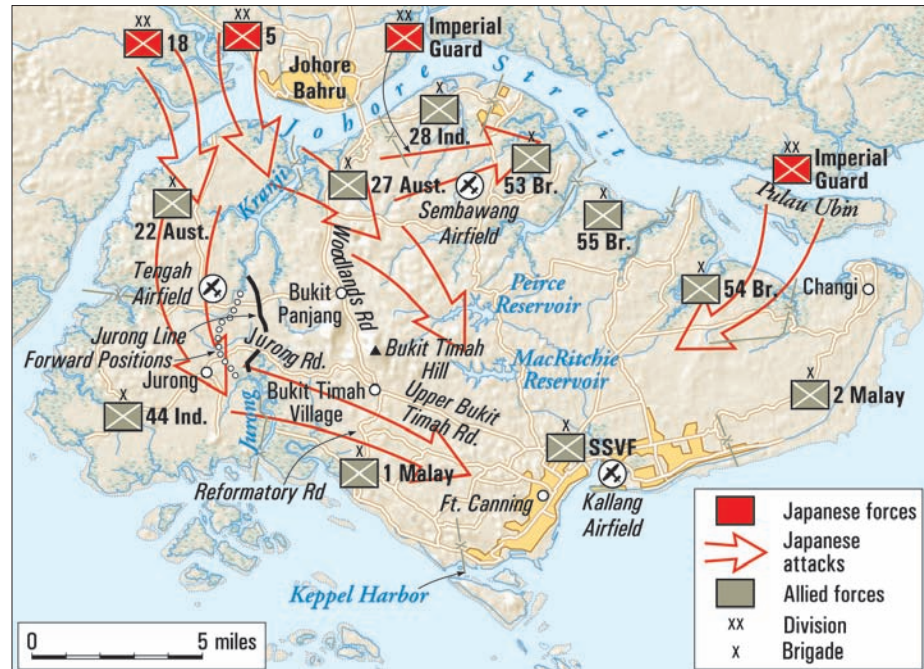
the Jurong Road and saw Bukit Timah Village ablaze in the distance. These Aussies of X Battalion, an ad hoc unit of 550 men, were almost annihilated by the Japanese in the predawn hours of February 11. Others from the 2/19th and 2/20th Battalions of the 22nd Brigade barely escaped Japanese infantry attacks. Unfortunately, a fuel depot east of Bukit Timah had been set ablaze and silhouetted the Australian positions.

Other British troops and elements of the Indian

15th Brigade attempted to reach Bukit Timah during the early hours of February 11, but they took heavy casualties from Japanese machine-gun and mortar fire near a low area called Sleepy Valley. These Indian troops of the 15th Brigade broke up into smaller formations and withdrew to the south near Reformatory Road.

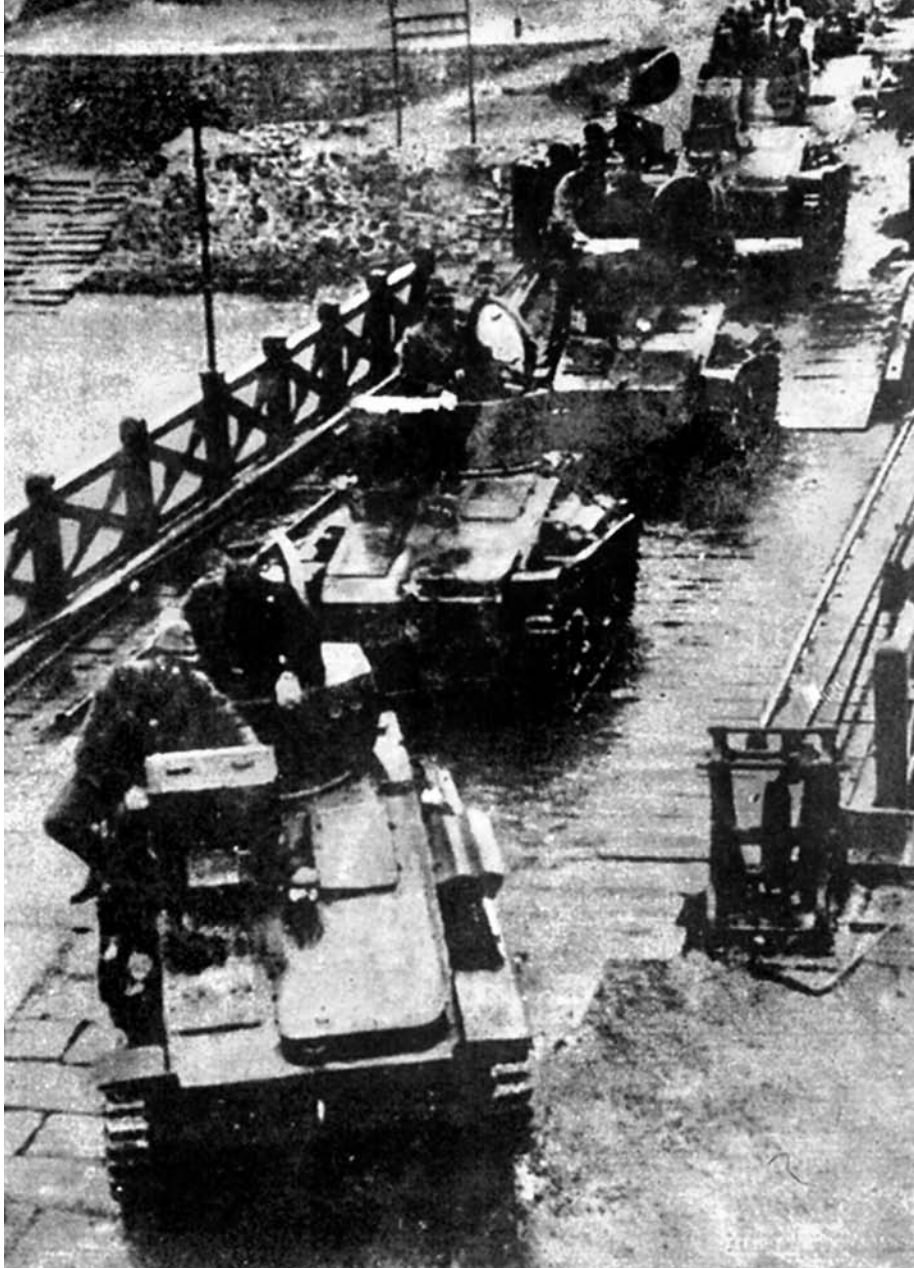
After the rout of major elements of the 12th and 15th Indian and the Australian 22nd Brigades, all that immediately separated the Japanese from Bukit Timah and Singapore City

Map © 2021 Philip Schwartzberg, Meridian Mapping, Minneapolis, MN



**ABOVE:** Japanese forces captured Bukit Timah Hill, fought off counterattacks, and threatened the infrastructure of Singapore City, providing General Yamashita with an opportunity to coerce British commander General Arthur Percival into surrendering. Percival was haunted by the prospect of massive military and civilian casualties due to starvation, disease, and lack of potable water. **BELOW:** Desperately fighting the advancing Japanese juggernaut, Australian soldiers man a 2-pounder anti-tank gun overlooking the Johore Causeway that linked Singapore city to the mainland of the Malay Peninsula.





**ABOVE:** Although Japanese armor was deemed inferior to Western tanks and fighting vehicles, the spearheads of Yamashita's conquering army in Malaya did include some armored formations. The British and Commonwealth defenders of Singapore, however, had no tanks at all to counter the strength of Japanese armor, a contingent of which is shown crossing a river. **OPPOSITE:** Smoke billows from an area of Singapore following a Japanese air raid in early 1942. The advancing Japanese moved swiftly down the Malay Peninsula and captured Singapore in an impressive feat of arms.

were a few British and Australian artillery and anti-tank guns and crews. After receiving news of the seizure of Bukit Timah Hill and Village at dawn of February 11, Yamashita ordered both his 5th and 25th Divisions to advance east toward the Upper Peirce and MacRitchie Reservoirs to strike the flank of an anticipated Allied counterattack on Bukit Timah that was expected to come up the Bukit Timah Road.

Early on the morning of February 11, Percival, with Wavell's encouragement, directed his subordinates to assemble a brigade-sized unit of British 18th Division troops, called Tomforce, to retake both Bukit Timah Village and Bukit

Timah Hill. Tomforce, under Lieutenant Colonel Lionel Thomas, had the dubious mission to attack Japanese tanks and infantry with only some armored cars and Bren carriers. The ad hoc brigade comprised the 18th Division's Reconnaissance Unit, the 4th Norfolks of the 54th Brigade, 1/5th Sherwood Foresters from the 55th Brigade and a battery of 2-pounder anti-tank guns. Most of these British troops had been shipwrecked the week before on their voyage to Singapore.

Tomforce moved up the Bukit Timah Road toward Bukit Timah Hill across a 2,000-yard front, encountering many retreating British,

Australian and Indian troops. Tomforce was subjected to Japanese ground-support airstrikes from land-based, twin-engined bombers of the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), as well as heavy Japanese infantry fire. Yamashita had taken Tomforce's move seriously, having diverted the IJN bombers from Keppel Harbor in the south to attack the British infantry.

Tomforce's assault eventually ground to a halt without much of a chance of dislodging the Japanese from Bukit Timah. By nightfall, surviving members of this unit along with some supporting Australians withdrew under difficult circumstances with Japanese infantry in pursuit.

Percival decided not to order any further counterattacks to regain Bukit Timah, choosing to gather his remaining forces around Singapore City in a 28-mile perimeter with Keppel Harbor to the southwest and Kallang Airfield at the northeastern end. Space to maneuver for Percival and his troops continued to dissipate as the Japanese now occupied almost half the island. Nevertheless, the Allies continued an intense field-artillery bombardment of Japanese positions in and around Bukit Timah.

As February 11 was also the anniversary of the coronation of the Emperor Jimmu, the legendary first emperor of Japan, Yamashita had decided to airdrop a request for surrender to Percival warning him about the potential harm that could come to the civilian population of Singapore City should an all-out assault become necessary. Yamashita also sent a signal to Imperial General Headquarters: "The Japanese Army, having stormed and captured Bukit Timah heights, has advised the surrender of Singapore city upon which we look down."

There were reasons why Yamashita seemed rash in continually pushing his attacks on Singapore without reestablishing his logistical lifeline. Yamashita was appointed commander of the 25th Army on November 5, 1941. Although respected by many of his peers, the newly-installed Prime Minister Hideki Tojo was a political enemy. Another enemy was his immediate superior, General Hisaichi Terauchi, commander of the Southern Army.

When Yamashita was relieved of command of Japanese forces in Manchuko in northern China and given command of the 25th Army, poised to invade Malaya and Singapore, he was well aware of his perilous political position and the need to achieve a quick, decisive victory that would protect him from demotion, further disfavor from Tojo and Terauchi, or even worse.

Further, Yamashita had already received a signal from Imperial Headquarters with potentially ominous implications. It read, "On 15 February an officer attached to the Court of the Emperor

will be dispatched to the battlefield. We can postpone the visit if the progress of your Army's operations makes it desirable to do so. We wish to hear your opinion."

Opinions varied among Yamashita's staff officers as whether to accept the timing of the Imperial envoy's visit or postpone it as Allied resistance had seemed to stiffen. To avoid dishonor with Tokyo, Yamashita signaled back, "On the 15th day of February the enemy will positively surrender to the power of the august Emperor." Now, the so-called "Tiger of Malaya" had made a firm temporal commitment to the Emperor for the Allied surrender; he would have to get Percival to agree to terms by February 15.

Unfortunately for Percival and his defenders, by February 13, the Japanese controlled the island's entire reservoir catchment area. Fears began to circulate that a major epidemic would ensue without fresh water. The capture of the depots at Bukit Timah had reduced the island's reserve supplies to under a week. Deserters, refugees, and looters roamed the environs of Singapore City. Percival, apparently not sensing any panic in the city's perimeter yet, refused to reply to Yamashita's surrender request of February 11. Both Prime Minister Winston Churchill and General Wavell cabled Percival on February 13 that he must mount a vigorous defense. Churchill's message read in part, "The battle must be

fought to the bitter end at all costs...."

By the evening of February 14, Japanese repairs to the previously demolished causeway spanning the straits had been completed. Soon the whole of the 25th Army was concentrated on Singapore Island. Japanese heavy artillery rapidly moved to positions on the heights near the reservoirs. Despite the Allied withdrawal to Singapore City after the loss of Bukit Timah, Colonel Masanobu Tsuji, the mastermind and chief planner of the Japanese offensive, had made an unsettling observation that the British were expending their field artillery shells as if they had no shortage while Yamashita's artillery ammunition stockpiles were running dangerously low.

Perhaps the chiding comments from Wavell and Churchill prompted Percival to defend the island to the last. Regardless, Japanese staff officers noted that the withdrawing Allied forces were putting up a more tenacious fight as Japanese tanks were halted just south of Bukit Timah.

Some Japanese officers were also concerned that if the British held out for several more days, they would win the battle, since Yamashita's ammunition supply was dwindling. Japanese field-artillery units had to limit their counter-battery fire on Allied guns since they were down to less than 100 rounds per gun and even fewer for heavier pieces. Yamashita's supply system was virtually drained, and he was informed

that if fighting continued for another 72 hours his forces would be placed in an impossible logistical situation.

A few Japanese officers had the audacity to suggest calling off the assault and returning to the Malayan mainland for resupply and refitting. By 4:00 PM on February 14, Yamashita wondered whether the British shelling indicated that they intended to fight for Singapore street by street, house by house. With the Japanese troops also nearing exhaustion, suddenly the prize almost within their grasp was possibly out of reach. Some Japanese officers were wondering if they, in fact, might be the ones to surrender.

Like his naval counterpart, Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto, who was widely known to be an excellent bluffer at the poker table, Yamashita launched into a bluff of his own. He would expend artillery shells as if his supply was unlimited to convince Percival that British and Commonwealth forces had no alternative but to capitulate. Military deception can sometimes become an added force for a commander willing to employ it at the right time and place.

By February 15, just 48 hours after the martial exhortations of Churchill and Wavell, Percival had a change of heart. He now sensed a crisis for the civilian and military forces of Singapore City since the Japanese truly did threaten a drought with its attendant consequences for the city's population.

Both: Library of Congress





**General Arthur Percival (far right) strides toward Japanese lines to discuss terms for the capitulation of the garrison of the great British colonial bastion of Singapore on February 15, 1942. Somber British soldiers carry the Union Jack and a flag of truce as they walk beside an escorting Japanese soldier.**

Despite complete Japanese control of the Peirce and MacRitchie Reservoirs, water was still flowing to Singapore City's pumping stations. However, only two water-pumping stations were operating, as Japanese artillery had destroyed many of the water mains and pipes. Further, the advancing Japanese were now within a few hundred yards of one of these pumping stations. At the Fort Canning Reservoir, the water had dropped from 12 to two million gallons in a single day with complete drainage anticipated within hours.

On February 15, Percival cabled Wavell for permission to surrender, stating that further resistance and loss of life would be futile, anticipating his defense not lasting beyond another 48 hours. Wavell, from ABDA headquarters in Java, refused and urged the island's defenders, "You must continue to inflict maximum losses on enemy for as long as possible by house-to-house fighting if necessary. Your action in tying down enemy may have vital influence in other theatres. Fully appreciate your situation but continued action essential."

After meeting with his military commanders on the morning of February 15, Percival decided to surrender despite a personal message from Churchill to Wavell calling for a last stand by the numerically superior Allied forces. Percival cabled Wavell that he would ask for a cease-fire that afternoon. Wavell acquiesced and now gave permission for the surrender if there was nothing more to be done.

Percival had no fuel for any vehicles; he had nearly exhausted his field-artillery ammunition; and there would be no water in a matter of

hours in a city with a million inhabitants living in an equatorial climate. Food reserves were limited to 48 hours since the depots at Bukit Timah had been captured on February 11. For Percival, a personally brave man, capitulation was a bitter step. He chose to go himself, if called for by the Japanese, in the hope of obtaining better treatment for his troops and the population.

Yamashita's chicanery in utilizing his remaining artillery ammunition at Allied positions was successful. At 11:00 AM on February 15, Japanese lookouts saw through the trees along the Bukit Timah Road a white flag hoisted atop the broadcasting studios. One of Yamashita's staff officers at 25th Army headquarters met a British party seeking to discuss terms of surrender.

The Japanese staff officer told the British officers, "We will have a truce if the British Army agrees to surrender. Do you wish to surrender?" The British interpreter agreed. Then, Yamashita ordered that Percival and his staff come to him in person to the Ford Factory at Bukit Timah after reviewing the Japanese truce documents.

At 6:00 PM, Percival, accompanied by two staff officers and an interpreter, met with Yamashita. The 25th Army commander wanted the negotiations to be brief. When Yamashita asked Percival if he agreed to an unconditional surrender to be immediately implemented, the British general responded that he wanted to wait until the next morning to answer.

The discussions grew tense. Yamashita knew of the numerically superior Allied troop strength, and he did not want any delay in an unconditional surrender since this might enable

the British to discern the true Japanese troop numbers and their combat deficiencies. Yamashita feared that Percival might become emboldened to continue the struggle despite his major concerns about water, supplies, and the civilian population.

Ironically, on the morning of February 15, Percival had been considering a counterattack to reclaim the food depots at Bukit Timah. Also, the Imperial envoy was to arrive on the battlefield from Tokyo that same day. Yamashita did not relent with his demands for an immediate unconditional surrender and told Percival after his request for an overnight delay, "Then, in that case, up till tomorrow morning we will continue the attack. Is that all right, or do you consent immediately to unconditional surrender?"

Percival agreed after receiving the threat of continued Japanese attack.

After the war, Yamashita said, "I felt if we had to fight in the city we would be beaten." He went on to reveal that his strategy at Singapore was "a bluff, a bluff that worked."

Although he had overextended his own supply lines, Yamashita's skilled strategic planning, tactical audacity, military deception, and the art of bluff on and off the battlefield had produced, within one week of landing on Singapore, one of the largest military disasters in the history of British arms and one of the greatest Japanese land victories ever. □

*Jon Diamond recently visited the Memories at Old Ford Factory Museum on Upper Bukit Timah Road on Singapore. He has written several articles for Sovereign Media's WWII History.*

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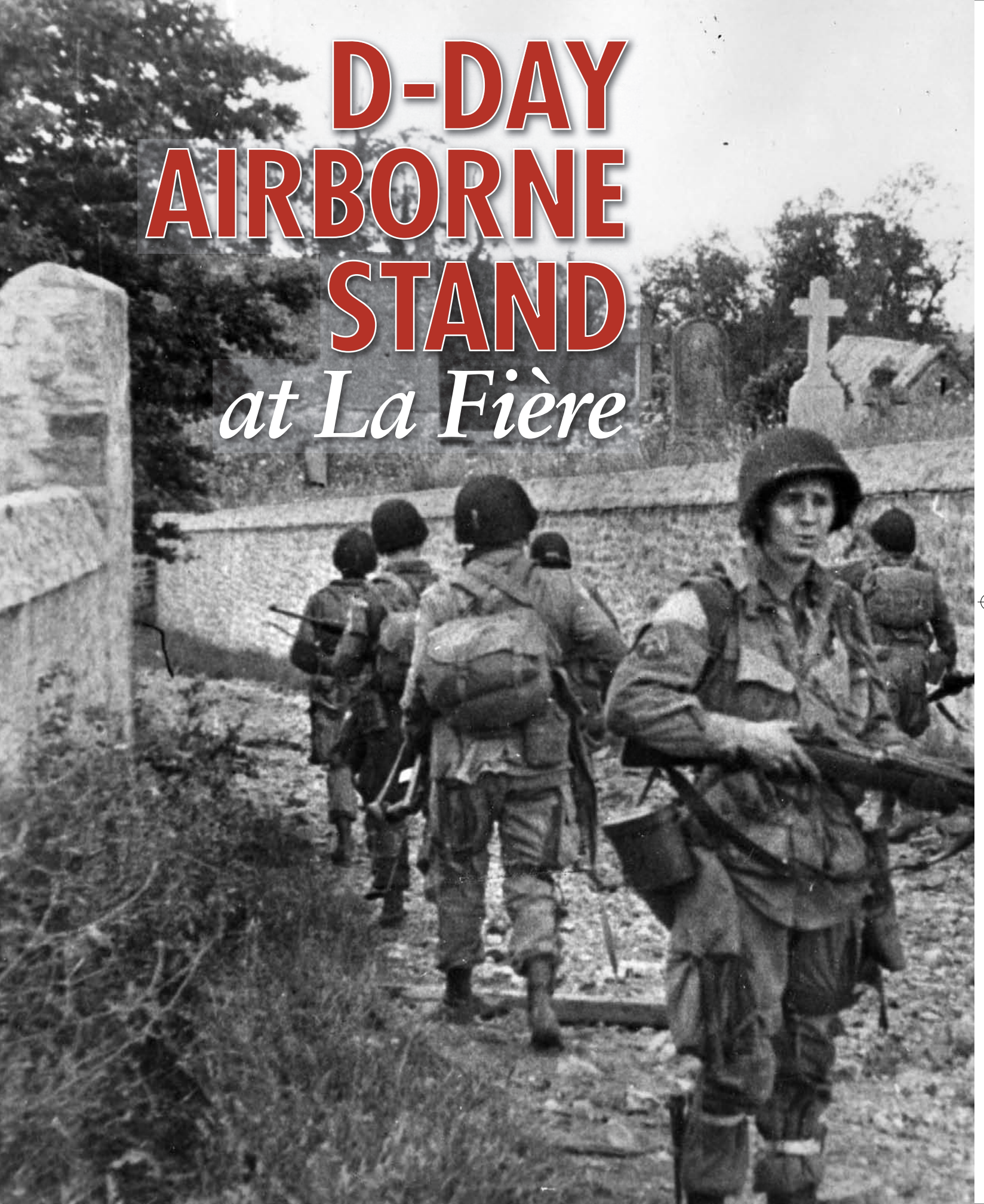
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# D-DAY AIRBORNE STAND

*at La Fièvre*





## Paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne held the La Fièvre bridge against repeated German attacks during the Normandy invasion.

BY CHRISTOPHER MISKIMON

**U**nlike many of the paratroopers in the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division, 1st Lieutenant John J. Dolan knew exactly where he was when he landed on June 6, 1944.

In the early hours of D-Day, many of the planes dropping the division over the Normandy countryside veered off course or got scattered by enemy antiaircraft fire. As a result, some units landed miles from their assigned objectives. After practicing and memorizing their missions before the actual drops, these men had to improvise, either searching out their targets in the dark or simply starting their part of the war from where they were and worrying about finding their units later.

Lieutenant Dolan and his men, A Company, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, were fortunate in their landing location that night. The C-47 transport planes carrying them into battle arrived over the drop zone perfectly, their pilots flying straight and true. The paratroopers in each aircraft stood in a line, waiting for the signal to jump. They hooked the lines from their parachutes to the static line in the fuselage. After that, equipment checks for any last-minute problems. While they did all this, tracers from German guns flashed past their planes. Some of the men could hear rounds hitting the wings.

A fire in the village of Ste.-Mère-Église, a town near the drop zone, had French civilians out passing buckets in a line across from the church in the town square. As they worked, the C-47s appeared overhead, wings so close they almost touched. Inside the planes the signal to go, a green light, finally lit the compartment. The lead soldier jumped out the door, and the rest followed him into the night sky. One 505th paratrooper, Private Arthur DeFilippo, watched the tracers coming at him and recalled, "All I did was pray to God that He would get me down safely and then I would take care of myself." It was about 1:30 AM.

Dolan landed without a problem and immediately began figuring out exactly where he was. It took no more than half an hour before he found a "T" intersection of two dirt roads.

**American paratroopers proceed along a dirt road through a churchyard in Normandy. In the predawn hours of June 6, 1944, the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions parachuted into Nazi-occupied France to seize key objectives. The focus for the 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne was the bridge across the Merderet River at La Fiere.**



**ABOVE:** Paratroopers stand up and hook up during one of many training exercises that prepared them for the hazardous airborne phase of Operation Overlord, the Allied invasion of Normandy. Although lightly armed in comparison to foot soldiers, the airborne troops nevertheless carried a significant amount of gear, their loads sometimes exceeding 75 pounds. **OPPOSITE:** Shortly after hurtling to earth in Normandy, American paratroopers proceed down a country lane. Considerable night training, map study, and orienteering paid off when Lieutenant John Dolan's men of A Company, 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment were able to get oriented in darkness and move south along a similar lane with a massive hedgerow providing some cover for their approach to La Fiere. Note that a censor has marked out the information on the road sign in the foreground.

Each was about eight or 10 feet wide, with the horizontal arm of the T running east-west and the vertical arm going north-south. He now knew his unit landed in its assigned drop zone, exactly on target. The north-south dirt road led south to another road, which ran between Ste.-Mère-Église and a bridge over the Merderet River at La Fièvre. This bridge was Dolan's assignment; his company had to take that bridge and hold it until relieved.

A Company had the usual problems assembling after a night jump. The darkness made it difficult to gather the men into their assigned squads and platoons. About an hour before dawn, they were finally ready, with 90 percent of the company accounted for. Dolan later credited this to the extensive night training the unit had done before the invasion and the actions of the officers and NCOs. With A Company assembled

and ready, Dolan led them toward the bridge.

The airborne drops formed a vital part of the Normandy invasion of June 6, 1944. Through both design and circumstance, the paratroopers of the three Allied airborne divisions fulfilled multiple goals. They seized crucial crossroads and communications routes, preventing German reinforcements from getting to the beaches and holding them until Allied troops could advance from those beachheads and link up with them. Even when drops were inaccurate due to the chaos of combat, those paratroopers who were scattered across the countryside would band together into small groups and either try to get to their assigned targets or do what damage they could where they were. This further stressed the German defenders, who had to discern which attacks posed the greatest threat as their strength was diluted reacting to

myriad small assaults.

For the 82nd Airborne Division, nicknamed the "All Americans," their portion of the Allied drops was codenamed Boston. Lieutenant Colonel William Elkman's 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment (PIR) was one of the division's two assigned parachute regiments and had served in Sicily and Italy before transferring to England for the invasion of Western Europe. The other regiment, the 504th, had also served in Italy but arrived in England after taking heavy casualties and could not be brought up to strength in time to take part in the D-Day operation. Instead, two other PIRs, the 507th and 508th, were attached to the division for the operation. Many of the 505th's soldiers were replacements for men lost in the Mediterranean, but they were well-trained and motivated. Only volunteers could

serve in airborne units.

The plan for the 505th on D-Day centered around the French crossroads town of Ste.-Mère-Église. The regiment contained three battalions. The First Battalion (1/505) under Major Frederick Kellam was tasked to seize and hold two bridges over the Merderet River, at La Fièvre and Chef-du-Pont. Lt. Col. Ben Vandervoort's 2/505 would occupy the ground north of the town to block the road to Cherbourg. The 3/505's (Lt. Col. Edward Krause) assignment was to take Ste.-Mère-Église itself. The town sat on the N13 Road and was located west of Utah Beach. German counterattacks against either Utah or Omaha beaches would need this road for ease of movement.

The bridge at La Fièvre lay a few miles west of Ste.-Mère-Église. This small bridge, sometimes referred to as a causeway, connected the road on each side of the narrow Merderet; the road was elevated due to frequent flooding during the rainy season. In June, the Merderet should have been narrow and shallow, but the locks at Carentan had been opened, flooding much of the terrain. The ground around the bridge was either marsh or sodden farm fields. A small manor house sat just south of the

bridge, and the hamlet of Cauquigny was just over half a mile west of the bridge along the road. La Fièvre itself was little more than a small collection of buildings a few hundred yards northwest of the bridge.

Several German units populated the area as part of the defense plan. The commander of the overall German defense, Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, wanted to place his reserve panzer divisions near the likely landing beaches so they could quickly respond, but instead the tanks were kept well back from the coast, making them unavailable in the first crucial hours. Further, they could not be moved without Hitler's personal authorization. Rommel had to make do with less-powerful infantry formations supported by whatever small armored and artillery units he could obtain. The local command in the area of the airborne landings was the LXXXIV Korps.

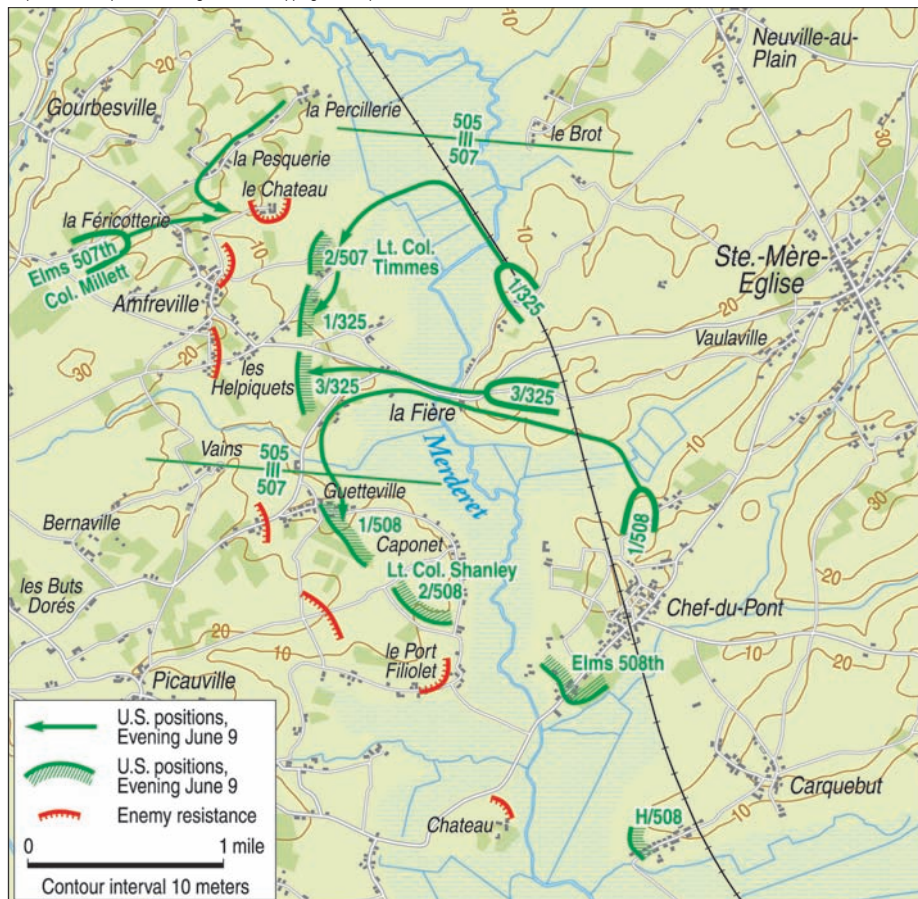
The Wehrmacht units that took part in the fighting for La Fièvre mainly fell under the 91st Airlanding Division (91. *Luftlande-Division*), headquartered about nine miles due west of Ste.-Mère-Église. Like other units stationed in the countryside behind the possible Allied landing beaches, the 91st's role was to quickly

respond to whatever area came under attack, whether by beach assault or airborne intrusion. It was a new unit, having only been raised at the beginning of 1944. The main strength of the division consisted of two grenadier regiments, numbered 1057 and 1058. Each regiment had three battalions, supported by an infantry cannon company and an anti-tank company. The division also had a fusilier battalion with three independent companies: one antitank, one anti-aircraft, and one of bicycle troops. Other division troops included an engineer battalion and an artillery regiment with 24 105mm mountain howitzers and 12 88mm Pak 43 antitank guns.

The 91st's regiments were based west and northwest of Ste.-Mère-Église and received equipment based on their intended role in air-landing operations, roughly similar to the glider regiments in American airborne divisions. For example, the mountain howitzers were lightweight models more easily transported by air-landing troops. Unfortunately, they fired a different sized ammunition than the standard German 105mm weapon, and the 91st only had a single basic load of ammunition on hand. The division was also understrength, only partially trained, and had few transport vehicles, a com-

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**The La Fiere bridge is visible in the lower center portion of this aerial photograph, a few miles west of the town of Ste. Mere-Eglise. It stands just to the right of La Fiere Manor, the scene of fierce fighting during the early phase of the Normandy operation as American paratroopers retained control of the span. The large fields in the center of the photo were flooded by the Germans prior to D-Day, and they were virtually impassable in June 1944.**

mon problem for German units in Normandy.

The German command appreciated these difficulties and attached two additional units to the 91st. One was Parachute Regiment 6, a German airborne unit positioned south of Ste.-Mère-Église and near Carentan. It arrived in the area at the end of May. The other was Panzer Replacement and Training Battalion 100, whose main role was preparing new tank crews for combat. The unit used old French tanks captured in 1940, organized into two companies with a total of about 25 Renault R 35s and Hotchkiss H 39s. A single Panzer Mark III comprised the battalion's entire German tank inventory.

These combined units were expected to react quickly to Allied attacks, using the very road networks the American paratroopers would interdict on the night of June 6. The 82nd Airborne began landing around 1:00 AM on D-Day. Word got to the German 84th Korps just 11 minutes later. The initial reports caused some confusion, not unusual for the opening moments of an enemy attack. One thing the Germans knew from experience was to react quickly with local counterattacks to keep the enemy paratroopers from organizing and forming a coherent defense.

It took time for the 91st Division to get moving, due both to the confusion and their lack of transport. The division commander, Generalleutnant Wilhelm Falley, had to return to his unit in the darkness on June 6, having been away for a map exercise in Rennes. As he and his aide drove quickly down the dark French roads, the fortunes of war turned against them. American Lieutenant Malcolm Brannen, commander of the 508th PIR's headquarters company, stood alongside the road questioning a French civilian when Falley's car appeared. Brannen and the few paratroopers with him immediately started shooting, raking the car with gunfire. Both German officers died in the ambush.

Brannen later found the 82nd Airborne Division HQ and, laughing, told General Matthew Ridgeway how he had killed a division commander. Ridgeway replied, "Well, in our present situation killing division commanders does not strike me as being particularly hilarious. But I congratulate you. I'm glad it was a German division commander you got."

This event caused further confusion for the German division, now lacking its commander. Leadership fell to Oberst (Colonel) Klaus Klosterkemper. Small groups of American paratroopers conducted raids on the 91st's headquarters; in the confusion and darkness the Germans took these to be much larger forces.

By 3:30 AM the division lost communication with the troops defending the La Fièvre bridge.

A few miles east, Lieutenant John Dolan and A Company moved toward their objective. As the morning sun dawned slowly to their left, the Americans marched south, following the narrow dirt road their leader had spotted soon after landing. The hours spent studying maps and terrain models paid off. Soon they arrived at another T intersection; a turn to their left led toward Ste.-Mère-Église. Dolan knew to turn right toward the bridge. He also ran into his battalion executive officer, Major James McGinity, who chose to accompany Dolan and his men. As they prepared to move out, a German motorcycle suddenly appeared, racing east toward Ste.-Mère-Église. The rider passed without spotting the Americans, who let him go.

The company crossed to the south side of the road before continuing west. First Platoon led the way, followed by the company headquarters, then Third and Second Platoons in that order. A hedgerow separated the soldiers from the road, providing some concealment. Almost immediately, Dolan lost contact with First Platoon, so the Third took the lead. When they were about 700-800 yards from the bridge, the lane split, one fork leading southeast toward the bridge. This dirt road had hedgerows to either side. Heading toward the bridge, they found an open field about 100 yards deep and 75 yards wide. Dolan thought it was a good place for the Germans to set up defenses.

Since Third Platoon was up front, Dolan ordered its platoon leader, Lieutenant Donald Coxon, to send his scouts forward to reconnoiter. Coxon gathered a few men and decided to go with them. Dolan later wrote, "He had plenty of personal courage but he didn't have the heart to order them out without going with them." Moments after the scouting party moved out, a German machine gun opened fire from across the field. Coxon and a scout named Ferguson were killed immediately. The Americans returned fire, and bullets snapped across the field between the two sides.

Dolan knew he had to move quickly; he told his Second Platoon leader, Lieutenant Presnell, to lead his platoon around to the right, flank the German position, and advance all the way to the bridge if possible. Meanwhile, McGinity and Dolan took Third Platoon around the left, going after the machine gun. Presnell moved out and soon got to the bridge without taking any more fire. Third Platoon advanced until they thought they were even with the machine gun's estimated position and then moved in for the kill.

McGinity took the lead, with Dolan a few steps behind. A high, thick hedgerow sat on

their left, and Dolan thought the machine gun was on the other side of it. As they crept forward, rifle and submachine-gun fire tore through the hedgerow, killing Major McGinity. Dolan watched the leaves on the hedge shaking as bullets tore through it and used those spots as a reference to return fire with his Thompson submachine gun. The fire continued, snapping all around him, but Dolan spotted an empty German foxhole and dove into it. After taking cover he kept up the fire with his Thompson. Third Platoon's assistant platoon leader, Lieutenant McLaughlin, and his radio operator were both hit; the lieutenant died later that day.

Martin Morgan / National Archives



**ABOVE: The few German defenders of La Fièvre Manor, approximately 10-12 men, fired briefly on the American paratroopers approaching the La Fièvre Bridge, then surrendered. However, German forces soon recovered from the initial shock of the airborne landings in Normandy, launching counterattacks against key positions occupied by the American airborne troops. OPPOSITE TOP: The 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment reached the vicinity of La Fièvre and engaged the defending Germans in a vicious fire-fight. However, they secured their objective and held off stiff German counterattacks.**

More fire came from the direction of the bridge, pinning down the Americans for at least an hour. Each time Dolan tried to move, German fire drove him back to cover. He could hear more firing down near the bridge. Finally, he tried moving again and received no fire. Dolan soon realized the Germans had pulled back. He went back to the platoon and told the sergeants and corporals to reorganize their men and stay where they were. Dashing across the road, Dolan found his First Platoon advancing toward the bridge and told its leader, Lieutenant Oakley, to keep going to the bridge and dig in on the north side of the road.

Dolan kept going and ran into his regimental commander, Lt. Col. Eckman, along with a group of paratroopers from the 508th PIR,

whose assigned area lay a few miles west. Realizing the Germans had retreated and the bridge was in American hands, Dolan sent for Third Platoon to move up to the bridge and dig in on the south side of the road. While organizing his defense, he realized not all the Germans were gone. About 10-12 were hiding on the second floor of a stucco farmhouse south of the bridge, known as the Manoir. The Germans opened fire as Eckman and Dolan surveyed the bridge. They kept up their fire for about 20 minutes before surrendering. A squad of paratroopers from the 508th took the enemy troops prisoner. Dolan finished his preparations by placing his Second Platoon about 400 yards east of the

bridge to protect the company's rear.

By 2:30 PM the paratroopers were ready to defend La Fièvre Bridge. The eastern side of the bridge and the manor house were in their possession. As the day progressed more American troops arrived. Major Kellam, the battalion commander, appeared with his operations officer (S-3), Captain Dale Roysden. They brought their command-post personnel and several machine-gun and mortar teams, adding welcome firepower. One platoon of B Company was put in the line along with some stray paratroopers separated from their units. A platoon of engineers showed up as well, assigned to destroy the bridge if necessary.

With all these soldiers in place, Dolan began inspecting his forward positions, noting the

road leading west from the bridge was essentially a raised causeway with marshy ground on either side for about 1,000 yards. This would make attacks on the American line more difficult. Some paratroopers dashed across the bridge and laid mines across the road, while others pushed a broken-down German truck from the manor onto the road to block it on the east end.

A company of the 508th appeared from the east. They joined with the squad already there, and the whole group crossed the bridge and headed west toward their assigned objective. About an hour later, a few of them reappeared, retreating through the marshland. These survivors crossed the Merderet, which was shallow despite the flooded marshland. Dolan's men helped them out of the water. German machine-gun fire started falling on the Ameri-

one right. Since the road was basically a raised causeway, the teams had to dig their foxholes below the level of the road for cover, and this required them to get out of their holes to shoot at anything on the roadway. The other bazooka team dug in farther south of the bridge, where there was better cover. A few mortar teams rounded out the American's heavy weapons, but they were so low on ammunition they could only be used in emergencies.

With the defenses laid in, Dolan inspected them, joined by Major Kellam and Captain Roysden. The German machine-gun fire grew heavier. A trio of tanks appeared on the road; Dolan could not tell what kind but thought they were similar to a Panzer IV. In fact, they were two captured French Renault R35s and one Hotchkiss H39 supported by infantry from Grenadier Regiment 1057.

machine-gun fire at the GIs on the other side of the bridge.

When the lead tank came within 40-50 yards of the bridge, both bazooka teams rose from their foxholes. Despite all the tank and small-arms fire coming at them, Dolan saw both teams calmly load and fire their bazookas, sending a hail of rockets at the closest tank. Heim and Peterson used a concrete telephone pole as cover while they fired. The rockets from both teams hit the first tank, breaking a track and causing it to slew sideways. Despite the hit, the tank's turret turned to keep firing at the Americans. Heim loaded and Peterson fired again and again until the old tank burst into flames. The other team, John Bolderson and Gordon Pryne, achieved several hits as well, making it a shared kill.

A German shell hit the concrete pole; Heim and Peterson jumped out of the way as it fell. The second tank moved up, pushed the burning wreck aside, and advanced, firing as it came. Lacking the cover of the pole, Heim and Peterson moved forward to get a better shot at the tank. Heim recalled, "We kept firing at the second tank and we hit it in the turret where it is connected to the body, also in the track and with another hit it also went up in flames."

Dolan thought only 30 seconds elapsed between the destruction of the two tanks. There was still the third tank to deal with, but his teams were low on rockets. Heim dashed across the road through the heavy fire to see if the other team had any to spare. "I still find it hard to believe I made it to the other side in one piece," he later wrote.

On the other side, a dead paratrooper lay nearby, but Bolderson and Pryne were gone. German fire had hit their bazooka and rendered it inoperable, forcing them to fall back to cover. Heim saw the bazooka with holes in it and, luckily, several rockets. Grabbing them, Heim dashed back across the road to Peterson, again without being hit. Heim loaded and Peterson fired at the last tank, hitting it. Soon that tank was out of action as well. Though Heim could not know it in the heat of battle, the 57mm antitank gun had also struck the three enemy tanks with numerous rounds.

Despite its being farther back from the action, the Germans spotted the antitank gun and fired at it. During the battle, the gun was hit several times; German cannon rounds punched several holes through the gun's shield. Sergeant Elmo Bell of C Company was present at the gun position. He noted that each time a crew member was hit another paratrooper rushed in to keep the vital gun in action. This was possible because the airborne units trained

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**The shoulder-fired bazooka was an easily deployed anti-tank weapon available to the American paratroopers at the La Fiere bridge. They used it to good effect, halting a German counterattack against the bridge in which the Germans sent French-built tanks captured in 1940 forward.**

cans. Dolan was sure an attack was coming. Luckily, A Company also got an additional reinforcement just before that attack began. Dolan got a single 57mm antitank gun assigned to protect the bridge. He placed it near his command post, about 150 yards from the bridge, where the road curved away to the right. This gave the gun crew a good field of fire covering the bridge and road and providing some cover from enemy fire.

Dolan also had three bazooka teams, two from his own company and one from another. The A Company teams dug in on each side of the American end of the bridge, one left and

Marcus Heim and Lenold Peterson were the American bazooka team on the south side of the bridge. Heim recalled watching the tanks approach around a curve in the road across the bridge. He saw the commander of the lead tank rise from his hatch and look around. An American machine-gun team on Heim's left fired, killing the tank commander. Within seconds the Germans opened fire, both tanks and infantry. The Americans shot back, and a general fire-fight broke out. The lead German tanks advanced toward the bridge, staying 15-20 yards apart, while the third tank kept 50 yards behind them. Each of them poured cannon and



**American paratroopers fired a 57mm anti-tank gun at the Germans during the early stages of the fight. The 57mm gun was the heaviest weapon available to the lightly armed paratroopers and provided much-needed firepower during desperate hours of combat against repeated German counterattacks.**

their men on all the weapons they might have to use in combat, including the 57mm antitank gun. In all, seven Americans died keeping the antitank gun operating during the battle. It paid off with three German tanks knocked out and the La Fièvre Bridge staying in American hands.

With the remaining bazooka crews low on ammunition, Major Kellam and Captain Roysden went forward with a resupply. When they were only 15-20 yards from the bridge, German mortar fire began crashing down around them, perhaps a belated effort to silence the American bazookas. Kellam died, and Roysden was mortally wounded; he died later in the day. This left Lieutenant Dolan as the ranking officer at the bridge, making him the battalion commander.

Dolan then received a temporary reprieve. With their tanks gone, the German grenadiers broke off their attack and fell back toward Cauquigny. Soon the rest of B Company became available, and Dolan put them behind A Company to form a 360-degree perimeter.

While the Germans reorganized for their next attack, they kept the Americans under a combination of artillery, mortar and machine-gun fire lasting until nightfall. Dolan remembered the enemy mortars in particular: "The mortar fire was very effective against the two forward platoons because of tree bursts. It took very little imagination on the part of the Krauts to figure out just where we would be dug in. As I

recall, there was less than a 75-yard frontage on either side of the bridge from where we could effectively defend, so they could throw their mortar fire in our general direction with good results ... My Third Platoon took the worst beating, as they were in a heavier wooded area (tree bursts)."

The incoming fire picked up the next morning and became heavier in the afternoon, heralding another attack. Dolan was with his First Platoon on the north side of the bridge when the mortar fire became even more intense and kept up for an hour. Third Platoon on the other side of the bridge was almost wiped out, losing their platoon sergeant, Sergeant Monaghan. Pinned down on the opposite side of the road, Dolan did not know how bad things were for them. A short time later, he heard some troops had retreated through Third Platoon's position and then through the command post. A rumor spread the Americans were retreating from the bridge, which caused the gun crew of the 57mm to abandon it.

With their main antitank weapon unmanned at a critical moment, the second German attack started. Four more ex-French tanks with infantry came down the road. Two tanks led the way with infantry following; the second pair of tanks brought up the rear. The platoons at the bridge opened fire on the Germans but also took heavy fire themselves, suffering casualties that threatened the American hold on the

bridge. The radios also failed, forcing the units to use runners to maintain communication. First Platoon's leader, Lieutenant William Oakley, was gravely wounded and died a short time later. Private Ross, carrying the platoon's walkie-talkie, was killed. This was a larger radio carried on the soldier's back; World War II-era soldiers referred to the smaller, hand-held radio as a "handie-talkie." This left the platoon isolated, and a squad leader named William Owens took command.

As the German tanks rumbled toward the bridge, Dolan noted he did not hear the 57mm gun firing; he was unaware the crew had left it. Dolan rushed back to the gun and found it unattended. He tried to fire it, but the crew had taken the firing mechanism when they left. In desperation, Dolan assembled a small group of five or six paratroopers and armed them with Gammon grenades. These handheld explosive charges required the user to get close enough to throw them on an enemy armored vehicle. This meant allowing the enemy tanks to cross the bridge so the paratroopers could run up to them, but there seemed no other choice.

Then, on their own initiative, two of the gun crew returned, carrying the firing mechanism. Dolan remembered them as two privates, perhaps 18 years old. The pair quickly got the cannon back into action and were soon firing 57mm antitank rounds at the lead German tanks. Within a few minutes both tanks were

knocked out, blocking the causeway alongside the other tanks put out of action earlier. Dolan put both privates in for the Silver Star.

With both lead tanks destroyed, the tanks in the rear of the German formation could not get through to cross the bridge. Instead, their crews pulled back, likely to stay out of range of the remarkably effective antitank fire they had seen so far. The German infantry nevertheless pressed forward, using the destroyed tanks as cover. The waterlogged ground to each side of the causeway limited their ability to spread out, making it easier for the American troops to concentrate fire at them, just as it had allowed the German indirect fire to savage the paratroopers earlier. Soon the German infantry fell back, unable to overcome the wall of lead the GIs threw at them.

Instead, German artillery and heavy mortar fire came down again. Explosions dotted the east end of the bridge as shrapnel flew over the American foxholes. After First Platoon's Lieutenant Oakley fell, Sergeant William Owens began crawling around the platoon's position, checking each wounded or dead man for ammunition and grenades. He distributed what he gathered to his surviving men and got ready for the next attack, all while under the artillery and mortar fire. "I don't know how it was pos-

sible to live through it," Owens later wrote. His platoon had only 15 men left.

Another German attack came, this time only infantry; the tanks were blocked by the knocked-out hulks of their predecessors. Sergeant Owens fired at them with a .30-caliber machine gun, but soon it overheated. Crawling over to a wounded private named McClatchy, Owens took the soldier's Browning Automatic Rifle (BAR) and used it, sending burst after burst at the Germans until he ran out of magazines for the weapon. After Owens ran out of ammunition for the BAR, he moved to another .30-caliber machine gun whose crew lay dead from a close artillery or mortar round. The tripod was unusable, so he rested the weapon on a pile of dirt. Another soldier took up a different machine gun, and behind them a 60mm mortar crew starting lobbing bombs at the advancing Germans, whom Owens stated were now within 25 yards of First Platoon's position.

A runner appeared, one of the 505th's Pathfinders—men who'd dropped before the main force and prepared the landing fields for their arrival. His name was Bob Murphy; he joined the Army in 1942 at 17 years old after forging a birth certificate with his own father's help. Now employed as a runner, he was tasked to check A Company's status. Learning the pla-

toon was running out of both ammunition and men, Murphy ran back to Dolan's command post and reported what he knew. Dolan wrote a quick note on a scrap of paper and told him to take it back to Owens. The note said. "I know of no better spot to die. We stay."

Owens resolved to stay at his post with his remaining men, but what seemed like the moment of their last stand suddenly took a turn for the better. The firing died away, and a flag with a Red Cross symbol appeared waving over the heads of the Germans on the causeway. They requested a half hour to remove their wounded, and the Americans, themselves battered almost to the limit, quickly agreed. Owens moved even farther forward to get a better view and thought he saw about 200 German dead and wounded scattered around the causeway, with more in the Merderet. He also noted it took the enemy about two hours to evacuate their wounded. Afterward, the artillery and mortars started again, though a bit lighter than before. No more German infantry or armor appeared the rest of the day.

After dark, the paratroopers kept watch for another German attack. At about two in the morning, Owens heard engine noises from across the causeway. Fearing an impending night assault, he listened intently and soon discerned

Martin Morgan / National Archives



**This still photo taken from documentary film footage shot several days after the fighting for the La Fiere bridge ended is mute testimony to the ferocity of the contest. Three French-built tanks, deployed by the Germans during a counterattack, sit knocked out and abandoned. A concrete telephone pole similar to those shown in this image provided cover for the paratroopers firing bazookas at the oncoming tanks until it was toppled by a round from one of the armored vehicles.**



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**ABOVE:** American medics tend to the many wounded men clustered at an aid station after the fight for control of the La Fiere bridge. The struggle was intense, but troops of the 505th Parachute Infantry Regiment, 82nd Airborne Division held the Germans at bay. A number of German prisoners have been collected and await instructions to move to the rear and out of the area. **TOP:** After the fighting has ceased, American soldiers, one of them wearing a medic's arm band, inspect one of the knocked out enemy tanks of French manufacture near the La Fiere bridge.

the sound of the Germans trying to use an armored vehicle to push one of the disabled tanks out of the way. Owens knew if the enemy got tanks over the bridge the Americans had little to stop them. He grabbed a few Gammon grenades and crawled onto the bridge, invisible

to the enemy in the darkness. Debris and bodies littered the span as he slowly made his way across, guided by the sounds of the enemy troops trying to open a path. Owens figured he got about 30 or 40 yards from them before he decided to throw his first grenade. The Gammon

worked differently from a normal hand grenade. The user unscrewed a cap on top of the weapon, exposing a small ribbon with a weighted end. Once thrown, the ribbon uncoiled, and the air resistance caused it to pull a small pin from the fuse. This armed the Gammon so it would explode as soon as it hit anything.

Owens unscrewed the cap on his Gammon and hurled it toward the sound of the tank engine, but in the darkness his aim erred a little and the grenade hit the disabled tank instead. The explosion sent a blast wave and debris flying through the night air. While it did not knock out the active tank, it awoke the vehicle's crew to the threat in the darkness. The driver threw the tank into reverse and backed it out of range. The shelling resumed after that, but it was the last German attempt to retake the bridge.

Later that day, Lt. Col. Mark Alexander took command of the battalion, relieving Lieutenant Dolan. That night A Company was relieved of its duty to hold La Fiere bridge by the 508th PIR. During the fight to hold it, A company lost 17 dead and about 51 wounded, according to Dolan. The men in the bazooka teams, Marcus Heim, Lenold Peterson, John Bolder-son, and Gordon Pryne all received the Distinguished Service Cross for their bravery against the German tanks.

Dolan recommended Sergeant William Owens for the same award, but it was not given. "This is a story in itself," Dolan later wrote without further explanation. Later promoted to staff sergeant and leading a platoon, Owens was awarded a Silver Star during Operation Market Garden in Holland in September 1944, for actions much like those he undertook at La Fiere.

German casualties at the bridge are not exact, but the 91st Luftlande Division lost 2,212 men in the first six days of the Normandy fighting. It was further mauled during subsequent fighting and ceased to exist on August 10, 1944. The 82nd Airborne's actions in the first few days of Operation Overlord enabled thousands of troops to come ashore and take the fight to the Germans, eventually leading to a breakout and advance all the way to the German border by mid-September.

The All-Americans made another airborne assault in Holland before fighting in the Battle of the Bulge. From there, they fought into Germany itself to help end the war.

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# An Airman's Saga

HOWARD LINN,  
A WAIST GUNNER  
ABOARD A B-24  
LIBERATOR BOMBER,  
SURVIVED BEING  
SHOT DOWN  
OVER NAZI  
GERMANY AND  
TAKEN PRISONER.

BY ALLYN VANNOY

**H**oward Linn was a member of the 492nd Bombardment Group—the “Hard Luck” group of the Eighth Air Force. It was a name well earned.

After hitting their target during a mission, Sergeant Linn’s formation of Consolidated B-24 Liberator heavy bombers of the 492nd Bomb Group was set upon by German Focke Wulf Fw-190 fighters. Linn prepared to engage the attacking aircraft from the left waist-gun position of his Liberator. Just making it to the skies over the Third Reich had been a long, hard journey for Linn, but making it back would be even harder.

While driving down the highway about four miles west of Radcliffe, a small town in central Iowa, on December 7, 1941, at about 1:30 PM,

Howard Linn, along with his brother, Don, heard an announcement over the car radio that the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor in the Hawaiian Islands. It was also Linn’s 19th birthday.

Well over a year later, on February 11, 1943, Linn’s draft number came up. After a series of physical exams and aptitude tests, he was happily surprised to be assigned to the U.S. Army Air Forces and sent to St. Petersburg, Florida. After basic training he was ordered to report to aerial-gunnery school in Fort Meyers, Florida. In May 1943, following gunnery school, he next reported to aircraft-mechanics school at Wichita Falls, Texas, after which he reported to Salt Lake City, Utah, where he was assigned to the flight crew of a B-24 Liberator. At Biggs Field, El Paso,

Texas, Linn was assigned as the aircraft’s assistant engineer and as the left waist gunner. The assistant engineer served as a backup to the bomber’s flight engineer.

Linn’s fellow crew members included 2nd Lt. Howard E. Brantley, pilot; Thomas Magee, co-pilot; Thomas Kingston, navigator; Jack Rosey, bombardier; Raby White, flight engineer/top-turret gunner; Clifford Glasgow, right waist gunner; Clarence Majchrzak, radio operator; John Williams, tail gunner; and Willard Bristlin, ball-turret gunner.

In April 1944, Linn and his crewmates were flown, along with other bomber crews, to Herington, Kansas, to pick up their new aircraft—a B-24J they nicknamed *Silver Lady*. After a few days of familiarization with the aircraft and



additional training, they departed for Europe. The numbers of planes being sent across the Atlantic as replacements or to form new groups at the time was enormous. Because the northern route via Newfoundland and Iceland was so jammed with aircraft, they were directed to take the southern route. A series of legs took them from West Palm Beach, Florida, to Belie, British Guinea, and then to Natal, Brazil. They crossed the Atlantic, landing at Dakar, on the African coast, then flew over the Sahara Desert to Marrakesh, Morocco. The final leg took them over the ocean and around Fascist Spain to Scotland.

After transfer to their base at North Pickenham, England, they were assigned to the 859th Bomb Squadron of the 492nd Bomb Group,



**ABOVE:** The crew of the B-24 nicknamed *Silver Lady* was shot down over Germany on May 19, 1944. Standing, left to right: Haywood Brantley, pilot; Thomas Magee, co-pilot; Thomas Kingston, navigator; Jack Rosey, bombardier; Raby White, crew chief (flight engineer). Front row, left to right: Clifford Glasgow, right waist gunner; Clarence Majchrzak, radio operator; Howard Linn, left waist gunner; John Williams, tail gunner; Willard Bristlin, ball-turret gunner. Three members of the crew became ill and were replaced prior to the fateful mission. Linn, Glasgow and Williams survived the crash. **TOP:** A Consolidated B-24 Liberator heavy bomber of the U.S. Army Air Forces disintegrates in a catastrophic explosion over Germany after a direct hit from flak batteries defending a target below. Senior American air commanders chose daylight bombing over the Royal Air Force's preference for night raids, believing that accuracy would increase substantially. However, the tactic came at a tremendous cost.



**A waist gunner peers from the fuselage of a B-24 heavy bomber. Howard Linn was a waist gunner and an assistant engineer, as it was common for airmen to be proficient at more than one job aboard a bomber.**

with the 2nd Air Division of the U.S. Eighth Air Force. The 492nd Bomb Group was one of the last groups deployed to England, arriving there with more experienced men in its ranks than any other group serving in the European Theater of Operation (ETO). They had more flying hours going into the war than most would have at war's end. Many of them had been instructors, while others were veterans of anti-submarine patrol duties. Some had already completed a combat tour and had volunteered for a second. The group was the first ever to pass their POM (Preparation for Overseas Movement) inspection and depart ahead of schedule, fly as an unpainted aluminum bomber group, and reach England without losing any planes.

The first mission of the 492nd Bomb Group occurred on May 11, 1944, with the group assigned to hit the marshaling yard at Mulhouse, in eastern France near Switzerland. Thirty aircraft were dispatched, with all 30 hitting the target, but two were lost during the return leg of the mission. However, Linn's aircraft was not assigned to go on the mission.

Linn's crew saw their first mission the following day, May 12, as the group was sent to strike the oil refinery at Zeitz, well into Germany, some 20 miles south of Leipzig.

The next mission was to strike the Brunswick marshaling yards, deep in the heart of Germany, on May 19. Linn recalled: "We had to get up at about 3:00 AM, dress and go to breakfast, then to [the] briefing room where there was a huge map of Europe. We were shown everything—the route to take, [our aircraft's]

place in [the] bomber formation, in squadron, group, wing and division. Also, the time we would cross the coast, the anti-aircraft flak we might have to fly through, and the types of German fighter planes we might encounter. We were told what kind of fighter-plane support we would have, whether it would be P-51s, P-38s, or P-47s or a combination of them. We were informed of what kind of bombs we would carry and how many, the target for today, and the approximate length of the mission. They then turned us loose to check out our parachutes, get on our flying suits and gloves, go to our bomber to do pre-flight checks—that meant checking all instruments and systems, starting our engines and checking the bomb load. Each gunner had to check his .50-caliber machine guns and also check his ammunition belt going to the machine gun, plug in his flying suit and see that the thermostat worked so you could turn up the heat at high altitude, because it was real cold up there with no heat in the bomber, and the waist doors were open with .50-caliber machine guns locked in position in the open door. Each B-24 had ten machine guns on board."

After takeoff it took a long time to form up as the bombers climbed above the day's over-cast. By the time they crossed the European coast, Linn had to transfer fuel from auxiliary tanks to the bomber's main tanks. Though an electric pump was used, one had to carefully time the operation. Then Linn pulled the pins out of the nose fuses of the bombs in order to arm them.

The bombers encountered heavy flak over

the continent. They changed course and altitude periodically so that the anti-aircraft guns couldn't zero-in on them. As the group made its way toward Brunswick, many of the airmen witnessed dogfights between the Luftwaffe fighters and their own escorts. The Germans used decoys in an effort to lure the Allied fighter protection away from the bomber groups.

As they approached the target, Linn recalled that the air was filled with black smoke, and he saw huge fires on the ground, the result of bombs dropped by aircraft ahead of his own. They dropped their bombs and then turned for home. An estimated 40 German fighters engaged the bombers of the 492nd. By day's end, the group had lost eight of the 26 bombers dispatched. Only 19 had reached the target; 43 crewmen were killed, three wounded, and 34 taken prisoner.

Linn noticed a large group of German Fw-190s flying above and to the left of their formation, out of range of the bomber's machine guns. The fighters then flew around to the front of the formation and turned to make a head-on attack from "12 o'clock high." Linn saw a B-24 of a friend get hit and watched it disappear from view without any parachutes appearing.

After passing through the formation, the German fighters went around and made another head-on attack. The No. 3 engine, on the right wing of Linn's aircraft, was hit and burst into flames. The pilot or co-pilot initiated the engine's fire extinguishers and feathered the prop in an effort to put out the fire.

Linn then noticed smoke coming out of the leading edge of the left wing and called the pilot, but Lieutenant Brantley reported that he was not able to see anything. The design of the Liberator had the wings of the B-24 opening into the fuselage just above the bomb bay, so that in a matter of seconds fire was coming out of the left wing and into the fuselage. Linn called the pilot again on the intercom and told him what was happening and of his concern that the fire must be close to the fuel tanks. The pilot asked him if he could get at it with a fire extinguisher.

Linn responded that there was no way he could reach the fire because it was in the wing. In moments the heat in the aft compartment was like an oven. Linn called the pilot once more and told him that they would have to get out because it was getting too hot. Linn told him that he was bailing out. He ripped off his throat microphone and oxygen mask, unplugged his electric flying suit, grabbed his chest pack parachute and snapped it onto his harness, opened the hatch in the floor of the aircraft, and dived out. Linn believed that three

other members of the crew followed him out. After the tail gunner, John Williams, left the plane, it exploded and seemed to disintegrate right behind him.

After their first mission, some of the crew had become ill. As a result, on this mission three of the regular crew were replaced by substitutes drawn from other crews. Crew members that day included Lieutenant Brantley, pilot; Technical Sergeant Frank Collicchio, radio operator; Staff Sergeant Henry O. DeVisser, first engineer and top-turret gunner; Lieutenant Thomas J. Magee, co-pilot; Lieutenant Jack Rosey, bombardier; Lieutenant John H. Zahn, navigator; and Staff Sergeant Foster, ball-turret gunner, all of whom were killed. Survivors included John Williams, tail gunner; Clifford Glasgow, right-waist gunner; and Linn. Prior to the mission, Linn and DeVisser had agreed to switch off between duties as engineer (top-turret gunner) and waist gunner. As fate would have it, on this mission Linn was operating the left waist machine gun.

As Linn was making his free fall, he lay on his back and looked over his shoulder to see the clouds below him. He started to spin faster and faster until he raised one foot and lowered the other. Once he cleared the clouds, he could see the ground, still far below him. He waited until the trees appeared to be coming up fast before pulling his ripcord. The chute opened with a jolt. Moments later Linn impacted the ground hard.

He was fortunate to land in the clearing of a wooded area, but as he hurried to get out of his harness and parachute, he forgot to grab his army shoes, which he kept tied to his harness when flying. He ran about half a mile through the woods and then crawled under a brush pile. From time to time, he could hear voices, undoubtedly searching for the owner of the parachute. After it got dark, he moved from the brush pile and went deeper into the woods for the night.

The location where the bomber came down was about 1,000 yards east of the village of Niedernstöcken, near the Leine River, about 24 miles north of the city of Hannover, in an area of pastures and meadows. Decades later, people who lived in or near the village still recalled seeing three burned bodies described as “carbonized mummies” at the crash site. Three more bodies were found inside the crashed aircraft, and a seventh was found near the entrance to the pasture where the aircraft came down. This last body was the ball-turret gunner, who had come down without his chute, apparently blown out of the bomber. The villagers buried the bodies in the church cemetery. After the war they were removed by the U.S.

Army to a military cemetery. The three who had bailed out of the aircraft were reported as coming down near the town of Stoeckendrebber. At dawn, Linn got rid of his flying helmet and took off the outside of his electric flying suit so that he just had on the inner liner. He had to continue wearing his flying boots since he didn't have his shoes. He opened the escape kit he had been issued and took an inventory—compass, maps printed on a silk handkerchief, chocolate, and some medical items including morphine. Using the compass, he started west, sticking to the woods for cover. When he spotted a couple of windmills, he wondered if he had come down somewhere in Belgium or the Netherlands, but without a landmark or road signs the map was of little use.

About noon he came to a small village and decided to chance walking through it in the hope that there would be a sign that might help him get his bearings. He knew that there was an Underground movement in France and the Low Countries who would hide American and English airmen. In an effort to blend in, he lit up a cigarette and walked straight down the road through the village. He met a few people, also on foot, along the road and nodded a greeting to them and just kept going. As this seemed to work, he decided to keep going, unaware that German men always wore hats, and being bare headed, he stood out.

About two-thirds of the way through the village, a boy standing in the doorway of a house looked him over as he walked. When a motor-



392nd Bomb Group



**ABOVE:** Stalag Luft IV was home to hundreds of downed Allied airmen, and their German captors enforced strict discipline. Open spaces allowed the guards to keep the prisoners under surveillance and helped to discourage escape attempts. **TOP:** German guards march prisoners of war to their barracks at Stalag Luft IV, where Howard Linn was held by the Nazis after his plane had been shot down.



**ABOVE: Prisoners gather outside their barracks at Stalag Luft IV. Prisoners were required to stand in formation twice a day to be counted, and guards constantly roamed the grounds. TOP: Prisoners play baseball under the watchful eyes of their guards at Stalag Luft IV. The prisoners made their own bat and ball and organized teams to relieve the boredom, a constant companion.**

cycle policeman came around a corner behind him, the boy ran into the street waving his arms to get the policeman's attention. The boy pointed toward Linn, and the policeman wheeled about pulling up beside Linn. Captured!

The young man who tipped off the policeman while Linn was passing through the village of Rodewald, on May 20, 1944, was 15-year-old Wilfried Beerman. Linn and Beerman were re-acquainted 55 years later, and Beerman was still living in the same house. The two carried on communications for the next few years until Beerman's death.

Linn was taken into the boy's house, and some telephone calls were made. Then Linn was taken to an area in the village where French

and Polish forced labor workers were held. Linn was placed in a barbed wire enclosure. Late in the afternoon a Luftwaffe officer picked him up and transported him to another camp about 20 miles away. The next morning, Linn and two other American flyers were taken to an interrogation center in Frankfurt, Germany. After all his personal possessions were confiscated, he was placed in a cold and damp six-by-six room with a small, barred window and a canvas cot. A couple of hours later he was taken to another room for questioning. His interrogator cursed him for providing only his name, rank, and serial number.

Linn was next packed into a railroad car with other POWs, each given a single loaf of dark,

heavy sour bread to sustain them for the next four days. The train took them northeast to the town of Stettin. From there they were marched another 20 miles to Stalag Luft IV.

Stalag Luft IV, near Gross Tychow, Pomerania (present day Tychowo, Poland), was reported by the International Red Cross as generally bad. It was divided into five compounds separated by barbed wire fences, with the POWs housed in 40 wooden barrack huts, each containing 200 men. None of the huts were heated, with only five small iron stoves in the whole camp. Latrines were open-air, and there were no proper washing facilities. Medical facilities and supplies of food and clothing were also considered inadequate. The camp housed at one point 7,089 Americans and 886 POWs of other nationalities.

Each compound was enclosed by high barbed-wire fences with machine-gun towers every 200 feet, plus guard patrols. There was a warning rail about 30 feet inside the fence that represented the deadline—anyone crossing could be shot. A central latrine was built over a cement pit. Sixteen prisoners occupied a barracks room, and this increased later to 28, though there continued to be only 16 bunks to a room. The food was poor, usually consisting of barley cereal and ersatz coffee in the morning along with a ration of sour bread for the day, sometimes with a little jam. At noontime a thin soup with either dehydrated cabbage or dehydrated greens with a trace of meat was served. In the evening there were boiled potatoes with the skins on and coffee. The Red Cross was supposed to provide an 11-pound food parcel for each man once a week, but these usually ended up as a single parcel being shared by six to eight men. The parcels included a can of corned beef, a can of Spam, a tin of powdered milk, a small can of liverwurst, a condensed chocolate bar, a container of English crackers, a small bar of cheese, and seven packs of cigarettes.

A typical day in prison camp began with breakfast, then standing formation in front of the barracks. The commandant, a Luftwaffe officer, and his assistant, would count noses. If anyone moved or made any noise while this was being done, they would be required to stand in formation longer. About noon, one of the prisoners would go to the mess hall and get the soup to divide among the 10 rooms of prisoners in the barracks. During the late afternoon the process was repeated for the boiled potatoes. Once a month the Germans provided limburger cheese as a treat. Often it was found to have maggots in it, but most of the prisoners would pick the maggots out and eat the cheese.

In the late afternoon, the prisoners would have to stand in formation again for another nose count. Guards were always walking about the compound.

The prisoners resigned themselves to their circumstance. At dark, they were required to put wooden covers over the windows so that no light showed through—complying with blackout conditions. The door to each barracks was locked, and dogs were released into the compound for the night. All lighting was switched off by the Germans at 10 PM.

With lots of time on their hands, Linn noted that the prisoners never talked about their wives or girlfriend after lights out. They would lie in their bunks and describe their favorite foods. “It was enough to drive you nuts because everybody was so hungry,” he remembered.

The prisoners were also cursed with fleas. They would wake each morning to find any exposed skin covered with bite marks. Linn noted that some prisoners went so far as to take their mattress out and dump all the straw out on the ground and then put them back piece by piece in an effort to get rid of the fleas.

In order to have something to do, the prisoners made their own bats and balls. They formed a softball league with two teams from each barracks. They also passed the time reading books provided by the Red Cross or running bridge tournaments. Every evening someone would come around and read the news to the prisoners—how the war was going and what advances the Allies were making. The source of this information was not revealed. On Sundays there were worship services conducted by one of the POWs. Everything was done from memory, both hymns and scripture.

Many of the POWs would simply lie , aware that they would not survive. As a result, a ward was filled with men who suffered mental illness.

During late afternoons, hundreds of POWs would walk about the compound for exercise, just inside the warning wire. Linn recalled an afternoon when one of the POWs “lost it,” stepped over the warning wire, and headed for the barbed wire fence. The guards began yelling at him, but he kept going. Once at the fence he started climbing it. He was halfway up when a shot rang out, and he fell to the ground, dead. The guards rushed into the compound and ordered the POWs back inside their barracks.

About every two weeks the Germans would bring in a large tank on wheels, pulled by horses, similar to an LP tank, with Russian prisoners working it. They had a large hose, six to seven inches in diameter, attached at one end of the tank as the other end was dropped into the pit under the latrine. The tank was equipped

with a pop-off valve on top, about 12 inches in diameter and also had a place to pump gas into the tank. They would then ignite the gas resulting in a back blast forcing all the air out through the valve and resulting in a vacuum in the tank. It would then suck the contents of the pit into the tank. They would spread the contents on the nearby fields. Watching this operation was one of the few entertainments the prisoners had.

In mid-July 1944, the prisoners of Stalag Luft VI arrived at Linn’s camp, some 2,500 additional POWs. They had been evacuated from their camp near the Baltic Sea because of the

singing Christmas carols.

Other events were not so joyous. A German electrician had been working on a transformer on a pole near the center of the camp when he came into contact with a high-voltage wire and was killed, smoke rolling off him as he began turning black. When the POWs cheered the guards rushed into the compounds and forced them back into their barracks, locking them in for the rest of the day.

On another occasion several German fighters were training above the camp when one of them crashed. The POWs cheered the event, resulting in the guards charging in and making

Henry Lively / 992nd Bomb Group



**Thousands of prisoners of war were evacuated by the Germans as Allied forces approached their camps during the last months of the war. Approximately 2,000 POWs from Stalag Luft IV were removed in February 1945 and embarked on an arduous 87-day trek, covering approximately 600 miles. Linn was finally liberated in early May 1945.**

approaching Soviet Army. These new arrivals were divided among the compounds. Shortly after these new POWs arrived, Linn came out of his barracks and spotted a fellow who looked familiar walking across the compound. It was Don Amundson, also from Radcliffe, Iowa, and a relative of Linn’s. They shared their experiences from the last few months. Amundson had been a gunner on a B-24 of the Fifteenth Air Force flying out of Italy, when he was shot down on his 13th mission.

For Christmas 1944, the camp commandant told the POWs that he would allow them to remain outside until midnight with the compound lights on, as long as they made no attempt to escape. The Germans also provided a little extra food. The prisoners spent the time

the POWs return to their barracks.

After supper one evening, one of the POWs, instead of going down the hall and out the front door of the barracks, opened the double windows in his room and jumped to the ground. A shot rang out, and he fell dead. The guard, some 70 feet away, claimed that the prisoner had made a face at him.

After some nine months, there were rumors that the camp would have to be evacuated because of the Soviet Army’s approach. Early on the morning of February 5, 1945, Linn and his fellow prisoners were told to prepare to leave the next day. The prisoners were allowed to take supplies and clothing from a stock of Red Cross parcels in a German warehouse.

*Continued on page 81*

**BARBAROSSA:**

# Hitler's Great BLUNDER

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 led to a catastrophe that eroded the fighting strength of the German Army.

**BY FRANK JOHNSON**





German troops advance past a burning farmhouse somewhere in Russia. During the opening months of Operation Barbarossa, the Nazi juggernaut was victorious on all fronts, encircling Red Army formations and capturing thousands of prisoners. INSET: A dense column of Red Army prisoners plods toward the rear and an uncertain future as the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union rolls on in the summer of 1941.



**BY** April 1941, just over a year and a half into World War II, Nazi Germany was the master of Europe.

All that stood in its way was Great Britain and her far-flung empire. The tiny island nation stood defiant, but was perilously vulnerable after a series of defeats in northern France, Norway, the Far East, Greece, and Crete. With time and effort, Britain could summon imperial reserves, but she had no means of meeting the powerful German Army in battle.

Nazi dictator Adolf Hitler had always admired the British Empire and still believed that he could bring it to the peace table. He dreamed of conquering Europe while the British Empire controlled the rest of the world. Hitler suspected that Britain was fighting on because she looked to the Soviet Union for eventual support.

So, the German leader calculated that he could isolate Britain with a rapid war of movement in the East, toppling Marshal Josef Stalin's regime and crushing Russian Bolshevism, which he loathed. An invasion of western Russia would also provide Germany with needed *lebensraum* (living space). This had been one of Hitler's aims from his earliest preaching.

Less than a month after a humiliated France had surrendered to Germany in the early summer of 1940, and while he was considering an invasion of England, Hitler had ordered the

drawing up of plans for an invasion of Russia in the spring of 1941. He told his military commanders of his intentions during a conference at his Berchtesgaden alpine retreat on July 31, 1940. The plan would involve 120 divisions thrusting through the fertile Ukraine to the River Dnieper while the rest advanced through the Baltic states and on to Moscow. Hitler estimated that the campaign would be completed in five months, before the onset of the harsh Russian winter.

This, he said, would be the blitzkrieg to end all blitzkriegs. With Russia struck down, Britain virtually impotent, and isolationist America unwilling to enter the war, his promised "Thousand-Year Reich" was assured. On December 18, 1940, Directive No. 21 was issued authorizing Operation Barbarossa. A war in the East was never a question for Hitler and his generals, and the Fuehrer was committed to a venture that would prove to be his biggest blunder of the war and bring about the undoing of his army. Ignoring the bitter lesson of Napoleon's army in Russia in 1812, the Nazi leader was to send the Wehrmacht to an even worse fate on the vast, frigid steppes of Russia. As British Field Marshal Bernard L. Montgomery observed, "One of the first rules of war is: don't march on Moscow."

But in 1940, the Nazi dictator had no doubt that his army, the most powerful in the world,

would overcome any resistance the Russians might muster. In the 1920s, he had said, "This colossal empire in the east is ripe for dissolution." In 1941, he said, "We have only to kick in the door, and the whole rotten structure will come crashing down."

Hitler told General Franz Halder, chief of the General Staff, "When Barbarossa commences, the world will hold its breath and make no comment." And the Fuehrer warned that it would be a brutal undertaking with no quarter given. In March 1941, he told his generals, "The war against Russia will be such that it cannot be conducted in a knightly fashion. This struggle is one of ideologies and racial differences, and will have to be conducted with unprecedented, unmerciful, and unrelenting harshness."

Three months later, on the eve of the invasion, Hitler told the German High Command, "Your armies will shatter the Russian colossus. It will be a hard fight; the Asiatics are cruel and cunning, but you will meet them with a determination as hard and cold as ice. Only one people will come out of this alive—our people. You must make your troops put aside all their notions of restraint and humanity ... This will be the last campaign of this war, and it will ensure the security of the Reich for many generations ... We cannot refuse to give battle, and one day the world will thank us for having

responded to the call of destiny.”

Delayed by a late spring thaw and German campaigns in the Balkans, Operation Barbarossa was eventually launched early on Sunday, June 22, 1941. At 2:00 that morning, a Russian train hauling grain chugged across the River Bug at Brest-Litovsk, on the German-Russian border. It was one of many that had taken the route during the past few months under Berlin-Moscow trade agreements. Seventy-five minutes later, more than 7,000 German field guns of all calibers started bombarding pinpointed targets, while overhead droned 1,000 Luftwaffe bombers on their way to pound Soviet airfields, military installations, and communications centers. A key objective was the destruction of the Red Air Force. Then, German armor and infantry surged eastward across the frontier on a 500-mile front. The onslaught would eventually cover a 2,000-mile front from the North Cape to the Black Sea.

The massive invasion comprised three powerful army groups with almost three and a half million men, 153 divisions, 3,600 tanks, 7,000 artillery pieces, 600,000 motorized vehicles, and 625,000 transport horses. Flying in support were 2,700 bombers, fighters, and dive bombers. Tuned in closely to the opening of the operation, Hitler was gleeful and supremely confident. “Before three months have passed,” he promised on that fateful day, “we shall witness a collapse in Russia the like of which has never been seen in history.”

Under the overall command of Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch, the three German army groups aimed for precise objectives in Russia. General Ritter von Leeb’s Army Group North was to advance from East Prussia, through the Baltic States, and on to Leningrad. General Fedor von Bock’s Army Group Center was to besiege the border fortress at Brest-Litovsk, swing north of the Pripet Marshes, and head for Minsk, Smolensk, and ultimately Moscow. Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt’s Army Group South advanced from a starting line that arced from southern Poland along the Hungarian frontier and across Romania. Ahead of it lay the vast plains of southern Russia and the Ukraine.

The German armies included 14 Finnish, 14 Romanian, four Italian, and two Slovak divisions, plus a Spanish division and a Hungarian “rapid corps.” The Luftwaffe squadrons were supported by Finnish, Romanian, Italian, Hungarian, and Croatian fighters and bombers.

Facing the Germans in the western military districts were about 140 divisions and 40 brigades of Marshal Georgi Zhukov’s Red Army, totaling an estimated 2.9 million men,

10,000-15,000 tanks, some of which were obsolete, and 8,000 aircraft. Historian Alan Clark said, “What an appalling moment in time this is, the head-on crash of the two greatest armies, the two most absolute systems, in the world. No battle in history compares with it.... In terms of numbers of men, weight of ammunition, length of front, the desperate crescendo of fighting, there will never be another day like the 22nd June 1941.”

The Moscow high command was surprised by the scale of the Nazi assault, and, despite repeated warnings of Hitler’s intentions by

agents and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Stalin was unable to grasp what was now happening. He had assumed that the rumors of war were just German saber-rattling.

The Soviet Union had been preparing for war, expanding the Red Army and producing such innovative weapons as the deadly Katyusha rocket launcher and the 26-ton T-34 medium tank, arguably the best tank of World War II. But Stalin had been ready to make big concessions in 1941, expecting a new reconciliation of interests with Hitler, and was not ready for war.



**ABOVE:** Hitler confers with his subordinates Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel (left) and Field Marshal Walter von Brauchitsch (center) as the three contemplate a military map on the table before them. As Operation Barbarossa progressed, Hitler sacked Brauchitsch and took personal command of all German forces on the Eastern Front. **TOP:** The burned-out hulks of Soviet T-26 light tanks destroyed during early fighting against the invading Nazis lie derelict on the battlefield. **OPPOSITE:** German soldiers accompanied by PzKpfw. III tanks march eastward through a Russian meadow in the summer of 1941. German spearheads covered vast swaths of Russian territory during the opening weeks of Operation Barbarossa.



When the enemy juggernaut burst across his borders, the wily, brutal Marshal Stalin refused to sanction retaliation. He was in a state of shock—almost a complete mental collapse—for several days before pulling himself together. “Everything which Lenin created we have lost forever!” he groaned to aides. After recovering, he operated cautiously in the first month of the war.

The specified aim of the German armies was to kill Russians rather than conquer cities. Hitler and his generals had agreed that the Soviet forces had to be trapped and beaten in western Russia, within 250 miles of the border. Their concern was that the Red Army might fall back deep into the Russian interior, drawing the Germans into a battle of attrition on the edge of Asia.

Meanwhile, as the Luftwaffe achieved aerial supremacy within the first few days, great German formations of panzers, artillery, and infantry steamrolled relentlessly into western Russia in blitzkrieg fashion. The iron spearheads knifed through lightly defended frontier positions, and there seemed to be no stopping them. Bridges across the Bug and other rivers and streams were seized by surprise, and sleepy Russian guards were machine-gunned as they scrambled for their weapons. Where there were no bridges, German shock troops paddled silently across in rubber dinghies or rode powered

assault boats before the Russians could open fire.

The Soviet defenders fought bravely but suffered heavy defeats. On the road to Minsk and Smolensk, panzers of Army Group Center contemptuously blasted aside Russian armored cars and antitank guns. Rundstedt’s forces made good though less easy headway, while, on their southern flank, the Germans suffered heavy casualties at the hands of Soviet infantrymen. On the far distant front of Army Group North, where the Germans pushed into Soviet-occupied Lithuania, they were halted for a time by determined Mongolian troops.

groups on without respite.

But the Soviets fought back with desperate valor. They held a trump card on which the Germans had not reckoned. As the massed panzers rumbled toward distant Daugava, their left flank was suddenly menaced by monstrous 43-ton KV-1 and 52-ton KV-2 tanks of the crack 3rd Soviet Armored Corps. A furious two-day battle ensued, and the Germans were able to prevail only after calling on support from high-velocity 88mm flak guns.

The German advances were generally so rapid that towns and villages were overrun

**The formerly confident General Halder was obliged to change his views. “Overall,” he said on August 11, “it is clearer and clearer that we have underestimated the Russian colossus, which had prepared itself for war with an utter lack of restraint which is characteristic of the totalitarian state.”**

On this northern front, where the brilliant General Erich von Manstein’s Panzer Corps delivered its first devastating punch, the enemy spearhead thrust 40 miles deep into Russian territory in 34 hours. Manstein, who believed that Operation Barbarossa could only succeed if the main Soviet military strength was destroyed in the first few weeks, urged his tank

before the hapless inhabitants knew that a war was in progress.

Bock’s Army Group Center advanced 400 miles and captured the whole of Belorussia in three weeks. The Soviet armies lost almost 5,000 tanks, almost 10,000 field guns, and 1,700 planes, and the enemy seizures of Bialystok and Minsk were each reminiscent of the



**ABOVE:** During a lull in the fighting on the Eastern Front, German soldiers take a moment to inspect a Soviet KV-2 heavy tank, which has been captured in battle. Although they considered their armor to be superior to anything fielded by the Red Army, the Germans were dismayed to encounter the heavy KV series tanks and the outstanding T-34 medium tank on the battlefield in the summer of 1941. **LEFT:** In September 1941, German troops enter the city of Kiev, capital of the Ukraine, where roughly 700,000 Soviet prisoners along with vast quantities of weapons and supplies were captured. The victory was perhaps the greatest of the war for the Wehrmacht.

German victory over the French Army and the British Expeditionary Force in May 1940. In Russia, the invaders sought to destroy the Red Army west of the Dnieper and Dvina Rivers, preventing it from escaping into the hinterland, and to capture Smolensk, the land bridge to the Soviet capital.

All went well, though the great distances involved and the minimal Russian infrastructure soon hampered the German timetable because the panzer divisions had to halt and wait for the slower-moving infantry and vital supplies. In many areas, the Germans faced no opposition; in others, Soviet units large and small fought desperately until overwhelmed. The city of Smolensk on the left bank of the upper Dnieper River held out for 63 days.

The Russians were fighting back wherever they could and whenever they could. While the German spearheads made spectacular progress toward Leningrad and Moscow, the going was harder on the southern front. The opposition was stiffer there, where four Soviet armies held strongly defended positions and compelled the invaders to fight bitterly all the way at heavy cost. Again, formations of Soviet tanks, including T-34s, chewed at the panzers, and again the Germans had to bring up their 88mm guns to extricate themselves. But the planned encirclement and destruction of the Russian force had been lost.

While the Soviets became better organized and increasingly ruthless, the German leadership was nevertheless confident and the morale of its troops high. Eleven days after the invasion began, General Halder noted in his diary, “I am therefore not exaggerating when I say that the campaign against Russia was won in 14 days.” But his assurance would prove premature. The battles raged on into the summer of 1941, and the Wehrmacht had to ward off vigorous Soviet counterattacks.

Bock in the center executed a giant pincer movement which converged on Minsk early in July, and 300,000 prisoners were taken. A week later came the battle of Smolensk, which raged for three weeks and brought 300,000 more prisoners. But Bock’s armies had suffered such losses that they had to refit and regroup.

In August, Hitler and his stunted propaganda minister, Josef Goebbels, admitted that they had “obviously underestimated completely Soviet striking power and, above all, the equipment of the Soviet Union.” They were forced to realize that Stalin’s increasingly efficient regime had succeeded in creating an untouchable eastern industrial base which enabled his armies to make good their heavy materiel losses in the battles of encirclement.

Despite continuing severe losses of manpower, materiel, and terrain, the Red Army was defending stubbornly and with mounting skill.

It was able to prevent a rapid German conquest of Leningrad, Moscow, and the industrial region in the Donets Basin. Following an appeal from Stalin, partisan groups were hampering German logistical lines in the hinterland. The Germans were also experiencing supply problems because they had failed to provide sufficient materiel and transport for lengthy operations. The Russians—soldiers and guerrillas alike—were upsetting the German timetable.

The Red Army had not cracked up after its initial setbacks and was contradicting Hitler’s prediction about the “whole rotten structure” collapsing. He was unaware of the Russians’ endurance and indifference to pain and death. When French writer Jean Bruller Vercours had suggested that Hitler’s legions would go through the country “like a knife into butter,” his Russian friend, Leon Motchane, retorted, “What an idea! You don’t know the Russians. Never mind if they like or dislike Stalin and his regime, that doesn’t count anymore. Holy Russia is attacked, and they’ll defend it. To the last man. And they’re invincible ... Hitler has repeated Napoleon’s mistake. Even if he gets away with some early successes, he has flung himself into a bottomless pit. He’s doomed. Let’s drink to victory!”

Stalin, alarmed at the loss of several of his armies, had appointed himself commissar of defense and taken direct control of operations.



**Although they suffered tremendous casualties fighting the invading Germans during the summer of 1941, the soldiers of the Red Army displayed exceptional courage, putting up stiff resistance in some areas while Mother Russia reeled from the surprise of Operation Barbarossa.**

He set up a general headquarters, the Stavka, and relied on dependable senior officers to take charge of crisis situations. The generalissimo was as brutal with the army as he had been with his people during the infamous purges of the 1930s.

Many of the generals who had faced the initial German blitzkrieg were relieved and executed. Those who remained were hard and ruthless, obeying orders no matter what the cost in casualties. Stalin ordered that the troops were to fight to the last man and that the families of those who surrendered would be deprived of all their rights. Soldiers who fled from the battlefield were quickly shot. The harsh measures worked, steeling the Soviet defenders in their determination to kill Germans.

The Russians—led by such tough generals as Semen Timoshenko, Semen Budenny, Konstantin Rokossovsky, Ivan Konev, Alexei Antonov, Rodion Malinovsky, and Vasily Chuikov—matched the highly disciplined German troops in merciless resolve, and seldom was such total disregard for the Geneva Conventions and the rules of war witnessed in World War II. From Leningrad all the way to Berlin, the Russo-German war was to be a fight to the death.

When he became aware of the Soviet Army's growing strength, effectiveness, and will, the formerly confident General Halder was obliged to change his views. "Overall," he said on August 11, "it is clearer and clearer that we have underestimated the Russian colossus, which had prepared itself for war with an utter lack of restraint which is characteristic of the totalitarian state. This is as true in the area of organization as it is of the economy, the area of transport and communications, but above all to pure military power. At the start of the war, we reckoned on some 200 enemy divisions. Now we have already counted 360. These divisions are definitely not armed and equipped in our sense, and tactically they are in many ways badly led. But they are there."

While the Red Army suffered many defeats, it was still able to absorb enormous losses in men and materiel, to regroup, and to advance. General Hasso von Manteuffel, able commander of the German LVI Panzer Corps and later the 11th Army, reported, "The advance of a Russian army is something that Westerners can't imagine. Behind the tank spearheads rolls on a vast horde, largely mounted on horses. The soldier carries a sack on his back, with dry crusts of bread and raw vegetables collected on

the march from fields and villages. The horses eat the straw from the house roofs; they get little else. The Russians are accustomed to carry on for as long as three weeks in this primitive way, when advancing. You can't stop them, like an ordinary army, by cutting their communications, for you rarely find any supply columns to strike."

Hitler and his top advisers had naively expected their armies to be welcomed as liberators by the Russians, repressed as they were under Stalin's chilling regime. But the Germans actually came as conquerors and made little or no attempt to win the hearts and minds of the people. They regarded the Slavic population as *untersmenschen* (subhuman) and were determined to enslave the Slavic population and exterminate all Jews. Instead of liberating, the German troops and attached SS death squads slaughtered hundreds of thousands of soldiers, activists, political rebels, and Jews, left others to starve, and diverted captured resources to Germany. Therefore, from the beginning, the war on the Eastern Front was an ideological struggle, waged with a cruelty not witnessed in Europe since the Mongol scourges of the 13th and 14th centuries.

The fighting raged through the summer of

1941, and, despite increasing setbacks as the Red Army grew in both size and effectiveness, the German military professionalism excelled. In the first six months of the great campaign, the Wehrmacht achieved a dozen encirclements of Russian concentrations, ranking with the victories at Sedan in 1871 and the Ardennes in 1940. In the north, Leeb's army pushed through Estonia in August but was repulsed before Leningrad in September. In the south, the armies of Bock and Rundstedt closed pincers at Lokvitsa, 120 miles east of Kiev, on September 14. The German bag was almost 700,000 prisoners, and Hitler called it "the greatest battle in the history of the world."

But the Soviets would not give up the pressure, and the Germans' problems mounted. In August, their advance had been slowed from 20 to five miles a day.

The German units were over-reaching their supply lines while a series of sharp Soviet counterattacks stalled their advance. The enemy forces were also continually hampered by the thousands of prisoners they had taken and for whom there was not sufficient food and shelter. It became obvious to Hitler's generals that the campaign could not be maintained on three

fronts. So, resources were diverted from Army Group Center and the drive toward Moscow to press attacks on Leningrad in the far north and Kiev and the Ukraine to the south, allowing Army Group South to approach the Soviet capital from behind.

Despite increasing Russian pressure, the Germans pushed on and managed to get enough supplies rushed forward to renew their drives. As a result, they were able to encircle Kiev in late September and Bryansk-Viazma in October. Almost eight Soviet armies totaling 1.2 million men were captured. The envelopment of Kiev was probably the greatest German feat of arms in any war.

Further advances and spectacular gains followed for the German Army. Manstein got as far as Sevastopol, Field Marshal Ewald von Kleist's crack Panzer Group reached Rostov, Rundstedt's army occupied the general Tagenrog-Kharkov-Kursk line, and Bock set off from Smolensk early in October and trapped another 600,000 Russians between Vyazma and Bryansk. Bock's spearhead units would reach Klin, only 35 miles west of Moscow, on December 5.

Moscow seemed to lie open to a German advance, and Hitler was already busily drafting

a plan for the destruction of the Soviet capital. But the weather intervened to further hobble German progress. This was what the Russians called "rasputitsa" (the time when roads dissolve). Heavy rains in October turned the dusty roads into impassable rivers of mud, bogging down tanks and supply columns. Already strained, the enemy logistical situation was now critical, while the weather favored the Soviets.

The Germans, meanwhile, had made great progress against the stubborn Soviet troops. Despite many unexpected setbacks and heavy losses in men and materiel, the invaders had bagged an estimated total of two million Russians. Reich Press Chief Otto Dietrich caused a sensation on October 8 when he announced that Soviet Russia was finished as a military power and that the war in the East was over.

Yet, none of the basic aims which Hitler had laid down for Barbarossa were achieved. Although his armies had scored huge successes on the northern and southern fronts, they had not captured Moscow, Leningrad, the rich Caucasian oilfields, or the Archangel railway. Above all, the Russian armies as a whole had not been destroyed nor prevented from withdrawing when necessary. The diversity of these objectives



Soviet soldiers march in ragged ranks toward the defensive lines around the city of Leningrad in September 1941. Although the Germans expected Leningrad to fall quickly, the Red Army defenders and the civilian population of the great city denied the Nazis total victory. The epic 900-day siege of Leningrad followed, and the people suffered desperately until the Germans were driven back and the siege was lifted.

and the sheer width of front were proving beyond the reach of Operation Barbarossa.

Early in November, frosts solidified the muddy roads and enabled the German advance to continue. Kleist's panzers approached Rostov, and the 11th Army under Manstein pushed into the Crimea, driving the Russians back on Sevastopol. German forces also overran the new industrial city of Kharkov and the Donbass region, the Soviet Union's economic powerhouse. But Hitler's armies were running out of supplies and replacements, and many of the panzer groups were now understrength. Yet the Germans, like the Russians, would not yield. Once again, they managed to push the Red Army back, and panzer units reached within 18 miles of Moscow. German officers could see the city's gleaming spires through their field glasses.

The Red Army scored its first major successes in November. It secured the road over Lake Ladoga, the vital supply line to besieged

Leningrad, and recaptured Rostov in the south. Meanwhile, the afflictions besetting the enemy armies became known to Stalin and his generals, who sensed that their foes were stretched to the breaking point with serious supply problems and lack of winter equipment. The German offensive came to a standstill by the end of November, and General Eduard Wagner, the Wehrmacht quartermaster-general, reported, "We are at the end of our personnel and materiel strength."

The lull in the fighting enabled the Russians to bring in more armored divisions from the Manchurian frontier. Stalin, who had long since regained his confidence, ordered the traditional Moscow parade marking the anniversary of the Russian Revolution on November 7. Army tank, artillery, and infantry units marched through Red Square and straight out to the front lines. At that time, German reconnaissance patrols were approaching outlying sta-

tions of the Moscow subway system.

Launched by Bock on September 30, Operation Typhoon, the advance on Moscow, was underway. But the weather again brought problems for the Germans. Winter came, snow fell, and temperatures plummeted to a daily average of 12 degrees below zero, and sometimes 40 below. Guns jammed because their oils were not viscous in such weather, and fires had to be lighted under the oil pans of tanks each morning. Without adequate winter clothing, the soldiers froze. More than 100,000 cases of frostbite would be reported in December.

The Russians were well aware of the German threat to their capital. Unlike 1812, when Napoleon was allowed to enter Moscow, Stalin was determined to defend it. He had appointed his main troubleshooter, the highly regarded Marshal Zhukov, to organize the defense with his newly created West Front. Zhukov oversaw the transfer of troop reinforcements from else-



Although the spearheads of the invading German Army were only a few miles from the Soviet capital of Moscow, Premier Josef Stalin ordered the traditional parade celebrating the anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917 to go forward on November 7, 1941. Some German units on the outskirts of Moscow were close enough that officers were able to see the city's onion domes and gleaming spires through their field glasses.

where, the digging of antitank ditches west of the city, and the construction of a formidable series of defense lines by Moscow citizens, including thousands of women. Zhukov had about 80 divisions, many of them from Siberia, deployed to defend the city. Many Muscovites panicked and fled, and some government agencies were moved behind the Ural Mountains, but Stalin remained in the capital.

Despite the bitter cold and their critical supply problems, the disciplined Germans pushed on again toward Moscow, but the Soviets were waiting for them in great strength. On December 5-6, the Red Army launched a surprise counterattack north and south of the capital, breaking through weak enemy lines and creating large gaps in the front. It appeared that several German formations might become encircled, and they fell back. There was no hope of them drawing reserves from another theater of operations.

The Soviet troops kept up the attacks across a front of almost 600 miles for 34 days, and the Germans were forced back 50 to 150 miles. It was a great victory for the Soviet Army, a heartening moment for the hard-pressed Russian people, and one of the defining battles of World War II.

German commanders at the front demanded several times that their exhausted troops be withdrawn, and an angry Hitler refused. The fanatical Nazi leader ordered that soldiers should die where they stood, and not an inch of ground was to be surrendered. But on December 8, he agreed reluctantly to issue Directive No. 39, suspending Operation Typhoon for the duration of the winter. Army Group Center began pulling back to less exposed positions farther west, and Hitler's anger increased. Several commanders-in-chief and generals were replaced or dismissed, and on December 19, Hitler took over Field Marshal Brauchitsch's function as Army C-in-C. That day, the Fuehrer issued a general order: "Every man must fight where he stands. No falling back where there are no prepared positions in rear."

But the dispirited, frostbitten troops were falling back, and Hitler was forced to realize that his Russian adventure had failed. And he now had wider concerns. The disaster before the gates of Moscow had been preceded by the December 7 Pearl Harbor attack and the entry of the United States into the war. When the Eastern Front lines stabilized at the end of the month, Germany faced three major enemies—the British Empire, Russia, and America. After many spectacular early successes, Hitler was now engaged in a total war he could not win.

By the end of December 1941, the Red Army



**Anticipating a quick victory in Russia, the Germans had failed to prepare for a prolonged campaign, particularly one that stretched into the winter of 1941. German soldiers suffered greatly without cold-weather uniforms, while supplies were slow to reach the frontlines. Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union was a blunder of great magnitude.**

had finally eliminated the German threat to Moscow, shattering the myth of Wehrmacht invincibility. Weakened by heavy personnel and materiel losses from which they never recovered, the German armies held defensive positions through the winter of 1941-42, while Hitler became increasingly scornful of the competence of his field commanders. The Red Army had also suffered heavily, and by the end of 1941, a total of 3.35 million Soviet troops had been taken prisoner. But the USSR, with a vast reservoir of manpower, did not collapse militarily as predicted, and the epic defense of Moscow stiffened Russian morale.

Hitler's offensive against the city ended in a debacle because of the dogged and numerically superior Soviet troops, natural obstacles, "General Winter," and the breakdown of the German supply network. None of the planned operational objectives was attained, and the blitzkrieg strategy was refuted.

Marshal Zhukov reported, "In planning a large, difficult strategical operation on the scale of Operation Typhoon, the German high command greatly underestimated the strength, the fighting spirit, and the potential of the Soviet Army in the battle for Moscow; on the other hand, it grossly overestimated the potential of its own troops, who broke through our defensive lines and were supposed to capture

the capital of Moscow."

The battle cost the Germans more than half a million men, 1,300 tanks, 2,500 artillery pieces, and more than 15,000 vehicles. By January 31, 1942, Operation Barbarossa had cost the German armies 918,000 men killed, wounded, captured, and missing.

After the Battle of Moscow, the German armies conducted a slow retreat in desperate conditions. Soviet attacks threatened to envelop them in a defeat as disastrous as that which overtook Napoleon's Grand Army in 1812, but the Russians over-reached and the enemy forces were able to restore a semblance of order to the front. The spring thaw in March 1942 brought operations to a halt.

Then, after new offensives were mounted, fierce battles raged at Kalinin, Orel, the River Don, Krasnodar, Stalingrad, Kursk, Lvov, and elsewhere across the vast Eastern Front for almost three more years. Growing stronger and stronger, the Red Army relentlessly pushed the Germans back all the way to Warsaw, Budapest, East Prussia, Vienna, and Berlin.

In the end, Hitler's misguided Operation Barbarossa had achieved nothing except to break the back of the German Army. □

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*Author Frank Johnson is a first-time contributor. He resides in the United Kingdom.*

BY MICHAEL D. HULL

**I**tching for sea duty but forced to cool his heels with shore assignments, 40-year-old U.S. Navy Captain Daniel V. Gallery was a frustrated man when America went to war in December 1941.

A 1920 Annapolis graduate, Olympic wrestler, and battleship and destroyer officer before becoming a naval aviator and instructor, he commanded a scout-plane squadron, headed the aviation section in the Bureau of Ordnance, and then checked in as the naval air attaché at the U.S. Embassy in London in January 1941. When the Pearl Harbor attack thrust his country into World War II, Gallery was placed in charge of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet air base at Reykjavik, Iceland.

A lean, restless Irish-American who looked like a cross between singer Bing Crosby and actor Humphrey Bogart, the Chicago-born Captain Gallery applied his innate energy to the mission: leading a 12-plane squadron of Consolidated PBY Catalina flying boats that provided cover to convoys up to a range of 500 miles, while cooperating closely with Royal Air Force Coastal Command.

In order to raise the shaky morale of his men in the cold and fog of bleak Iceland, Gallery enlisted the aid of a Navy Seabee battalion to construct a comfortable base for them. Making use of abandoned British Nissen huts, the Seabees built a “town” featuring streets, mock red fire hydrants, a gymnasium, bowling alley, and “palm trees” fashioned from metal pipes and burlap. He named the community “Kwitchyrbelliakin.”

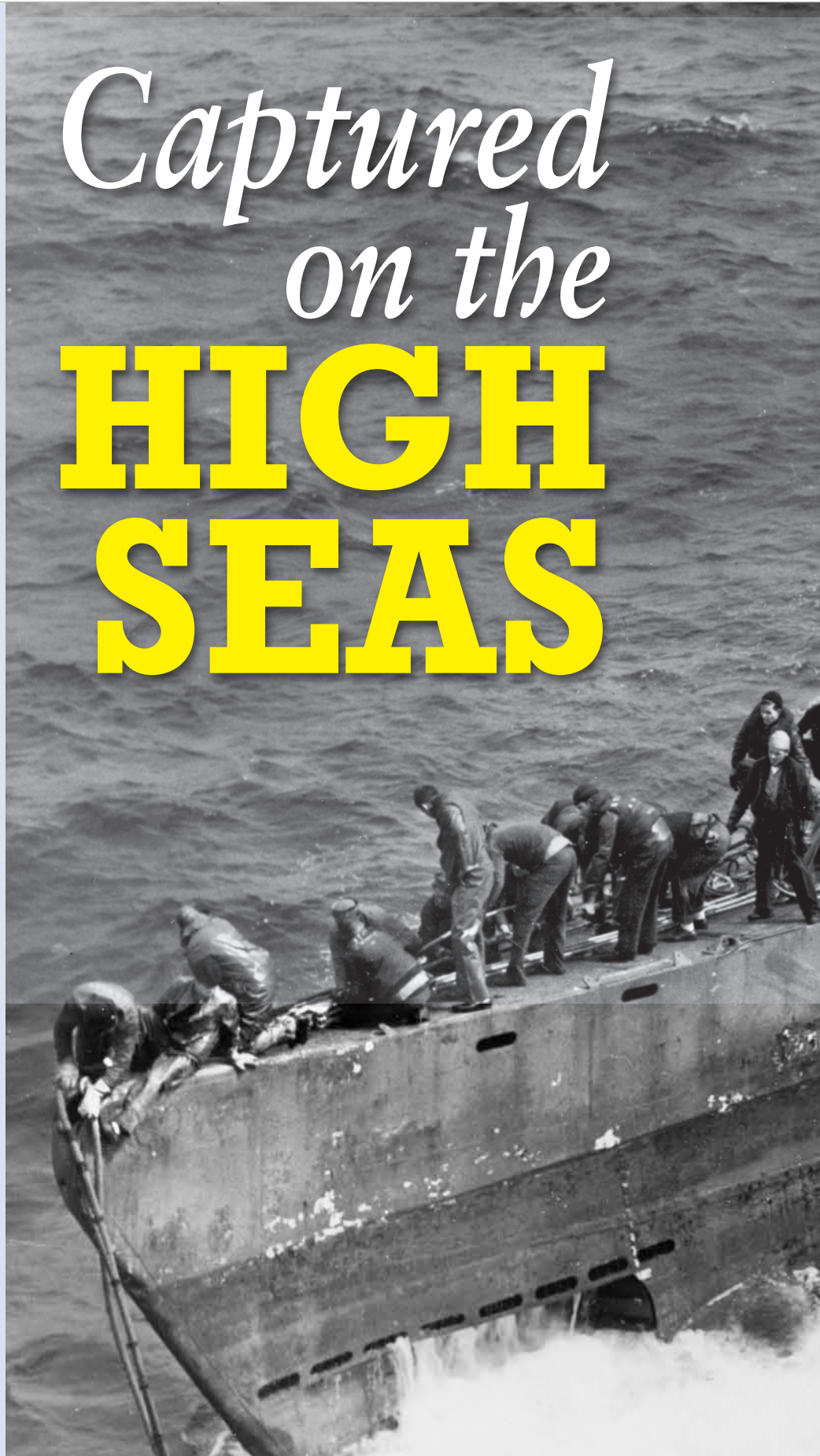
Gallery endured his assignment for more than two years. Though a sensitive man with a ready sense of humor and considerable stamina, he grew increasingly fretful. After 20 years’ service in the Navy, during which he briefly commanded the USS *Langley*, America’s first aircraft carrier, he wanted to be at sea. Tuning in to BBC radio reports of the great battles at Coral Sea and Midway only made him chafe more. “I didn’t want to sit out the greatest war in history on the beach,” he said later. “I wanted a ship.”

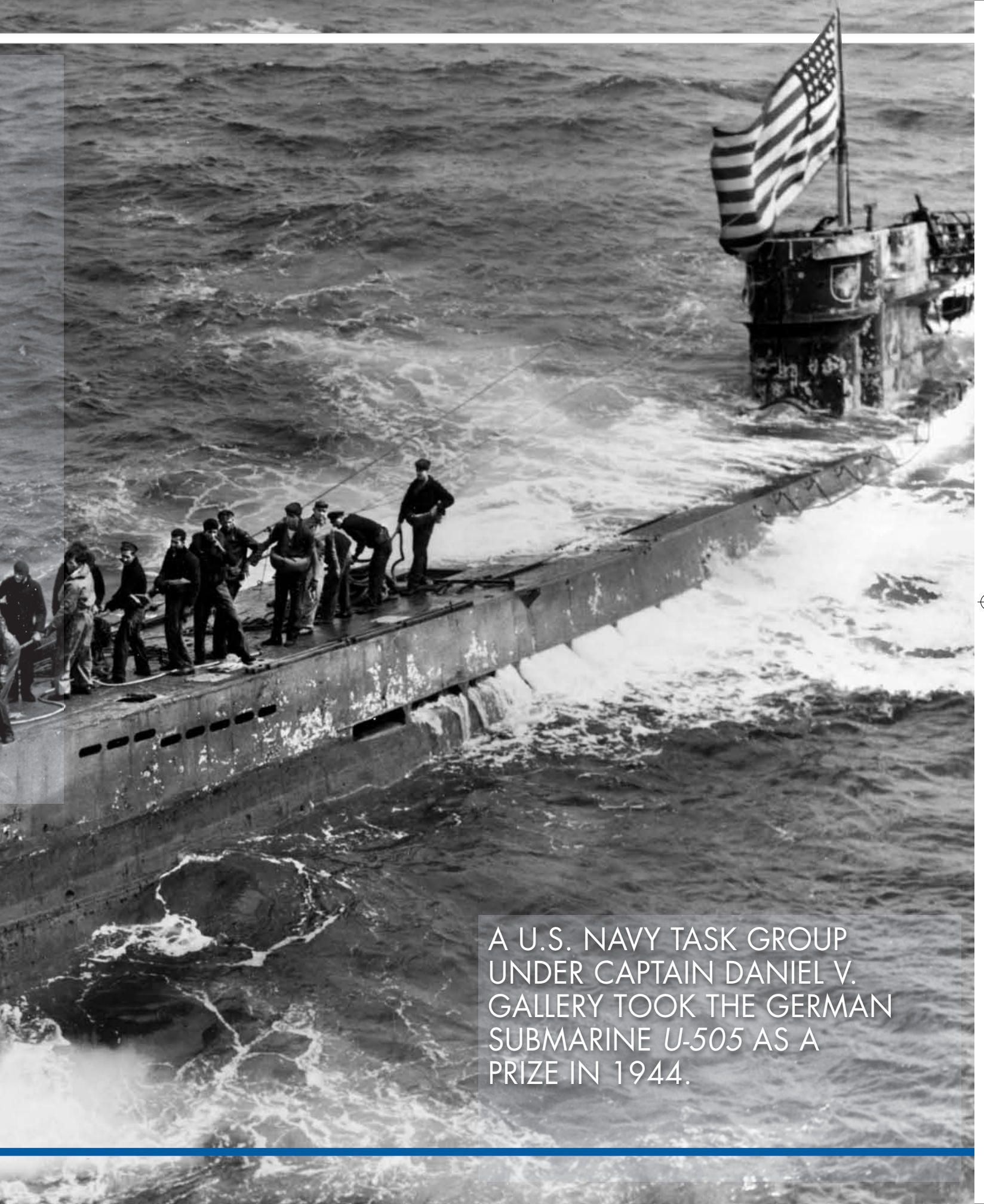
Finally, in May 1943, he got his wish and was ordered to report Stateside and take command of a brand-new escort carrier. The first few of an

**Sailors of the boarding party from the destroyer escort USS *Pillsbury* work to rig a towline to the bow of the captured German submarine *U-505* in the Atlantic. Rough seas required the sailors to hold tightly to the guide wire running from the conning tower to the bow of the submarine.**

All photos: Naval History and Heritage Command

# Captured on the HIGH SEAS





A U.S. NAVY TASK GROUP UNDER CAPTAIN DANIEL V. GALLERY TOOK THE GERMAN SUBMARINE U-505 AS A PRIZE IN 1944.



**In this combat photo taken on April 9, 1944, the German submarine *U-515* is shown under attack by the destroyer escorts *USS Pope*, *Chatelain*, *Pillsbury*, and *Flaherty* while aircraft of Squadron VC-58 from the escort carrier *USS Guadalcanal* join in. *U-515* was commanded by Lt. Commander Werner Henke, an ace who had sunk 25 Allied ships. Henke and 43 crewmen survived the sinking of *U-515* and were rescued.**

eventual 99 assembly-line “jeep carriers” were being hastily built by industrial czar Henry J. Kaiser in his sprawling shipyard at Vancouver on the Columbia River in Washington state. Soon after the sixth of the flattops, the *Casablanca*-class *USS Guadalcanal* (CVE-60), was launched on June 5, Gallery eagerly made his way there and took a hand in her fitting out.

When the 11,000-ton, 19-knot carrier was commissioned at Astoria, Oregon, on September 25, 1943, her 1,200-man complement lined up on the flight deck in dress blues while Gallery read the orders, the commission pennant was hoisted, and the ship’s chaplain offered a prayer. Swift to instill his fighting spirit in the mostly raw crew, the skipper said that if the ship did not have the Presidential Unit Citation flying from her foretruck within a year, “...we will be unworthy custodians of the great name being entrusted to our care.” He issued each man with a printed statement of his philosophy: “The motto of the *Guadalcanal* will be ‘Can Do,’ meaning that we will take any tough job that is handed to us and run away with it. The tougher the job, the better we’ll like it.”

The flattop weighed anchor on November 15, eased through the Panama Canal, and tied up in Norfolk, Virginia, on December 3. A month later, on January 3, 1944, the *Guadalcanal* took on board 12 Grumman TBF Avenger torpedo-

bombers and eight Grumman F4F Wildcat fighters. Two days later, she put to sea for the Battle of the Atlantic as the flagship of Task Group 22.3, which also comprised the new 25-knot destroyer escorts *Chatelain*, *Pillsbury*, *Flaherty*, *Pope*, and *Jenks*. Gallery’s flattop was the first of Kaiser’s jeep carriers to wet her stem in the Atlantic; most of the others were destined for the Pacific theater. Besides Gallery’s ship, another seven American escort carriers were assigned to anti-submarine operations in the Atlantic. They were the *Block Island*, *Bogue*, *Card*, *Core*, *Croatan*, *Santee*, and *Mission Bay*.

On the bridge in his first carrier command, Gallery was ready for action as he led his task group eastward. His directive from Admiral Royal E. Ingersoll, commander of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet, was simple: “Operate against enemy submarines.” The roving commission suited Gallery’s independent temperament. He knew that the U-boat pickings would probably be slim because the grim days of the big wolf packs were over. The British, Canadian, and U.S. Navies had turned the tide against the Germans in the Atlantic by mid-1943. But Gallery had a special objective in mind — one that no American skipper had yet pulled off.

Heading for Bermuda, the task group ran into heavy weather, during which two Wildcat fighters were badly damaged and had to be put

ashore. The *Guadalcanal* group then steered northeastward. According to British Admiralty decrypts of German Enigma codes, U-boats were being refueled by “milch cow” tenders about 500 miles west of the Portuguese Azores. “The admiral simply told us to operate in the vicinity of the Azores,” said Gallery. “Those were the orders, and they gave you plenty of elbow room to write your own ticket.”

The task group headed for the U-boats’ “nesting area,” and Gallery launched planes on January 16. Just before sunset that day, two of the Avengers were flying about 300 miles northwest of the island of Flores when they sighted *U-544*, a milch cow, refueling a U-boat while another stood by awaiting its turn. One of the TBFs dived and made a run, firing rockets and dropping depth charges between the two boats. The U-boat was struck, and about 40 men began to abandon the milch cow.

A second Avenger loosed rockets and depth charges, and six more planes joined the attack, blasting the German boats. *U-544* was destroyed, but the badly damaged U-boat was able to limp back to Brest harbor in northwestern France. The “Can Do” carrier had scored on her first time out. The crew cheered, but Gallery’s elation was short-lived. The planes had to be retrieved, and none of the pilots had landed on small carriers at night.

The first three planes landed safely on the flight deck, but the fourth veered off the side and nosed down in the gallery walkway. Efforts to push it over the side failed. “We were lit up like a barroom on a Saturday night because we had to,” said Captain Gallery. “They (the incoming pilots) were jittery, and they made some of the wildest passes I have ever seen.” In desperation, a fifth Avenger was waved in, but it bounced on the deck, somersaulted, and dived into the sea. The three crewmen were picked by a nearby destroyer escort.

But Gallery had had enough and ordered the other three planes to put down in the water. The destroyer escort switched on its searchlights and rescued the crews. The innovative skipper “decided we were going to learn to fly at night.” He inaugurated a night-flying training program and also ordered his crew to spend two weeks practicing how to dump a crippled plane off the carrier. His diligence paid big dividends.

When the task group returned to Norfolk on February 16, 1944, the *Guadalcanal* sailed proudly through Hampton Roads with a swastika painted on her bridge. But it had been a costly maiden voyage, with 15 of her 21 planes lost or unserviceable and five crewmen missing off the Azores. Hard lessons had been learned, however, and Gallery vowed that the next time his pilots took off to hunt U-boats it would be as qualified night fliers.

With a new squadron aboard, the “Can Do” carrier next put out from Norfolk on March 7, bound for Casablanca. The central Atlantic was quiet, and the pilots got in plenty of night-flying practice during the uneventful voyage. The *Guadalcanal* group left Casablanca on March 30 in support of a westbound Allied convoy.

Gallery broke away on April 8 when a “huff-duff” direction-finding report came in of a U-boat 60 miles distant, northwest of Madeira and bound for West Africa. She was *U-515*, commanded by 35-year-old Lt. Cmdr. Werner Henke, a ruthless, highly decorated ace who had sunk 25 Allied ships totaling 142,636 tons. When he torpedoed the 18,700-ton British troopship *Ceramic* 400 miles west of the Azores on the night of Dec. 7-8, 1942, Henke had surfaced, picked up one survivor, a British soldier, for information, and left 655 dead, including women and children.

Honing in on *U-515*’s probable location at sunset on April 8, 1944, Gallery launched Avengers and sent the destroyer escorts *Pope* and *Chatelain* to chase down a radar contact. The ships dropped depth charges, and the *Pope* reported an oil slick rising to the surface. *Pillsbury* and *Flaherty* raced to the scene, and two Avengers positively sighted *U-515* and dropped depth charges. The U-boat dived and escaped, but she was being cornered.

On April 9, Easter Sunday, Captain Gallery

started a dogged hunt for his quarry. When the U-boat warily surfaced to charge batteries, an Avenger dived and dropped depth charges. “We hounded him all night,” the carrier skipper reported. “Every time he’d pop up, we’d nail him again and chase him down again. Making a depth charge attack on a sub at night, or even in the daylight, is not a 100-percent thing. You don’t get the kill every time, and especially at night you don’t.”

Henke submerged to 787 feet while the *Flaherty*, *Pillsbury*, *Pope*, and more Avengers and Wildcats closed in for an attack that lasted six hours. Close explosions caused flooding in the U-boat. Desperate countermeasures by Henke failed to control *U-515*, and she shot to the surface stern-first amidst the American ships.

*Chatelain* and *Flaherty* raked the U-boat with deck guns, depth charges, and torpedoes, and Wildcats and Avengers loosed machine-gun fire and rockets. Finally, at mid-afternoon, Henke ordered abandon ship, and his crippled *U-515* sank stern-first 175 miles northwest of Funchal, Madeira. Sixteen Germans had been killed. Henke and 43 of his men were rescued by the destroyer escorts and put aboard the *Guadalcanal*. Admiral Ingersoll signaled Gallery, “Well done!”

The carrier skipper was elated but less than satisfied. After the sinking, he concluded that he might well have realized his long-held goal. If he



Fire erupts just aft of the conning tower of the German submarine *U-515*, under attack by the U.S. Navy hunter-killer group led by the escort carrier USS *Guadalcanal*. *U-515* went to the bottom of the Atlantic soon after this photograph was taken.



Despite the risk of *U-505* being scuttled and blowing up, a boarding party from USS *Pillsbury* approaches the abandoned submarine, which is still underway. The Germans had intended to follow their abandonment doctrine and sink *U-505* before it could be boarded.



Captain Daniel V. Gallery, Jr., (left) led the U.S. Navy task force that captured *U-505*, the first taking of an enemy warship by the Navy on the high seas since the War of 1812. Lieutenant (j.g.) Albert L. David (right) led the boarding party that secured *U-505* for the long trip to Bermuda and received the Medal of Honor for his heroism.

had been able to call on a trained boarding party in his group, he could have captured *U-515* intact. So, he immediately ordered each destroyer escort to form a boarding party.

A few hours after the sinking of *U-515*, Gallery launched another search when sonar contact was made with a second U-boat off Madeira. After searching all night, planes from the *Guadalcanal* caught *U-68* — surfaced and unsuspecting — at sunrise on April 10. Blasted with gunfire, rockets, depth charges, and a homing torpedo, the submarine broke in two and sank. Only one wounded crewman survived and was picked up. Another signal from Ingersoll exclaimed, “Exceptionally well done!”

“We got two kills the first two nights we flew,” Gallery proudly reported. “We had gone three weeks before, flying in the daytime, with no kills at all. The subs simply did not come up in the daytime.... If you wanted to do business out there, you had to fly at night. When we came back from the cruise and reported this, all the other CVEs started night flying.”

Meanwhile, the *U-515* skipper and his men were interned when the *Guadalcanal* group returned to Norfolk on April 26. Though sullen and uncommunicative, Henke was glad to be in American rather than British captivity. He would have been tried for the *Ceramic* “atrocities.” Henke was shot during an exercise period on June 15 while trying to escape from the top-secret Fort Hunt interrogation center near Washington, D.C.

British, American, and Canadian naval units had gained the upper hand in the Battle of the Atlantic in the late spring and early summer of

1943 with the advent of longer-range patrol bombers, escort carriers, improved radar, better depth charges, and homing torpedoes. Shipping losses fell dramatically, but Admiral Karl Doenitz’s U-boats remained a deadly threat. In the spring of 1944, the Allies stepped up their offensive, focusing on the areas where replenishing milch cows kept the enemy submarines operating far from their bases.

Royal Navy ships discovered and sank two milch cows off Mauritius in February-March, and Admiral Ingersoll dispatched a task group led by the escort-carrier USS *Block Island* to take care of another U-boat “filling station” near the Cape Verde Islands, off the west coast of Africa. After two of the destroyer escorts, *Bronstein* and *Thomas*, sank three U-boats, two planes from the *Block Island* destroyed *U-1059*, an 1,100-ton milch cow, on March 19. But the Germans took revenge two months later. On the night of May 29, about 320 miles west of Madeira, *U-549* slipped through the escort screen and sank the *Block Island* with three torpedoes. She went down quickly, but 951 crewmen were rescued. She was the only U.S. escort carrier sunk in the Atlantic during the war. In turn, the U-boat was sunk by two destroyer escorts.

When a report of the jeep carrier’s loss crackled into the *Guadalcanal* radio room, Captain Gallery cleared the lower deck and passed on the sad news. Then his Task Group 22.3 left the search area off Portuguese Guinea and steered northeast for a refueling stop at Casablanca. Along the way, a report from Allied codebreakers came in of a U-boat heading in the same direction, bound for its base in the Bay of Biscay.

*U-505*, a big Type IXC submarine commanded by 40-year-old Lieutenant Harald Lange, was low on fuel and forced to surface regularly to recharge her sapped batteries. The inexperienced commander Lange was taking a shortcut by hugging the Cape Verde Islands. *U-505* was a hard-luck boat. She had been intercepted several times in the Bay of Biscay and had to return to port for repairs, and her second skipper, Lt. Cmdr. Peter Zschech, had committed suicide when he became despondent while out on patrol.

On the night of June 2-3, the *Guadalcanal* ran over the *U-505*’s reported position, and Lieutenant Lange heard Avengers dropping depth charges 60 miles away. Both vessels were heading northward on converging courses. The U-boat surfaced in the dark to recharge batteries. An Avenger flew within six miles of the enemy boat, and when she submerged, another flew right over her.

The American task group seemed to be getting closer to the quarry, but Gallery found himself in a quandary when his veteran chief engineer, Commander Earl Trosino, reported, “Captain, we’ve got to quit fooling around here and get into Casablanca. I’m getting down near the safety limit of my fuel.” When the sun rose on June 4, the skipper was frustrated. He thought his only potential target on this cruise was now out of range astern, but he could not pursue it because of his fuel state.

Suddenly, at 11:10 — on that clear, bright Sunday morning — the USS *Chatelain* blared a report of a possible sonar contact to Gallery’s carrier. The destroyer escort’s skipper, Captain

Dudley S. Knox, radioed, “Contact evaluated as sub. Am starting attack!” The *Chatelain* wheeled and fired a salvo of 20 “hedgehog” shells into the air ahead. Two Wildcats from the *Guadalcanal* circled overhead and then dived with machine guns firing. One of the pilots, Ensign Jack Cadle, shouted on his radio, “Sighted sub! Destroyers head for spot where we’re shooting!”

As more Wildcats circled overhead like hawks and two other destroyer escorts boring in to assist, the *Guadalcanal* swung clear at top speed. “A carrier right smack at the scene of a sound contact is like an old lady in a barroom brawl,” explained Gallery. “She has no business there, and can do nothing but get out of the way.”

The *Chatelain* headed for the Wildcat’s bullet splashes and fired a spread of 12 depth charges. Seconds later, the sea heaved violently as one of the depth-charge patterns exploded close to the submerged *U-505*, rolling her over and blowing a hole in the outer hull. Her crewmen had been sitting down for lunch. The lights went out, and sailors, mess tables, crockery, and food were dumped into the bilges. “Water is coming in!” shouted one man, and an engineer reported that the German boat’s rudder was jammed.

Some panicky sailors rushed to the conning tower, shouting that the boat was sinking. Taking their word for it, Lieutenant Lange yelled, “Blow all tanks. Abandon and scuttle!” Above, the American ships’ bullhorns relayed Ensign Cadle’s words, “Sub is surfacing!”

At 11:21 AM, 150 miles west of Cape Blanco on the coast of French West Africa, *U-505* broke surface with white water streaming from her rusty-gray conning tower. Watching from the bridge of the *USS Guadalcanal*, Captain Gallery could not be sure if the U-boat had come up to abandon ship or to make a final, desperate attack on her hunters.

U-boat crewmen leaped from open hatches and met intense fire from the circling American ships. Lange was the first out and was hit in the leg by a .50-caliber round. Two men picked him up and dragged him overboard. The rest streamed topside, raised their hands in surrender, and jumped into the sea. Out of control, *U-505* swung to starboard and settled by the stern. The crew had opened her sea cocks. Gallery broadcast to his ships, “I want to capture that bastard if possible!” At 11:27 AM, he ordered his ships and planes to cease fire.

The destroyer escorts responded swiftly to Captain Gallery’s call. While the *Flaberty* stayed with the carrier and the *Pope* circled two miles away to watch for other U-boats, the *Chatelain*, *Pillsbury*, and *Jenks* got their motor whaleboats and boarding parties ready. Gallery shouted the order he had been planning for some time: “Away, boarders!” Carrying a nine-man boarding party led by Lt. (j.g.) Albert L. David, the boat from Captain George Casselman’s *USS Pillsbury*, was the first to approach the circling *U-505*. After the boat had chased the submarine around and finally caught up with her, a young sailor with a coil of rope jumped aboard

and tied the whaleboat to the slippery stern of the U-boat. Watching through binoculars from half a mile away, Gallery shouted over his loudspeaker, “Hi-ho, Silver! Ride ‘em, cowboy!”

Lieutenant David and two other men then jumped onto the submarine. Fearlessly disregarding possible booby traps, demolition charges, or remaining Germans, they scrambled down the conning tower to the control room. It was deserted. The three boarders were unable to unjam *U-505*’s rudder or shut down the electric motors, but they closed sea cocks and disconnected demolition charges. In the radio room, they hastily gathered a priceless haul of Enigma keys, encoding machines, and signal books. For his valor and resourcefulness, David was later awarded the Medal of Honor.

The three destroyer escorts were busy picking up German survivors and trying to control the abandoned U-boat. The *Pillsbury* swung alongside in an attempt to take *U-505* in tow. Casselman’s men got a towline to her, but the submarine’s big bow planes tore a long gash in the *DE*’s side and flooded her two main compartments. The *Pillsbury* had to back off, and Captain Gallery feared he was going to lose his prize.

Casselmann radioed to Gallery that he did not think a destroyer could tow the big submarine, and engineer Trosino warned him that *U-505* would sink unless she was towed. So, Gallery ordered, “All right, destroyers stand clear. I’ll take her in tow myself.” The *Guadalcanal* backed in with her stern close to the U-boat’s bow, and a towline was thrown over. By this



Members of the U.S. Navy boarding party stand in the conning tower of the Type IXC German submarine *U-505* while a small pump is used to remove water from the craft and prevent it from being scuttled. The submarine’s twin 20mm anti-aircraft gun mount is visible to the rear of the activity.



After the tow line has been successfully rigged and *U-505* secured from sinking on June 4, 1944, this photo was taken depicting the captured German submarine and the escort carrier *USS Guadalcanal*. A small boat that carried the boarding party to *U-505* remains close to the submarine.

time, a 20-man boarding party led by Trosino was aboard the submarine. With great difficulty, Trosino and his men put a steel cable through the U-boat's bullnose and tied it off. An American flag was hoisted on *U-505*'s bridge.

"We finally got her in tow and started to haul her away," Gallery reported. "It soon developed that she sheared way out to starboard until the towline was as taut as a bow string—but, anyway, we were able to drag her along because the rudder was jammed. We were able to tow her all that afternoon." A total of 58 German survivors were taken aboard the *Guadalcanal*.

The flattop and three destroyer escorts set a northward course for Casablanca, leaving the *Pope* to shepherd the damaged *Pillsbury* until emergency repairs could be completed. Captain Gallery's elation at fulfilling his dream and capturing a U-boat was tempered that evening when his engineers reminded him that he did not have enough fuel to reach Casablanca. "The threat of running out of fuel almost won a place in naval history comparable to the foolish virgins who ran out of oil," he commented ruefully.

He sent an urgent message to Atlantic Fleet headquarters, reported that he had captured an enemy submarine and was low on fuel, and asked permission to put in to the nearest Allied port, Dakar on the French West Africa coast. The immediate response was: "Nothing doing on Dakar. Take her to Bermuda (2,500 miles away). We'll have a tanker rendezvous with you with fuel." Dakar was denied because it was infested with German spies. If Berlin learned of the capture of *U-505*, Washington reasoned, the Germans would undoubtedly make "major changes" in U-boat Enigma security and perhaps neutralize Allied codebreakers on the eve of the postponed Operation Overlord, the D-

Day landings in Normandy.

On the day of the capture, June 4, Admiral Sir Andrew Cunningham, the British First Sea Lord, sent an urgent cable to his American counterpart, Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations. It read, "In view of the importance at this time for preventing the Germans suspecting a compromise of their ciphers, I am sure you will agree that all concerned should be ordered to maintain complete secrecy regarding the capture of *U-505*." Captain Gallery had made U.S. naval history, but the acerbic Lord was so angry at him for possibly jeopardizing Allied mastery of the German Enigma system that he threatened to court-martial him. Cooler heads eventually prevailed.

By the evening of June 4, the *Guadalcanal* boarding party was back on the carrier. "We weren't at all sure she'd (*U-505*) stay afloat, so I didn't leave anybody aboard during the night," said Gallery. The night of June 4-5 was tense as excited sonar and radar operators reported echoes and blips, and lookouts said they had sighted periscopes. "It sounded like we were completely surrounded by German U-boats, and they were closing in on us," Gallery recalled later. So the carrier put on speed—and the towline broke. The American ships circled *U-505* during a maximum U-boat watch that night, and the pause enabled the slow-moving *Pope* and patched-up *Pillsbury* to rejoin the group.

Early on the morning of June 5, a stronger wire cable was attached to *U-505*, but towing was still exceedingly difficult because of her jammed rudder. Accompanied this time by Captain Gallery, engineer Trosino and his team clambered back aboard the submarine. After making sure there were no remaining booby traps inside, they made their way through the stern torpedo room and righted the rudder. The

task group resumed its slow northwestern voyage toward British Bermuda. Towing the U-boat, the *Guadalcanal* could not make more than eight knots. "That was as fast as I dared go," said Gallery. He kept his planes in the air because "we were right in the middle of a submarine operating area at the time, so I figured we had to protect ourselves."

Several vessels had been sent from Casablanca to succor Gallery's ships. They were the 8,560-ton seaplane tender *Humboldt*, the 20,960-ton fleet oiler *Kennebec*, and the fleet tug *Abnaki*. The ships rendezvoused with the "Can Do" carrier on June 7, and she and her escorts were amply refueled for the voyage to Bermuda. The tug took the captured U-boat in tow in mid-ocean, and the task group proceeded. Realizing the need to keep the capture secret, Gallery ordered the *U-505* coding machines, books, and ciphers to be placed in "mail sacks" aboard his fastest destroyer escort, the *USS Jenks*. She then sped ahead to Bermuda, and the captured material reached the Navy Department on June 12.

Finally, under tight security ordered by Washington and the British Admiralty, the *Guadalcanal* and her destroyer escorts steamed into harbor at Bermuda on June 19. Aware of Gallery's weakness for publicity, Admiral King cautioned him to lie low and to seal the lips of the 3,000 sailors and airmen in his task group. A team of high-ranking Navy Department officers, meanwhile, flew in to inspect *U-505* and interrogate the prisoners.

The arrival in Bermuda was the crowning moment in Captain Gallery's career. His carrier, which had been in action for only five months, was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation, and he had realized his goal of capturing a U-boat. The seizure of her Enigma equipment and logs, he said, was "one of the

main reasons for our high rate of sinkings during the last year of the war.”

*U-505* was not the first German submarine to surrender during World War II. *U-110* was captured by the Royal Navy destroyer HMS *Bulldog* on May 9, 1941, and *U-570* surrendered to a Lockheed Hudson patrol bomber of Royal Air Force Coastal Command on August 27, 1941. Gallery achieved a double distinction, however. *U-505* was the only U-boat captured by the U.S. Navy during the war and the first foreign vessel seized by an American ship since the 14-gun British East India Company brigantine *Nautilus* surrendered to the 18-gun sloop *Peacock* in the Sunda Strait on June 30, 1815. This was the final naval action of the War of 1812.

The Allies made sure that Gallery's historic coup remained a secret. The Germans, preoccupied with trying to repulse the great Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944, assumed that the U-boat had been sunk by Allied planes and made no major changes in their Enigma intelligence system. *U-505* remained at anchor in Bermuda under strict security for the rest of the European war.

“The British had very tight control over everything going out by mail, telephone, radio, and press,” said Gallery. “And they were able to clamp an iron-clad lid on the thing so word wouldn't get out. If we'd brought her into Norfolk or any other place in the United States, it would have been out in no time.” The U-boat's surviving crewmen were interned, isolated from other enemy prisoners, and denied access even to the Red Cross. Their families knew nothing about them until they were repatriated in 1947.

After Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945, the Navy moved *U-505* to the United States. After highlighting a war-bond-selling voyage along the Eastern Seaboard, she was tied up in the Portsmouth Navy Yard at Kittery, Maine.

Captain Gallery became assistant director of the plans division under the chief of naval air operations in September 1944, and was given command of the new 27,200-ton carrier USS *Hancock* in the Pacific theater the following year. The flagship of Vice Admiral John S. McCain, the *Essex*-class flattop took part in actions off the Philippines, Okinawa, and the Japanese home islands.

Gallery was promoted to rear admiral in December 1945, and his gallant *Guadalcanal* was decommissioned the following July. He went on to hold a number of key sea and shore commands through the 1950s, including the flagship USS *Coral Sea* and Carrier Division 6 in the Mediterranean; the Atlantic Fleet hunter-killer force; the Glenview (Illinois) Naval Air

Station; the Ninth Naval District at Great Lakes, Illinois, and the 10th Naval District at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

Energetic and outspoken as ever during the Cold War, the “Can Do” skipper issued a controversial “memorandum” calling for the building of carriers with nuclear-strike capability, and loudly protested the conviction of Admiral Karl Doenitz, commander of the German U-boat fleet in World War II. “Nuremberg was a kangaroo court and a travesty on justice,” Gallery declared. “The trial of Doenitz was an outstanding example of barefaced hypocrisy. His conviction was an insult to our own submariners in the Pacific who waged unrestricted warfare the same as the Germans did in the Atlantic.” Gallery took time to visit Germany and look up his former enemy, Lieutenant Lange. The two men dined, visited a theater, and “got to be good friends” during a day in Hamburg.

Lange's *U-505*, meanwhile, languished without maintenance for a decade in the Portsmouth

Navy Yard, while plans were made several times to sink her in the Atlantic Ocean. Gallery protested vigorously each time and fought to have the U-boat moved to his Chicago hometown. With the aid of a mayoral committee, the city's Navy League chapter, the Chicago *Tribune*, and an act of Congress, *U-505* was eventually transported to Chicago and placed on permanent display at the Museum of Science and Industry.

Detached from the Navy in November 1960, the year that the *Guadalcanal* was scrapped, Admiral Gallery retired to Vienna, Virginia, wrote nine books, and was with his wife when she died at Bethesda (Maryland) Naval Hospital on January 16, 1977. □

*Author Michael D. Hull passed away some months ago. During his lifetime, he was a frequent contributor to WWII History, writing on a variety of subjects from his Enfield, Connecticut, home.*



**Captain Daniel V. Gallery, Jr., commander of the escort carrier USS *Guadalcanal*, poses on the conning tower of *U-505* prior to the U-boat's being taken in tow for the voyage to Bermuda. The German submarine's crest, an embellished scallop shell, is visible on both sides of the conning tower.**

U.S. Air Force



Robert S. Johnson, photographed in the cockpit of his P-47. He had seven victories when this photo was taken and would go on to a score of 27.

## U.S. Pilots At War

America's top airmen fought a hard-war conflict in the skies against Germany and Japan.

**LIEUTENANT ROBERT SAMUEL JOHNSON LOOKED AROUND FOR SOME FRIENDLY** planes to fly with to get back to England. His wingman flew nearby, but the two young American pilots had become separated from the rest of their squadron.



It was October 8, 1943, and they were on their way back from a mission over Europe. Soon they found a group of bombers returning from their own mission. Johnson decided to escort them back home. As they flew alongside the bombers, Johnson spotted an enemy plane several thousand feet below. He wasted no time turning his P-47 Thunderbolt fighter over. He dove on the target, firing at it with his .50-caliber machine guns. The German plane, a Messerschmitt Me-110, went down; it was Johnson's fourth kill. One more and he would earn the coveted title of ace.

As he pulled out of the dive, he reminded himself not to get too eager in his desire to get a fifth kill. A pilot could get killed chasing that goal if he was not careful. As Johnson gained altitude, he spotted four Focke-Wolfe Fw-190 fighters attacking the bomber formation. One Fw-190 made a firing pass at the bombers, but he had a P-47 chasing him. In turn, another Fw-190 was chasing the P-47. All of them fired long bursts at their targets as they dove past Johnson, who went

into another dive to track them.

Lining up on the first Fw-190, Johnson tried to lead his target as he opened fire. As he fired, another German plane lined up on him and fired as well. Keeping his plane pointed at the lead German fighter, he was soon rewarded with enough hits to put his opponent down. This victory came with a price, however. Johnson felt a thump in his plane; his P-47 was hit, and he did not know how badly.

The American levelled out his aircraft and looked around. Behind him, more German fighters roared in to assist the four that attacked the bombers, and he was right in their path. Johnson tried to dive out of the way, but his controls did not respond. His rudder cable had been severed, and about 35 feet of it had coiled up in the bottom of his cockpit. He dove using his throttle and managed to get himself and his wingman away. Johnson considered bailing out, but he wanted to get farther northwest before he did so to improve his chances of escaping capture on the ground. Luckily, he saw more P-47s nearby and managed to join them. They turned out to be from a different squadron in his fighter group.

The group made it back to England without further incident and landed at the first airfield they found at Boxted. The other fighter pilots told Johnson to land first, but he refused. It was foggy; he had enough fuel and feared if he crashed upon landing he would block the runway for the rest of the planes. When he finally did land, Johnson had to pull on the rudder cable with his hand. He pulled the damaged P-47 off to the side in case anyone else needed to land, then set off for the tower.

Later, he found five holes in his plane, all from a 20mm cannon. One of the hits severed his rudder cable. The armor under his seat had a dent in it where a round struck but failed to penetrate. Fifty years later, Johnson discovered his fifth aerial victory was over Hans Philipp, a German ace with 206 victories of his own.

Robert Johnson ended his combat tour with 27 victories. After the war, German ace Adolf Galland called him one of the best pilots in the war, believing that if Johnson had flown as many missions as the top German aces, he would have over 200 victories to his credit. Johnson was only one of many who served, however. His story is one of five American airmen's tales contained in *Above the Reich: Deadly Dogfights, Blistering Bombing Raids, and Other War Stories from the Greatest American Air Heroes of World War II, in Their Own Words* (Colin Heaton and Anne-Marie

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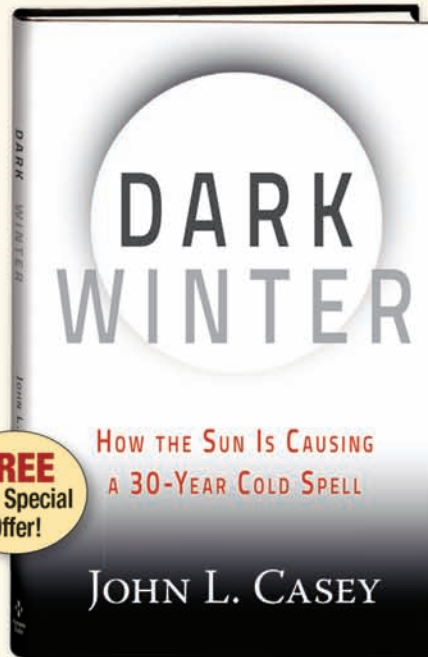
Casey

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# New and Noteworthy

**US Navy Destroyer Escorts of World War II** (Mark Lardas, Osprey Books, 2021, \$19.00, softcover). Destroyer escorts filled a vital gap in the campaign against Axis submarines. The U.S. Navy was initially reluctant to adopt them, but they proved valuable in service.



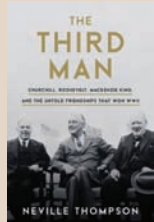
**Animals in the Second World War** (Neil R. Storey, Shire Publications, 2021, \$14.00, softcover). Animals served in many capacities during the war, including combat and logistics roles. This book uses firsthand accounts to document how animals aided the war effort.

**A Forgotten Campaign: The British Armed Forces in France 1940 – From Dunkirk to the Armistice** (Paul Fantom, Helion and Company, 2021, \$39.50, softcover). Few are aware that the British Army fought in France even after the evacuation at Dunkirk. Numerous formations fought with determination until the end of the campaign in mid-June.

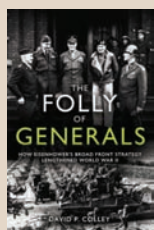


**General Erich Hoepner: A Military Biography** (W. Chales De Beaulieu, Casemate Publishers, 2021, \$45.00, hardcover). Hoepner was one of Germany's best tank commanders, serving in Poland, Belgium, France, and the Soviet Union. This biography is written by one of his top staff officers.

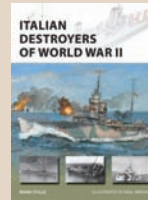
**Corregidor: Siege and Liberation 1941-1945** (John Grehan and Alexander Nicoll, Frontline Books, 2021, \$24.95, softcover). Corregidor fell to the Japanese on May 5, 1942, and was retaken in February 1945. This photobook shows both phases of the island's involvement in the war.



**The Third Man: Churchill, Roosevelt, MacKenzie King, and the Untold Friendships that Won WWII** (Neville Thompson, Sutherland House, 2020, \$34.95, hardcover). This book examines the friendship between Churchill and Roosevelt through the diaries and observations of Canadian Prime Minister MacKenzie King.



**Italian Destroyers of World War II** (Mark Stille, Osprey Publishing, 2021, \$19.00, softcover). Italy began the war with 59 destroyers and lost 51 of them. They escorted convoys and fought in every major Mediterranean battle, in addition to a small force which fought in the Red Sea.

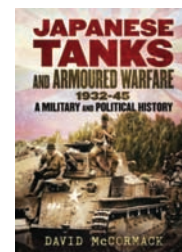


**The Folly of Generals: How Eisenhower's Broad Front Strategy Lengthened World War II** (David P. Colley, Casemate Publishers, 2021, \$34.95, hardcover). The author argues that if Eisenhower had taken advantage of potential breakthroughs in the Siegfried Line in Autumn 1944, the war might have been shortened.

Island in February 1942. From this strategic point the Japanese could attack in several directions, expanding their outer perimeter against the Allies and even threatening Australia. For the next year, Rabaul figured prominently in Japanese operations while the Allies struggled to get and keep their remaining footholds in the region. By late 1942, however, the Australian-American forces had put Japan on a defensive footing permanently and would now take the fight to them.

The result was the removal of Rabaul as a threat in the South Pacific. An extended air campaign caused heavy damage to Rabaul, while naval forces isolated the island from relief. American pilots, gaining greater skills and flying ever-improving aircraft, proved able to defeat and attrit their Japanese opponents over the course of 1943. By February 1944, Rabaul was ineffective, and U.S. forces moved on to the Central Pacific, ever closer to Japan itself.

The author is a noted and accomplished aviation historian with numerous books to his credit. The latest work continues his tradition of flowing narratives, in-depth research, and high detail. The book contains good maps and numerous illustrations to accompany the text. Details of the various ground, naval, and air movements are woven together, giving the reader a sense of how overall Allied operations proceeded as Rabaul was reduced.



**Japanese Tanks and Armoured Warfare 1932-45: A Military and Political History** (David McCormack, Fonthill Media, South Yorkshire, UK, 2021, 160 pp., maps, photographs, appendices,

bibliography, \$30.00, hardcover)

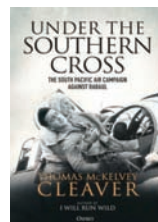
On December 11, 1941, the Saeki Detachment formed the spearhead of the Japanese attack against Jitra, a position held by Indian troops of the British Commonwealth. Named for its commander, Lt. Col. Shizuo Saeki, he led two companies of light tanks, one of medium tanks and two companies of motorized infantry with engineer, signal, and medical troops in support. Their specific mission was to achieve a breakthrough on the Singora Road; speed and surprise were essential to success.

The lieutenant leading the spearhead told his men if a tank became immobilized to abandon it and move on. "Run over enemy and even friends and advance until immobilized," he said. The orders caused panic among the inexperienced, half-trained Indian troops. The Japanese tankers used their mobility and fire-

Lewis, Caliber Press, New York, NY, 2021, 406 pp., appendices, bibliography, notes, index, \$28.00, hardcover).

This new work also covers the stories of James Doolittle, Robin Olds, Edward Ross Haydon, and Curtis Lemay. Each subject gets an introduction, followed by their story in their own words, giving insight into how these men thought and what informed their attitudes and beliefs. The book reads easily, and each man's narrative is engaging. It is an interesting look at some of the best men the United States put into

the air in World War II.



**Under the Southern Cross: The South Pacific Air Campaign Against Rabaul** (Thomas McKelvey Cleaver, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2021, 352 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, index, \$30.00, hardcover)

The Japanese military took control of Rabaul, the major city and port on New Britain

power to fix their enemies in place while infantry outflanked them. Soon the British position was shattered, with the remaining soldiers conducting a disorganized withdrawal. The Japanese used speed and aggressiveness to prove tanks could be effective even in jungle environments.

Imperial Japan's tank forces are often disregarded as desperate men manning obsolete and ineffective vehicles. While that assessment does bear truth, it is far from the whole story. In his latest book, the author reveals how Japanese armor had a mixed history, which included notable successes and notorious failures, suffering the consequences of political decisions and cultural attitudes. The book benefits from extensive research and has both useful appendices and an interesting photo insert.



**How the RAF and USAAF Beat the Luftwaffe** (Ken Delve, Greenhill Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2021, 208 pp., photographs, index, \$34.95, hardcover)

The Royal Air Force started the Allies on the path to aerial victory over the Luftwaffe in 1940 by simply managing not to lose when the odds were against it. After that, it continued to keep the Germans at bay while slowly building up its own capacity to assume offensive operations. The introduction of American air power in 1942 increased the pace of that buildup until the Allies rendered the German air force ineffective in mid-1943-1944 and achieved air supremacy through to the end of the war. Despite starting the war with a good tactical air force, the Germans were never able to use it effectively beyond some battlefield successes.

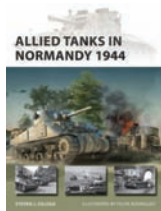
In this new book, the author effectively argues why the Luftwaffe failed. While he concedes it was a resilient organization, it lacked in several key areas. First, its prewar strategic planning was poor, and its leaders never saw past tactical and operational needs, causing it to lose the Battle of Britain in 1940 and in the Mediterranean theater in 1941-42. Lastly, it failed to defend Germany against the combined bomber offensive that laid waste to its cities. Essentially, the Luftwaffe tried to accomplish too many large missions with an insufficient force and inadequate leadership.

**The Flutist of Arnhem: A Story of Operation Market Garden** (Antonio Gil, Dead Reckoning, Annapolis, MD, 2021, 152 pp., illustrated, \$24.95, softcover)



Operation Market Garden, involving the British airborne assault on Arnhem, sought to capture an intact bridge over the Rhine River and provide a way across for British armored units. There was more to the operation than just paratroopers, however. They had support from agents of the Special Operations Executive, or SOE, a clandestine organization specializing in espionage. There were also members of the Dutch resistance, who gathered information at great risk. If captured, they could expect only torture and death at the hands of the German secret police, the Gestapo. Even after the operation began, the Nazis ruthlessly hunted the SOE agents and resistance members.

This new graphic novel is from an imprint of the highly respected Naval Institute Press, which has endeavored to bring stories of military history to a new audience with these well-written and beautifully illustrated works. This latest volume tells the story of Dutch resistance fighters, SOE agents, and the British and Polish paratroopers who served at Arnhem. A While the story is fictional, the author weaves his narrative into the actual historical events. The artist pays attention to detail, drawing the weapons and equipment of the characters accurately. The fictional story is interspersed with factual text, allowing the reader to place the tale in time and place.

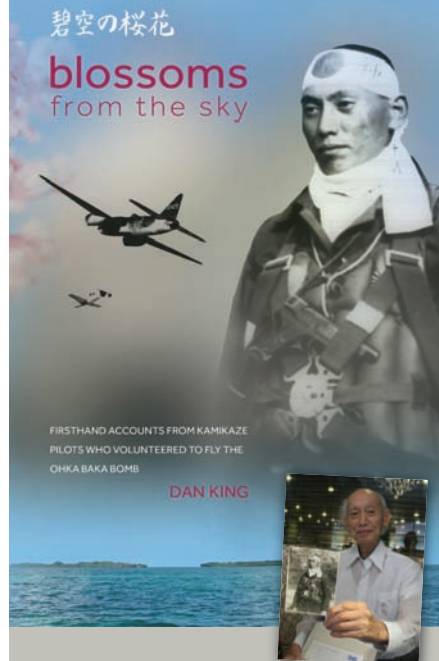


**Allied Tanks in Normandy 1944** (Steven J. Zaloga, Osprey Publishing, Oxford, UK, 2021, 48 pp., maps, photographs, bibliography, \$19.00, softcover)

Sergeant George Dring commanded a Sherman tank of A Squadron, the 1st Nottinghamshire Yeomanry, also known as the Sherwood Rangers. On June 26, 1944, his tank advanced south from the village of Fontenoy-le-Pesnil. Within minutes, his crew encountered a Panzer IV; his gunner put a 75mm round through the enemy tank driver's visor. The panzer burst into flames, and its crew bailed out and fled. The next tank was a Tiger, 1,000 yards away. As Dring traversed his turret, the Tiger fired but missed. The British crew put five rounds into the German tank; it did not return fire, and its crew bailed out as well.

Continuing, Dring spotted a Panther at a crossroads, and his gunner put a round in front of its drive sprocket. That crew fled as well, so the British crew put two more rounds into it as

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# D-DAY

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**T**HE STORM WAS VIOLENT, the waves were huge and the noise was deafening for the soldiers in the landing craft on D-Day, June 6, 1944. As they neared the beach, the door dropped open... and this photo lets you see exactly what they saw, and feel what they felt: treacherous breakers, withering machine gun fire, a long beach, huge cliffs, and near-certain death.

None hesitated. These brave unselfish men jumped into the cold Atlantic waters. Two thirds of them died soon after, so that we could live in freedom.

This historic photograph shows American soldiers from Company E, 16th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division exiting their LCVP landing craft under heavy German machine gun fire on Omaha Beach. The photo was taken by Coast Guard Chief Photographer's Mate Robert F. Sergeant.

Company E landed on Easy Red Beach at 0645 in the face of murderous fire. Those few who survived kept wading right into everything the enemy had and took their objective, which provided the only exit from the beach that the entire Fifth Corps had for two days. Company "E," perhaps by strength of will and courage alone, helped keep the entire landing force from being thrown back into the sea. For a month afterwards, those who survived remained almost in a daze.

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they got closer, until it also caught fire. Reaching the town of Rauray, Dring spotted and shot at another Tiger, 1,400 yards away. Six shots, four hits, and the second Tiger was afire, too. Another Panzer IV fell to Dring's gunner before the day ended.

This new book covers the organization and operations of the major Allied tank units during the Normandy campaign. The book contains several pieces of original art and is well-illustrated with period photographs. The author cuts through the myths of tank combat and reveals how tankers actually fought.



*Pictorial History of the US 3rd Armored Division in World War Two* (Darren Neely, Pen and Sword Books, South Yorkshire, UK, 2021, 306 pp., photographs, \$25.00, hardcover)

The U.S. 3rd Armored Division entered combat in the European theater in late June 1944, and fought for the rest of the war, ending its fight around Dessau, Germany. One of two tank units organized as "heavy" divisions with a larger number of assigned tanks, the 3rd earned the moniker "Spearhead Division," a decorative shoulder patch it would wear until it was deactivated at the end of the Cold War decades later.

During World War II, the Spearhead battled its way through the hedgerows of Normandy and on to Belgium by September 1944. It also fought in the Battle of the Bulge at towns like Hotton and Grandmenil. After the Bulge, the unit was among the first to receive the M26 Pershing tank, armed with a 90mm cannon that enabled it to take on even the vaunted Tiger and Panther tanks. The division's commander, Major General Maurice Rose, was tragically killed by German tankers while trying to surrender near Paderborn, Germany.

Hundreds of photographs of the 3rd Armored combine to tell a story of combat and hardship in this new work. An armored division is more than just its tanks, and the author makes that clear by including numerous images of the unit's infantry, reconnaissance artillery and support troops performing their duties. This book provides a wealth of details of how the men of this division lived and fought during the war.

*W.E. Fairbairn's Complete Compendium of Lethal, Unarmed, Hand to Hand Combat Methods and Fighting* (The Naval and Military Press Ltd., East Sussex, UK, 2021, 790 pp., illus-



trated, \$45.00, softcover)

William Fairbairn spent his life studying combat between armed and unarmed human beings. He served as a Royal Marine and a police officer in the Shanghai Municipal Police beginning in

1907. While there he began studying various techniques of armed and unarmed combat and eventually began teaching these methods. Along with Eric Sykes, they collaborated on the design of a fighting knife and further developed various shooting techniques.

When World War II began, they found their way back to England where they were soon employed training commandos and operatives for both the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS) and British Special Operations Executive (SOE). Fairbairn claimed his techniques were "gutter fighting," where there could be no thought of fair play, only to survive or be killed. There are even tales that Fairbairn was the inspiration for the character Q in Ian Fleming's James Bond books.

Fairbairn was also a prolific writer who recorded his techniques and published them, including books on hand-to-hand fighting and pistol shooting. He even created one volume dedicated to self-defense for women, a likely outgrowth of the use of female agents during the war. This book is a compilation of six of Fairbairn's books reprinted into one handy volume. It helps illustrate how commandos, special operations personnel, and various operatives were trained for their missions. The book contains hundreds of original photographs and drawings demonstrating the various skills.



*The Americans and Germans at Bastogne: First-Hand Accounts of the Commanders who Fought* (Gary Sterne, Pen and Sword Military, South Yorkshire, UK, 2021, 291 pp., maps, photographs,

\$34.95, hardcover)

The German Ardennes offensive took the Allies by surprise, but they recovered quickly and gave the Germans a difficult fight. Ultimately, the Reich failed in its last bid to achieve success in Western Europe. That failure came at a high cost to thousands of soldiers on both sides; the Battle of the Bulge was a human struggle. Privates, sergeants, and junior officers fought from foxholes and tank hatches, while senior officers pored over map boards and tried to bring order

and victory from the chaos of combat.

The focus of this book are the German higher-echelon leaders who led the Ardennes offensive. Their statements are interspersed with narratives of combat actions at St. Vith, Bastogne, and elsewhere within the Bulge. Those narratives extensively use American perspectives to add battlefield level detail to the statements of the senior leaders. The book does an excellent job of showing how those German leaders had to continually adapt to changes on the ground as the Americans showed flexibility under pressure and foiled their opponent's goals. The work also makes good use of its numerous maps, many of which are contemporary to the action.



**German Mountain Troops 1942-45** (Yves Beraud, Casemate Publishers, Haver- town, PA, 2021, 128 pp., photographs, bibliography, index, \$24.95, softcover)

The Gebirgsjäger, Germany's elite mountain troops, fought everywhere the Third Reich went during World War II. They fought the Free French at Bir Hakeim in North Africa. On the Eastern Front, they faced the Soviets in numerous places including the Kuban Bridgehead, Kursk, and the Oder River. In Italy, they gained fame at Monte Cassino and infamy on the Greek island of Cephalonia, where mountain troops massacred thousands of Italian soldiers who resisted calls to surrender their weapons after Italy left the war in 1943. In the far north, Gebirgsjäger fought alongside Finnish troops during the Continuation War and against them when Finland bowed to the inevitable and quit the war. They fought the Americans in Alsace-Lorraine and the Rhineland in January 1945, when the war was essentially lost. Several SS units took the name of mountain troops, but they served mainly against partisans in the Balkans in actions notable mainly for their brutality. In the final months of the war, the remaining units were used piecemeal as fire brigades, sent to threatened sectors conducting desperate defensive actions.

The men who formed these units are at the heart of this new book. Uniforms, weapons, and equipment are also touched upon. The text is thorough in detail, but the outstanding feature of this work is the illustrations, photographs of mountain troops in action and behind the lines. Many of them are in color with good captions providing interesting extra information. □

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# Simulation Gaming

BY JOSEPH LUSTER

## THE SEA AWAITS WITH DEMANDING NAVAL STRATEGY, AND HISTORY MINGLES WITH ALTERNATE POSSIBILITIES

### WAR ON THE SEA

**PUBLISHER** KILLERFISH GAMES •

**GENRE** STRATEGY • **SYSTEM** PC

There are plenty of ground and air combat-based World War II games, so it always catches our attention when a new one arrives that focuses its combat on the open seas. Enter the aptly titled *War on the Sea*, which puts players in command of task forces, convoys, and submarines during a time in which the Japanese Empire was expanding throughout the Pacific. Taking a mix of history and cribbing from classic computer games in the same vein, *War on the Sea* just launched earlier this year to decent acclaim, adding another choice to the mix that's worth checking out for fans of naval combat.

Developer Killerfish has experience in the realm of naval combat games, including the likes of *Atlantic Fleet* and *Cold Waters*, the latter of which took a heaping helping of inspiration from the classic 1988 MicroProse game *Red Storm Rising*, which itself was based on the Tom Clancy novel of the same name. Killerfish definitely isn't holding anything back when it comes to the team's fondness for the classics; with *War on the Sea*, the devs note influence from classics like *Great Naval Battles* (1992, Strategic Simulations) and *Task Force 1942* (1992, MicroProse).

A lot of the older strategy games placed a heavy emphasis on hardcore simulation aspects, so you can bet Killerfish put those front-and-center in *War on the Sea*. That isn't to say that newcomers shouldn't bother; it's more a word of warning to those expecting nothing but action in their naval combat. While there certainly are real-time battles to enjoy, this one errs on the side of long and careful strategic planning. You can put a bunch of effort into micromanaging your fleet as you sail to your destination, while the battle itself could just last a few minutes.

Thanks in no small part to the sheer scale of some of these fleets, the learning curve can be kind of steep in *War on the Sea*. While it does take place over the ocean, you won't just be managing ships and support vessels; you'll also need to keep your aircraft operating at peak efficiency at the same time, placing ball after ball into the hands of an already busy juggler. That should be music to the ears of genre veterans, and no matter how experienced you may be, putting in the time it takes to eventually snag victory from the jaws of defeat is rewarding.



All in all, *War on the Sea* features over 50 classes of playable ships, for which you'll have to both maneuver through battle and handle ongoing repairs as they're necessary, from fighting fires to countering flooded compartments and more. The missions themselves are based on real naval engagements from World War II, and beside of a few mild discrepancies, the units themselves are true to history. If you have the time and patience for some serious strategy, the sea awaits.

### STRATEGIC MIND: FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

**PUBLISHER** STARNI GAMES •

**GENRE** STRATEGY • **SYSTEM** PC

If you're reading this magazine, chances are the title of this next one applies to you. *Strategic Mind: Fight for Freedom* is a new strategy game from the folks at Starni Games, offering up multiple perspectives that put you in the position of an arm-chair official in charge of commanding and directing history-based battles from World War II. The two campaigns available in the base game include historical narratives from British and American perspectives, with some alternate-history fun thrown in for good measure.

You'll find the strictest history within the British campaign, which has you leading the British army as Sir Harold Alexander. From Norway landings to the liberation of Northern Italy, you'll handle the Dunkirk evacuation, battle the Japanese in Burma, and more, ultimately attempting to turn the tide of war against Germany. *Strategic Mind* is all about making those major decisions that could put victory in your hands or find you on the brink of defeat. Should you charge forward and put all your chips on pure aggression, or sit back and use reconnaissance tactics to your advantage?



Time of day and weather can also play a role in how you choose to approach a particular mission, and you'll even need to decide whether to help locals in certain areas or leave them to survive on their own.

The U.S. campaign puts you in charge of the American forces as General Dwight Eisenhower, starting with the D-Day landings and rumbling through all the way to the fall of Berlin. There's more to tackle beyond that, though, because Starni Games has cooked up a number of alternate-history missions that begin in 1946 and have you going up against the might of the Red Army. *Strategic Mind* asks what would happen if the Allies had gone to war against the USSR right on the heels of WWII, following the ideas of Operation Unthinkable. If you're dying to find out if you can bring freedom and democracy to Eastern Europe, your answer might lie within these post-history campaigns.

Outside of those "What If" scenarios, *Strategic Mind: Fight for Freedom* stays pretty grounded throughout. Those who enjoy war games with a touch of personality from the faces behind the battles—including Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Harold Alexander, Bernard Law Montgomery, and others—will find the narrative particularly immersive. □

## Airmen

Continued from page 55

They packed everything they could carry. It was still winter, and conditions were harsh. They walked all day, then slept in barns or in the open in rain and snow. Guards and dogs kept a watchful eye on them.

The prisoners were marched westward, though sometimes they seemed to be wandering aimlessly. The men suffered from lice as a result of bedding down in barns on straw spread over manure, packed in like sardines. Many of the prisoners had dysentery. Linn was sick for three days, suffering from stomach cramps so badly that he felt that he wouldn't make it. "I was lucky because I came out of it and never was sick again ... for the rest of the forced march," he said.

The barns where the prisoners stayed were at collective farms, and their meager food was cooked in huge vats that the forced laborers used to cook vegetables and grain for their livestock. The prisoners were served a soup of kohlrabi, cabbage, potatoes, or barley cereal, along with a small portion of sour, black bread. In the evenings they were given two boiled potatoes.

Linn recalled: "When we left Stalag Luft IV there were 2,000 POWs in my group, but by the time we got to an International [Red Cross] camp by Hannover, Germany, there were only 1,500 left." Many of the men were so weak from dysentery or other illnesses that they were forced to fall out of the column. The Germans said that they had taken these men to hospitals, but shots were heard and these men were not seen again.

"We had been on the march for 52 days when we arrived at Hannover," Linn continued. "Most everyone traveled in pairs, that way you had two army blankets, one below you and one above when you bedded down for the night, plus we had two overcoats to put over the top of us. Also there were two of us to share the body warmth when sleeping. We had walked as much as 30 kilometers in a day, about 18 miles, sometimes as little as 15 kilometers and there had been a day or two we laid over either because the weather was so bad or because the Germans didn't know where to take us."

The POWs were again forced to evacuate, this time ahead of the advancing British Army. When they passed through cities that had been heavily bombed and reduced to piles of rubble, Hitler Youth members would stand on the curb and spit on the POWs as they walked by. The improving spring weather during the latter part of March did make the ordeal somewhat easier. The POWs continued to move each day as

they were squeezed between the Soviet and British armies. Then, toward the end of April, the guards began to disappear.

Linn continued his story: "At this time we could have taken off, but felt it was much safer to stay together. We were camped in a timber on May 2, 1945, [near Lauenburg, Germany] thirty-five days after leaving Hannover. We had been on the death march a total of 87 hard, ship-filled days. We had gone over 600 miles since evacuating Stalag Luft IV. It was a bright sunny morning ... [when a] cheer went up when four English soldiers in a jeep rolled into camp. Our guards, that were left, quickly handed over their rifles."

The former prisoners were told to head west. The next day they reached Allied lines. They discarded their tattered clothes and burned them, took showers, and were deloused. A few days later, they reached Brussels, Belgium, and boarded C-47 transports that took them to *Camp Lucky Strike* in France. Several days later they were trucked to the port of La Havre, boarded ship, and were carried across the Atlantic to Boston.

Howard Linn was Honorably Discharged on October 26, 1945. He returned to the family farm in Iowa, eventually married, and had a family.

"I look back at this experience ... as a mixed blessing," he reflected. It gave me a chance to sit back and see what is important in this life and what is not. All in all the Lord has blessed me with a good life for which I am thankful."

In a final note, while the 492th Bomb Group had a superb record, it suffered more casualties and losses during its 67 missions in the 89 days it was operational, from May 11 through August 7, 1944, than any other B-24 group and was the first and only group in the ETO to be disbanded due to its high number of casualties. It lost 55 aircraft and 520 officers and men—234 killed in action, 26 wounded, 131 taken prisoner, and 129 interned in Sweden or Switzerland.

General James Doolittle, commander of the Eighth Air Force, and his staff dubbed the 492nd the Hard Luck Group. The high loss rate of the unit was believed due to the planes being unpainted—their gleaming silver bodies making them easier for the enemy to find as the sunlight reflected off them.

Although they found themselves without fighter protection on several occasions, they did not fail to fight their way to their targets. □

*Author Allyn Vannoy has written extensively on a variety of topics related to World War II. He resides in Hillsboro, Oregon.*

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civilian aviation concerns to ferry military aircraft and transport military cargo and passengers. As the nation geared up for war, ATC began expanding beyond its original purpose and started operating its own aircraft, some of which were former airline aircraft while others were airline types that had been diverted for military use.

To operate its growing fleet, ATC initially contracted with the airlines for flight crews but soon was establishing ferry and transport squadrons staffed with military personnel. Due to the demand for pilots in combat units, ATC turned to sources other than the military pilot training programs. The initial pilots were mostly reservists who had been called to active duty, many of whom had been flying for an airline, but demand soon exceeded the numbers of reservists who were available for transport duty so ATC looked toward the civilian pilot community to meet its needs.

Before the war the Civilian Pilot Training Program had turned out large numbers of qualified pilots. Many went into military pilot training programs to be trained as combat pilots, but others with significant flying experience were brought in as service pilots to serve as ferry pilots and fill the right seat on ATC transports as copilots. In February 1943, ATC assumed responsibility for the India-China Ferry, an operation between rear area bases in India and airfields in China, which was cut off from all surface means of supply.

By 1944, the command had also begun scheduled passenger operations between the United States and Europe. All the while, ATC ferry pilots were delivering airplanes from U.S. factories to air bases throughout the world. Until late in the war when the need for combat pilots decreased and overseas returnees were released for non-combat duty, ATC depended heavily on service pilots to staff its squadrons. Some 40 percent of service pilots were assigned to ferry duty.

The Army also used a great many pilots who remained in civilian status. The first use of civilians was in the pre-war Ferry Command. As the Air Corps prepared for war the demand for military pilots led the War Department to authorize the contracting of civilian pilots for ferrying operations. The factories themselves had their own contract ferry pilots but as the demand increased, the Army began contracting both with the airlines and with individual pilots to ferry aircraft. The Navy also employed civilian instructors in its primary pilot training

program and offered limited-duty commissions to civilians in transport squadrons.

It was in the civilian contract realm that female pilots found a role. Prior to the war prominent aviatrixes such as Jacqueline Cochran, used their connections to press for a role for the nation's female aviation community. Cochran became the self-appointed spokeswoman for women pilots.

In 1940, Nancy Harkness Love, a commercial pilot from Boston, sent a written proposal to Army Ferry Command commander Lt. Col. Robert Olds advocating the employment of experienced female pilots to ferry military airplanes. Love, who had delivered aircraft to Canada for the British in her capacity as an aircraft dealer, had identified 49 women, each with more than 1,000 hours of flight time, as candidates for employment. Olds sent the proposal to Army Air Force General "Hap" Arnold, but he turned it down because he had promised Cochran, who had gone to England to work for the British, that he wouldn't act on anything related to female pilots without her approval.

Love applied for and received a Civil Service position with the Ferry Command's Northeast Sector where she worked directly for Colonel William H. Tunner, who at the time commanded Ferry Command's domestic division. Love was appointed Executive of Women Pilots in the Air Transport Command's Ferrying Division.

Love recruited the most qualified women pilots she could find to staff the new Women's Auxiliary Ferrying Squadron. Her first recruit was Betty Gilles, an experienced pilot with 14 years and over 1,400 hours to her credit. The second was Cornelia Fort, a Nashville socialite who had been working as a flight instructor in Honolulu when war broke out and had been the first American pilot to encounter Japanese aircraft.

When Cochran returned to Washington, Arnold, honored his word and establish a new organization under her direction. It was not, however, the kind of organization Cochran wanted, but was actually a clearinghouse for the employment of female ferry pilots. The new organization was designated as the 319th Women's Flying Training Detachment with Cochran as "commander," although she was actually a civilian.

In August 1943, the WAFS and the WFTD were combined into a new organization that was labeled as the Womens Airforce Service Pilots, WASP for short. Cochran was appointed executive director while Nancy Love was given the title of executive for WASP ferrying.

Ferrying of aircraft was carried out largely by civilian contract pilots for the first two years

of the war. Some were employed directly by the Ferrying Division of the Air Transport Command, which was established in June 1942, while others were airline employees. Overseas deliveries in particular were through contracts with either the airlines or companies that had been established specifically to ferry military airplanes. When ATC took over the India-China Ferry operation in February 1943, the first transports assigned to the route were C-87s operated by civilian crews under contract from American Airlines.

By the latter part of 1944, the Army Air Forces had ceased activating new combat squadrons. With the lessening need for experienced pilots to serve as squadron and group commanders, the Army began releasing pilots who had entered service prior to the outbreak of war under the condition that they gain immediate employment with the airlines. All of these pilots seem to have been men who had served overseas in the Pacific in 1941 and 1942.

There is a footnote to the story of the civilians who flew for the military. The civilian pilots, male and female alike and regardless of where and in what capacity they had served, were government employees, not veterans, and were thus not eligible for benefits under the Veterans Readjustment Act, more commonly known as the GI Bill. Their service had been either under Civil Service or contract, both as individuals and as civilian aviation concern employees.

In 1977, Congress granted former WASP full veteran status and eligibility for veteran's benefits and in 1981, four years after the women, male civilian ferry pilots were granted veterans status. Nine years later, men who had flown ATC contracts while employed by American Airlines were granted veteran status. Almost two years later, in May 1992, employees of United, TWA, Northwest, and Pan Am were granted the same status, along with Consolidated Aircraft's CONSAIR division employees.

The following year veteran status went to Northwest Airlines employees and, finally, in 1997 former employees of Braniff and Northeast Airlines received veteran's benefits. Americans who flew for CNAC have never been recognized as veterans, nor have the men and women who worked as instructors in the Army and Navy training programs, or the male civilian pilots who towed targets, performed maintenance and acceptance test flights and did all of the jobs the WASP pilots did. □

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*Author Sam McGowan is an experienced pilot and long-time contributor to WWII History. He resides in Missouri City, Texas.*

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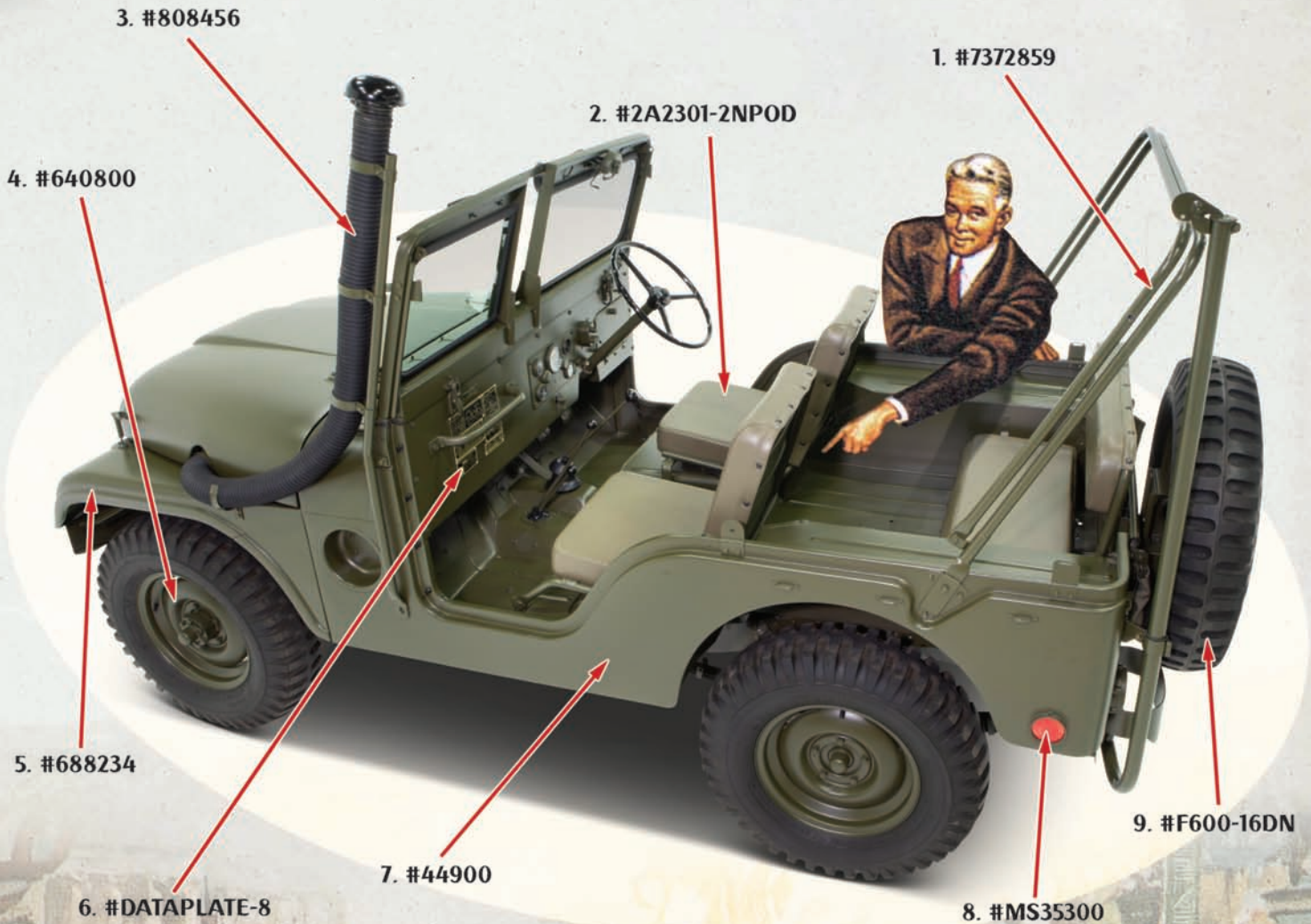
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